

Privatization of Higher Education in the Arab World:

Overview and Research Questions

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Similar to other regions, the Arab world has also been marked by the international wave of privatization of higher education (Altbach and Levy 2005). On a global scale, it is worth inquiring not so much into the growing expansion of private universities, but, on the contrary, into the conditions that, in certain societies, are blocking this wave. Are these conditions a result of the relics of the welfare state or a legacy of sociopolitical pacts? Are they due to a strong state or a weak state, or more broadly, to the lack of socioeconomic resources that can be mobilized?

These are interesting queries with wide-reaching answers, but it is not these questions that concern us here. They point us, however, in the direction of a relevant inquiry into the status of private universities in the Arab world, and we can delineate two aspects of this issue: the generalization of this phenomenon in different sociopolitical contexts and the plurality of models. Mapping the phenomenon and using the subsequent snapshot as a point of departure for our analysis reveals one side of the common concern about the inclusion of private universities in the globalized "scripts" of education: "Normative prescriptions that circulate in the institutional environment of universities and set out the legitimate offers, norms, and standards that institutions must adopt if they wish to appear rational and effective" (Musselin, 2008, 15).¹

This normative change is explained more simply by Gibbons et al. (1994): it is a simplistic, but effective reduction (judging by its adoption by many international organizations), according to which universities face a transition from a "Phase 1"—knowledge for knowledge's

sake, to a "Phase 2"—knowledge for the market. Whether it is a prescription or a description, there seems to be a clear connection between the globalization of norms and the privatization of higher education, or between knowledge for the market and the knowledge market (Mazawi 2007).

Following this logic, in some parts of the Arab world private universities appear as solutions to problems encumbering the public higher education system, which is often seen as a necessary evil or at the very least as the legacy of a depleting past. However, a closer analysis also reveals the diverse features of private universities, the rate of their establishment, the "always present" past, and the exchange dynamic between the legacy of the past and more recent models. The diversity of situations entails a diversity of research questions. Beyond the "private university" label, it is not a unified model that is going global. What are the variations of this model in the Arab world? And if we place them under the same rubric, how are we to understand experiences as varied as those at a private university in Sudan and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), at a university founded more than a century ago, or at another set up last year?

In anticipation of what follows, a preliminary and basic explanation will enable a heuristic distinction between "private" and "privatized" academic configurations. By this we mean that both acquire their meaning today as much through a comparison with an existing model of public university as through the absence of such a model. And, continuing in the same vein, we must take into account the extent to which the content and value of the concepts of "public" and "private" higher education have been informed by the recent social histories of the countries in the Arab world. This is the direction that we will attempt to follow in this paper.

First, we will identify all of the factors that should be taken into consideration if we want to avoid generalizations, while basing our reasoning on "private universities in the Arab world"

as a unified research theme. In the second part, we will establish a non-exhaustive overview of private universities in the region with the main purpose to inspire a future discussion of this topic in a comparative perspective. Third, we hope that this study will delineate questions and areas for future research. We will conclude by asking what the research on higher education in the Arab world will contribute to a broader set of questions.

Diversity in the Arab World

To inquire into private universities in the Arab world means to identify local manifestations of a global phenomenon. In this regard, several parameters must be delineated, beginning with what we mean by “private” and “public.”

Private and public acquire their meaning in relation to each other and, it seems, in the context of centralized political powers with the authority to accredit academic qualifications. In this sense, it is less about going back to "original models" considered as the norm, and determining their character and affiliation, and more about historicizing the meaning and functions of universities. In the Arab world in particular, the establishment of the public/private divide and its modalities matters much more than the ranking of academic institutions—for example, as community-based—that seem to defy this divide.

The analysis takes an anachronistic turn if it is to classify at all costs, for example, the al-Azhar University in Egypt or the American University of Beirut (AUB). An "ancient" institution—on a par with European universities established in the Middle Ages (Le Goff 1985) such as Heidelberg University or the Sorbonne—al-Azhar was radically reformed when it was subjected to modern academic standards in the 1910s and 1920s. Thus, even if the permanence of “titled” universities is certainly significant, we should not infer continuities from this. The

"memory games" are also important: in 2008, the commemoration in Egypt of the centenary of what is now Cairo University was articulated around the perspective of continuity; it erased the fact that the "campus" with its notable architectural features (the clock, the dome)—oh, how symbolic!—has been constructed much more recently (Reid 1991). Similarly, if we take into account AUB's political and intellectual role, it would be difficult to conceive it otherwise than as an institution open to a public space that it itself has helped to shape. Moreover, attesting to the "foreign" origin of such an institution also leads to a consideration of the ways in which it has been indigenized—or, more generally, to a consideration of the "national" roles played by "foreign" institutions (Dupont 2007).

All of this means that the concepts of public and private have a history, do not necessarily apply to all situations, and, furthermore, are relative and defined in relation to one another. However, it is primarily the creation of a relationship that matters, whether it is the establishment of a public Lebanese University, the introduction of private universities in Egypt where public institutions predominate (Farag 2000), the status of universities in Palestine, the "stateless society" under occupation, or the import of turnkey private campuses in countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council—a phenomenon coinciding almost simultaneously with the establishment of public universities there. The same point is observed with regards to "princely patronage," whether symbolic or financial, whose distinction from state "public" budgets is difficult to trace, or with regards to princely patronage combined with "private" companies (as in the case of Aramco in Saudi Arabia).

The many forms that the relationship between public and private takes raise a second question about the "main features" of private universities in their various manifestations in the different Arab societies. In order to characterize higher education as private, should we consider:

1) property and capital, 2) tuition fees and therefore elite recruitment and/or commercial objectives, 3) or modes of university "governance" and their greater or lesser subordination to political constraints? Undoubtedly, all of these factors should be considered, but the importance of each varies and appears to largely mark the social uses of universities and the dominant representations of their "private" status by users as well as authorities.

The standardization brought about by new agencies for assessment and accreditation—processes presented as independent, technical, and apolitical—makes outlining the primary characteristics of private universities an even more complex task. This is so, even as accreditation of universities and their degrees was until now, and still is, an attribute of the nation-state and its central institutions, and a primarily political measure. In this new context, what are the defining features of private universities and to what social issues does their accreditation correspond?

