

March 5, 2011

The growth of higher education and its potential contribution to economic growth in Cape Verde¹

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¹ Paper prepared at the request of the World Bank. I am grateful for the detailed comments and suggestions from Fernando Blanco, William Saint, and also from Hélio Barros, Jamil Salmi and Alcyone Vasconcelos, All the statements and information provided in this statement are the author's responsibility, not of the Word Bank.

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Introduction

Higher education in Cape Verde is extremely incipient. No universities existed in the country until the establishment of Universidade Jean Piaget, a private institution, in 2001. Previously, the country only had three public small institutes of higher education (ISE, the Instituto Superior de Educação, in Praia, for teacher training; ICSEMAR, Instituto Superior de Engenharia e Ciências do Mar, in Mindelo; and INIDA, the Instituto Nacional de Investigação e Desenvolvimento Agrário, in São Jorge dos Órgãos), which were brought together in 2006 and 2007 to form the Universidad de Cabo Verde (Uni-CV), the first and only public university. Traditionally, most persons with higher education degrees in Cape Verde studied in Portugal or other places abroad, and, by 2002/3, there were about three thousand students in all higher education institutions, compared with about four thousand abroad, according to UNESCO's Institute for Statistics.³ Still today, there is no medical school in Cape Verde. The total number of higher education students in 2009/2010 was about 10 thousand, scattered in 9 institutions.

Table 1⁴

Cape Verde, Students Enrolled in Higher Education Institutions, 2009/2010	
Institutions	Students enrolled
Universidade Pública de Cabo Verde (Uni-CV)	4,050
Universidade Jean Piaget de Cabo Verde (Uni-Piajet)	1,880
Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Empresariais (ISCEE)	1,675
Instituto Superior de Ciências Jurídicas e Sociais (ISCJS)	897
Instituto de Estudos Superiores Isidoro da Graça (IESIG)	580
Universidade de Santiago	545
Universidade Lusófona de Cabo Verde Baltasar Lopes da Silva	332
Universidade Intercontinental de Cabo Verde (Única)	162
Mindeo_ Escola Internacional de Arte (M-EIA)	23
Total	10,144
Source: Ministério da Educação Superior, Ciência e Cultura de Cabo Verde	

Growing demands and aspiration for higher education

In a very small scale, Cape Verde follows the contemporary trends of other developed and developing countries in the expansion of higher education towards mass higher education (Scott 1995; Trow 1973; Trow 1972). This trend is driven by the combination of two factors, the creation of new jobs in the public and private sectors requiring higher skills, and the growing aspirations of the

³ As quoted in (Aubyn et al. 2010) p. 6.

⁴ Source: Cape Verde, Ministério de Educação Superior, Ciência e Cultura.

population for the prestige and income associated with university-level degrees. It is also shaped by the current views in society about how higher education in general, and universities in particular, should be organized, which are incorporated in national education legislations. In Cape Verde, a former Portuguese colony, these views have been strongly influenced by Portugal, and, more recently, by the changes that are taking place in the higher education institutions in the European Union, known as “the Bologna Process”, discussed below (Keeling 2006).

These factors, however, do not necessarily work together. In some cases, higher education institutions are not able to provide the job market with the human resources it requires; in others, the competencies and skills generated by the education institutions may be different or higher, in quality and quantity, from those required by the labor market, creating problems of underemployment and brain drain. In the long term, adjustments tend to occur, either by making higher education institutions more responsive to labor market requirements, or by adjusting the labor market to the qualifications and certifications created by the education sector, or by changing the number and types of graduates. Adjustments can also be made by importing skilled personnel from other countries, for instance, by giving preference to labor-intensive technologies, or by companies developing in-house training programs according to their needs.

To enter higher education in Cape Verde, it is necessary to finish secondary education, or to demonstrate equivalent competencies. Today, in Cape Verde, almost all children get to primary education, and about 80% of the corresponding age cohort (12-17) is in secondary education (Figure 1). The decrease in the enrolment rate for basic education from 120% to close to 100% in ten years means that earlier problems of school retention are being solved. The quality of basic and secondary education, however, is limited, among other reasons because formal education is provided in Portuguese, while the population speaks Creole, and there are problems with the qualifications of the teaching staff, not of them truly fluent in Portuguese. As Figure 2 shows, based on data from UNESCO’s Institute for Statistics, there is a clear correlation between levels of per capita income and enrolment rates in higher education

(the linear correlation is with the logarithm of GDP per capita is .818). A regression analysis shows that, for its income level, the enrolment rate for Cape Verde should be about 25%, very far from the 12% informed by UNESCO or the 16% more recent figure. This means that, in comparative terms, there is a significant lag to be covered.

Figure 1

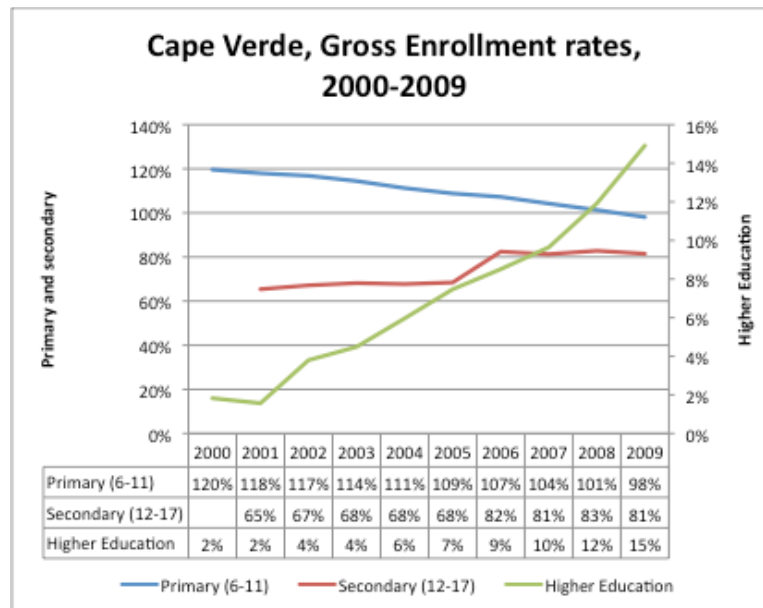
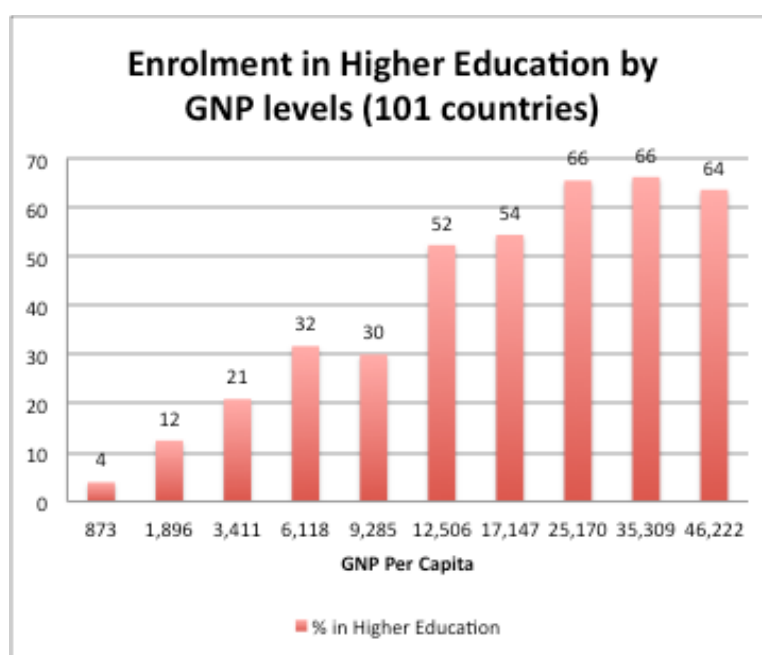


