Toward a sociology of the Moroccan university[1]

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Summary

Rahma Bourqia, *a sociologist and university president, is attempting to present, in the following programmatic study, the shapes, investigation fields and the questionings that are likely to set landmarks for sociology of the Moroccan university. This sociology becomes more necessary as analyses studies on the Moroccan university are scarce and rarely bear on its functioning; the social morphology of its actors; their itineraries; perceptions and the values they hold.*

The successive reforms of education, the public policies in this regard, and the necessary readjustments implied by the implementation of these reforms, as well as their mode of appropriation by the actors, imply reflection and research. The university organization may constitute its subject.

The present contribution attempts to set the boundaries for the construction of a sociological research subject, that is to say, the Moroccan university, in order to raise some questionings for debate over the university system, and to set forth, in a schematic way, the outlines of an agenda for future research works.

1. Towards a university that generates thought about itself

A sociology of the Moroccan university is dependant on the production of analytic studies bearing on its functioning, the social morphology of actors at play within it, their courses, practices and perceptions regarding their work, as well as values. Analytical publications on the Moroccan university and its actors are scarce and few works have been published. Some of these studies were carried out a few years ago; they deal mainly with students[1]; but the university as an organization, or the teachers as a professional body have not raised enough interest to constitute a matter of research within a sociology of organizations or a sociology of professions.

A certain number of reports[2] and some writings on the university do exist, but they do not constitute an important accumulation of knowledge about this university. It is obvious that the sociological research on the university suffers the impact of the shortage witnessed by the social sciences as a whole.

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On the other hand, if the university does not constitute a field of analytical and sociological research and reflection, it is nonetheless the object of common sense and media discourse. The press reports on events taking place within university campuses such as clashes between student factions, an injustice committed toward a student, a misdeed committed by a teacher, a critical commentary of declarations made by a high member of staff in charge of education, a controversy regarding a decision taken by the ministry, etc. In the absence of analytical and objective studies on the university, of sound knowledge on the university system, its internal logic, its functioning and practices of its actors, a negative image on the university predominates, reflected by the media through facts of a sensational nature[3].

Sociology of the university would aim at decoding the internal logic of the institution, its functioning, its orders and hierarchies, and to unfold the functioning of its actors, their representations, their behavior towards their work, how they perceive their function, values they hold, etc. On another stand, sociology of the university implies interrogations on the interaction between the university institution and its actors and between this institution and society at large.

Still, the Moroccan university does not witness the development of a sociology that would aim at it as an object of research. It does not generate theories either on itself or on its models. In the Moroccan context, even when actors express themselves with regard to the university, they replicate sayings of the common sense that are but genuine general impressions on this university. In this way, the objectified word that is sound, construed and based on the outcome of sociological knowledge is but rare. One may ask questions regarding the reasons that have led to such a fact.

In fact, there would be difficulties hindering the production of knowledge on the university. Three factors may explain this reality.

The first factor is inherent to the fact that those who should be in charge of producing knowledge on the university are the academics themselves, that is to say, research workers in the social sciences and university sociologists. There would be a difficulty due to reflexivity and a look back in retrospect when attempting to construct knowledge, as the actor is at the same time part of the institution and considers himself as the subject of research. Such a state often drives even the research workers who express themselves in the press on the university to produce a discourse of unsound judgments, regarding the reforms and functioning. Owing to the hastiness characterizing the questions posed by journalists, a faculty would have a tendency to produce instant knowledge, scientifically unchecked, where the boundaries between scientific knowledge and that of common sense are blurred. Thus, the actors stand out of the university system that is the object of discourse.

The second factor relates to the fact that the university is a concentrate of faculty who form a professional body. The latter may show reluctance regarding the exercise of being an object of knowledge. We noted that, during sociological fieldwork where the objects of study were categories of lower social classes, respondents would answer the questionnaires, as they would respond to the inquirers' interviews. The more the inquirers move upward towards middle and upper class categories, the more difficult it becomes for the sociologist to get cooperation from respondents.

Those who dared to take for an object of knowledge a professional body through reflection had to deal with resistance from that body.

Michel Foucault's work[4] on the health system was not accepted well enough by the medical workers body. He dared introduce an epistemology of medical studies and aim through reflection at the medical power and its "sacred" body. Works achieved by Pierre Bourdieu[5] bearing on university faculty as an academic body, especially his book titled "*L'Homo Academicus*", did not escape that body's reaction. Fellow feeling that is perceptible among a body of professionals does not accept the intrusion of knowledge to deal with it as an object of knowledge. In one of his texts, Bourdieu says: *"On sait que les groupes n'aiment guère ceux qui 'vendent la mèche', surtout peut être lorsque la transgression ou la trahison peut se réclamer de leurs valeurs les plus hautes. Les mêmes qui ne manqueraient pas de saluer comme 'courageux' ou 'lucide' le travail d'objectivation s'il s'appliquait à des groupes étrangers et adverses seront portés à jeter le soupçon sur les déterminants de la lucidité spécial que revendique l'analyse de son propre groupe"*[6]. Knowledge about the functioning of a professional body is perceived as an intrusion in that body's '*secret*'. It is true that investigation methods and techniques used by sociologists in their studies take the shape and character of an examination. They remain, however, a means to unfold points of view and opinions, and consequently to grasp social groups' perceptions on their contexts and institutions.

The third factor is relating to an epistemological difficulty. The latter was pointed to by Pierre Bourdieu. The sociologist, who is an academic, should establish a relationship based on impartiality and objectivity towards his object, the university in this case, in order to study it. Familiarity with this space of professional belonging and with the daily academic practice may hinder the sociological knowledge and deviate the sociological reading towards a reading of the familiar. There is, here, as Bourdieu puts it: "*la difficulté d'instaurer cette relation de proximité rompue et restaurée*"[7]. In other words, in order to generate a sociological knowledge on the university, one should break up with proximity and at the same time make use of that readily accessible understanding to conceive of the object of knowledge.

Since knowledge and analysis of the university as an institution and that which they bring forth in terms of critical conscience are dimmed by factors of familiarity and epistemological difficulty, the university as an object of sociological knowledge is yet to be constructed. This implies responsibility that would drive the sociologist to engage in a reflection on the intellectual process of construction of that object, in order to submit his own point of view to a socio-analysis and avoid thus assumptions and presumptions.

It should be stressed, however, that when one studies the university institution to which he/she is affiliated, whatever the degree of impartiality and objectivity adopted, one cannot get rid of a measure of standardization. A university that aims at development, change and improvement, calls in perspective upon being a standard university. The academic research worker embarks on work that links reflection to action. This would lead us to ask the question: how should reforms be approached? Is there one model for reform or many?

2. Thinking the reform

Sociology of the university reform would bear on its history, content, launching as well as on the discourse that develops around this reform. It is obvious that this is an investigation field that would unfold to us information regarding continuity and breaks witnessed by the various reforms the Moroccan educational system has undergone since independence of the country. Without attempting to go through exhaustive analyses of the university reforms, one may ponder, in a sketchy way, upon four aspects of theses reforms: discourse and perception; the practical reality of reform; its history; and the vector of the present reform, that is to say, training for professionalization.

At the level of the discourse, one may wonder what meaning is given to the notion of reform.
The perception held by actors of the system regarding the reform; the meaning given to it; as well as the discourse developing around this notion are worthy of study and analysis in the Moroccan context.

There is first, of all, the meaning given to it by common sense. The notion of reform (*islah*) is used in a repetitive manner, sometimes assuming an inflation character, in the discourse of common sense regarding education and higher education in particular. Used extensively by different discourses of politicians, actors and media, the notion of reform ends up by being popularized and impoverished as to its mobilizing meaning for change[8].

The reform generates also a discourse conveyed at one time by politicians, at another time by actors in the field. In general, the reform is perceived not as a process and means for setting up academic practices, but rather as a series of texts heralding it: Charter; law; pedagogical standards; etc. In other words, it lays away from the actors considered in their diversity. Perceived as being distant from the actors and out of their reach, the reform appears at one time as bearing an apologetic color by those who were involved in the conception of its founding texts, and at another time assuming a critical approach by those who consider themselves as standing out of its conception. We have those who defend it and those who are critical about it. In general, the current discourse on the reform that is conveyed even by academic actors is perceived as being besmirched by this very discourse.

Those who criticize it do not see it as a continuing process of change involving responsibility from all the actors, but as an abstract notion or a set of ideas that may be put to play outside the actors' action. Such an idealized perception of the reform is pregnant with frustrations and hopes that, if not met, would end in deception and attitudes characterized by passivity or dissatisfaction.

A certain discourse imputes the slackness of the reforms to the failure of the Charter. However, the latter deals only with the most important orientations and leading ideas that solve the questions and stakes at play in education, but not with their implementation. Between the promulgation of orientations by the Charter and the impact the leading ideas of this Charter would have on the classroom, that is, on the student, there exists a whole series of measures and parameters taking place in the process. The latter comprises policies; statement of orientations into action plans; their management; level of competency among the actors, their aptitudes; degree of motivation and level of mobilization; as well as the

whole set of devices put to action for the evaluation of effects. However, what is often subject of the discourse bears only on the two extreme ends of a chain, starting with the Charter at one end and the output of the university at the other end. This output is quite often regarded in the discourse of popular common sense as amounting only to the "production of joblessness".