Once the characteristics of the private have been established, a third consideration is the logic of privatization and its modes (see Musselin 2008). To espouse this logic means mainly to encourage the creation and development of private institutions that target a financially secure student client base. Invoked here are in turn the quality of university education and/or public universities' insufficient offer, or the alleviation of the demand weighting on public universities; we assume that by directing the solvent client base toward privileged campuses, public investment allocated to postsecondary education would be better distributed; "better" here refers to an assumed efficiency as well as equity. In a complementary and strictly commercial logic, private universities can target an international student population and in this way, their establishment constitutes a source of national income, in a logic similar to that of the tourism sector, for example. (Some even speak of "educational tourism.")

Whatever the challenges of the private sector, the entire field of postsecondary education is thereby reconstituted. Hence, the importance to consider this phenomenon from a relational perspective, especially in societies where the "right" to higher education is about to be redefined as a more or less profitable "service." This raises the question of the consequent devaluation of public universities and disputed resources, especially with regards to faculty members.

Conversely, it is possible to question the qualifications and actions of both public and private actors engaged in the establishment of "franchises," and to question the political and economic issues that are both shared and an object of competition between states and public and private actors.

The logic of privatization also entails encouraging universities to diversify, develop their resources, and attract private funds; to increase tuition fees or implement paying programs within public universities; to host international students who pay higher tuition; to encourage patronage and research contracts, or impose fees on various transactions that engage universities and economic actors. Finally, it also entails adopting the management methods of the private sector: opening access to resources to competition where previously a national system for undifferentiated (or subjected to other priorities) redistribution has existed; new methods of performance evaluation (of students, teachers, and schools); and international rankings.

Presumed to guide "choice" in a global market, rankings do not simply represent conclusions or information for consumers; they also serve as tools and justifications for introducing changes.

We cannot fail to note the struggles to define "university autonomy": a slogan that is defended from all sides, but that encompasses diverse content. Finally, the new management includes the involvement of selected stakeholders, better able to judge the social and economic usefulness of

knowledge: such intervention is meant to bring pragmatism to the academic profession seen as reclusive in its "ivory tower."

The differentiated articulations of these logics could perhaps inform some of the variations among private universities in the Arab world. That being said, and as many authors have rightly pointed out, "privatization does not happen (necessarily) by a shift of the public toward the private sector, but by increasing the sphere of intervention of the former through the mobilization and strengthening of the latter" (Musselin 2008).

How do all of these considerations help explain the different case studies in the Arab world?

Elements for an Inventory

The following inventory aims to take into account the contextual elements that would allow characterization of the different case studies. First it should be noted that this survey covers private universities in "the countries of the Arab League." Without neglecting the specialized literature, this part of our research relies on information primarily from the websites of the ministries of higher education or the supreme councils of universities in Arab countries. This leveling of information is not trivial. The official sources providing data for "external" analysis have their limitations, and at least three of these should be mentioned from the start (it is up to future comparative, more "internal," research projects to overcome these shortcomings).

The first limitation is the difficulty in determining the scope that the terms "university," "academy," "institute," "higher institute" encompass—and which the number of years of study and length of study cycle are not enough to clarify. This limitation also exists in another form in the research tradition: deciding between "higher education" or "universities"? In the context of

this study it becomes more complex when one also considers the issue of symbolic status (a Moroccan institution of excellence based on the model of the French *grandes écoles* has little to do with Egyptian higher institutes). It is clear that institutions are part of a "system" of higher education in which each has its place. Furthermore, institutions, curricula, and degrees thought to be "equivalent" are not always so in social life or in the labor market.

A second limitation concerns the proportion, in relation to the general population, of young people registered in postsecondary education and their distribution among public universities, private universities, and privatized academic programs. This data should help understand better the relationship—rarely innocent—between supply, demand for higher education, and "solvent" demand, able to cover the costs of private education. The fact is that the privatization of universities requires, like other services, a reversal: as with first-rate products, it is often the offer that creates demand or the need for distinction. This is specific to societies with large populations where universities, unable to meet the mass demand, must draw a line (through selection process or orientation to technical programs), while a market of private higher education is unfolding in parallel and targeting another audience. The question of the financial efforts of households and the share of university education in their budgets is pertinent when discussing both private and public higher education.

Hence, the third limitation of this overview: tuition or enrollment fees in public and private universities. This theme refers to the accessibility of higher education to different social groups and also includes a consideration of free education (whether *de jure* or *de facto*), grants, or student loans. It is as much a question of the share of education costs in the budgets of individuals, as a question of law and compliance with legal, or better yet constitutional, provisions.

With these limitations in mind, we present below a picture that is partial, but fairly coherent.

We begin with the most recent private universities in Arab countries. It was only in the last months of 2008 that **Algeria** authorized the establishment of private universities or institutions of higher education (see Djamel B. 2008). A food industry group declared its willingness to respect the specifications outlined in the state decree on the establishment of private universities.² Several characteristics define the Algerian situation: an embryonic academic system inherited from colonial times, the development of this system after independence, an Arabization process not without its costs and failures, and a system that borrows heavily from the French model and complying with it through the adoption of the LMD standard (License-Master's-Doctorate; on the challenges of this transformation, see Cherbal 2004), which resulted from the 2004 Bologna agreements. For Algeria, as for all countries in the Maghreb, France represents an expected stage in the pursuit of higher education. What does the turn to private universities mean in the Algerian case?

Given the central place of postsecondary education in the political contract between the Algerian social state and its citizens, this seems to illustrate the opening of a political lock, which itself a posteriori justifies new needs. On the other hand, the transition to an Americanized European standard seems to have been “facilitated” by the previous state. Also worth observing is how the establishment of private higher education would adapt or not to social support provided by the Algerian state to students (grants covering transportation, tuition, and costs of living in university residences).