Figure 2⁵



Besides its symbolic and cultural value, a higher education degree brings very clear advantages: good employment opportunities and comparatively high salaries. Average salary for a university graduate employed by government is about 50 thousand Cabo Verde Escudos (CVE) a month (the equivalent of US \$8.100, compared with a GDP per capita of US \$3,500)⁶ Unemployment in Cape Verde is high, and affects mostly persons with secondary education, and women. In 2006, the unemployment rate was 19.5%, and, for persons with secondary education, it was 25.1%, with 31.7 for women in this group. However, among those with higher education – only 4% of the active population – unemployment was 8.3%, with 8.9% for men and 12.4% for women. One possible explanation for this pattern is that persons with more education, but not a full degree, are likely to belong to the middle class, and therefore can afford to wait longer for a desirable job, while persons with less education may not have this opportunity. The best jobs, however, are mostly accessible for those with higher education, and, when asked, 38% of the unemployed showed desire to get a higher education degree, and 1% were already studying for it. The most desired course was teaching (28% of those) followed by engineering and civil construction

⁵ Source: based on data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics for 101 countries, 2005.

⁶ <http://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Africa/Cape-Verde/gdp-per-capita>

(17%), Medicine (14%)⁷, Law (13%) and information technology (12%). Another 46% aspired to a vocational qualification, mostly in culinary (46% of those), electricity (17%) and sewing (15%)⁸.

How far and fast should higher education grow, and what are the best balances between education in technology, the social sciences and the humanities? The notion that the development of higher education should be part of a country's long-term manpower planning and should be managed for this purpose, which was fashionable until the 1970s, fell in disrepute (Fulton, Gordon, and Williams 1982; Samoff and Carrol 2003), being replaced today with concerns with governance, equity, quality assessment, relevance and financing. In many countries, "light touch" labor market information systems have replaced traditional manpower planning (for example labor market observatories) in providing information on labor market outcomes of graduates and feedback from employers. The reason is the realization that the growth and shape of higher education in a country is determined by the combined pressures and demands from government, the market and the scientific, academic and professional communities – the so-called "Clark Triangle" (Jongbloed 2003; Enders 2004), and cannot be controlled by one of them alone. The weight of each varies from country to country, but all play important roles. The size and balance among different fields of study specializations cannot be planned ahead, and is better left to be played out in the market. Academic and professional associations and communities are very important in keeping alive the intellectual and scientific contents of higher education, and play major roles in the management of higher education institutions and in regulating the job market for the learned professions. The government's role is to manage as best as possible its own part, hoping to steer, but not to determine, what happens with the other two components. This is not a minor role: the government invests resources and administers public universities, provides licenses for private institutions to work, and certifies the validity of academic diplomas. Universities should be autonomous, but not free from steering policies from those who provide them with resources and expect them to perform

⁷ This in spite of the fact that there are no medical schools in the country.

⁸ Data from the 2006 Unemployment Survey.

The university model

In principle, the university model adopted in Cape Verde's legislation is not different from that of most other countries: according to the more recent legislation, "the goal of university education is to assure, through the promotion of research and the creation of knowledge, a solid scientific, technical and cultural preparation of the individuals, enabling them to develop their competencies for conception, critical analysis and innovation in their professional, socioeconomic and cultural activities". The next paragraph deals with polytechnic education, which "seeks, through the promotion of applied research and development, to provide the individuals with theoretical and practical scientific knowledge, developing their competencies for innovation and critical analysis, for the understanding and solution of concrete problems, in their professional activities". (República de Cabo Verde 2010, article 32, items 2 and 3)⁹.

This legislation implies a rather traditional hierarchy between university and technological education (the first more basic, the second more applied) but the expectations for both are very high, having basic or applied research at their core. The legislation allows for three degrees to be granted by higher education institutions, "licenciatura" (with duration of six to eight semesters, corresponding to a bachelor's degree (ISCED 5 in the Unesco classification); master degrees (mestrados), with duration of three to four semesters; and doctoral degrees, requiring original research. Only university institutions, not polytechnics, can grant master and doctoral degrees. The legislation allows also for higher education institutions to provide post-secondary, vocational education, leading to a "Diploma de Estudos Superiores Profissionais" (DESP), with the provision that the credits obtained in these courses can be counted if the student decides to work for a higher degree.

It is also the intention of the Cape Verde authorities to make their higher education system compatible with the so-called "Bologna Process", the effort to bring together the different higher education systems in the European Union in a

⁹ Translated from the Portuguese original.

unified higher education area. One of the goals of the Bologna process is to establish equivalence of the degrees granted by the participant countries, to facilitate mobility, and this is mentioned in the justification of the new legislation for the University of Cape Verde¹⁰. Another goal is to reorganize the national higher education systems by adopting the 3-2-3 system, with an initial three years level of college or vocational education, a second two years level for master degrees, and another three years for doctoral studies. One consequence of this model is the elimination of the traditional hierarchical, dual systems of higher education that still exist in many European countries (Kyvic 2004). The Cape Verde legislation replaces the traditional “bacharelado” with a new three to four year “licenciatura,” which is closer to the first tier of the Bologna model, but still maintains the strict separation between academic, professional and vocational education institutions, with rules allowing students to move from one to another in terms of their qualifications. .

This orientation may have several important consequences. The first is the need to invest in the upgrading of the academic credentials of the higher education institutions’ staff; the second is the need to create a well-established system of quality assurance, which could be compatible and recognized by the other participants of the Bologna process. The third is the persistence of a hierarchy of prestige among the different types of higher education, stimulating the demand for the more academic careers, in detriment of the vocational and market-oriented courses.

