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resources have swelled the government budget. In 2001 Kazakhstan launched a multi-year program (now extended to 2020) to improve education. Many universities are stronger and healthier than in the 1990s, with higher salaries and state funding for research and development. Standards have been improved with the introduction of the Unified National Test, roughly equivalent to the SAT (the standardized test used for most college admissions in the United States). As a signatory to the Bologna Process, Kazakhstan introduced the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) which has improved mobility and flexibility. Between 2004 and 2008 the Ministry of Education and Science closed about 40 underperforming universities and branch campuses. In the 1990s, entrepreneurs started opening private universities to attract upper and middle-class students dissatisfied with education at state institutions. Some failed or were closed because they did not meet minimal standards; from a peak of 123 in 1990, the number fell to 83 in 2007, but rebounded slightly to 92 in 2010. Nationwide, about 620,000 students are enrolled, most at state institutions; about 285,000 (46 per cent) are part-time or distance education students, completing their requirements by examination. Over the next few years, enrollment may decline because of demographic trends. In the harsh economic times after independence in 1991, fewer children were born, and this is the cohort now reaching college age. About one fifth of students are supported by merit-based state scholarships (which do not cover living expenses); the rest pay tuition. During the global economic crisis, working and middle-class families found it difficult to pay for
faculties and departments to have a specified number of teachers with graduate degrees, those that do not will lose their state accreditation. Most working journalists have only a bachelor's degree, so the rule often prevents departments from hiring them. Even without it, attracting practitioners is a financial challenge; journalism in Central Asia is not a well-paid profession, but teachers' pay is even lower. At many universities, working journalists can do no more than give a few pro bono guest presentations, and supervise internships.

The trend is worrying, because enrollment in Kazakh-language journalism tracks (most universities offer two tracks, in Russian and Kazakh) is increasing. Even Kazakh academics admit that the educational and professional standards of Kazakh-language journalism teachers are lower than their Russian-language counterparts, and so departments face a difficult dilemma: Russian-language teaching capacity may be adequate, but there are fewer students to teach; more students want to work in Kazakh-language journalism, but there are not enough qualified teachers.

Many graduates do not end up working in journalism because Kazakhstan's media sector, although it has expanded, especially in online news, does not create enough jobs for the annual output of graduates. Some had always planned to work in the better-paying fields of public relations and corporate communication, but many others have to find work in non-media fields. The trend towards English-language instruction also has consequences. Several universities offer what they call "international journalism" programs, which include instruction in foreign languages (usually English) and more courses in international relations and economics than in the traditional curriculum. In principle, this is an advantage because students can do Internet research and interviews in English, thus broadening their range of sources. However, it does not help them much in a job market dominated by Kazakh and Russian-language media.

The over-supply of journalism graduates was the pretext for a controversial proposal in 2011 by Education and Science Minister Bakhytzhan Zhumagulov to close all the journalism departments at regional state universities, and offer journalism at only two institutions – Kazakh National University (KazNU) in Almaty and Eurasian National University (ENU) in Astana. KazNU is the traditional leader in journalism education in Kazakhstan; it has been educating journalists since 1934, and, in collaboration with the ministry, plans the national curriculum. Although there was broad agreement that weak departments with few students should close, the plan was opposed by almost all regional university rectors who correctly sensed that Zhumagulov had a political agenda. Centralizing journalism education in Astana and Almaty would help the authorities to make sure that teachers and students toed the government line and would draw on a steady stream
but by competencies. Under the Bologna Process, a series of general competencies for undergraduate education has been developed. Despite claims by successive education ministers that Kazakhstan has adopted “a competence based model”9, learning continues to be measured by hours in class, lectures delivered androte repetition of material. Bologna’s general competencies are supplemented by disciplinary competencies—the knowledge, skills and values that students are expected to achieve by the time they graduate. This is accomplished through the so-called “tuning process”, in which competencies for a discipline are specified. Journalism has not yet gone through the tuning process. However, there are several models that could be followed. In June 2006, the European Journalism Training Association (EJTA), meeting in Estonia, issued the Tartu Declaration. It describes the role, rights and social responsibilities of journalists, then lists 10 basic competencies. On graduation, students should be able to:

1) reflect on the societal role of and development within journalism;
2) find relevant issues and angles, given the public and production aims of a certain medium or different media;
3) organize and plan journalistic work;
4) gather information swiftly, using customary newsgathering techniques and methods of research;
5) select the essential information;
6) structure information in a journalistic manner;
7) present information in appropriate language and an effective journalistic form;
8) evaluate and account for journalistic work;
9) cooperate in a team or an editorial setting;
10) Work in a professional media organization or as a freelancer 10.

In June 2007, over 400 delegates from 45 countries met in Singapore for the first World Journalism Education Congress. They reached consensus on four essential elements of journalism education11:

1. Provide a balance of theory and practice.
2. Emphasize the core skills of reading, reporting and writing.
3. Give students grounding in additional disciplines such as law, economics, politics and science.
4. Give students experience through classroom labs and internships 12.

Journalism education in Kazakhstan is still a long way away from meeting international standards. The Soviet literary tradition, strict ministry requirements for academic qualifications, a lack of teachers with practical experience, a mandated national curriculum, the group system, a heavy class schedule that limits outside study, and a lack of competency-based learning outcomes prevent universities from providing students with the knowledge and skills they need to work in the media industry. A resolution from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Central Asia region has called for “democracy and as a tool in combating corruption” 10. It is a noble goal, but under present conditions, unrealistic.

**TEXTBOOKS AND RESOURCES**

Even if students had time outside class to read, there’s often not much useful material in the university library. Although larger institutions have invested in research libraries and online databases, most regional universities lack recent books, and have few (if any) journal subscriptions. The situation is puzzling, given the traditional emphasis on print materials for education and research. In its guidelines for faculty research and “high-impact factor” academic journals, the ministry refuses to count publications in peer-reviewed, electronic journals as faculty research output. Everything has to be in print.

Internet and database access has been improving, although the number of work stations at many universities is still insufficient, and lab hours are often limited. The number of copyright-free, downloadable Russian-language sources on media and journalism has also been steadily increasing, and several online libraries offer a wide range of resources, including materials on economic, business, environmental and science reporting. Many of these are listed in the recommended and week-by-week readings for courses in the Russian-language version of the UNESCO Model Curricula on Journalism Education. For students in Kazakh-language journalism tracks, fewer print and online resources are available. A project, supervised by KNU and funded by UNESCO, began in 2011 to identify and collect available online Kazakh-language sources; a team of Kazakh-language journalism educators and journalists is also developing new materials. Some Kazakh-language class assignments, developed in workshops by the Kazakhstan Newspaper Publishers Association, are available on the UNESCO Model Curricula website 14.

**THE IMPACT OF MEDIA CONVERGENCE**

As already noted, Kazakhstan’s journalism curriculum is organized into six traditional sequences. This is mirrored by the division of the faculty of фарыныт into several departments, each with a head (department head). The assumption is that students will follow different career paths, and therefore need different, medium-specific skill sets. The rapid economic and technological convergence of media has challenged this assumption. In Kazakhstan, as in other countries, many media compa-