Appendix 3.1

Further Discussion on the Concept of Paradigm and Paradigm Shift

A distinction needs to be made between the definitions of 'paradigm' and 'paradigm shift' that I use in the main text, and the more general use of the term 'paradigm'. The common dictionary definition for 'paradigm' is a typical or stereotypical example of something, a pattern or model, or a distinct set of concepts. Lakatos and Musgrave (1970) identified more than 20 separate meanings, whilst Schubert and Schubert (1991) writing in the context of curriculum inquiry distinguished between paradigms as classification systems, as assumptions about inquiry, and as dimensions that define curriculum.

The concept of paradigm and paradigm shift that I shall be using in the context of the Methodological Research Programme developed by Lakatos (1980) stems from the seminal work of Kuhn (1970) on the nature of scientific revolutions. In contrast with earlier positivistic narratives of scientific inquiry, he maintained that knowledge has an intrinsic psychological and sociological component, and depended on the researchers' perceptions, which were themselves influenced by their social and scientific community. Popkewitz concurred: "Lost in this hegemony (of positivistic scientific inquiry) is the socially constructed and sustained quality of reasoning and logic" (Popkewitz, 1984 p.31).

Khun called the beliefs that underpin the practice of a scientific community its Paradigm; it incorporates the parameters of what should and should not be researched. As long as the problems and anomalies resulting from this paradigm can be resolved, explained or ignored as insignificant, the paradigm is progressive. However, as these anomalies increase they start questionning the viability of the paradigm, and the scientific community starts looking for another set of beliefs to explain both the 'facts' that could be explained by the old paradigm, as well as new anomalies.

Kuhn argued that historically, this change of paradigm from a decaying to a progressive one was in no way consensual. For a time the two competing paradigms remain side by side, until the supporters of the new paradigm convince the majority of their academic community that the anomalies that could not be explained by the old paradigm cannot be simply brushed aside, and that the new paradigm not only explains these erstwhile anomalies but shows the way for further scientific progress and 'factual' discoveries.

The principal point in Kuhn's concept of paradigm is that it starts, grows, flourishes and eventually becomes less relevant and is replaced under the impact of social-cultural realities as much as by materially 'objective' realities. Lakatos (op. cit.) rightly observed that no theory could ever be entirely justified, even for the simple reason that no one is able to predict all situations in which the theory may operate. This did not mean that progress could not be made, but the researcher would never have the certainty of knowing which research path to embark and thus safely ignoring the others. Lakatos therefore proposed that the researcher behave *as if* one theory was falsified and the other was not. The 'falsified' theory could be considered as not fit for purpose if its competitor was able to i) explain all the facts which could be explained by the falsified theory, and ii) foresee and corroborate new facts that were not possible with the falsified theory. Lakatos considered the abilty of a progressive paradigm to predict new scientific facts to be fundamental.

A researcher would thus be undertaking a programme of work composed of a series of progressive assumptions that evolved according to the interaction between new facts that were a result of the latest hypothesis, and successive real-life situations in which these facts were being tested. Lakatos called this the Methodological Research Programme (MRP). The MRP provides a protective belt for the hard core of statements and beliefs which cannot be changed because it is that which gives identity to the MRP. This hard core can be compared to Kuhn's Paradigm. In the MRP model, a paradigm is

considered as decaying if it starts generating hypotheses in response to anomalies. Therefore, the hypotheses are *ad hoc*, without any indication of how the theory will continue developing. A progressive paradigm generates a research programme that is independent of the anomalies that always arise, but hopes that the data arising from research will transform these anomalies into evidence that supports the theory.

Appendix 4.1

Documentary sources for 'archaeological' research

With respect to document analysis I analyzed primary and secondary sources that included:

a) documents related to the history of inspection in Malta and the build-up to the 2006 Education (Amendments) Act and other subsequent relevant legislation. These included:
   - the available circulars of the Department of Education from its inception in 1843 to the Second World War, and held by the National Archives of Malta (both in Malta and in Gozo);
   - the available Inspection Registers, Inspection Reports and Visitors' Books as well as selected School Logbooks, Class Registers, the Blue Books (yearly statistics compiled by the Colonial government) and other related documentation held by the National Archives of Malta (both in Malta and in Gozo, the two main islands of the Maltese archipelago);
   - communications between the Maltese Colonial government and the Imperial government in London held by the National Archives of Malta;
   - minutes of the Council of the Malta Union of Teachers (MUT) for the years 1924 to 1927 and 1987 to 2007;
   - Commission, Committee and Inspection Reports published in the Government Gazette in the 19th and 20th centuries;
   - The parliamentary debates for the 2006 Education Act, available at the website of the *Parlament ta' Malta*, the Maltese Parliament, at www.parlament.mt ;
   - University of Malta statutes available at the Melitensia section of the Library of the University, the list of which is given seperately in the References section;
   - Documents of the University of Malta with respect to Quality Assurance covering the period 1996 to 2015, available from the Melitensia section of the Library of the University;
b) relevant EU documentation and other international reports and publications;
c) documentation related to the implementation of the quality assurance agenda in further and higher education. This included documentation on the development of the Quality Assurance Framework in Further and Higher Education and its implementation and review in terms of the three pilot audits and Net-QAPE.