The new legislation has several references to the need to make higher education system more attuned to the job market, and, at the same time, gives to the state the responsibility of “creating the conditions to assure the citizen’s possibility of attending higher education, so as to neutralize the discriminatory effects of regional asymmetries or socioeconomic disadvantages” (article 35). In other

¹⁰ “Pretende-se com esta autorização legislativa a harmonização do novo regime do ensino superior em Cabo Verde com o chamado “modelo de Bolonha”, bem como o enquadramento do sistema do ensino superior resultante da criação da Universidade de Cabo Verde, por forma a aproximar o sistema educativo cabo-verdiano aos patamares almejados e em experimentação a nível internacional, designadamente na Europa, por forma a, designadamente, assegurar as vantagens da mobilidade e do sistema de créditos para efeito das equivalências de formação e qualificação a nível internacional, de modo mais abrangente possível”.

words, equity, not just market needs, is an important policy consideration. Since the students are supposed to pay for their higher education, this is compensated to a significant extent by a system of loans and scholarships made available for students in both private and public institutions, discussed below.

Higher Education in Cape Verde today

This legislation, to be implemented, has to deal with the fact that higher education in Cape Verde today is very incipient, and it is not clear whether it would be possible to meet the expected standards in the forthcoming years. Of the nine existing higher education institutions, five are called “universities” three are called “Instituto Superior”, and the last is an International School of Arts. None of these institutions existed ten years ago. All institutions, except Universidade Pública de Cabo Verde, are private; several of them are branches of Portuguese institutions (such as the Universidade Jean Piaget, linked with the Instituto Piaget; the Universidade Intercontinental de Cabo Verde, linked to the Instituto Superior de Saúde do Alto Ave; and the Universidade Lusófona, linked to the Grupo Lusófona). They are all very small institutions, and their denomination as “universities” or “Instituto Superior” is more a declaration of intent than a reality. Since the creation of these institutions predates the current higher education legislation, the academic status of the institutes is not very clear, but it seems that they would fall into the “polytechnics” category, since they provide only professional education and are not likely to engage in the provision of graduate degrees. On the other hand, most of the technological education as such, in engineering and related fields, is being offered by Uni-CV, while private institutions are mostly involved in the social professions and the humanities. Both types of institutions can provide non-academic, professional DESPs. In other words, in practice, the distinction between universities and polytechnic institutes is of academic prestige, not content.

There are 926 teaching positions in all institutions, of which only 57 are held by persons with a doctoral degree. Since the same person can hold teaching positions in different institutions, the number of active PhDs in higher education in is probably smaller (Table 2). Annex 1 lists the courses being offered at the

licenciatura level by the main institutions in the country. We can see that most of the courses are in the “soft” areas of the social professions and humanities, followed by courses in the health professions (except medicine), with only Uni-CV offering more options in technology. Some institutions also offer courses at the MA level, but doctoral programs are only offered in partnership with universities abroad. There is very little information and very little actually happening in terms of research.

Table 2

	Doctor	MA	Pos Graduate	Licenciado	Bacharel	Total
Universidade Pública de Cabo Verde (Uni-CV)	25	117	0	121	0	263
Universidade Jean Piaget de Cabo Verde (Uni-Piajet)	7	62	0	114	1	184
Instituto de Estudos Superiores Isidoro da Graça (IESIG)	2	12	0	85	0	99
Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Empresariais (ISCEE)	3	63	22	72	0	160
Instituto de Estudos Superiores Isidoro da Graça (IESIG)	2	17	5	10	0	34
Mindeo_ Escola Internacional de Arte (M-EIA)	4	2	0	10	0	16
Universidade Lusófona de Cabo Verde Baltasar Lopes da Silva	5	13	0	50	0	68
Universidade Intercontinental de Cabo Verde (Única)	4	10	0	29	0	43
Universidade de Santiago	5	27	9	18	0	59
Total	57	323	36	509	1	926
Source: Ministério de Educação Superior, Ciência e Cultura						

Graduate education, research and innovation

The conventional wisdom is that all academic staff in universities should have a doctoral degree, which would require a very large and expensive investment by the Cape Verde government in graduate education and in hiring talent from abroad. In practice, this is the case in the universities in developed countries, but not in the developing regions, and particularly not in private institutions concerned only with undergraduate or professional education. (Balbachevsky and Schwartzman 2009; Levine 1997; Schwartzman and Balbachevsky 1996). In Brazil today, for instance, only the state universities in the state of São Paulo meet this criteria. Overall, 48% of the academics in public higher education institutions in Brazil have doctoral degrees, while only 13% in private institutions do. The Brazilian Ministry of Education exerts pressure on the private sector to hire more faculty with doctoral degrees, but there is also a good argument in favor of having teachers with more market experience than academic degrees in professional education. As Cape Verde develops its higher education sector, it will need more persons with doctoral degrees for its more advanced research and technological careers, but it should also be careful not to adhere too strictly to the conventional academic wisdom that no higher

education could exist without graduate education and research, and that no research, technology and innovation could develop without university-based academic research.

University-based research is an important component of advanced economies such as the United States, England and the Scandinavian countries, but the technological prowess of Asian countries such as Japan and Korea did not come initially from their universities, but from their industries. Even in the United States and in European countries, it is the links and cooperation between universities, public research institutions, industries and government, in complex and comprehensive innovation systems, that explains their economic and technological achievements, not just their universities, in a mode of scientific and technological production which is very different from the conventional views (Gibbons et al. 1994; Branscomb, Kodama, and Florida 1999). In Latin America, the experience of countries such as Brazil and Mexico, which have invested in the growth of their university-based research institutions and graduate education, is that they have difficulties linking out to society and the economy to respond to its needs, except under special circumstances (Schwartzman 2008). In part, this is due to the universities' reluctance to engage with the private sector, but also to the low technological levels of most local companies.

The implication for Cape Verde, given its size and limited human and financial resources, is that it should be careful not invest in scientific research as such, without considering its purposes and applications, and should also avoid to put resources in costly technological and applied research and development projects without a clear idea of their users and long-term sustainability. The best practice would be, as the country develops, to be open and look for specific opportunities, combining public support with resources coming from the private sector and/or international cooperation. Public and private universities could play important roles in this process, participating in projects, providing and incorporating expertise and resources, improving the qualifications of their staff and providing learning opportunities for their students.