In **Morocco**, a project for a private international university was underway in 2008. Located on land donated by the state and enjoying royal patronage, as well as that of the French

president, this university plans to give grants to 20 percent of the students (Sahli 2008). Two additional elements complicate the public/private taxonomy. With fourteen public universities in the country, instead of speaking of private universities proper,³ a prominent place is given to the many higher institutes and other institutes that are as much public as private. The meaning of “institute” in the different Arab countries (see below) is inconclusive in the same way as the more or less standardized and sanctioned use of the label “university” (as well as “academy,” “faculty,” “school”. . .) varies. In Morocco, Akhawayn University is a model of excellence; with a focus on the English language, it was founded by Dahir Royal, and its president is appointed by the king. That is what makes it public. It is private because it charges tuition: 30 percent of students have access to scholarships, student jobs, or preferential loans.⁴

In **Tunisia**, where the public university marked its fiftieth anniversary in 2008, certain reluctance to espouse private higher education has been the norm since the country’s independence. It was not until 1990 that the first private university opened, not recognized by the state. Nor were institutes with short study cycles recognized. Recognition came with the “Law of July 25, 2000”: it gave private higher education a level of legitimacy and credibility, and immediately after its passage twenty-one private higher institutes were established (Mazella 2006). Today Tunisia has thirteen public universities, one online university, and a network of technical institutes. About thirty private institutions, between universities and institutes, have been accredited by the state. In February 2008 a new law on higher education introduced significant developments.⁵

These three countries in the Maghreb⁶ seem to share several characteristics: the transition to the European LMD standard and the recent appeal of English as the language of study (which does not in any way prevent the pursuit of partnerships with French universities, themselves

adopting English in certain disciplines). Also, officials in private universities in these three countries say that they seek to attract international students. These efforts seem to be directed particularly toward the countries in sub-Saharan Africa; the Maghreb "would be like Europe or the North," which have become less accessible (see Mazella 2006). A question of interest here is the impact of private universities on those students who are tempted to pursue their education in France. However, differences in pace of creation seem to persist and are due to the place of education and higher education in recent national histories and social contracts, even though the description of a private sector "set up by the state" also seems to apply (Mazella 2006). Clearly, the question to ask in the context of this sub-region of the Arab world is to what extent internationalization and privatization have similar or comparable effects on higher education. Less obvious, but no less interesting, is the question of interactions: if they exist between the countries in the Maghreb as well as in the interplay between local experiences and the borrowing of models.

In **Libya**, a general people's committee is in charge of higher education.⁷ There are fourteen public universities, the oldest dating back to 1955. The local people's committees are authorized to found institutions of higher education if they ensure funding and investors (Al-Hawat 2003). Internationalization takes many forms, including the signing of agreements and the promotion of foreign institutions. Thus, in 2008, a French fair of higher education was held on the al-Fatih University campus with the objective of attracting Libyan students to French universities.

Moving on to the Mashreq region. There were eighteen private universities in **Syria** in 2008, plus three ongoing projects. In that same year, these institutions hosted about 17,000 students, a number showing that private universities have so far not eased the demand on public

institutions.⁸ Despite a decree promulgated in 2001, the first private universities opened their doors only in 2005. A 2007 decree redefined the conditions for authorization and revocation of private university licenses.⁹ Accreditation by the state requires that institutions build their infrastructures within a provisional time period. Additionally, they have to be located within priority areas that lack public universities. However, property constraints or opportunities have sometimes led to concentrations. In such cases, the buildings are presented and rationalized as university complexes, and assumed to optimize competition.

Syria may be the second to last Arab country to join the wave of privatization, not without debate similar in part to the debates taking place in countries where the state is at the center of higher education: in terms of creating universities; guaranteeing undifferentiated free education; subjecting the university, through engineering, to major sociopolitical orientations and objectives; or managing the academic world and its corporatization. The transition to private universities in Syria is without doubt related to economic liberalization, which at present goes hand in hand with political authoritarianism (Hardy and Munns 2007).

In **Jordan**, six public universities coexist with twenty private ones with different status, all created from the early 1990s on.¹⁰ This is explained by the insufficient provision of public universities: in 1995, twelve private institutions hosted 25 percent of Jordanian students. Thus, Jordan appears as one of the pioneers among Arab countries in facilitating the most the establishment of private universities (Burke and Al-Waked 1997). Moreover, according to statistics from the 2007/2008 academic year, all Jordanian universities combined have welcomed 27,000 students from neighboring Arab countries and beyond. Has the increase in offer "democratized" access to universities? In 2007 was launched the National Campaign for Defending Student Rights (*Thabahtoon*) as a sign of protest against rising tuition fees, not only

in private universities, but also in public institutions where these costs represent about two thirds of revenues.¹¹

In 2005/2006, there were twenty-six public universities in **Sudan** and more than forty private higher education institutions. The various designations—“university,” “academy,” “institute,” “faculty”—do not allow us to differentiate between them.¹² In Sudan, this scaling up may be related to the specific dynamics of each *wilaya*.

In matters of higher education, **Egypt** is probably an extreme example, in more ways than one: by the size of its public system; by the political and social weight of expectations placed on a (less and less) free higher education, which is seen as a means to social advancement and which required the state to provide employment for graduates; and by the spread of the model, for better or worse, to a number of other Arab countries. In 2007, there were eighteen public universities and almost fifteen private ones in Egypt. The latter have all been founded after 1990, with the exception of the American University in Cairo (AUC). Beyond these numbers, it should be noted—and this is not a small matter—that private universities absorb no more than 8 percent of the student population. This proportion has changed little despite the increase in offer. It would rise to around 12 percent if we add private higher education institutes, but the differences between them and universities seem more (socially) marked than in the other countries described so far. Furthermore, the gap in tuition fees between private and public universities is considerable, which makes this aspect the main feature of the private sector in the country.

We also need to consider the logic of partial privatization of public universities; it increases with the introduction of the so-called "open universities" on campus geared toward students who do not meet the requirements for access to public programs. As for the so-called streams of excellence, they offer better quality services for costly fees, and without further

justification. The coexistence of these formulas on a single site—in this case the campus—raises again the issue of social and spatial diversity and segregation.

In the Egyptian example, the private could be thought of in relation to the public and to the various links that exist between scientific recognition, political legitimacy, and campus demographics. Mass universities may not offer the best conditions for the transmission of academic knowledge, but don't the "reduced models" risk a lack of recognition? The question is not so much that of an optimum size as that of the paradoxes of the transition from mass public universities, which have largely lost their excellence, to private universities, which are far from having achieved recognition and legitimacy. It seems that two standards are competing. One, and more obvious, is that of accredited diplomas—from foreign institutions for some students—and the corresponding distinction, privileged study conditions, and greater access to better jobs, et cetera. On the other hand, pending the reinvention of new criteria, if any, inherited standards sedimented in the social imagination seem to remain. In Egypt the model of Cairo University still applies. In characterizing this model (we will return to it later), we should remember three elements: a critical mass of teachers and students, an expanded range of disciplines, and campus life (Reid 1991).