Practically, putting to work the reform, which is after all a philosophy and a conception to lead the university system toward substantial changes, would come against tendencies for centralization empowered through ministry memos and decisions, as well as by the actors' inclination to cling to the established routine that preserves for them a state of *status quo*. Transfer that would take place from the center to the university is a process that implies a change of procedures; texts; and most of all a change in the way of doing things as well as an awareness for mobilization. These do not always take place instantaneously.

On another hand, the reform might run into the fact of serving as a hostage in a process of negotiations between actors defending their interests or attempting to maintain the established order that is often associated with gains and achievements (*mouktassabat*). More, institutional appropriation cannot occur in the absence of the concerned actors who would insufflate into the university a reformation spirit that could grasp the idea of continual improvement of the system and that of the reform on a daily basis, with regard to the management issues, the contents of training programs and the act of teaching. Appropriation of the reform means in this case that this reform would be no more a mere notion in the discourse.

In general, we notice that since the present reform went into force, it seems to have gained a certain acceptance within the university, since all the actors concerned have adhered to it. However, one may raise questions as to the perception these actors hold regarding it, and to what extent it has become in daily practice an impetus toward a change being triggered by a mobilization creative of reforming dynamics that would speed up rhythm for a perceptible shift. Only a sociological study on the discourse conveyed on the reform and its perception would ultimately unfold elements for an answer to this question.

Regarding the history of reforms since the country's independence, it is obvious that the successive educational policies adopted have had an impact on the present situation of the universities. The main characteristic of these policies is discontinuity. The political orientations and the governing style would change with each minister in charge of the department of education. In other words, every change of minister would enter the system into a period of transition, if not of hesitation, a fact that stretches changes of the system over time. Reforms would sometimes turn into insignificant amendments that would be renewed in a recurring but different manner. The most important break in this evolution was marked by the elaboration of the Charter which delineated the overall orientations for the educational reform in general, and those of the university in particular. This Charter became a web for reforms during the last ten years.

Prior to the Charter, the university went through many tentative reforms that yielded but partial changes at the level of the university system. At the end of the 19s, the Moroccan university, as well as the educational system in general, would show failures that called for

intervention to set up measures for increasing output and efficiency. Adoption of the Charter that was elaborated thanks to a process of political consensus, constituted a further step towards a reform of the university system. The law 01.00 would be enacted in 2000 to set up the orientations of the Charter. The reform that went into force in 2003 with the introduction of the LMD system and conveyed a relative autonomy to the universities has enabled the latter to diversify their offer for training programs and improve their management system. A general evaluation of the pedagogical impact of the reform on the outcome at institutional level, carried out in 2006, pointed out that despite improvements made at the level of university system, phenomena of school leaving and wastage in the non-regulated system (students admission without exam) are still persistent. The Urgency Plan (Plan d'Urgence), providing for the universities over the period: 2009-2012, makes of the fight against school leaving one of its major objectives.

Thus, stumbling of reforms since the creation of the first university has been due to a variety of factors, to the complexity of reform processes as well as to the tortuousness of discontinuity. Missions assigned to the Moroccan university after independence, that is, higher rank personnel training in particular are now put to questioning. During the last years, the university is called forth to train for professions and meet thus the needs of businesses and companies. The economic model, which tends to be dominant nowadays, forces professionalization onto the universities.

At the level of the present vector of the reform, there is the precept of professionalization, which registers as part of the economic imperatives under pressure from a job market in need of appropriate profiles. Such an orientation is worthy of meditation.

Globalization has contributed to changing the status of education and that of the knowledge generation mode[9]. Other actors, in addition to those affiliated to the university system participate in the production of this knowledge: firms; groups of interest; etc. The university has to meet the expressed needs of firms and to requests for research on demand. Hence, the university comes under pressure to produce instant knowledge. Such a new state of facts, without seeing there a tendency to merchandizing education and knowledge, creates a requirement that does not go without generating tensions between those who have embarked on this new trend and those who would try to safeguard the established order.

At present, under pressure owing to a certain idea of "university crisis" and to an economic market that does not make room enough for laureates, the university is attempting to give up to the thrust of professionalization. It is necessary to define the meaning and content conceded to the notion of professionalization that has become a requirement in the present reform. One should however, make a distinction between the institutions of vocational training and the university. Bridges have to be set between the two systems in order to safeguard the principle of lifelong training. If the first type trains for professions, the university educates for academic knowledge where, through specific methods of learning, students learn how to turn this knowledge into a "how to be" and a practical "know how". If the university is undergoing reformation at present, it is for the renewal of academic knowledge, of its learning methods and for its ability to place its students in practical situations. A novel conception of university education and training should side neither with professionalism to the utmost that would drain it of its essence and reason of being, nor

with a dull academism that would impoverish it because of its reluctance to be brought to questioning. Some dose of equilibrium has to be sought to ground academic knowledge, practical know how and "how to be" in the heart of learning at the university.

On another hand, if the economic model[10] and professionalization as its corollary form steering lines that are at the heart of university reforms, they leave behind the social sciences and humanities, which owing to their nature, are not malleable enough to embark on that bound for professionalization.

Reform of the social sciences and humanities[11] relates more to the contents, knowledge updating and renewal of learning methods than to professionalization. The risk of subduing disciplines generally taught in a directive manner, often through dictation and by means of non-renewed knowledge, to forced professionalization would yield a mediocre vocational training and would consequently cause prejudice to the university and cast discredit on university training.

3. Thinking reforms over in relation with actors

Changes have occurred since the Charter went into force and law 01.00 enacted since. The LMD system was put to work in 2003. A sort of culture of continuing reform is on track since; in that, five years after this system was established, attempts are still made to improve it with regard to contents of training programs, and to conceive of standardization to set minima of abilities required to enroll in a given discipline, as far as the non-regulated system is concerned[12].

The urgency program (*plan d'urgence*), elaborated for the four-year period (2009-2012) at the national level and set forth for each university, introduces contracting, management by projects and a series of measures for improving the training offer. Improvements address infrastructure, reinforcement of cross-modules: language teaching, mainly French that remains the language of teaching in many disciplines; methods of work at the university; expression and communication techniques and computer science. Some initiatives emanating from university staff and faculty are put to work. All the measures stated in the Urgency Plan raise questions as to the extent to which these measures have found ear among, and massive implication on the part of, the actors.

For the implementation of reforms, some consideration has to be paid to the way subjectivity builds up among the actors in their experience and actual life at the university. Sociology of university experience should raise questions about the actual life of these actors within the institution. "*It is about a general sociology the aim of which is to yield an analysis of the schooling system stemming from analytical interpretation and theoretically built up on the grounds of subjective experience of the actors*"[13]. This aspect has an impact on the running of the system and its output. Reforms are not to confine themselves to leading ideas and regulating texts that are, nevertheless, important for initiating any reform. In addition, they have to take into consideration also the perception held by the actors regarding reforms, and how they apply them in their positive reach and their perverse effects. Reforms have thus to be conceived of with actors present in mind.

3.1. The students

The students constitute a body of actors that is most important in the university system. A sociology of university youth should consider not only social conditions of the students and their milieu, but also their mode of socialization; the relationship teacher-learner and its impacts on training; as well as the degree of their feeling of belonging to the university.

Accessing the university is a lived experience. The latter might be either positive or negative. It is a test of training, learning and education. What effect has this passage on the student's personality? What impact does it leave on his/her vision about the world, society and the self? Does he/she who enters the university become a different person when he/she leaves it? In what way?

All these questions are worthy of consideration through empirical studies. These would eventually shed light on the nature of university students socialization through the devices put to work for welcoming, attending to, following up and officering their activities. Socialization as well as coaching of students should be subjected to questioning in order to assess the loss to be made for in the education of a student in case this socializing process presents failures.

The institution of education, in this case the university, contributes in changing socially the individual person. It would be interesting to assess that change undergone by students in mass university institutions. What is noticeable through observation is that an elite of the most brilliant amongst the students, succeed to make out their way and escape the effect of mass enrollments that we find in institutions of law, economics and social science. This leads us to wonder about integration or lack of it of such students in society after their passage at the university.

In the experience of such actors, the social conditions of these students as actors have to be kept in mind: their individual heritage as well as conditions and constraints of the university system. How does the student build up his singularity amidst these constraints?

The students enroll in the university loaded with their differentiated social inheritance: origin; cultural heritage; belonging to a social class; linguistic codes; belonging to literate or analphabet family; etc. All this comes across university campus conditions, their welcoming structures and modes of integration in university life conditions. A sociology dealing with university experience would analyze actual constraints and the way students build up personality in relation with these constraints, in order to find out why this experience turns out to be positive and beaming for some of them, and dull for others.