Another risk with graduate education and academic research is that of low quality, very likely if the institutions remain isolated and protected from external assessment and reviews. One of the justifications to maintain the duality between university and non-university institutions is to make sure that advanced degrees are not granted by institutions without the proper academic qualifications and resources. Given the current state of higher education in Cape Verde today and in the foreseeable future, however, there is no assurance that graduate degrees offered by universities would be of the desirable quality either. Today, Uni-CV and some other institutions are starting to offer MA degrees, but no institution in the country offers doctor's degrees by themselves, only in partnership with institutions abroad. Still, one possible problem with these international cooperation degree programs is that the quality and academic standing of the foreign partners are not assessed, and can be questionable. For historical reasons and also because of language limitations, a large part of the existing international cooperation is done with Portugal, Brazil and Spain, which are not necessarily the countries where the most advanced and creative graduate programs occur. Given the small number of graduate programs in the country, their quality and the quality of international partners could be assessed by peer review mechanisms similar to the one established by CAPES in Brazil many years ago (Ribeiro 2007), in combination with the agencies in charge of innovation policies in a broader sense. Another approach could be to seek international accreditation of specific programs from foreign quality assurance bodies.

Public and Private Higher Education

The Cape Verde legislation recognizes the importance of the private sector, private institutions have access to student scholarships, and the government has been very lenient in allowing them to get established. Still, interviews with officers of private institutions show that they feel marginalized by government, or at least subject to "benign neglect", particularly after the creation of Uni-CV. One of the complaints is that they do not have access to the Internet network operated by the public sector and available for Uni-CV, forcing them to pay the high costs and bear the low quality of the existing commercial providers. They

also complain that they are not called to participate in several international cooperation projects sponsored or promoted by the Cape Verde government; and some feel that, to the extent that they perform a public service, by enhancing the country's human resources, they should also be entitled to public subsidies, which they do not get. The Cape Verde government may want to learn from the recent experience of Pakistan, whose Higher Education Commission, the equivalent of the Ministry of Higher Education, has carefully included leading private institutions in the reform program financed by the government. For example, the private institutions have full access to the country's digital infrastructure, and benefit from subsidies to hire young Ph.D. graduates returning after completing their studies overseas.

While traditionally, in Europe, most higher education has been public, private institutions have played a major role in most countries that expanded their higher education the last decades – Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Japan, Korea, and also in former socialist countries (Altbach 1999b; Slancheva and Levy 2007; Bjarnason et al. 2009; Altbach 1999a; Brunner 2009). Private higher education can be of many kinds, from non-profit to entrepreneurial, and the very distinction between public and private education institutions is blurred – it is less a question of who owns it (the state, a non-profit corporation, a religious order, or a private company) but of what role it performs and whether they are entitled or not to public support. In some countries, state-owned universities are run by a government agency, while in others, as in Britain, they are organized as fully autonomous and self-governing institutions, receiving public support according to their outcomes. In Chile, the government provides direct subsidy both to public and a select group of private universities, and also through student grants. In Brazil, the government has a program to grant tax exemption to private universities in exchange for free enrollment of low-income students¹¹.

Each type of institution has its advantages and shortcomings. State-owned institutions can be expensive, difficult to steer, and prone to accommodation, but, when performing well, can develop long-term research activities and provide high quality professional education. Private institutions are more

¹¹ This is the “Prouni” program, <http://prouniportal.mec.gov.br/>

subject to short-term, market considerations, sometimes at the expense of quality, but can also be more sensitive to market needs, respond better to incentives, and provide education opportunities for older and less educated persons who would not qualify to traditional university careers. They are also cheaper to maintain, and require less public subsidies.

There is no simple answer to the question of to what extent private institutions should be regulated by the public sector. In general, however, it makes sense to let the private market to expand, allowing for institutional differentiation and creativity¹², and to develop certification procedures for those willing to engage in professions of public interest, such as medicine, engineering or teaching. It is also important for the government to clearly define the status, autonomy and regulations of non-profit and for-profit higher education institutions, particularly in regard to their access to direct and indirect public subsidies. In broad terms, private institutions should be considered part of the national assets for developing the country's human capital, and should be supported as such. For instance, in Cape Verde, private higher education institutions should have access to the public internet network, since this is clearly in the government's and nation's interest, as it will help to generate the graduates needed to achieve the goal of turning the country a hub of ITC services. This should be seen as an investment in quality and relevance of graduates, not as a public subsidy to private educational entrepreneurs.

Quality assurance

Until recently, there were no quality assurance procedures for the authorization and evaluation of higher education institutions in the country. It was only in 2007 that the government established legislation for the authorization and functioning of private higher education institutions (República de Cabo Verde 2007). Before that, authorization was granted in a provisional basis, without significant prerequisites. In 2009, for the first time, the government established an external evaluation procedure to assess the quality of the two main private institutions in the country, the Universidade Jean Piaget and the Insitituto de

¹² See, for the importance of institutional differentiation in higher education, (Van Vught 2008)

Estudos Superiores Isidoro da Graça. A commission of Portuguese academics, based on previously prepared self-evaluation documents and extensive visits and interviews in the institutions, did the work. In their report, they noted the intentions and limitations of the institutions, and made very specific recommendations for their improvement. For the Universidade Jean Piaget, they noted that the university had “relatively well elaborated ideas about their orientation to reach the level of self-sustained development, and awareness of their main current limitations”. So, the main recommendation was that they should carry on with their strategic plan for institutional development, with the necessary adjustments, and presented a long list of specific suggestions for improvement. For instance, the commission noted that the qualifications of the academic staff of the university are still insufficient, in spite of the substantial effort being done for providing them with master and doctoral degrees. It noted also that the working contracts, renewable every year, are not compatible with the goal of staff stability. The commission found a more difficult situation in IESIG, noting the wide gap between the institution’s strategic ambitions and its limitations, both in terms of material resources and the academic qualification of its staff, and followed with a list of 17 very specific recommendations.

It is not clear whether the recommendations were implemented or not by the institutions, or whether the government established some procedure to assess whether the recommendations were adopted, and the possible implications of not doing it. The mandate of the commission was not to decide whether the institutions should or not be authorized to function, but to help them with an external analysis and recommendations. The standards adopted by the committee in their assessments were those of the academic institutions they knew in Portugal, which are also inscribed in the ambitious higher education legislation of Cape Verde, and in this sense both institutions were found lacking. The results of these two external evaluations were not well publicized, either by the government or by the institutions under evaluation, thus weakening one of the objectives of quality assurance procedures, which is to inform the public and student choices.

There are projects to establish more elaborated quality assurance mechanisms in Cape Verde, so as to make the degrees offered by its higher education institutions compatible with those of the members of the Bologna accord. However, considering the small size and academic weakness of its institutions, it may be better to work with each institution individually, establishing goals for improvement to be included in performance contracts to be monitored case by case, than to create a complex and expensive quality assurance institution.