If public education continues to be the norm in the case of Egyptian universities, the situation is apparently reversed in **Lebanon** where only *one* Lebanese public university (established in 1959) absorbs nearly 50 percent of students, with the rest divided among the country's many "private" universities. But if private education is the standard, we need to examine the diversity and long histories of some of the models. The establishment of universities in a country like Lebanon resembles a kind of a grid with multiple entries: to the public/private dichotomy is added that of community/nation. Their multiple and shifting crossings, and the way

the logic of profitability is applied, produce "generations" of universities. Other than the by-laws, it seems that the moments of creation of the institutions and of marking of public space are decisive.

The public/private taxonomy is simply not applicable in the case of universities in **Palestine**. Law 11 of 1998 on higher education "ratifies" three categories of universities: government (the Open University of Jerusalem financed by the Palestinian Authority), private (for profit, mainly the University of Jenin), and public (all others). This is an obscure taxonomy, explained both by a long and short history. The long one goes back to the early 1970s when the first Palestinian universities were established. They started in urban centers after the 1967 occupation and involved mostly wealthy families, municipalities, and local dignitaries, outside of any state supervision. These first institutions were institutes of higher education and colleges. All Palestinian universities could be called "private," they all view their role as serving the public interest, and all are "national" in the sense of "nationalism" (Romani 2003).

The short history is that of the establishment of the Palestinian Authority. It does not erase the previous period, but beyond centralization (a Ministry of Higher Education was set up in 1996) and political control of campuses, nationalism and private regulation seem to be articulated in new ways. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in exile, ensured part of the financing, which the Authority on site tends to reduce, resulting in a "pre-state privatization" characteristic of the Order of Oslo. The cost of registration doubled in relative terms between 1985 and 1995 in relation to purchasing power, although total or partial exemptions remain (for about 20 percent of students in every university).

It will be logical to conclude this inventory with an overview of private universities in the six countries of the **Gulf Cooperation Council** (the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain,

Oman), which constitute another "sub-region." This is where the "private higher education global revolution" (Altbach and Levy 2005) is in full force, operating in similar forms in the different countries, on the background of similar histories, often exhibiting similar paradoxes and spectacular forms. Moreover, the coordination between these countries—the Gulf University, the mutual recognition of diplomas and accreditation, and scholarships for students "from the region"—does not exclude competition between them, whether for political credit or in attracting students or international academic partnerships. Similarly, efforts and investments in university development should be analyzed from the perspective of study abroad policies (which are decreasing, but in what proportions?). In the pages that follow, we will try to address the issues raised by this global revolution.

We must first take into account how recent is the development of public universities—in fact of the university as an institution—in that region; the oldest, that of Kuwait, dates from 1966. Important to remember here is that nationals of those countries who had degrees and were charge of academic institutions were often part of the first generation of graduates from the universities established in the region.

The expansion of and investment in higher education as a profitable sector and/or as a political priority, was undoubtedly facilitated by oil revenues. It is this same revenue source that has left a mark on the field of higher education in the Gulf States (Gill 2008). The fact that Gulf nationals, with low levels of engagement in the private sector, are the preferred hires for public service, as well as the availability of better qualified and cheaper foreign labor force, both spell the need for quality university education in the region. From the years 2000 on, the Gulf countries have consistently engaged in the establishment of private universities (Coffman 2003), marked by the consequences from previous years. What relevant questions can we ask here?

At the outset, we can inquire into the meaning of public and private in the context of the Gulf countries, and can outline several factors. First, the recent and embryonic nature of the first universities in these countries suggests that "the invention of an academic tradition" is still in process. Moreover, it operates in a very different context of internationalization than that of the Maghreb, the Mashreq, and Egypt. Also different are the mechanisms of support and promotion of the pursuit of postsecondary studies, enabled by oil revenues, even if they do not make university education a vested right: if the cost of university studies is higher in private institutions, we have to look at the continuities and changes that mark the policies for student aid and internal and external grants. It is more a question of practice than right, but this practice—routinized, nationalized, “sovereign” in some way—benefits domestic students. The funds are indeed private, but one cannot ignore the strong incentives, or "encouragements," and open or hidden funding by public authorities to private universities.

In a country like the Sultanate of Oman, for example, the first public university, the Sultan Qaboos University, was founded in 1986 and a Ministry of Higher Education was established in 1994. Starting in 1999, two decrees authorized the creation of institutes, faculties, and private universities. There are six private universities in the country, while about twenty faculties have been founded in partnership with foreign universities. The incentives introduced by the Sultanate to promote private higher education include customs exemptions, land donations, and endowments by the state for up to 50 percent of capital. To this we should add the special princely donations as well as a number of grants that the ministry pays to students enrolled in private institutions. The most important destinations for students pursuing their studies abroad are Egypt (18 percent), Jordan (16 percent), the United States (7 percent), and India (6 percent).¹³

Helping financially a student with their studies at a private university also means subsidizing that institution and allowing it to achieve the comfortable financial balance required for a private firm. The two considerations are not mutually exclusive, but it remains difficult to determine the respective weight and priorities to which they correspond.

A third line of inquiry concerns the difficulty in categorizing the "princely foundations" (Dubai, Qatar): beyond public and private, one should examine these "organizations" as much from the perspective of management and professionalization as that of strategic aims evident from everyday practice as well as from the position of modern-day clientelism.

With these elements in mind, we return to our earlier question about the characteristics of the private sector in a context where oil revenues have ensured what the policies of democratization of higher education had aimed to achieve.

Another question would be to characterize higher education in states that are—in varying degrees and rhythm—"multinational" in terms of the populations they group together (citizens, more or less permanent foreign residents, "Bidoon"). This is the situation that the new private universities in the Gulf countries have inherited. A hybrid of several trends can be observed. The establishment of the first universities has responded to the desire to produce skilled national elite who would replace foreign workers. To achieve this, it is necessary to import foreign models. This is not new: one can think of the close ties with Egyptian or Jordanian academia. These links are still in place, but in competition with new destinations and new exporters of knowledge workers to the Gulf and of new definitions of quality (or lower quality). Not only teachers are imported, but universities as well. In some Gulf countries, such as the UAE (see Appendices 1 and 2) or Qatar, the demand—real or imagined—for permanent foreign residents is significant. Is it because of this demand that Indian (and Asian) institutions have been established, or because

of the workers' international competitiveness, or because of the effect of familiarity that characterizes these intense exchanges?