In the case of the minutes of the Council of the MUT permission for perusal and use in this thesis was sought according to these parameters:

- I would observe strict confidentiality with respect to any information gathered from MUT during my research there.
- In quoting MUT minutes I would refer to 'the MUT', 'the MUT Council' or 'the Ministry/department/directorate' not to individual persons.
- I would seek written approval of the MUT through the General Secretary for the quotations and reference I wished to make in my research of MUT documentation.
- The MUT reserved the right to rescind the permission it had granted for research at any time prior to approval by the General Secretary as per point 3 above.

Appendix 4.2

List of Interviewees

Maltese interviewees

1. Mr Jacques Sciberras, the first CEO of the National Commission for Further and Higher Education, who was also responsible for drafting the further and higher education portion of the 2006 Education Act;
2. Dr Louis Galea, the Minister of Education who piloted the 2006 Education Act;
3. Prof. John Portelli, the Chair of the Quality Assurance Committee within the NCFHE;
4. Prof. Charles Farrugia, the Pro-Rector of the University of Malta up to 2006, who initiated quality assurance procedures at the University of Malta;
5. Prof. Alfred Vella, who at the time of the interview was the Pro-Rector of the University of Malta in charge of Academic Affairs that includes quality assurance. He is now its new Rector;
6. Mr. Vince Maione, the Deputy Principal of MCAST, who set up the Quality Assurance Unit there and still has oversight of its work;
7. Prof. Edward Warrington who lectures on public policy at the University and whose publications and research interests include the public administration of small states. He was also a member of the Quality Assurance Committee of the University of Malta headed by Prof. Farrugia up to 2006.

International Interviewees

8. Dr. Chris Haslam, the Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Chester, previously a high-ranking staff member of the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), UK;
9. Dr Stephen Jackson, the recent Director of Audits within the QAA, UK;
10. Dr Stephanie Wilson, the Director for Corporate Performance and Quality, University of London International Programmes, UK;
11. Prof. Andre Vyt, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences, University of Ghent, and with extensive HEI review experience in both French and Flemish speaking Belgium;
12. Dr. Iring Wasser, the Managing Director of the ASIIN who was interviewed jointly with Dr Thomas Lichtenberg, Project Manager at ASIIN, a quality assurance agency for further and higher education operating from Dusseldorf, Germany. Dr Wasser is also President of Central and Eastern European Network of Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (CEE Network), and President of European Alliance for Subject-Specific and Professional Accreditation an Quality Assurance (EASPA), and he referred to these experiences in his interview;
13. Dr Maria Kelo, the Director of the Secretariat of the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA);
14. Dr Colin Tuck, the Director of EQAR - European Quality Assurance Register;
15. Mr Blazhe Todorovski, a Vice-Chairperson of the European Students' Union.