Financing

The Cape Verde government finances higher education mostly through direct subsidies to Uni-CV and student scholarships. Uni-CV receives about 40% of its budget from government, and charges tuition to its student to complement it. Uni-CV tuition fees are currently between CVE 9,000 and CVE 11,000 a month (US\$ 120 and US\$ 150). Payments are made monthly for twelve months even though the academic year is ten months. A ten percent discount is given if a lump sum payment is made. Private university tuition fees are reportedly highest at Jean Piaget, where they range from CVE 16,000 to 20,000 a month (US\$ 270). Fees at other private universities are: Instituto Superior Isidoro da Graça: 15,000 CVE per month; Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Empresariais: 16,000 to 17,000 CVE per month; Universidade Santiago: 14,000 to 18,000 CVE per month.

Most scholarships are granted by the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Culture through public competition, using resources from FAEF, a National Fund for Teaching and Education (Fundo de Apoio à Educação e Formação), to study in the country and abroad¹³. FAEF's annual budget averaged USD 6.5 million over the past three years. Local scholarships increased from 230 in 2007/2008 to 246 in 2008/2009 to 312 in 2009/2010. In 2009/2010, FAEF supported 1,022 local scholarships and 1,300 overseas scholarships.

Payments are made directly to the student beneficiary rather than to the institution and this has prompted concern with possible misuse of these funds in

¹³ The information on scholarships provided below are extracted from a forthcoming report on access to higher education in Cape Verde by William Saint.

some cases. Originally, the students had to pay back their scholarships after graduation, but, in practice, it has been impossible for the government to collect this payment, and there was a recent decision to forgive all the past debt, transforming the previous loan system into non-refundable grants. To qualify, students should come from low-income families and meet a minimum standard of achievement in secondary education. There are different kinds of scholarships for teacher training schools, undergraduate and graduate studies in the country and abroad.

FAEF is not the only institution providing student scholarships; another important source is Fundação Cabo-Verdiano da Acção Social e Escolar (FICASE). Housed under the Ministry of Education, the FICASE scholarship program is more explicitly focused on the student's financial need than the FAEF program. Applications must be from students from families of less than CVE 35,000 (USD 473) per month, and can only be submitted after the student has failed to receive a FAEF scholarship. In academic year 2009/2010 FICASE awarded a total of 832 new scholarships. This is a sharp increase from 682 awards in 2008/2009 and 256 awards in 2007/2008.

Also, the Ministry of Labor (Ministério do Trabalho, Família e Solidaridade Social) has a Support Program for Students of Needy Families that provided roughly 225 higher education scholarships annually over the past five years. Its sole criterion is demonstrated financial need. Finally, there are also fellowships provided by the Ministry of Youth and by local municipal councils.

There are also many scholarships offered by cooperation agencies and foreign governments for studies abroad, particularly from Portugal, with the participation of the Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento (IPAD), Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, and Fundação BCP – Banco Comercial Português. Portugal is also the main destination of current international migration from Cape Verde, followed by the United States, and Brazil is becoming an important destination for studies abroad and academic cooperation. Brazil offers free access of Cape Verde citizens to its public higher education institutions, and sometimes also additional support

for travel, and grants visas for those who want to come privately to study, if officially requested by the Cape Verde government. Currently, there are more than one thousand Cape Verde students in Brazil, and there is some concern that they may not be going to the best institutions.

The estimation for 2009 was that almost 4 thousand students received scholarships or other kind of financial support, about 600 of which for study abroad. This means that, in practice, 40% of the higher education students are able to go to university for free, which raises the question of to what extent should higher education be supported with public resources. Since access to higher education tends to be higher for persons from higher income and education levels and brings high private benefits for degree holders, it makes sense to expect the students at this level to pay at least in part for the cost of their studies. Also, although higher education should not wait for basic and secondary education to be fully developed, there is a strong case to be made to concentrate public investments in the quality of basic and secondary education in Cape Verde. The relative weight of public and private financing to higher education varies widely among countries, but in no country higher education is completely self-sustaining, and public investments are necessary to maintain high quality institutions, to increase equity and to support graduate education and research. According to UNESCO's Institute of Statistics, in 2008 Cape Verde spent 6.4% of its GNP in public education, with 36.3% going to higher education, 36.6% in secondary, and 11.3% in higher education. These figures express a high commitment to education in general, and a healthy emphasis on the basic and secondary levels. It also reflects, however, the small size of the higher education sector in the country, which, with the recent creation of Universidade de Cabo Verde, is already pressing the national budget for more resources and a bigger share of the country's education expenditures.

Vocational Education

The list of courses in Annex 1, showing a strong emphasis on the social professions and health services, is an indication that most higher education that exists today in Cape Verde is already professionally oriented. There is very little,

however, in terms of post-secondary vocational education in the strict sense, that is, courses of short duration leading directly to job market occupations. This year, Uni-CV is offering 12 short-term vocational courses in areas such as management of edifications, maintenance of equipment in hospitals and hotels, bio-diagnostics, tourist guidance, musical performance and entrepreneurship, but it is still not clear how popular these offerings will become.

Vocational education in Cape Verde is the responsibility of the Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional (Employment and Vocational Education Institute), an independent agency linked both to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labor. The work of IEFP is based in a Strategic Plan for Vocational Education¹⁴ for 2007-10 (Ministério de Qualificação e Emprego 2007) and several legal norms defining the roles of IEFP and the conceptual and institutional framework for professional education in the country (Ministério de Qualificação e Emprego 2008).

The Strategic Plan document gives a history of vocational education in Cape Verde, some basic information on the country's economy, and presents a long-term strategy based on six "strategic axis", or priorities: the development of an integrated system of education/vocational education/ employment; the creation of a national system of professional qualifications and competencies; the permanent provision of initial vocational education; the stimulus of continuing vocational education with the participation of private companies and other partners; the establishment a unit to train the managers, tutors and teachers of vocational education; and the organization of an integrated system of statistical information on employment and vocational education. The document describes the specific goals, practical actions, and indicators of results for each axis, as well as their estimated cost. The total estimated cost for the strategy was CVE 1.521 billion Cape Verde Escudos, or 20 million dollars. In the past, vocational education has been supported mostly with resources of international cooperation, but the expectation was that the private sector, the students and the government could finance the new plan.

¹⁴ Instead of "Educação", the Institute uses the term "Formação", to distinguish it from the formal education provided by the regular education institutions.