A final question concerns urbanization patterns and academic models. Earlier in this paper, we talked about campuses, and recent examples from the Gulf countries suggest that new models are being set up. Illustrative here is the Dubai International Academic City, for instance, "first free zone of university education," 100 percent privately owned, all earnings repatriated, and no taxes, as the information on its website clearly indicates.¹⁴ In Qatar, the Education City is another example of academic hub,¹⁵ a project of the Qatar Foundation. One wonders if these models will multiply. Despite their recent history, the cases of Gulf universities suggest that a new generation of universities may be about to emerge.

Questions and Areas for Research

From the inventory and attempts at typology outlined in the first part of this paper, several questions and potential research areas emerge, touching on diverse aspects: the effects of private universities on the production of academic knowledge; the logic of their implementation and operation as organizations; the question of whether their existence contributes anything new to the place of the university in the social world or in the life cycle of individuals and their experiences; the anthropology of these places/institutions.

As we demonstrated above, the range of relevant issues does not necessarily apply to all of the described situations. In some, inherited models predominate, whether public or private, national or community-based. They interconnect with more recent models, products of globalization, and several temporalities are thus also linked. In contrast, other situations are rather more homogeneous. To the connections between the private sector and the "privatized"

public sector corresponds an ambiguity that is more delicate to address: Whether we are concerned with questions of governance, knowledge production, social reproduction, or anthropology of place, aren't these issues shared, in part, by both the public and private sectors? The question remains open. All the more so if we consider higher education as a "system," a fact that is sometimes necessary to repeat given the paradigm shifts marking the work on this issue.

Hence, a final consideration: understanding the privatization of universities as a quasi-global phenomenon, and its variations in the Arab world, does not necessarily lead to adopting standardized grids for description and analysis. Or vocabulary. The terms and categories mobilized for the description and the wording of the legitimate and relevant questions are in themselves objects of study. Taking into account these limitations, we will attempt to identify some questions for discussion.

Original Models and Imitations

Delivering turnkey, relocated campuses, importing programs or degrees: most private universities or privatized academic programs in the Arab world promote imported models as an additional asset. To these are often added one or more foreign languages. First, one should not overlook how diverse these formulas are—a French- or an English-language program at the University of Cairo is not the same as at the Sorbonne of Abu Dhabi—and the question would be, rather, how to define quality. Second, there is no denying that such imported references raise questions that are perhaps more complex than those raised in the Anglo-Saxon world or on the scale of inter-European knowledge transfer (of students and scholars).

This has to do with language, but also with the "intellectual culture" acquired either during pre-university studies or more generally through popular culture shared among the

educated social groups. It is not hard to imagine that the importance of these factors varies across disciplines and knowledge. One can think of the possible parallels between medicine, business administration, and sociology. The question is less about culture as essence than about cultural policies. These are today manufactured with the help, in various ways, of new technologies and transnational actors. The transfer of academic knowledge today is certainly not divorced from various forms of circulation: the web, satellite channels, or travel.

It remains to be noted that knowledge transfers as such are not at all new. One can think of the conditions and contexts of the establishment of "pioneer" institutions such as the Syrian Protestant College, which would later become the AUB, or, in a colonial context, the University of Algiers, or the export of the Egyptian "model" to the Arab world. How are transfers of knowledge different today? Maybe it is the standards, methods of validation, and the sense of purpose that have changed.

Two complementary but opposite attitudes can be observed in this context, both common sense and understandable. The first, official and formal, is based on accreditation, quality assurance, and equivalences, and maintains that "the copy conforms to the original model." The second is more critical, denouncing the decline or the commodification of the original, and the creation of a "tropical" version of it. Certainly, more interesting is to observe the "relocation" of these models and how they are put into practice. Of concern here is as much the language of instruction, the academic ethos and standards as the content of knowledge or the organization of the academic year into semesters as well as the French *mastérisation* reform.¹⁶ (Foreign "jet professors" in the Gulf countries or indigenizing American diplomas in Egypt through private tutoring). As access to private programs or institutions using imported references is being

"valued" and valorizing both symbolically and commercially, it is not surprising that local (almost free) public education is devalued.

On these and other issues, the difficulty is that those who would critically assess the system are in fact its accomplices. Results-oriented evaluation methods that assess the success of globalized knowledge transfers could be replaced by a more realistic approach that is more open to interactions and unintended effects. Countering the mechanical procedures of accreditation and equivalency, the field of private higher education could be revived with effective research approaches that have been applied in the study of past similar cases and knowledge transfers.¹⁷

Patronage and Princely Sponsorship

Traditionally, and particularly in the North American model, prestigious universities have relied on patronage. This model has allowed the partial protection of the vocation of academic knowledge as a "public good," namely through the system of scholarships, and the promotion, even if only marginally, of ascending social mobility. In distinction from "a connection with businesses" that fund economically viable sectors, prestigious patronage capitalizes on the prestige of academic knowledge. Are such endeavors possible in the context of private universities in the Arab world? Is there a contemporary equivalent of the *waqf* system,¹⁸ which has historically supported educational institutions? For nearly a quarter century, organizations such as the World Bank have recommended expanding the share of student loans and grants to all university structures to the detriment of public funding and free education, or in the name of their "streamlining." But are altruistic philanthropy models replicable along the spectrum from humanistic liberalism to neoliberalism, and under what conditions? From the nineteenth to the

twenty-first centuries, are we talking about the same practice? Can the assistance of international donor agencies be a substitute for patronage?

One can inquire into, first, the capacity of patronage in the Arab world to alleviate in a tangible and sustainable way the social and financial costs of the privatization of universities; second, the lack of transparency that is sometimes hidden behind the label “non-profit university”; and third, the role of princely patronage in the founding of universities (Al-Akhwayn in Morocco) or in support of them (the Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Foundation, the Qatar Foundation). It is not easy to distinguish this kind of patronage, be it politico-symbolic or financial, from the state and its budget, especially in cases of companies that are as powerful as states (Aramco in Saudi Arabia). We also need to question the processes of "privatization" or “nationalization" of the public sector (the *makrumat* practice in Jordan, for instance), processes that are difficult to characterize, although they are embedded in practice, even if mainly in “public” universities. Perhaps we should question the modern forms of the "knowledge society.” Or question more generally the forms of support for access to private universities and see which classes benefit from positive discrimination, if there is any. In any case, it is in this area, and outside of the space of the campus, that some of the questions concerning the privatization of universities could be answered: in the agreed-upon efforts for expansion and quality of higher education, but also in the distribution of wealth and its uses.