François Dubet wonders about the way pupils grow up at school. He notices that some of them make out of themselves school, "others would seek shelter behind a ritualism granting them survival in a system, while others grow up against school, being unable to cope with imposed difficulties; they refuse them"[14]. Thus, a sociology of students

experience at the university would shed light on the varying itineraries of students and show why these variations exist. Through observation in the field, at least three categories may be found: there is an elite of students that stands apart by the type of training chosen and by the selective system they embarked on. Some of these may be found in the non-regulated system as well, where they stand as a group who knew how to make profit of their passage to university through distinction, rewarded after graduation by professional insertion and integration into society. These are those who make themselves thanks to the university.

There is a mass of students who gets access to the non-selective system, handicapped sometimes by linguistic inabilities to attend higher studies and showing a lesser degree of motivation as well as a feeling of belonging among the less gifted. These would go through their passage to university in a passive way.

Another category is constituted by a minority of students who are mobilized in ideological conflicts and who act as the spokesmen for contestation. In this case, socialization does not go through the university but by groups of peers adhering to ideological beliefs that are active within the university (*fasa'il*). Members of such a group forge their personality against the university and adhere to ideologies they consider as their school of thought and education. They do keep however ambiguous relations with the university.

Thus, the interest shown for sociology of the students world is an interest that bears on the educational process of a whole youth who have had access to higher education and who represent the elite of the future.

3.2.   Faculty

 Reform would achieve forecast yields only through putting to questioning the traditional activities of the teachers and imperatives of a changing university system. How is the profession organized in university practice? How the hierarchy of statuses is put to work? How is the practice of the profession regulated?

Concerning the teachers' itineraries and practices, no study has been ever carried out regarding the history of hiring modes at the Moroccan university and their impact on the diversity of teaching profiles, the required level of competence, the academic authority and the degree of implication. Since the creation of the first university, the diversity of successive hiring modes has resulted in a diversity of teachers' profiles in terms of competency and levels of implication in the profession. Recruiting dictated by needs for teachers to keep the university institution running during the first creations preceded peer recruitment (department). This went along in the 90s with recruitment of some jobless doctorate holders to unable them integrate the newly established university institutions. It is only since the 1997 reform that a process of selection by committees was established, comprising internal as well as external members.

The statuses of assistant professor; entitled professor; and professor of higher education are defined in legal texts. Tasks that should be performed by each category remain,

however, a matter of local practice, sometimes peculiar to each institution. A newly hired teacher may be appointed for magisterial lecturing. Rank hierarchy, which is in principle a hierarchy of experience and competence, is in general ignored in favor of a kind of equality dictated by the "academic politically correct", which is commonly shared and considers that all teachers have the same level of competence.

The idea of academic freedom, which is at the heart of any university system, turns out to be a kind of voluntarism of the actors at the practical level. There are teachers who innovate, test, make use of new findings in their way of teaching and participate fully to university life. Others would take much pleasure in a routine[15] maintaining thus comfort of the least effort.

A peer control that would act as an authority over the allotment of subjects taught may be lacking, leaving thus the least experienced teachers to their lot, suffering lack of advice from those who, in principle, have accumulated experience. This fact is corroborated by the generalization of the phenomenon of equality of rank among teachers and by the weakness of scientific output. The latter is considered as the most noticeable criterion regarding the distinction and differentiation to be observed between teachers[16]. There is, hence, a culture of generalized democracy that blurs the line of demarcation between the tasks that should be carried out by each category and each rank as well as between competence and incompetence. This fact is a hindrance to acknowledged and plainly stated competence.

The profession of teaching should respond to the imperatives of the modern era and to the students' expectations. The latter are being at present focalized on getting a degree that would unable them to find a job once they have left the university. The teacher is thus required to revisit, on a regular basis, his/her program contents, and to acquire novel abilities that would enable him/her apply equilibrium at the level of training programs between academic learning and practical knowledge. This would ultimately provide the student with know how, ability for adaptation, feeling of responsibility and initiative taking.

The teaching profession is progressing. Nowadays, it may broken down into a series of tasks that ask for specialization, qualification and particular competencies: pedagogical engineering; tutorship for distant learning; mastery of computer science; use of audiovisual material; standardization of contents; assessment of items taught; etc. The task that consisted only in preparing lessons and teaching them in a repetitive manner to successive bunches of students is no more valid. The university should forecast future evolutions of the teaching duties. Distant learning is drastically changing the act of learning and hence the role of the teacher as tutor, assuming a relationship with the student by means of information technology media. The teacher's task is summoned to change in accordance with changes occurring at the level of the act of teaching.

A widely spread popular belief has it that teaching as a profession is a relatively less tiresome work with a certain freedom of action, and a job that is confined to the legal hourly workload. However, the actors' perception on this matter is quite different. They generally perceive it as tiresome and stressful. If popular perception looks at the job only

in terms of "number of hours of work", as compared to the number of hours of daily work in the administration. The teacher's daily life evolves, however, around a profession that is much demanding in terms of constant vigilance; requiring readjustments and continual renewal in order to keep an audience of students on the alert, motivate them, provide them with the newest, and be able to read satisfaction or lack of it on their faces.

The teaching profession is witnessing a constant evolution thanks to improvements at the level of knowledge and information technology. Thus, the teacher moves from a traditional role of provider of knowledge (or rather of information) or instructor, to that of animator and facilitator who can arouse curiosity among learners and train them for skills that would enable them to find out solutions to the problems they encounter. Predispositions, such as renewal of teaching methods, opening up to new knowledge, and introduction of information technology in the teaching techniques, should constitute attributes of the profession of teaching in present times. With regard to all this, a lack of studies is noticeable.

Mobilization of teachers as principal actors in the university system, their full participation in pedagogical practice and research, as well as their rooted involvement[17] in university life constitute conditions for a sound reform of the university. To what extent is the teacher involved with regard to science, the job and society?

It is true that the conditions of work undergo the difficulties and constraints of a developing country. However, questions should be raised concerning the extent to which the actors are involved with regard to science and the teaching act; an involvement that creates ties with the job. Regarding what indicators could this involvement be measured and assessed?

Ideally, the teacher's work does not consist only in observing a teaching timetable and carrying out an hourly workload that is, sometimes, negotiated for the least. It is about a posture of the mind: constant innovation; quest for the best possible in spite of the constraints of working conditions; intellectual curiosity; involvement with regard to learning; professionalism; devotion to the job; professional ethics; and constant awareness of the role of the teacher as an intellectual in the community.

It is obvious that within the university, as is the case in complex organizations, the teachers do not constitute a uniform or homogenous group. There is always group who match that ideal type of teachers. Thanks to their involvement and implication, the university develops; changes and maintains itself. However, referring to observation in the university milieu, two facts can be pointed out that would limit some teachers' implication in university activities. One relates to practice, the other to the way the university is perceived.

a. The relationship some teachers have with the market of private and lucrative education: a substantial number of teachers are involved in private education, which assigns to them timetables and wok loads that add to their tasks within the university. Profiles "hired" or rather co-opted by the educational private sector are

profiles that the   university itself does not have in sufficient numbers: computer science; management; economics; engineering; foreign languages; etc. There is a noticeable lack of mobilization at this level, and a quest for additional profit sought outside the university compounds and in the informal market of expertise and extra-hours of work. Clients of such a market are teachers who have abilities and competency to "sell" on this market. We note that 89% of the teachers working for private schools and institutes are part-timers coming for the best part of them from public universities. A study shows that 42% of the teachers perform additional teaching activities outside the university to which they are affiliated; 19% have declared that they carry out a paid-for activity; and 36% carry out activities that are either free of charge or paid-for[18]. Such a fact has an impact on the university, which has to make up for a loss in terms of implication of teachers who have abilities and competencies. Hence, the challenge of "bringing back home" those competencies to the university remains unsettled.

b. Appreciation made of the university and its systems is dependant upon the actors' expectations. One appreciates a system when one is eager to trust it for his/her own children. During a field-study, to the question addressed to a sample of teachers: "in which system would you like to place your children for their higher education?", the answers were rather significant. In fact, 49% would prefer the selective system; 28% would rather send them abroad; 5% would choose private schools and institutes; and only 6% would entrust them with the non-regulated university system. Such responses reflect the hierarchy of the systems: the non-regulated system is depreciated, whereas the selective one, along with sending the children abroad for higher studies seem to be much more appreciated, forming thus the choice of the majority of respondents. Out of realism, an important proportion of the surveyed teachers (49%) have chosen the selective system, which is a system that attracts the best and is free of charge. Those teachers, who belong to middle classes, look forward to securing a future for their children by enrolling in selective system, perceived as being of a better quality. The non-selective institutions, which form the most important component of the university system in terms of enrollments, count only for 6% of the responses. Aspirations are for that which is valued in actual living and in perceptions. Expectations one has for his own children increase the value of that to which one himself aspires. That small degree of valorization held by respondents regarding the non-selective and public system, to which the majority of teachers belong, is revealing of the perception the teachers themselves cast on the university.