Appendix 4.3

Prof. Alfred Vella - Interview Notes

1.	If you think that by developing documentation you have system working you will wake up one day to discover that it is not the case.	SANDRO SPITERI Developing QA culture
2.	The culture of quality comes about only because you see the disasters that are created when that culture is not there – and that is the only way. So you have to trample over the corpses of students, staff and administratirs because you thought you were doing the right thing, we thought we had a system that had checks and balances but didn't.	SANDRO SPITERI Developing QA culture SANDRO SPITERI Need for strong central QA direction SANDRO SPITERI Need for strong central QA direction
3.	And in HE unlike manufactoring industry you cannot order people to acquire a culture. If you are too acquiescent it is almost taken as a sign of weakness.	SANDRO SPITERI Internally-generated need for QA
4.	My main driver was not ideological, but seeing the dire need to take action, because you cannot assume everyone is doing his work perfectly and properly. Unlike a teacher in a school, where there is an externally set examination and syllabus, a HE lecturer decides himself what to teach and how to assess, albeit with some external peer feedback.	SANDRO SPITERI UoM past experience of QA – not sufficiently effective
5.	Having external examiners was a technique to ensure that what we were doing was of reasonable quality. However without diminishing the importance of this, it is not fair to having only this type of quality assurance device without having prior devices that assist the students to reach the intended LOs. So the QA oversight needed to happen as you went about your work, so that I could give feedback to my colleagues and ask them to confirm that what they were teaching was proper, relevant and comparable to what their peers in other univs are doing, without the person telling me to sod off.	SANDRO SPITERI Internally-generated need for QA SANDRO SPITERI Resistance to QA in HE
6.	Academics are very sensitive about other academics not in their area having oversight, never mind administrators. This reality is shared by other universities, it is not as a result of being in a micro-state.	SANDRO SPITERI ESG in European context
7.	The underpinning assumptions of the ESG are questioned by some peole even in EUA fora. E.g. the importance of students working in a team – but some of the best Univ lecturers are the strange geeks that work alone. (quoting someone saying this).	SANDRO SPITERI Developing QA culture
8.	I will not be able to convince some of the older academics in UoM, but the younger ones are much more open.	SANDRO SPITERI Developing QA culture
9.	How difficult it is to inculcate a university with a quality culture: it is like trying to move a cemetery – don't expect any cooperation from the inmates (quoting someone saying this).	SANDRO SPITERI UoM past experience of QA – not sufficiently effective
10.	During the previous rector's time there was a QAC, and during that time we had a type of EQA (in fact it was an external review as part of the IQA) where a number of external visitors came from abroad, met with the deans, spoke to students, generated a fat document which they gave to the UoM. This happened shortly before the change of Rector. But setting up of APQRU and PVC was not inspired by this work. We did have a sub-comittee for programmes at the time, which considered new proposals. But it did not have the powers to inspect and require evidence because Senate did not give those powers, so you do what you can – it was essentially a persuasive operation, and it does not get you far.	SANDRO SPITERI UoM past experience of QA – not sufficiently effective
11.	It is true that my centralised approach took no cognizance of what there was already on the ground because from what came out in Senate I had to assume that nothing of importance was in place. So we had to establish things top-down in a manner that is uniform. It was not fair having different categories of students being served differently, and we wanted to guard against a situatiuon where	SANDRO SPITERI Need for strong central QA direction

weak deans did not have proper control over what happened in thier faculty. After all QA is mainly about serving the students well, not serving ourselves well.

SANDRO SPITERI
Resistance to QA in HE

12. Many will say that QA takes away time that could be used to do more research. So we have to be careful that we do not create a culture of box-ticking in order to appear that we are doing something. But we need to know whether what we are doing is working, and that is what QA is for, we need to close the loop. This does not guarantee that we will not encounter horror stories next year, but hopefully fewer and far between.

SANDRO SPITERI
Developing QA culture

13. The driver for setting up the PVC and APQRU was the need felt that we wanted to ensure that in providing product to the students the UoM as a whole was doing what needed to be done to ensure quality. The real difference came with a change of Rector, who wanted this to happen. Previously there would be situations where I would think that I have won hearts and minds in Senate but there would be no follow-up, so clearly a rector that walks the talk and allows you to do so and gave clear direction on this, then this can move ahead.

SANDRO SPITERI
Internally generated need for QA

14. Did APQRU and PVC come about as a result of the emphasis on QA in the 2006 Act? Well, my advice to Government at the time was that the UoM needed to have an external driver to support the rectorate to make the necessary change. But I was also inspired with what was happening at European level. So it was carrot (this is the way to go because it is proper) and stick (we had better do it because otherwise they will force us to do it). Had the Educ Act changes not been made as they were it would have been more difficult for the univ to convince people to do the necessary changes. I feel that I influenced the Educ Act to take the direction it did. We never fought these changes or tried to dissuade the Government from doing them, anzi. "Darba għedt lil Jacques: jekk mhux se tagħmilha int se jkolli nivvinta li teżisti!"

SANDRO SPITERI
Internally generated need for QA

SANDRO SPITERI
International influence on UoM QA development

SANDRO SPITERI
Internally generated need for QA

SANDRO SPITERI
Influence of UoM on national HE policy development

15. In the 70s teachers were expected to teach heterogenous groups with few resources, in the same mould and for the same ends. I always felt it was so oppressive to have the inspector – then they became education officers – inspecting you and telling you what to do in its minutest detail. This was the aura, the impression one got from the outside.