Universities and Public Space: the Campus Experience

Does the Dubai Academic City look like Dubai? Campuses sometimes resemble nation-states. In addition to their political role and their importance in producing intellectuals, universities have marked space, both in metaphorical and material sense. Whether in the case of public universities

(in Algiers, Cairo, Amman) or of universities with long tradition (AUB, AUC) deeply embedded in urban space (as their history reminds us), the notion of a campus is not trivial. A space where life happens, a space for social and gender diversity, distinct from but open to the city, the campus has produced university cities and has transformed urban space. It is a place that fosters social experiences and, to a large degree, it is because of campuses that there is academic life and that university education is considered an important moment in the life of those concerned. At least, that is how generations of graduates have described their youth experiences in university campuses: political involvement, romantic relations, sports or artistic activities, meeting people from rural and urban backgrounds, and coexistence of the rich and the less rich.

In public universities the signs of spatial segregation that go along with partial privatization (quality of equipment, division of campuses) are sometimes visible and tangible. Furthermore, new and shared practices transcend borders. Access to some campuses is strictly controlled by public or private security (depending on the case), all the while campuses serve as commercial spaces for sponsors or advertisers, or as veritable shopping malls. This is precisely part of the logic of resource generation that universities are required to follow. Moreover, the campus architecture has had an extensive role to play in marking space politically and in producing autonomous urban dynamics: one only needs to observe, for example, the surrounding areas of the universities of Amman, Cairo, or AUB.

In the era of the "digital campus" and e-learning, what is the significance of universities without campuses? Or, what constitutes the modern campus? Conversely, what place does the campus occupy in the marketing of private universities? In recent years "higher education fairs" have taken place in all Arab countries, and an ethnographic study of these events would perhaps reveal some of the unwritten laws of this new market.

In terms of the new private universities, the issue of campus raises many questions that have to do with the quality of infrastructure and authorization criteria for construction, which have not prevented some universities to occupy for years temporary premises. What does the campus represent, and what are the models of reference? One cannot disregard the role of distinctive architectural elements: among them, the dome of Cairo University and the Sorbonne of Abu Dhabi, or the architectural distinctions between those buildings designed to be universities and other, makeshift premises reallocated for academic use. Taking advantage of real estate opportunities, some campuses are located far from urban centers, which prompts the question on the social and spatial dynamics that they generate, or not. Can we speak of “gated campuses” nestled in “gated communities”? The question of gender diversity and social class is also to be analyzed. Furthermore, campus exterior design deserves to be taken seriously, as the valorization of private universities requires signs of distinction and comfort. What are these signs, how are they manifested, and how is privilege displayed?

It is true that the very idea of university has been historically linked to the campus space. Hence, the importance of questioning both the need for this connection and what modern private universities owe to the models inherited from this connection. One more query is therefore pertinent: on campuses and the number criterion. As we have already asked: Highly populated universities may not offer the best conditions for the transmission of academic knowledge, but don't the "reduced models" risk a lack of recognition? The vagaries of the academic market, or the closure and opening of programs depending on demand—that is to say, the number of students enrolled at the beginning of the academic year—beg the same question. The exclusion of applicants, as practiced in universities with large student populations, is a social mechanism with a proven history. In contrast, in the case of low demand for private universities, what to do

with empty or oversized campuses? The question is not so much that of an optimum size as that of "the test of time," so to speak, or the expected lifespan of the different generations of private universities and the cycles they go through.

What Disciplines?

In the context of private universities in the Arab world, particularly those from the most recent wave, one can ask the following: Is there a closer relationship between private universities and particular disciplines of study? Conversely, are some disciplines resistant to privatization? For example, and subject to verification, few of the new private universities seem to offer training in educational science. Whether this is an example of a growth market or state sovereignty effect, both seem to converge. The same conclusion (also to be verified) can be reached with regards to the arts and the fine arts.

Two arguments underpin the question of disciplines: first, it seems obvious that the private sector favors programs that are highly regarded and rewarding, both symbolically and from the perspective of future job opportunities they give access to. We can ask if, by revalorizing some programs, the turn toward partial privatization in public universities results in a reclassification of knowledge (for example, the programs in law and commerce taught in foreign languages in some Egyptian universities). On the other hand, especially in the case of training that requires great investment in terms of infrastructure and equipment, the argument concerns the financial balance between investment and return. The question here is as much about patronage as about businesses likely to fund programs that are profitable for them in strictly economic terms.

Therefore, research specifically on the status of social science disciplines in private universities will be of interest. In the ongoing restructuring of knowledge and knowledge acquisition, the distinction—always there, but much more pronounced between "sciences that can lead to economic benefits and the rest"—suggests a new "hierarchy" of sciences. It is reflected both in financial capital and agreed-upon investments, as in the degree of social and symbolic capital of researchers and educators. It sketches perhaps a possible convergence between the "humanities" and the "social sciences." In the era of the knowledge economy, "no humanities without humanism" is both a slogan and a statement against which we need to review the transfers of academic knowledge and the way they operate in the private/privatized university structures. The (skeptical) question is whether private universities have the ability to reinvent a "non-commercial" appeal of the social sciences.

Teaching *and* research?

In the process of adoption of globalized standards, the new connections between teaching and research are pertinent, given that research has to vie for funding. Do private universities in the Arab world adhere to this part of the script? Of interest here are disciplines and specialties, investments in research, but also the conditions of knowledge transfer. Also at issue are those universities with the means to balance this transfer and mitigate the effects of a brain drain in the region that is yet to show signs of reversal. Historical legacy also comes into play. University rankings take for granted the link between research and teaching, while the recent history of universities in the Arab world suggests other connections: building a national society, opening access to higher education to as many people as possible, and training of professionals depending on universities, available resources, or disciplines.

How is research practiced in universities, what is the meaning attributed to this practice, what are its aims? What research possibilities exist in institutions with sufficient financial resources? The proliferation of research centers in universities begs these questions, though it is not always evident what falls under this category. Here the distinction between science and humanities should again be drawn, given that sciences require significant resources. Beyond the question of resources, it is also important to look at the purpose of scientific research in Arab countries. Is it development, international competition, or training? Is it a question of foundational or applied research, and what meaning are these concepts invested with? Illustrative in this regard are the dozen *al-Marakiz Tamayuz al-bahthi* (Distinctiveness Research Centers)—“centers of excellence” connected to the Saudi Ministry of Higher Education; such investigation would perhaps answer many of the questions asked.