The act of teaching is anther aspect that is worthy of study. In this act, teachers adopt a variety of attitudes toward the students. Various attitudes would show as many approaches implying a variety of kinds of relationship with students: some teachers may appreciate and motivate them; others would look down upon them in order to hold themselves in high esteem; those who rank them (good and bad); and those who, in their way of "delivering" courses, would show indifference. More a teacher is passionate, the more he/she is involved, and the better he/she keeps up interest and motivation of students. There is matter for investigation regarding the variation of approaches and the relationships teachers of both systems, regulated

and non-regulated, have with the act of teaching. We may wonder what likely criteria there are that may stand for selection in order to study and analyze those variations and their impact on the learning process. There lies a whole program for sociology of the teachers.

The teachers and the elite: in this respect, the questions to raised are as follows: does the university make of its teachers an intellectual elite? What level of involvement in the intellect do they show?

Teachers and political affiliation would constitute a field of sociological enquiry. Within the university, some teachers are labeled, politically, since their affiliation to political parties is openly declared. It is during elections for representation in university or union boards that these partisan affiliations become openly plain. Being an intellectual is not however only a matter of political color. As is stated by Bourdieu, a teacher becomes an intellectual only when he/she: *"engage dans son combat politique sa competence et son autorité spécifiques, et ses valeurs de vérité ou de désintéressement, ou, en d'autres termes, quelqu'un qui va sur le terrain de la politique mais sans abandoner ses exigences et ses competences de chercheur"*[19]. We say that a politically enlisted intellectual is someone who invents, as Bourdieu says *"a way of doing politics"*[20] and manages to carry academic values in terms of disinterest; freedom of ideas even with regard to his/her political affiliation; integrity; competency for creative ideas and academic ethics. An intellectual is the one who submits to critical reflexivity to turn it around onto oneself and on one's own practice. The intellectual university teachers are the ones who contribute to educating an intellectual elite, who ponder upon their stand within society; an elite that participates, in a collective way, to creating "realistic utopia"[21]. Following this flow of ideas, it would be interesting to shed some light on the way political affiliation and academic values intersect, and to what extent the university teachers who are involved in political parties can be distinguished in their practice from other politicians who are unaffiliated to the university.

When reviewing some aspects regarding the teaching profession, we notice that there is a lack of studies on the matter. Having conducted studies on French universities and owing to the difficulties to make sense of the variety and evolution of tasks as well as of the changes affecting work at the university, which is becoming all the more polyvalent (implying: teaching; research undertaking; pedagogical management; agreements seeking; provisions and stake holders mobilizing); and more compelling in terms of qualification and competence, Christine Musselin comes to the conclusion that *"It is high time a real sociology of university work is carried out"*[22]. These facts raised by means of a participatory observation, need revisiting by sociology of the profession[23], that is, sociology of teaching.

A sociology of teaching, "is not about what should be the job of teaching, but an understanding of what is"[24], and what it becomes in the midst of the changes that are witnessed by the university. This can be achieved through studies on the social morphology of the group; their social origins; mode of recruitment; itineraries and trajectories; representation and perception of the job; practices; identities with regard to the profession and level of involvement in the intellect.

3.3. Leadership

Considering the university in relation with leadership amounts to considering an organization and the mode of its management that determine its mode of production. In the Moroccan context, we notice that university leadership has raised little interest in sociological studies. It is, however, the reform catalyst, the manager of change, and the corner stone of university autonomy and policy. The latter is carried on through regulations, the application of the law and academic standards, and is reinforced by a leadership that builds up dynamics and mobilization around the project of the university.

As Musselin puts it: "*Dans de nombreux pays, on a assisté à une professionalization des presidents d'université, et plus récemment des doyens des facultés: ceux qui occupant les postes s'engagent fréquemment dans de véritables carrières d'administration d'université et quittent donc la carrière purement unversitaire*"[25]. The law 01.00 does not insist of the fact of holding the rank of professor of higher education to run for president of the university. In this way, it left the door open for non-academic profiles to apply as well. Nevertheless, after calls for candidacy for posts of presidents for the universities, managers active in businesses and firms did not respond to the offer. The reasons might be that they would not turn down the benefits they have in the world of business, and that not many would leave management of a firm for that of a university. In addition to that, the lack of attractiveness (moneywise mainly) of the rank of dean of a university institution does not help in providing the university with a dynamic leadership. For example, calls for candidacy for the rank of dean at schools of economics, legal and social studies do not appeal to great numbers of potential candidates.

Some improvement has occurred, however, thanks to law 01.00 as far as appointments of university presidents; deans and directors of institutions as compared with the past. However, the present method used for appointing presidents, being entirely different from the one used for deans and directors, hampers the emergence of a spirit for team work at the level of leadership. This does not go without creating at times sorts of tension around the university leadership: interests of the university institution versus the logic of the university as a whole.

Unlike the American system, the Moroccan system and that of France as well do not provide training for profiles of academic managers. In the latter, only experience, some know how, and substantial learning on site may unable university managers to carry on their duties. More, some university managers have taken upon themselves to proceed to the implementation of the reform in spite of material and financial constraints[26], simply by insufflating dynamics; taking initiatives; and guiding the university institutions towards a continuous improvement of their knowhow.

In the context of the Moroccan university, the emergence of a university leadership encounters difficulties inherent to a university rank in the making. In such a context, "seating a legitimate" authority (in Weberian meaning of the word) would not materialize without tensions in a university setting which is still dragging on the duality: teachers versus administration (*idara*). Here, academic authority, raised managerial

responsibility, legitimate as it might be is neither easily accepted or acknowledged by a widely spread ideological equalitarianism, nor by the power of the mass of teachers.

For a smooth functioning of the university or a university school, whatever the "leader's" competencies might be, he/she should rely on relays that are linked together by the chain of responsibilities within the university. This chain would start with the president of the university and end with the teacher. In between there are vice-presidents; deans; vice-dean; teachers in charge of training programs; heads of departments; and staff responsible for laboratories. Adding to this, he/she should compound with the university council, board of management and school council. Challenges put to the leadership consist in managing to maintain solidity of the chain of responsibilities in a cultural environment that militates to make out of responsibility a so diffuse concept that anybody would claim responsibility. This fact blurs the process of being responsible. For the university leadership, opting for a participative approach in which mobilization of all actors is sought and reinforcement of the solidity of the chain of responsibilities as well is a challenge, and at times a consuming effort, in the process of decision taking.

A study bearing on the French presidents of universities, carried out in 2003[27], prior to the Pécress law, points out the complexity characterizing the relationships between the presidential team and the various relays of the university system. Because of the latter's features of being plural and decentralized, it is to be considered in a relational dimension. Hence, various styles of leadership may be at play[28]. As stated in this study, management boards have power for obstruction or making unstable the presidential team, owing to an ability for mischief that my be put to work by teachers' representatives through their "sanction vote". The president of the university is supposed to bear with the management council by adopting necessary diversions in order to get to decision taking. As mentionned by this study: "Le président d'université prend un soin tout particulier à inviter les élus du CA à des réunions où sont préparés, par exemple, les débats sur le budget ou sur l'allocation des postes. Les élus apprécient ce style de leadership démocratique, ce qui joue en faveur de la légitimité du président de l'université. En outre, en organisant des consultations à géométrie variable qui servent à boucler les négociations et à laisser s'exprimer les discussions et les désaccords, le président parvient à construire des compromise qui ne devraient plus être remis en cause dans l'enceinte du conseil. Mais la démocratie a un coût organisationnel: la préparation des décisions implique de longues discussions, une perte d'énergie, mais surtout elle ralentit tout le processus d'élaboration et de mise en oeuvre des décisions. De plus, les arbitrages qui ressortent de ces processus décisionnels où la concertation a été large sont souvent favorables au maintien des équilibres ou à la reproduction d'un stat quo plutôt qu'à des changements radicaux puisqu'ils résultent de compromis entre plusieurs intérêts antagonistes"[29]. Would similar processes be found in the Moroccan context? Studies only may confirm or invalidate this.

The university, being an organization, is a social microcosm. The university leader is required to adopt an approach similar the that of an anthropologist who uses participating observation as a technique to look, from within, into practices, behaviors, settled ideas, latent or manifest ideologies that are dominant and afloat in this community, in order to better understand and analyze it. In the same way, the university

leader lives within the university community and observes it in order to understand, act and change. Although we are living at present in a managerial era, leadership of a university is not simply about management[30]. It is an achievement where accumulation of know how on the "art" of leading a university or a university institution adds to the ability for mobilizing accumulated knowledge and experience; federating actors around the project of change and the management of transition. It is also about investing in the mission one's credibility and academic authority, by imparting unto the latter a dose of humbleness to serve[31].

The leadership places lasting improvement of the university in a normative trajectory that would enable it to be guided for becoming a standard university or a norm. Thus, the perception of the university and the statement of its missions are not mere theoretical exercises, but a set of ideas and values, reflected through actions undertaken for its improvement. In other words, the leader/manager of a university is, somehow, that "organic intellectual" to whom Gramsci was referring, who associates reflection to action.