No assessment of the achievements of this plan is available, but IFP is actively implementing several of its goals. One of the responsibilities of IEFP is to accredit institutions willing to provide vocational education, and it has also embarked in two ambitious projects, one to introduce vocational education in all public secondary schools in Cape Verde, and the other to develop a National Framework of Professional Qualifications and Competencies, to identify those that should be given priority, and to certify the students accordingly. This work has led to the identification of 21 “professional families”, of which 11 are considered priorities. IEFP is working with secondary schools to stimulate them to provide vocational education opportunities for their students, and the estimation is that between 20 to 30% of secondary school students are already in vocational programs. Both the vocational and the general education legislation allow great flexibility for students to move from vocational to general education and from different types of secondary to different types of higher education, thus avoiding the situation in which the student who opts for vocational education cannot move up to higher levels if they want and are able to do it.

Besides vocational education in schools, there are several institutions in the country providing non-degree vocational training at different levels. Data from 2001, mentioned in the Strategic Plan, identified 84 such establishments, 26 public, 49 private, and 11 managed by non-governmental and religious organizations. Currently, IEFP manages six “employment centers” that provide information and do all kinds of activities to promote employment and vocational education, directly or in partnership with the private sector, and four centers for vocational education, with four more being implemented: the School of Hotel Management and Tourism, a center of agro industries and another for renewable energy. IEFP also manages a Fund for the Promotion of Employment and Vocational Education (Fundo de Promoção do Emprego e Formação).

The balance between vocational and general and more traditional higher education is always a delicate question. Vocational education, when offered in close association with the productive sector, as in the traditional European apprenticeship system, can be very important, providing people with very concrete job opportunities and allowing them to obtain, through learning-by-

doing, levels of competency they may not be able to achieve in more conventional education settings. However, vocational education can easily become a kind of second-class education for children from poorer families, which may never get the chance to achieve higher levels of competency and professional qualification. On the other extreme, an excessive emphasis on the more classical higher education, particularly in countries with limited human and financial resources and low quality secondary education, can lead to wasteful, low quality and, ultimately, irrelevant vocational qualifications. The tension between vocational and the traditional higher education was and still is at the core of the debates around the European Bologna process (Neave 2003), and is an important issue to be considered in the development of Cape Verde's educational system.

Higher Education and the labor market

All public documents and legislation related to higher and vocational education in Cape Verde mentions their importance for enhancing the country's human capital and making them more directly relevant to the needs of the labor market. To a large extent, the kind of courses offered by most higher education institutions, in the fields of law, management, information technology and health services are adjusted to the needs of an expanding urban middle class and a growing public sector. Indeed, the low levels of unemployment among higher education graduates are evidence that this adjustment exists. However, on the long run, there may be a tension between the high expectations for the higher education sector and the actual demands of the country's labor market.

Currently, the job market in Cape Verde is characterized by high informality and low skills of the working force. According to a recent study (República de Cabo Verde 2006), most jobs are in activities of agriculture and fishery (30%), commerce (26%), construction (9.4%), public administration (8.5%), transportation (5.6%) and education (4.8%), and, overall, 70% of the employees do not have a formal working contract. Unemployment, which affects mostly the young, may have been aggravated by the recent economic downturn, but, according to the Ministry of Employment diagnostics, "unemployment in Cape

Verde is a structural phenomenon caused by the natural and climate limitations for the development of the primary sector, and the frailty of the secondary sector". This situation is made worse by the flow of immigrants, mostly unskilled, entering the country, and willing to accept low paying and demanding jobs that many Cape Verdeans prefer not to take (p. 16).

To change this situation, Cape Verde has identified four clusters of activities that could, hopefully, bring more dynamism to the economy and link it more strongly the global economy¹⁵. The idea of the "cluster of the sea" is to create in the city of Mindelo, in the island of São Vicente, a large center for fishery, sea freight operations and oceanographic research for the African region, with the benefit of the existing deep-sea port and the country's geographical location. The "cluster of the sky" would be based on the island of Sal, transforming it into a base for international airline hubs and maintenance. Investments for these two clusters have been estimated to be around 400 million dollars, with the Bank for African Development as a possible source of financing¹⁶. The other two clusters are in the areas of information and communication technologies and financial services. The country is already opening its doors to tourism, providing fiscal incentives for foreign investors to build hotels and beach resorts.

Hopefully, these projects will come to fruition, and they will demand highly skilled manpower at all levels to manage them. Even in the best scenarios, however, there is the risk of keeping these projects as isolated enclaves, staffed and managed by persons brought from abroad, with reduced benefit to the local population. There are already signs that this problem is occurring in the hotel industry, and particularly in the large, all-inclusive hotels in which the guests pay all their expenses abroad and do not use the services from or otherwise engage the local population. An important handicap of Cape Verde has to do with language. As mentioned before, the population speaks Creole at home, but formal education is done in Portuguese, and not all students learn it well enough for jobs requiring secondary school level language fluency. Besides, Portuguese by itself is not suitable for the provision of international financial and

¹⁵ <http://www.cargoedicoes.pt/site/Default.aspx?tabid=380&id=2809&area=Cargo>

¹⁶ <http://www.asemana.publ.cv/spip.php?article52348>

communication services and for international cooperation and projects, which require English. As these projects develop, they should include strong components of human resources development, with the participation of the country's higher education institutions and IEPF.

Governance

We have argued previously that government cannot expect to fully plan and control what happens with higher education in the country, but still has very important roles to play. The first consideration, regarding governance, is the extent of governments' interference and action, and the simple answer is that public interference should be proportional to the amount of public resources involved. If all higher education were public, it would be the government's responsibility to make sure that all institutions are properly managed and its resources are not being wasted; still, by its nature, higher education institutions require high levels of autonomy and self-regulation to perform their role in a modern, democratic society. If all institutions were private and self-supporting, a hands-off approach would be more advisable, although it would be still the governments' responsibility to assure that the institutions meet minimum quality standards. Besides the regulation of institutions, the government has also to deal with issues of equity, quality, relevance and innovation. Regarding equity, the usual approach is that it is the government's responsibility to assure access and good results in basic education, but in higher education the main issue is equal opportunity, which can be achieved through non-discriminatory legislation and specific support programs for underprivileged sectors. Regarding quality and relevance, it depends very much on how the professional job market is regulated. If the professional job market is strongly regulated, with earmarked professional niches and privileges for persons with specific academic credentials (accountants, lawyers, medical doctors, nurses), and these credentials are granted by higher education institutions, this increases the role to be played by the government in regulating the quality of public and private higher education institutions. If, on the other hand, the professional job market is less regulated, with professional certifications, when needed, granted by autonomous certification agencies, then the need for the government to regulate private

education is very much reduced. Issues of relevance and innovation may deserve a more active presence of the public sector. If the government identifies the need to develop manpower and technological capabilities in a specific area, for instance to meet the requirements of an important cluster of economic development, this will require either direct investments or incentives to private institutions to increase the number and quality of persons in this area. This should be done better, in any case, in partnership with the public and private sectors involved in that cluster.