Finally, and returning to private universities, can we establish their typology based on their research activities, and does the way research findings are disseminated—if at all—allow access to international visibility, as defined by the rankings? This is one of the limitations of internationalization (see below).

Political Legitimacy and Scholarly Legitimacy

A consideration of globalization and the broad application of quality assurance procedures should not neglect the possible relationship between "scholarship" and "policy" or between technique and policy. The rankings, even the regional ones, do not seem decisive either. How can we, then, define a "good" private university in the Arab world?

In other words, the question is that of "reputation" and of building both a sociopolitical and scholarly reputation. Here again, time is a factor, because reputations are not built overnight.

Which models do the different "generations" of private universities refer to? Indigenous or globalized models? In those Arab countries where universities appeared relatively early (Egypt, Lebanon) are legacy models still a reference? And in countries lacking such models, what serves as reference?

Under the heading "Scholarly Legitimacy and Political Legitimacy" could also be grouped the diverse debates that the topic of private universities sparks in societies where they are present. One example is Egypt in the 1990s when both public and private universities were decried. The former, for their low scientific performance, but also their excessive number of students; because of the access they allowed to academic knowledge, they were considered a necessary evil, which did not preclude the idea that public universities could be reformed. Other kinds of critiques were directed at private universities, still in development at the time, which were judged in terms of their commercial orientation. Isn't paying for one's studies the equivalent of "buying a diploma"? These same years were marked by the court trials arguing that private universities or privatized academic programs were unconstitutional.

The terms of the debate have changed, but the links between politics and science remain stronger than is suggested by conventional approaches or by higher education specialists. We should examine the various connections between political legitimacy and scientific recognition that exist in different situations and experiences. Furthermore, we should examine the objective criteria of excellence, but not only that: we should also be attentive to the procedures for the creation of what can only be called "reputation."

Provisional Conclusions

As a way to close this inquiry, we can briefly consider the ways in which the picture we just drew would likely renew discussions about higher education. With its diversity, both past and present, with its inter-Arabic, but also international, interactions, higher education in the Arab world suggests a series of questions.

The first concerns the internationalization of postsecondary education, usually doubling as evidence and "new evidence" that coincides with globalization. This leads to questioning the current forms of transfer of academic knowledge—which are far from new—compared to older ones. What are their constitutive elements and their influence? Is it a question of degrees (such as the LMD), programs, students, teachers, or modes of governance? All of these elements enter into the equation, no doubt, but in what proportions? And how would these differences in proportion affect the proliferation of “centers-exporters” of knowledge or the consolidation of the hegemonic character of such centers at the expense of peripheries that would remain importers or produce “local” knowledge?

We should consider the actors of this internationalization—the states that have not disappeared, private capital—and the cumulative effects of their interconnections. We should add another group: the experts. This group is ambiguous, certainly, but in this case it refers to those circles that forge and disseminate new languages. What is their position between states and capital? The new discourse about globalization prompts an internal study of the roles played by international organizations—the OECD, the World Bank, but also, in retrospect, UNESCO—whose role is certainly not monolithic, but it produces important consistencies. We also need to examine the links between globalization and privatization. Is not the latter sometimes seen as a kind of understatement of the former?

A second set of questions relates to the state of research on higher education. It is “knowledge about knowledge” as well as “knowledge about one’s self” for those who are researching the issue, having themselves been through the experience. The idea is not to make reflexivity a general rule (although...). It is rather to probe the varying distance between social science research and policy-oriented research (in terms of scholarly traditions, the researcher’s position in the social world). Finally, as with any research topic that deals with notions of "system" and/or agency, the dominance of macro-analyses (political, economic) over micro research should also be studied.

It may be too early to inquire into the subject “university.” Presently, the university is a place, a moment in one’s life, and the means of acquiring qualifications in order to get a better job. It is also a dream for those who do not have access to education. All of these themes are legitimate subjects for research.

Notes

1. In the same book Musselin writes: "Change the role of the state, transform universities into organizations, increase the role of stakeholders, adopt the logic of privatization, and position themselves in a global perspective."

2. See the Arrêté du 14 Jomada Ethania 1429 correspondant au 18 juin 2008 fixant le cahier des charges en vue de délivrer l’autorisation de création d’un établissement privé de formation supérieure, in the *Journal officiel de la République Algérienne*, no. 48, August 24, 2008, 15-26, <http://www.joradp.dz/FTP/jo-francais/2008/F2008048.pdf> (accessed August 28, 2015).

3. Consult the website of Morocco's Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Professional Training at: <http://www.enssup.gov.ma/> (accessed August 28, 2015).
4. Consult the website of the Al-Akhawayn University at: <http://www.aui.ma/en/> (accessed August 28, 2015).
5. Consult the website of Tunis' Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research at: <http://www.mes.tn> (accessed August 28, 2015).
6. Mauritania has one public university (established in Nouakchott in 1981); in 2008 was planned the establishment of an international Lebanese university.
7. Consult the website of the Libyan Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research at: <http://www.higheredu.gov.ly/> (accessed August 28, 2015).
8. <http://syria-news.com/edu>, September 16, 2008 [link discontinued].
9. <http://www.mhe.gov.sy/servers/gallery/20071211-100817.pdf> [link discontinued].
10. Consult the website of the Jordanian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research at: <http://www.mohe.gov.jo/> (accessed August 28, 2015).
11. See the archived documentation of the Arabic Network for Human Rights Information: <http://anhri.net/jordan/> (accessed August 28, 2015).
12. Based on statistics posted on the website of the Soudan Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research at: <http://www.mohe.gov.sd/Statistics/05-06.htm> [link discontinued].
13. Consult the website of the Oman Ministry of Higher Education at: <http://www.mohe.gov.om/> (accessed August 28, 2015).
14. Available at: <http://www.diacedu.ae/> (accessed August 28, 2015).
15. The website of the Qatar Foundation is available at: <http://www.qf.org.qa/> (accessed August 28, 2015).

16. A 2009 reform of the French teacher training system, which introduced the requirement of completing the equivalent of a master's degree in order to qualify to be a teacher.

17. These remarks are from a teaching practice during a paid, French-language program within a public university in Egypt. It is evident here that this is not the original model nor a degraded blueprint copy. What teachers, students, and the educational materials they use create together in practice is much more complex to describe.