Regarding action, the leadership is often referred to in a normative way. Sociological research may look into a domain where it is less about what it should be than to describe it and analyze it in its functioning. Here we have a whole field for research and investigation on university governance; its typology; variety of styles; relationship with the organizational mode; decision taking process; as well as relations with the accounting agency. Thinking the university leadership over would enhance our sociological knowledge about the university.

4.   Equality of chances against the Darwinist system

School, and by extension the university, is witnessing a change with regard to its functions. Sociology of the school functions had always in the background an alternative function to that which is carried out by school. Basil Bernstein[32], the British sociologist, points out inequalities and linguistic deficits of pupils belonging to poor classes that hinder fairness of chances. Ivan Illich denounced its inhibiting rather than liberating function, and called for a "society without schools"[33]. Pierre Bourdieu emphasized its function of social hierarchy reproduction; he wanted it to be more equalitarian. At present, what is denounced is its lack of efficiency in carrying out its duties in terms of human capital that is necessary for development and economic growth. It is plain that the function of the school and the university has changed in reality as well as in theory. Consequently, we may well put to examination at present the impact of the new functions assigned to the university on its reconfiguration.

The fact that the public university has turned to be massively crowded that is sometimes referred to is but relative. Out of Darwinism of the educational system, only 13% of those who are supposed to get to university happen to be there. Statistically speaking, even though the universities cannot yet get enrolled all those who should be there, and that only an "elite" succeeds in getting access to them, the majority among these do not think of themselves as forming an elite. In the open access university schools, we find students belonging to middle and poorest social layers.

Saying that students belonging to lower social classes have lesser chances to succeed in their studies is a truism. However, the relationship between success at the university and social origin is rather complex, in that each register –that of social conditions and that of university world- establishes its own hierarchy mechanisms. Hence, any analysis of the relationship between academic success and social conditions should take into account the articulation of ranking mechanisms of each register. How would social inequalities intersect with academic or school ones?

Equality of chances is an important imperative that justifies the ranking that the university establishes on the basis of individual merit and specific efforts made by each student. The principle of merit generates the legitimate inequalities that are at the heart of the university institution. A part from that, anything else introduced as a factor resulting in inequality bears prejudice to the principle of justice in the university. Fair inequalities are thus to be based on competition and merit.

In the university system, the differentiation made between the selective system, where marks obtained for the baccalaureate examination and entry interviews are determinant for access, and the open access system, is justified by the principle of merit. Such inequality is legitimate and fair as far as it does not yield to a Darwinism that leaves on the side the open access and unvalued system which provides society, at best, with graduates of a lesser quality. The challenges for academic fairness is to make out of the lesser gifted and the least motivated good and motivated students.

5. Selective and non open access systems

The regulated, or selective system, has established a process for selecting and getting enrolled the best amongst baccalaureate holders. Such a selection takes into consideration distinctions and grades obtained for the baccalaureate examination, as well as on entry interviews. Because of this selection process; the reduced numbers of enrollments; students being taken in charge through a close by officering; the regularity of continuous evaluation of learning; etc., the selective system creates a feeling of belonging among the students as a privileged group in comparison with those of the open access system. Such facts reinforce a group spirit among those students who identify themselves with the training and the institution. It is not by chance that former laureates of engineering schools create associations and build up, once they have finished their studies, new networks where they keep in touch with each other; become a force for defending their profession; and a lobby for securing high positions in the hierarchy of professions and in circuits of the state.

By enrolling in the selective system and in relatively prestigious training, students are provided for with better chances. The social utility of such training is better appreciated since it leads to employment and to a promising social position. The profit that the students may derive from the university and from their institution as well becomes thus plain.

The case is different with regard to the non-selective or open access system. The phenomenon of jobless degree holders who gain visibility only through regular contestation in public areas; inflation of the number of doctorate seekers in disciplines

that have become under-considered and discredited such as law; literature; history; geography; etc.; would arise a feeling among the students who embark on such studies, in default of other trainings, that their passage to university is full of uncertainty as to their future. Here lies the cause of wastage that is characteristic of such trainings and the problems of school leaving. The open access system, considered as a "decaying" system that attracts the less gifted students, that is, students whose marks in the baccalaureate do not exceed 12 out 20. The amount students' involvement in their studies is thus diminished; adding to this the weakness of their motivation that is often the cause of complaints voiced by teachers.

Each system has a different impact on the students' relationships with their studies. For those enrolled in the selective system, link between training and the job market is established. The existence of this link triggers their involvement in student life. As for those enrolled in the open access system, such a link is not always established. This is can be noticed with regard to their weak implication in work at the university; their irregularity of presence in the courses and a certain absence of motivation.

On another hand, the selective system, valued as it may be, does not create a dynamic that would act as a locomotive for the open access one. In the 90s, when the applied license degrees (*licences appliquées*) were introduced in the university system in order to implement professional training in curricula, we noticed that the above-mentioned disciplines started to suffer a kind of isolation. Such licenses, initiated by a few teachers, enrolling limited numbers of students, but shunned by a majority of teachers, who held it as a "reform landing from above", had but a limited impact on the renovation of the system. At present, owing to an initiative of some pedagogical teams within the universities, many professional license degrees were established. It would be interesting to consider such an experience in order to assess its impact on the classic fundamental licenses.

Owing to this duality of ranked systems, the principle of students counseling encounters difficulties for its implementation. Students counseling stems from the assumption that each student should enroll in the university according to his/her abilities. However, this principle is always biased by the hierarchy imposed by both systems and also by a ranking of disciplines themselves within the open access system itself with regard to the job market.

In this context, we suppose that when the selective system has chosen the best, the rest of the students is oriented de facto towards the open access system which, in its turn, applies a certain orientation. Those who are good in foreign languages would embark on language studies or disciplines taught in French: French; sciences; and economics. As to those who are weak in the French language, they would chose disciplines taught in Arabic: law; history; Islamic studies; philosophy; etc. Here again, a certain hierarchy is noticed with regard to the job market. The latter is much demanding in terms of foreign languages, especially the French language. Even in the open access system, degree holders in science, economics and French have relatively better chances to secure employment once they have left the university than degree holders in disciplines that use Arabic.

Hierarchy of systems and of branches of study is established with regard to the nature of studies, the language used in teaching and the job market. Such a fact has an impact on the way one perceives himself/herself within the university, as well as on the extent of involvement of the actors: teachers and students.

Schools of engineering, as well as some institutions of the selective system are highly praised by parents and society in general for being the best. On the other side, open access institutions where the majority of students enroll are regarded as sweepings of the higher education system. Such a perception is reinforced by the fact that the elite of society reject the open access system by sending their children to foreign universities or getting them enrolled in the selective or private systems.

Studies show that the apparent democratization of access to higher education is undermined by an increasing selectivity in branches of study recognized as prestigious: those of famous schools (Grandes Ecoles), be they public or private, Moroccan or foreign. Such a shift noticed within the field of education and training, mainly in higher education, is accompanied by modification with regard to the hierarchy of degrees, within which the majority of trainings are ranked in a second position[34]. Trainings do not have the same value on the degrees evaluation grid. Training abroad comes first on this grid. The selective system in Morocco would come next, chosen out of realism, that is, only in terms of financial capabilities. As to that of the open access system, it represents a kind of a last resort for students. This results in a differentiation between rewarding and non-rewarding degrees.

Parents who send their children abroad for education make their choice according to the principle of arming them with better chances. Studying abroad is somewhat considered as a source of opportunities for a necessary capital of social and professional insertion[35]. Once those who studied abroad are back in the country, armed with credentials in terms of highly valued degree titles and linguistic abilities, in the French language in most cases, have much better chances on the job market.

Adequate training becomes thus a much looked after capital. The accumulation mode of such capital becomes a preoccupation of families since the nature of the degree would favor or disfavor its holder with regard to getting access to the symbolic capital.

For firms and businesses, if the degree remains a criterion for hiring, hierarchy applied to these degrees is a fact. Foreign degrees are preferred in first place then those delivered by prestigious schools and by the selective system. A utilitarian conception of the degree, of studies and of knowledge has imposed itself.

Depreciation of university titles awarded in the open access system has generated the phenomenon of jobless degree holders, representing thus social immobility or descending mobility and social down rating[36]. For some degree holders, there is not only a threat of being unable to achieve social ascension through their diplomas, but also the threat of down rating, in that they may not be able to reproduce the social position of their parents.

On another hand, we notice a kind of ambivalence with regard to the university degrees awarded by the open access system. These are at the same time depreciated but sought after since they would enable their holders to negotiate for their social position. Jobless degree holders are not merely jobless people; they are degree holders above all. A university degree, as a title, even though eroded by trial from the job market, would continue to constitute for its holder a means for social negotiation in face of the state and society.

The depreciation of degrees awarded by the open access system has also an impact on the status of knowledge within society and on its social value. Such a state of things ends up in a depreciation of knowledge. By devaluing university diplomas, knowledge itself falls in value.
In order to put limits to the negative effects of such ranking, we might wonder what alternative there should be on the operational level.