The management of the government's own institution, the Universidade do Cabo Verde, requires a special consideration. Universities are complex, knowledge intensive, multipurpose institutions, and cannot be ruled vertically like armies or private, profit-seeking business companies. At the same time, public universities are too expensive and important to be run only by the their own internal academic and professional groups. A balance is needed, and the tendency, worldwide, is for the universities to have governing council with a majority of members from outside, with the authority to appoint the rector, approve the budget, and approve the university's strategic plan. One function of such governing council is to make sure that the institution's strategic plan is consistent with the society's needs and compatible with the existing human and financial resources. The Universidade de Cabo Verde is only four years old, does not have an autonomous, externally appointed governing council and does not have a strategic plan. However, it already has 43 licenciatura and 21 Mestrado programs, and is hoping to open a couple of PhD programs in the near future. It is important to make sure that this expansion will not bring quality problems that may be difficult to repair later on.

For any government, rules and regulations are important, but when they try to predict all the possible situations, they bring the risk of creating straightjackets for future action, and replace policy decisions by bureaucratic procedures. In recent years, the Cape Verde government has invested considerable energy in drafting and approving legislation for all aspects of education, mostly by adapting it from Portugal and other countries. The concern is that Portugal itself it is not well advanced in its transition from an old, legalistic and bureaucratic

tradition to a modern, more pragmatic, performance-based public management culture. In his discussion of this transition process, one author attributes the difficulties in the decades of authoritarian rule Portugal lived under Salazar, for him,

The origins of certain structural characteristics of the Portuguese administrative system are inherited from the dictatorship period in Portugal under the Salazar administration which lasted from 1932 to 1974. Some remain and characterize the Portuguese traditional bureaucracy: the 'rule by law' approach to management, formal control on inputs and procedures, centralized hierarchical organizational structures, authoritarian and paternalistic attitudes, centralized decision-making processes, fragmented structures and low communication levels. (Esteves de Araujo 2009 p. 562-3).

There is a considerable literature, however, placing the origin of this tradition in a much earlier period (Malloy 1977; Schwartzman 1977), and associating with a shared political culture of Southern European countries (Sotiropoulos 2004; Sarfatti 1966), creating a path dependency that has persisted through the years. Given the historical and cultural links between Cape Verde and Portugal, this is not a minor consideration.

International Cooperation and the Cape Verde Diaspora

Since colonial times, Cape Verde has had a large international diaspora. There are more Cape Verdeans abroad than in the country, and virtually every family has emigrant members. According to the Migration Policy Institute,

"The most recent figures, based on questions about emigration in the 2000 census, indicate that about half of all emigrants in the period 1995-2000 went to Portugal. The second most important destination was the United States, followed by France and the Netherlands. During the same period, there was also significant migration to Italy, Spain, and Luxembourg. More than a century of emigration has created Cape Verdean diaspora communities in about 25 countries across Europe, Africa, and the Americas (. . .). It is estimated that the number of people with Cape Verdean ancestry in the United States, including both migrants and their descendants, is higher than in any other country. However, the number of first-generation Cape Verdeans is probably higher in Portugal than in the United States" (Carling 2002).

This migration pattern is slowing down, mostly due to restrictive immigration policies in Europe and the United States, but remittances from abroad still account for a significant percentage of the country's income. The recent estimation from the World Bank is that there were 192.5 thousand emigrants from Cape Verde, or 37.8% of the population, mostly in Portugal, France and the United States, and their remittances to the country amounted to 145 million dollars in 2009, or about 10% of the national GNI.¹⁷ To this, one should add the resources spent by emigrants in tourism and transportation in their holiday visits.

The resources coming from abroad, both as remittances and as foreign aid, could lead to a negative effect known as a "Dutch disease", which would affect the country's real exchange rate and inhibit the motivation of the population to invest in education and look for work (Bourdet and Falck 2006).¹⁸ This may explain at least in part the high levels of unemployment in the country, particularly among persons with secondary education. Since they can rely on foreign remittances or public subsidies, they may refuse to take up more arduous and less gratifying jobs. However, authors that examined this issue more closely came to the conclusion that this negative impact is not very strong, and is likely to be reduced as the country moves from a reliance on official aid to a more growth oriented aid, combined with a more export-oriented domestic policy.

Another issue is brain drain. One feature of Cape Verde migration is that it includes relatively large numbers of persons with higher levels of education. A detailed econometric analysis based on a special survey and international data showed that the percentage of residents abroad with university degrees was 16.8%, against 3.4% in the country; and also that the percentage of returning immigrants with higher education degrees was 6%. The authors also estimate that the probability of migration given a completed secondary degree was 27.2%, and with a university degree or more, 24.7%, (Batista, Lacuesta, and Vicente 2007, tables 6 and 7, p. 34 and 38). In other words, the probability of an

¹⁷ <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/CapeVerde.pdf>

¹⁸ This expression is used by economists to refer to situations in which the international income generated by oil exports, for instance, or foreign remittances, leads to currency appreciation in the country, favoring imports over local market production.

educated person to migrate is fairly high, but, given the small percentage of educated people in the country, the relative weight of well-educated persons among migrants is small. Once abroad, Cabo Verdeans improve their education, and some of them return at a later stage. This is consistent with the World Bank finding that the number of Cape Verdeans living abroad with tertiary education corresponds to 67.5% of the country's population with similar qualifications (World Bank 2010; Docquier, Schiff, and World Bank. 2009; Docquier, Marfouk, and World Bank. 2004)¹⁹.

In short, although there is a trend for educated Cabo Verdeans to migrate, there are also benefits, as argued in the conclusion of this study:

“Our results point to brain drain not being as serious a problem as traditionally thought. Indeed, this paper finds that massive emigration in Cape Verde seems to have significantly encouraged the accumulation of human capital. Overall, our results point to emigration contributing by almost 40% to explain the fraction of university graduates in the Cape Verdean active population. The main channel through which this effect works does seem to be neither remittances nor return migration, but educational gains associated with the possibility of own future emigration. Our estimates suggest that an increase in the probability of own migration by 1pp increases the probability of completing intermediate secondary schooling by 1.9pp. The evidence obtained in this study should lead policymakers in both developing and developed countries not to devote their efforts to restricting migration flows of educated individuals. Not only are destination countries likely to benefit from the inflow of these skilled immigrants, as is relatively consensual, but these flows may also be beneficial for origin countries as Cape Verde. Indeed, while further studies on other source countries of educated migration would be required to make a stronger argument, for this case at least, keeping the doors of rich countries open to educated migration may be regarded as a form of “efficient aid”.