18. A system of endowments in the Islamic world.

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Appendix I
European Universities in the Gulf
Excerpt from
“The EU-GCC Partnership: Cooperation in Higher Education”
Kuwait University, March 10–11, 2009
Taking Stock of the EU-GCC Cooperation in Education, Science, and Technology:
Conference Overview Paper

University Cooperation

In the recent past, Gulf countries have started to liberalize their once state-controlled educational sectors. Private groups, among them many European ones, have been setting up an increasing number of universities, schools, and training institutes in the region. Some European universities established their own campuses in the Gulf, others keep a presence within a Gulf university or concluded specific cooperation agreements with Gulf universities, e.g. with regards to joint academic programs or research activities. It is important to note that Europe has been lagging behind Asian and, particularly, US institutions. The following list provides a few examples:

Universität Bonn and Technische Universität München – Abu Dhabi University
Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen – Sultan Qaboos University
Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen – German University of Technology in Oman
Paris-Sorbonne Université – Sorbonne University Abu Dhabi
Génopole d’Evry – King Saud University and King Abdulaziz University
Haute école des études commerciales – King Abdulaziz University
Université Versailles-St. Quentin – Universities of Al Hail and Tabouk
Institut Nationale de Recherche Agronomique – King Saud University
Freie Universität Berlin – Gulf Research Center
University of Erlangen-Nurmburg – Gulf Research Center (MoU)
Sciences Po – Gulf Research Center
Sciences Po – Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences
Sciences Po – University of Kuwait (cooperation within the framework of the Gurogolfe project of Sciences Po)
Sciences Po – American University of Sharjah (cooperation within the framework of the Gurogolfe project of Sciences Po)
Wismar University – Maritime University Dubai
Berlin Institute of Technology – Abu Dhabi University
L’École des Ponts Paris Tech – Abu Dhabi University
Exeter University – Zayed University, Abu Dhabi (under discussion)
Exeter University – American University of Sharjah (cooperation agreement under discussion)
London School of Economics (LSE) – Kuwait University/KISR (collaboration in framework of Kuwait Gulf Program at LSE)
British University in Dubai
London Business School – Dubai
Middlesex University – Dubai
Partner universities of the Mohammed Bin Rashed Al Maktoum Foundation of Dubai:
London Business School, Cranfield University, l’ENA, INSEAD, University of

Navarra (IESE Business School), Oxford University (Said Business School), Cambridge (Judge Business School), Sciences-Po.

Source: <http://www.caa.ae/caaweb/>

Appendix II

List of the Fifty-Nine Accredited Private Higher Education Institutions in the United Arab Emirates

<u>Name</u>	<u>Name (Arabic)</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>ABU DHABI UNIVERSITY</u>	<u>جامعة أبوظبي</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AJMAN UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY</u>	<u>جامعة عجمان للعلوم والتكنولوجيا</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AL AIN INTERNATIONAL AVIATION ACADEMY</u>	<u>أكاديمية العين الدولية للطيران</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AL AIN UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY</u>	<u>جامعة العين للعلوم والتكنولوجيا</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AL GHURAIR UNIVERSITY</u>	<u>جامعة الغرير</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AL HOSN UNIVERSITY</u>	<u>جامعة الحصن</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AL KHAWARIZMI INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE</u>	<u>كلية الخوارزمي الدولية</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AMERICAN COLLEGE OF DUBAI</u>	<u>الكلية الأمريكية في دبي</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN DUBAI</u>	<u>الجامعة الأمريكية في دبي</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN THE EMIRATES</u>	<u>الجامعة الأمريكية في الإمارات</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF SHARJAH</u>	<u>الجامعة الأمريكية في الشارقة</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>BOSTON UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE FOR DENTAL RESEARCH & EDUCATION</u>	<u>معهد جامعة بوسطن للبحوث والتعليم الأسنان في طب</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>BRITISH UNIVERSITY IN DUBAI</u>	<u>الجامعة البريطانية في دبي</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>CANADIAN UNIVERSITY OF DUBAI</u>	<u>الجامعة الكندية في دبي</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>COMPUTER COLLEGE</u>	<u>كلية الحاسوب</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>DUBAI MEDICAL COLLEGE FOR GIRLS</u>	<u>كلية دبي الطبية للبنات</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>DUBAI PHARMACY COLLEGE</u>	<u>كلية دبي للصيدلة</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>DUBAI POLICE ACADEMY</u>	<u>أكاديمية شرطة دبي</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>DUBAI SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>كلية دبي للإدارة الحكومية</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>EMIRATES ACADEMY OF HOSPITALITY MANAGEMENT</u>	<u>أكاديمية الإمارات لإدارة الضيافة</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>EMIRATES AVIATION COLLEGE AEROSPACE AND ACADEMIC STUDIES</u>	<u>كلية الإمارات للطيران - الدراسات وعلوم الطيران الأكاديمية</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>EMIRATES CANADIAN UNIVERSITY</u>	<u>الجامعة الإماراتية الكندية</u>	<u>Web Link</u>
<u>EMIRATES COLLEGE FOR MANAGEMENT AND</u>	<u>كلية الإمارات للإدارة وتكنولوجيا</u>	<u>Web Link</u>

<u>INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY</u>	المعلومات	
<u>EMIRATES COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY</u>	كلية الإمارات للتكنولوجيا	Web Link
<u>EMIRATES INSTITUTE FOR BANKING AND FINANCIAL STUDIES</u>	معهد الإمارات للدراسات المصرفية والمالية	Web Link
<u>EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE</u>	الكلية الأوروبية الدولية	Web Link
<u>FATIMA COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIENCES</u>	كلية فاطمة للعلوم الصحية	Web Link
<u>FUJAIRAH COLLEGE</u>	كلية الفجيرة	Web Link
<u>FUJAIRAH NATIONAL UNIVERSITY</u>	جامعة الفجيرة الوطنية	Web Link
<u>GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY</u>	جامعة جورج ميسون	Web Link
<u>GULF MEDICAL UNIVERSITY</u>	جامعة الخليج الطبية	Web Link
<u>HAMDAN BIN MOHAMMED E-UNIVERSITY</u>	جامعة حمدان بن محمد الإلكترونية	Web Link
<u>HORIZON INTERNATIONAL FLIGHT ACADEMY, AL AIN</u>	الأكاديمية الدولية للطيران - أفق	Web Link
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