An immediate alternative would consist in: either put an end to training in branches of study that have little yield at internal and external levels, or transform them by way of a radical recasting. Whatever the alternative may be, the ideology bearing character of a certain number of disciplines should be emphasized. Recasting would consist in transforming not only their contents but the way they are taught as well[37]. Both aspects would be carried out only through compromises that may safeguard in part the continuity of the older system. For example, Islamic studies taught at present in schools of humanities in every Moroccan university are closely relating to theological disciplines (*ulum shari'a*) without them being named as such. Created during the 1980s to thwart currents of Marxist ideology, theses studies would not assume interdisciplinary character and would not fit within knowledge of the humanities and social sciences. At present, in face of a globalized Islam; the necessity to valuate heritage through modern knowledge; and the necessity of considering the dialog of cultures and religions, we wonder whether laureates of such studies have developed adequate abilities to contribute in that dialog.

Society needs lawyers; poets; writers; philosophers; men of learning in Islam; artists; etc., as much as it needs medical doctors and engineers[38]. In this case, the role of the social sciences is of paramount importance to economic development, and that of the humanities to the rise of culture[39] as well as to learning and mind opening up. This would justify the imperative of renewing those trainings at the level of their contents; approaches and posture of mind, and inscribing them within scopes of polyvalence and linguistic plurality. This might be unachieved without a revolution in the academic culture and without shaking convictions, yields of conformism, used manners for carrying out work in these disciplines and without calling for pedagogy of change.

It is about making of that vertical ranking (selective and non-selective systems) a horizontal aligning of systems that guarantees diversity of training offers and where each system may create its own reference of excellence.

6. A single university model or a plurality of models

There is a debate throughout the world on models of universities. In developing countries, as well as in European countries, the same questions are raised with varying degrees. They have to face up to the same challenges.

In comparisons between universities, rankings[40] are frequently established. They single out the universities that come first in terms of performance and quality by opposition to those that are lagging behind. Shanghai university ranking has caused much debate in Europe with regard to the position of universities on the adopted scale. The debates that followed such ranking and others have shown that American universities take the lead. This has led European countries to establish a European ranking. Such ranking comprises, however, a bias that is worthy of noting.

a. Firstly, the country's level of development constitutes a determining factor as to the position of the university on the classification scale. Indicators for human development show that poverty index, illiteracy rate and level of health care that many countries of the South are trying to improve have an impact on investment in higher education. Such a ranking reflects the level of development and richness of the countries in which are implemented the top rated universities. Therefore, it is not by mere chance that American universities come first on this scale, and that, in general, universities of rich countries (apart from France) rank in good positions. In other words, judging all universities according to the same criteria means occulting the disparities between countries in terms of level of development.

b. This ranking is the result of criteria of performance with regard to scientific research output: number of Nobel prices won; number of patents registered; research workers involved; laboratories with high yield in terms of research output; etc. The quality of research output and allotment of resources for research work bear witness to the huge disparities existing between the countries of the North and those of the South. In the North, there are universities endowed with laboratories claiming international recognition, and benefiting of involvement and financial help for research from the economic sector. These laboratories manage to attract the competencies of research workers from countries of the South.

c. Financial resources put at the disposal of the university constitute a determinant factor. Some American universities have budgets that are equivalent to budgets of some states in developing countries. These resources come from a variety of sources: the state for current functioning; students' contributions through enrolment fees; fund raising; research agreements with private and public organizations; as well as endowments[41]. Harvard University, which ranks first on the scale, manages to attract through endowments some $28916000 each year[42]. The more a university becomes prestigious, the better it manages to attract financial resources. On another hand, the universities of "world class"[43] observe a constant struggle for attracting talents through hiring the best among research workers and offering enrolment to the best of students.

d. The level of liberalism and flexibility of a university system for adopting change is another factor at play regarding performance. The American university system is more flexible when it comes to introducing innovations than the French or Moroccan systems. The latter has to face up to more difficulties when it calls for change because of: discontinuity at the level of its global management; management of

change at national and local levels; lack of speed in the production of regulating texts; and awkwardness of the financial procedures that hamper reactivity regarding universities' management[44].

This ranking issue has opened way for competitiveness of university systems worldwide. The American pattern takes the lead and puts to the test the other systems, including the European ones, although university traditions differ from one country to another. Some writers talk about a "planetary hegemony of the American university"[45]. The latter has accumulated enough prestige enabling it to predominate and become a first choice pattern when it comes to universities rankings. By choosing American universities, brilliant students would enhance that prestige at the international level. It is obvious that the economic weight of the American nation and its development level go hand in hand with this academic hegemony. Such prevalence is accounted for by many factors: richness of the American nation; demography; geographic dimensions of the country; resources allocated to the university; rationality and smoothness in functioning that enable it improve and innovate; and by hegemony of English that has become the language of publishing. At present, mastering it is a condition for integration into the circuit of intellectual exchange at the international level.

At present, even Wilhelm Von Humbolt's system is put to question in Europe. Two centuries ago, this system sought to get rid of traditional universities, inherited from the Middle Ages, as well as of the utilitarian system that was adopted in France through the duality: university/prestigious schools. Note that Morocco has imported and made use of such a duality by establishing utilitarian institutions, that is, schools of vocational training and schools of engineering (selective system), and a less utilitarian system comprising institutions of higher education (open access system). Now, we may raise questions with regard to the relative success of the German model and to the constraints of the French one, which evolves around that duality of systems. In Germany, the answer would come from Wilhelm Von Humbolt's model in 1809 with the opening of the university of Berlin which "was founded against the utilitarian ideology that was assumed by the new schools as well as against the older universities"[46]. Von Humbolt opted for a compromise as he succeeded in associating between training and education and education for knowledge. Such a model combined training and research. It is based on the idea of articulating and associating between education and practical training. Wilhelm Von Humbolt's model has thus initiated a sound reform by giving up the traditional university and restraining the dynamics of the utilitarian.

Such a model, although not thoroughly applied in France, raises   questions at present. According to Habermas, such a Humboldian conception has turned into a model that "*falls apart*", lapsing with the rise of disciplines linked to technology, for the benefit of a practical and yielding model[47]. This has caused a crisis of model to European countries. Now, they are considering the American system, whereby they are attempting to derive elements of reforming policies. The Bologne process and the conception of the LMD system in Europe are in the heart of such an orientation toward a more profitable model that complies with economic requirements[48].

The outcome of such an evolution at the international level is that we witness today a uniformity of discourse regarding the rhetoric bearing on university reforms, that is pregnant with a proliferation of concepts, such as professionalization; qualification; innovation; valuation of research; economics of learning; assessment and accreditation; which have become recurring notions in the university reforming attempts worldwide[49]. As a background of these notions, there is the American system, which comprises, as Christine Musselin puts it, "the scriptures", that is, a set of "normative prescriptions that are at play in the institutional environment of the universities, announcing legitimate propositions, norms and standards that institutions and governments should adopt if they want to be rational and efficient"[50]. The author names five scriptures:

-Modifying the role of the state: from a centralizing state to that of a regulating and evaluating one;
-Transforming the universities into organizations by adopting the enterprise model;
-Increasing the role of stakeholders, such as regions; local communities; firms; holdings; and civil society;
-Adhering to the logic of privatization and to that of service providing with the aim of attracting funds for the university;
-Being part of the worldwide trend regarding training and research offers.

All of these prescriptions tend to draw university systems closer to the American pattern. Bearing in mind that these prescriptions form the confines of policies and reforms, what local conditions are there, that may foster or hinder them? What peculiar local conditions to each context are there? What challenges would such prescriptions encounter in the Moroccan context?

At present, the job market has imposed the necessity for a plurality of training offers, and consequently a plurality in terms of higher education patterns.

We have a for profit private model, where education is a good, yielding to financial transactions laws. It aims at a public composed of solvent students, targeting families with enough financial resources to provide for the education of their children. In Morocco, this model represents a variety of institutions, characterized in terms of importance, quality of training, infrastructure and number of students enrolled. It does not however account for more than 6% of the total number of enrollments in the higher education system in the country. Nevertheless, if we may not yet talk about a private university system in Morocco, the latter emerges in other countries in various shapes[51].

In the USA, there is a private, non-for profit model, comprising State Universities, which receive grants from the State, and to which families contribute through payments for the education of their children. In this system, any profit made is re-invested to better the training offer. This model represents in the USA a dominant trend. It has not taken root yet in Morocco for the time being, even though Al Akhawayn University, with its peculiar status, may somewhat fit in this category.

There is an imported private model, referred to as "offshore campuses"[52], or "international campus departments", that consists in importing *ready-made* branches of study of a foreign university. To attract student enrollments, such branches of study would display the name of the parent foreign university as a reference for quality and distinction in opposition to the local university system. Such cases are characterized by a certain comfort with regard to equipment, and are created in countries like Qatar; United Arab Emirates; Bahrain; and in other Golf countries. Here, the foreign university becomes the provider of an offshore university system. The latter may assume other shape, varying from a simple training program to a whole university with its ethos, language, and regulations.