The international side of Cape Verde's society - the international diaspora, the flow of emigration and immigration, the weight for foreign remittances and international aid and expected insertion in the global economy – has implications for all policy areas, and particularly so for higher education. As the country invests in its universities, it is very important to avoid the situation,

¹⁹ This does not mean that 67.5% of the emigrants have tertiary education.

famous in the case of Philippine nurses, in which the country pays for the education of persons who end up working in the United States. Batista and others make a very important point, that there is also a positive side in the international diaspora, and countries like China, India and Korea are making very good use of their diaspora for their economic growth. This does not preclude the need for clear policies to deal with these issues. The country should not invest and subsidize expansion of higher education in fields for which there is no domestic demand, but there is no reason to limit it if it is done privately. Support for studies abroad are very important and should be maintained, but only when the student has a high probability of returning to the country, either because an existing working contract or because there is a clearly identified demand for his future competencies, in government, higher education or in the private sector. If this is not done, restrictive policies (such as demanding those staying abroad to pay back for the education) seldom work. The most important policy would be to recognize that the country would have to compete with the rest of the World for Cape Verde talent, and be prepared to offer incentives to retain or bring from outside its most capable human resources.

Conclusions

Cape Verde is a small country, with a low-skilled, not very educated population, a highly informal economy based on agricultural activities and local commerce and high rates of unemployment, with a very incipient higher education system. It has also some important assets - political stability, a privileged geographical location, and strong international ties, thanks in large part to its large diaspora, which is a source of contacts and resources. Thanks to these assets, including substantial international aid and foreign remittances, the country's economy has developed in recent years, and today 60% of the population lives in urban cities. With economic development and urbanization comes growing demand for higher levels of education and middle-class jobs, which are being provided to some extent by the expanding public sector. The expectation is that, as the economy becomes more sophisticated, there will be more opportunities, and also more need for highly skilled manpower, which justifies public investment both in higher and technical and vocational education.

For a poor, former African colony, Cape Verde has shown a significant commitment with education, with about 6% of GNP invested in the sector, mostly at the primary and secondary levels. No universities existed until ten years ago, there is still no medical schools, the number of persons with a doctoral degree is very small, and there is practically no advanced graduate education and research in the country. To a large extent, persons studying abroad and returning to the country have supplied the needs for highly skilled personnel. Besides individual initiatives, the country has been very actively promoting academic international cooperation and interchanges, providing students with scholarships to study abroad, allowing international universities to get established, and supporting cooperation programs between Cape Verde and universities in other countries for the provision of advanced degrees. Some of this cooperation has also the support of international agencies and foreign governments.

It is understandable that the government and the population in Cape Verde would like to have at least one university that could be compared with those in the developed countries, and also a broad system of vocational education that could prepare the population for the expected economic growth and social development in the years to come. By reading the existing documents and interviewing officers of different public and private agencies and institutions, one comes impressed by the quality of the work and thoughtfulness that is being placed in the legal frameworks and plans being developed for these activities. Still, the feeling remains that these projects do not take enough into account, on one hand, the practical limitations of size, human and material resources in the country, and, on the other, the opportunities provided by international cooperation and interchange;

It is also important to consider the possible tradeoffs between the private and the public, or social benefits of higher education. From an individual perspective, higher education brings higher income and social prestige, and also the opportunities for international migration. For the country as a whole, a more educated workforce increases income and productivity. However, as discussed previously, these two benefits do not necessarily coincide, and an oversized and

bureaucratized higher education system in a relatively poor country can become a burden, rather than an asset.

The suggestion following this observation is that, to move ahead, the country needs to adopt a much more pragmatic approach regarding its limitations, and a much bolder approach to make use of the opportunities of international cooperation in higher education and research. This would require less investment in legislation, norms and formal planning, a work that is done in most part in any case, and a stronger effort to identify very specific opportunities for promising investments in the country and in international interchange and cooperation. It is necessary to make sure that Cape Verde is not moving too fast in copying from Europe the institutional trappings of academic standards, graduate education and research, before being satisfied that the existing institutions and course programs are viable, their graduates are well-qualified and their competencies in tune with the demands and potentialities of the labor market. In the same vein, the potential contributions of private providers of education should be stimulated and better integrated in the national policies and legislation. The same applies to vocational education, which should be developed very closely with clearly identified economic sectors and their representatives.

Annex 1 - Course offerings by the main higher education institutions in Cape Verde

Course offerings by the main higher education institutions in Cape Verde

Univ Cabo Verde	UNICA	Jean Piaget	ISCEE	IESIG	Lusófona	Univ Santiago
Technology and Engineering						
Engenharia Civil		Arquitectura			Design	Tecnologia da Informação e Comunicação
Engenharia Informática e de Engenharia Química e Biológica		Engenharia de Construção Civil			Egenharia Informática	
Ciências Físico-Químicas		Engenharia de Sistemas e				
Matemática						
Engenharia Electrotécnica						
Engenharia Mecânica						
Biological Sciences, Health						
Ciências Biológicas	Análises Clínicas e Saúde Pública	Análises Clínicas e Saúde Pública		Psicologia	Psicologia	Enfermagem
Enfermagem	Farmácia	Biologia		Enfermagem		
Biologia Marinha e Pescas	Fisioterapia	Ciências Farmacêuticas				
	Desporto	Engenharia Alimentar				
	Enfermagem	Ecologia e Desenvolvimento				
		Enfermagem				
		Fisioterapia				
		Psicologia				
Social Professions, Business						
Comunicação e Multimédia		Ciências da Comunicação	Marketing	Informática de Gestão	Ciências de Comunicação	Economia
Estatística e Gestão de Informação		Informática de Gestão	Turismo	Gestão Hoteleira e Turismo	Contabilidade, Administração e Auditoria	Gestão de Empresas
Ciências Empresariais e Organizacionais		Direito	Gestão	Organização e Gestão de Empresas	Direito	Contabilidade
Geografia e Ordenamento do Território		Serviço Social	Contabilidade	Direito	Gestão de Empresas	Serviço Social e Políticas Públicas
		Administração Pública e Autárquica			Gestão de Empresas Turísticas e Hoteleiras	
		Economia e Gestão			Serviço Social	
		Gestão de Hotelaria e Turismo.				
Social Sciences, Humanities and Education						
Estudos Cabo-verdianos e Portugueses		Ciências da Educação e Praxis Educativa		História		Geografia
Estudos Franceses		Educação Artística				Estudos Franceses
Estudos Ingleses		Sociologia		Sociologia		Sociologia
Filosofia				Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais		Filosofia
História				Estudos Caboverianos e Portugueses		História
Ciências Sociais				Estudos Ingleses		Ciências da Educação

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