The imported university model requires a heavy financial investment. As an example, the cost of the School of Medical Studies, established by Cornell University in Quatar in 2002, amounted to 750 millions of dollars[53]. The will of such states to creating "*star universities*" is inherent to their wish for being able to make for their deficit in terms of knowhow and competencies as to establishing *homemade* universities that would offer education of a better quality. Such a trend is however pregnant with setbacks. As a writer puts it, "*foreign providers do not hold the same values and priorities like nationals; their sole objective is to sell an education that can be cost-effective. The universities are not, however, only compounds where one can get training; they are institutions where youth gather to learn, think about, engage in debates on their society, and develop intellectually, culturally, and physically*"[54].

Here, we find the social public model that is dominant in developing countries and in Morocco as well. The goal of such a model, totally financed by the state, is to contribute in the social and economic development of the country. Having to face up to new stringencies, this model encounters a challenge: how to insure quality in a global world, dominated by what an author calls "*the academic capitalism*", which considers the output of higher education like merchandise. Paradoxically, this model has become the main provider of human capital in the Moroccan context.

It goes, without saying that the plurality of models makes it necessary for them to coexist within the space of training offers, owing to the different expectations of the various social layers and to the social usage of each model. Nonetheless, the social model of the public university still plays the main role in the economic, social and cultural shift in a developing society. Contributing to such a shift is one of the principal missions of the university.

Talk about the crises of the university amounts probably to talking about the crises of a certain conception of the university. The evolution of imperatives for change impose to it stringencies; readjustments; remodeling and shifts. In his analysis of the French case, Dubet says: "*Le cas de l'université est, à cet égard, exemplaire. De manière incrémentale, par adaptations locales successive et par la somme d'initiatives partielles, le système change profondément. Il accentue la diversification du système, il contourne les difficultés plus qu'il ne les résout et il creuse la distance entre les pratiques et les règles générales de l'organisation et de l'enseignement supérieur*"[55]. The last decade has witnessed that the Moroccan university, in its turn,

is offering perspectives for adaptation and is attempting to start a shift towards changes.

The public mass university has to face up to challenges, to a social demand and to expectations that are sometimes contradictory. As Yves Lichtenberger puts it, these expectations come in the form of *"… injonctions contradictoires qui les handicapent: accueillir tous les étudiants en faisant comme si chacun possédait les mêmes acquis, prévoir des parcours différenciés sans sortir de dispositifs standardisés, former des élites sans sélectionner, valider des compétences spécifiques en ne devant considérer que des moyennes générales de notes, accompagner leurs étudiants et développer des partenariats avec leur environnement sans moyens supplémentaires …"*[56]

It is obvious that integration into globalization and internationalization would impose on the public social model new ways of managing and approaching the offer for training and knowledge. The law of the market is quite in place. As François Dubet puts it: *"Qu'elle soit publique ou privée, l'éducation fonctionne désormais comme un "marché" dans lequel les élèves et leurs familles viennent chercher des biens utiles à leur avenir social"*[57]. At the level of their management, the universities may not avoid adopting a culture of entrepreneurship, but at the same time taking into account the peculiarity of education considered, while being a product with quality requirements, not as a merchandize, but as a public service.

It is that internal dynamics, triggered by motivation for creating the good and providing a public service based on human development, which reinforces the capability of the Moroccan public university. It is obvious that such a vision should be strengthened by reflection on the financing of public universities. In a developing country, the latter are the sole means for producing the critical mass of laureates for development and yielding to the same standards for accreditation and evaluation.

The trend of social demand is for a new type of training where knowledge is associated with know how and know how to be. Society's internal requirements (those of development), as well as external ones (pertaining to globalization and to rapid dynamics of economic changes), put a strain on university training. Challenges of development and economic growth require training of the human capital for such development; in other words, producing a laureate who can turn knowledge into practical knowledge to solve problems and being mentally capable to adapt a changing environment.

In the Moroccan case, the mission of higher education, established at first to provide for the country's shortage in terms of administrative staffs, has shifted, under pressure from a variety of sources of expectations (local; regional; etc.), to meet the needs of the economic sectors; participate in the development of the country and seek international recognition. The diversity of expectations implies a diversity of university institutions to respond to them: those with high potential for research; high potential for training; polytechnics; technical establishments; sorts of community colleges offering training over two years; open universities; remote (distant) universities; etc.; as well as an array of training offers. All of these

expectations converge to endow the university with a crucial role in the production of human capital and in the knowledge economy.

It goes without saying that "professionalization" and qualification of curricula respond to the requirements of the economic sector; that Moroccan universities have embarked on that process; and that the urgency plan reinforces such a tendency. However, the risk of making of "professionalization" the sole "script" of university and higher education renewal should be avoided. That which constitutes an answer to a timely need does not necessarily require a profound remodeling of the Moroccan university. As an example, the universities were asked to meet a timely need of a program named "offshoring" that aimed at training for jobs in this field. The training program succeeded in responding to such an immediate need in terms of providing technical human resources for de-located of firms and businesses. The laureates who were trained for this purpose were easily employed by these firms. However, confining all trainings to this model would impoverish the university. The latter may certainly gain from contributing to qualifications in order to meet some de-located needs such as those expressed in the fields of BPO (Business Process Outsourcing); call centers; and other technical trainings, but it might gain much more by creating added value through contribution in ITO (Information Technology Outsourcing) that implies development and transfer of technology as well as know how. The university has been asked to respond only to the first category of needs, not the second. The latter constitutes however an opportunity and a vector for creativity deployment; innovation and research in the fields of information and communication technologies.

By taking such a stand regarding professionalization, the university has chooses a strategy of short term. However, for its renewal and to able to sustain its role in the future, it should not confine itself to training qualified executives only. It has to develop intelligence and produce knowledge and research that would enable it embark on a medium and long terms strategy, and secure a place within the orbit of international competition. This is why, in a sociological reflection on the university, the professionalization policy and the way it is carried out have to be meditated upon and debated.

The debate over university rankings, often criticized and sometimes refuted as it might be, has had the merit of bringing to the forefront research as a major indicator on the prestige of the university; of putting these universities on the race for performance and for the satisfaction of international standards; and for improving indicators that shed visibility on research potentials[58]. The distribution of tasks among universities in order to sort them out with regard to research potential or training and technical training is an imperative for the diversity of offers aiming at satisfying the diversity of expectations. Each type has to make up for excellence in its area. This implies the necessity to bring up to the forefront the universities that have high potential for research, endowed with that critical mass of research workers and doctoral students[59], and to provide them with means to shed visibility on this potential. The necessity to sort out a few universities[60] on grounds of their research potential and contribution to the knowledge economy would be feasible only if these

universities can manage to attract international research workers and connect to laboratories and researchers within research networks.

As a conclusion, we might say that sociology of the university would be thus a whole program of action-research. The goal of the present contribution is merely to touch lightly and in a schematic way on its outlines and fields of investigation, with questionings raised at present, and that call for sound studies and sociological research work.

Notes:

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[1] BOURQIA, Rahma ; EL HARRAS, Mokhtar ; BENSAID, Driss : *Jeunesse estudiantine marocaine : valeurs et stratégies*. Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines. Rabat, 1995. BOURQIA, Rahma ; EL AYADI, Mohamed ; EL HARRAS, Mokhtar ; RACHIK, Hassan : *Les jeunes et les valeurs religieuses*. EDDIF-CODESRIA, 2000. Regarding university, we may quote : DAHBI, Mohamed ; ZROURA, Mohamed ; HADDAD, Lahcen (Eds.) : *Cultural Studies : Interdisciplinarity and the University*. Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines. Rabat, 1996. BELGHAZI, Taieb : *The Idea of the University*. Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines. Rabat, 1997.

[2] *Rapport Annuel du Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement, 2008*. See the four reports, especially the chapter on the university : « *Le métier de l'enseignant* ». A study carried out on demand from the Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement by BOURQIA, Rahma ; Tozy, Mohamed ; RACHIK, Hassan ; EL MELLAKH, Kamal ; EL AYADI, Mohamed ; SIRAJ, Ahmed ; ABDOURABBI, Mohamed. Rabat, 2008. Survey conducted by CHERKAOUI, Mohamed on : « *Assessment of the National System of Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities* ». Ministère de l'Education Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Formation des Cadres et de la Recherche Scientifique. Rabat, 2009.

[3] The dominant discourse on the university tends to be more normative than explanatory, where everybody attempts to offer solutions for saving the university from the grasp of the « *crises* ». However, sociology of the university would side neither with « *catastrophism* » nor with an exaggerated *apology* of achievements. It takes stand on the accumulation of knowledge on the university system for a better understanding.

[4] FOUCAULT, Michel : *Naissance de la clinique : une archéologie du savoir médical*. Paris : PUF, 1963.

[5] See : BOURDIEU, Pierre and PASSERON, Jean-Claude : *Les héritiers. Les étudiants et la culture*. Paris : les Editions de Minuit, 1964. See also : BOURDIEU, Pierre and PASSERON, Jean-Claude : *La Reproduction : élémnets d'une théorie du système d'enseignement*. Paris : Les Editions de Minuit, 1970. BOURDIEU, Pierre : *Homo Academicus*. Paris : Minuit, 1984.

[6] BOURDIEU, Pierre : Homo Academicus. Paris : Minuit, 1984. p.15.

[7] Ibid. ; p.11.

[8] Note that the notion of reform (islah) is worn out in the arabic semantic field since the era when Arab societies (through their movement called « nahda » (renaissance) became conscious regarding the backwardness of the Arab countries in comparison with the Occident. It refers to a renewal of Arab society with a content that has been coined into theories by leaders of that intellectual movement. However, the successive attempts for reform have failed to end up in a take off to make up for that backwardness ; as a result, the notion of reform itself has been depreciated.

[9] World Bank : Construire les sociétés du savoir : nouveaux défis pour l'enseignement supérieur. Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003. BRETON, Gilles ; LAMBERT, Michel : Globalisation des universités : nouvel espace, nouveaux acteurs. UNESCO-Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003.

[10] DONOGHUE, Frank : The Last Professors : the Corporate University and the Fate of Humanities. Fordham University Press, 2008. In this book, the author criticises the economic model that is doing away with the intellectual professors.

[11]We note that the most prestigious universities in the USA are : Hravard ; Yale ; and Princeton. These have built up reputation not on professionalization or the economic model, but on the teaching of humanities and the intellectual production in this field.

[12]That which went into effect starting September 2009, called « *la licence nouvelle approche* ».

[13]DUBET, François : Faits d'école. Editions EHSS, 2008. p.42.

[14]Ibid. ; p.17.

[15]BARRERE, Anne. Les enseignants au travail : routines incertaines. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2002.

[16]See study carried out by Mohamed Cherkaoui regarding the evaluation of scientific output in the social sciences and humanities. Rabat : Ministère de l'Education Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Formation des Cadres, et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2009.

[17]The study entitles : « Le métier de l'enseignant » shows that 18% of the teachers do not live in the city where their university is located. Such a rate goes up to 25% in the cases of cities located outside the Casablanca-Rabat-Fes axis. See : Le métier de l'enseignant. A study carried out on demand from the Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement, by BOURQIA, Rahma ; TOZY, Mohamed ; RACHIK, Hassan ; EL MELLAKH, Kamal ; EL AYADI, Mohamed ; SIRAJ, Ahmed ; ABDOURABBI, Mohamed. Rabat, July 2008.

[18]Ibid.

[19]BOURDIEU, Pierre. « Pour un savoir engagé ». In : Contre feux 2. Raison d'Agir Editions, 2001 ; p.33.

[20]Ibid. ; p.33.

[21]Ibid. ; p.37.

[22]MUSSELIN, Christine. Les universitaires. Paris : La Découverte, Repères, 2008. p.50.

[23]Ibid.

[24]BARRERE, Anne. Les enseignants au travail : routines incertaines. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2002. p .13.

[25]MUSSELIN, Christine. Les universitaires. Op.cit., p.53.

[26]Note that the start of the LMD reform was not followed by financial provisions.

[27]MIGNOT-GERARD, Stéphanie. « Le leadership et le gouvernement dans l'analyse des organisations universitaires : deux notions à déconstruire ». In : Politiques et Gestion de l'Enseignement Supérieur. Vol.15, No.2, OCDE, 2003.

[28]Some are inclined to deal more with external affairs and would therefore trust the internal ones with administrators ; vice-presidents and general secretaries. Others would be largely involved in their university internal affairs.

[29] MIGNOT-GERARD, Stéphanie. « Le leadership et le gouvernement dans l'analyse des organisations universitaires : deux notions à déconstruire ». Op.cit. ; p.169.

[30]Ibid. The author points out the difference between a « leader manager » and a « leader constructeur de sens ».

[31]What some american writers call « servant leadership ». B. POWERS, Joshua and MOORE, W. John. Servant Leadership and the Art of Teaching. The Greenleaf Center for Servant Leadership. Indianapolis, 2004. MOORE W. John and BURROWS, M. Joanne : Presidential Succession and Transition : Beginning, Ending and Beginning Again. Washington DC : American Association of State Universities, 2001.

[32]BERNSTEIN, Basil. Langage et classes sociales : codes sociolinguistiques et contrôle social. Paris : Editions de Minuit, 1975.

[33]ILLICH, Ivan. Une société sans école. Paris : Seuil, 1971.

[34]GERARD, Etienne (Dir.). « La mobilité pour études en France : un miroir des transformations de la société marocaine ? » In : Mobilités étudiantes Sud-Nord : trajectoires scolaires de marocains en France et insertion professionnelle au Maroc. Editions Publisud, 2008. p.213.

[35]Ibid. ; p.190.

[36]See : PEUGNY, Camille. Le déclassement. Paris : Grasset, 2009.

[37]A move in this way has started with the launching, in September 2009, of the « licences fondamentales : nouvelle approche ».

[38]As claimed by Edgar Morin, instead of partitioning disciplines, parts of knowledge should be linked to each other. See : MORIN, Edgar. *Le défi du XXIème siècle : relier les connaissances*. Paris : Seuil, 1999.

[39]LORVELLEC, Yves. Culture et éducation. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2002.

[40]Academic Ranking of World Universities (called :*classement de Shanghi*), 2008.

[41]SALMI, Jamil. The Challenges of Establishing World-class universities. Washington DC : World Bank, 2009. p.23.

[42]Figures of the year 2006. See : SALMI, Jamil. The Challenges of Establishing World-class Universities. Op.cit. ; p.24.

[43]Statement used in the report of SALMI, Jamil. See notes 41 and 42 above.

[44]There are universitie in the Arab world that would not fit into any kind of ranking. Such is the case for Al Qaraouiyine in Morocco ; Azzaitouna in Tunisia ; and Al Azhar in Egypt. These universities have a local vocation, peculiar to Muslim countries.

[45]MARGUISON, Simon. « Vers une hégémonie planétaire de l'université américaine ». In : « Vers un marché international de l'enseignement supérieur ». Critique Internationale ; No.39 ; April-June 2008. p.91.

[46]RENAUT, Alain. Que faire des universités ? Paris : Fayard, 2002. p.47. Other works point out the universities' feeling of uneasiness. See : GOLDSTEIN, Reine. Université et société : pour en finir avec un malaise. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2003.

[47]HABERMAS, Jürgen. Théorie et pratiques. 1963. See also : RENAUT, Alain. Que faire des universités ? Op.cit., p.70.

[48]Le cauchemar de Humboldt. Les réformes de l'enseignement supérieur européen. Raisons d'Agir Editions, 2008 (Schultheis, F. ; Escoda, I. Marta Roca ; Cousin, Paul-Frantz ; dirs.)

[49]Some writers are rather too critical regarding the process of university modernization in European countries. See : CHARLES, Christophe and SOUILLE, Charles (Dirs.). Les ravages de la « modernisation » universitaire en Europe. Editions Syllepse, 2007.

[50]MUSSELIN, Christine. « Vers un marché international de l'enseignement supérieur ». Critique Internationale ; No.39 ; April-June 2008. p.15.

[51]The number of private universities tends to increase in countries such as Egypt ; Jordania ; and the Golf states.

[52]MCBURNIE, Grant and ZIGURAS, Christopher. « The International Branch Campus ».www.iienetwork.org/page/84656/ downloaded on August 6th, 2009.

[53]See report by SALMI, Jamil. « The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities ». World Bank. Washington DC. ; 2009 ; p.36.

[54]GOOLAM, Mohamedbhai. « Les impacts de la globalisation sur les universités des pays en développement ». In : Globalisation et universités : nouvel espace, nouveaux acteurs. Breton, Gilles and Lambert, Michel (Dirs.). Unesco-Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003 ; p.171.

[55]DUBET, François. Faits d'école. Editions EHSS, 2008. p.23.

[56] LICHTENBERGER, Yves. « L'enseignement supérieur à la recherche d'un modèle universitaire : leçons de Paris-Est ». In : Revue Esprit ; December 2007.

[57]DUBET, François. Faits d'école. Editions EHSS, 2008. p.23.

[58]The creation of the « PRES » (pôles de Recherche Scientifique) in France aimed at promoting research by pooling universities potentials for research within the same region.

[59]In some prestigious american universities, the number of post-graduate students enrolled is higher than that of undergraduates. For example, at Harvard University, 59% of the students are postgraduates ; at Stanford 64% ; and at MIT 60%. See report by SALMI, Jamil. The challenge of estabilishing world-class universities. Washington DC : The World Bank, 2009.

[60]Cloning universities so as to fit in a unique form would not respond to the diversity of the above mentioned expectations. The newly created institutions (called polidisciplinaires), lacking sufficient human resources, have not constitute a model that would compare to the « community colleges » types.