SANDRO SPITERI
Old-paradigm inspection in compulsory education

16. My European contacts and immersion were very important because first of all you learn the language, and through knowledge of the documents that were coming out I could say I know where we are heading, I see it coming, I know what other universities are doing and will be doing. That gives you a stature in this area that makes you difficult to be challenged. It is one thing to say – let's try this. But if you say – let's try this because everyone else is doing it and those who are not doing it will be forced to do it… so the days that you spent in these conferences were of the essence. They gave me the strength needed to assert the arguments that I was trying to make.

SANDRO SPITERI
International influence on UoM QA development

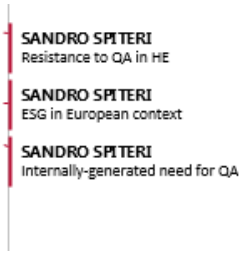
17. The ESG is like the 10 commandments; they need to be guides to an idealised solution. They demand interpretation and modification. On the other hand if you want to introduce a measure to an unwilling university, it is so convenient to be able to say that this is an ESG requirement. " 'But who said so?' And I answer – the Ministers of Europe said so, because they endorsed the document!"

SANDRO SPITERI
International influence on UoM QA development

18. Has QA improved the quality of learning, level of attainment and employability? Do people feel that at the end of the day this was worthwhile, not just in Malta but internationally? I would like to think so, but I do not have the evidence to support the claim that, for example, students now are more employable than before. But I do think that putting into practice QA measures would of necessity have improved the outcomes.

SANDRO SPITERI
Effectiveness of QA in HE

19. Nobody loves QA, but the hate is not enough to roll back the processes. They are here to stay. I do not get the feeling internationally that there is some kind of feeling that is going to undo all this. It is a necessary evil.
20. Re transmogrification of ESG: I do not believe that any university will be stopped from doing what it feels is good and proper for its students and staff simply because the ESG are there. But the ESG need to be interpreted. So I do not feel any fear or difficulty with the ESG. For me they remain guidelines.



Appendix 4.4

Further Discussion on the Design and Undertaking of Interviews

A core interview schedule was developed on the basis of my reading in the sector pertinent to the type of interviewees: for example with respect to small states for interview no. 7; with respect to HE QA procedures in the EHEA and the UK in particular for interviews 8 to 15. However, the interviews were purposely semi-structured, resembling a conversation, with a flexible format and the possibility to follow particular leads and new lines of inquiry as the conversation developed (Dowling and Brown, 2010 pp.78-79). In using the conversation format I followed Cohen et al.'s advice (op cit. p.130) that in elite interviews open and long questions are preferable to closed and short ones.

The interviews related to quality assurance in further and higher education were broadly structured as follows:

- background questions so that the interviewee sets out their experience in the field;
- questions about the local/national perspective of the interviewee;
- questions about the international perspective of quality assurance.

The interviews had a core set of open-ended questions to allow for comparing answers across interviews. But other questions were adapted to the particular background of the interviewee. Appendix 4.5 gives the interview schedule for Prof. Alfred Vella as an example. Following my experience of interviews during my IFS, I was careful not to include leading questions, and in fact the schedule for this thesis was much less structured and detailed than for the IFS, to give more space for the interviewee. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009 p.136) even refer to silence as a form of 'question', in the sense that the wise interviewer needs to know when not to ask a question so as not to disrupt the flow of an important piece of narrative.

All interviews typically took between 45 and 60 minutes each; the longest was over 70 minutes. The interviews with Maltese participants tended to be somewhat longer; this was also because they spent a lot of time reminiscing for posterity.

The use of Skype interviews allowed me greater ease of access to interviews all over Europe. The Skype interviews were not significantly shorter than the face-to-face ones, mainly I believe because my personal/professional relationship with almost all the interviewees meant that they were kind enough to pursue the discussion until it was completed. However, for one particular Skype interview I felt it was easier for me to round up when it became clear that the interviewee had 'dried up' and provided all the relevant information they were ready to give at that point. Also, with Skype it was possible to read the non-verbals that alerted me when the interviewee was starting to find the interview exhausting, and the social conventions to end the interview were simpler and shorter than in the face-to-face version – one would simply remark that there were no more questions to be discussed, thank the interviewee profusely and switch off.

Five interviewees asked to review the interview notes, three Maltese and two foreigners; this review process took about six months. I sent them the notes along with the original recordings, as a memory aide. Almost all suggested changes were acceptable nuances of the original text. In one case we agreed that side-comments included in the text by the interviewee would be retained as an integral part of the text, and that comments I had originally attributed to the interviewee, and which this person did not agree with, would appear as my general understanding and interpretation of the relevant issues

rather than quoted as belonging to the interviewee. This particular set of interview notes are given as Appendix 4.7.

Appendix 4.5

Interview Schedule for Prof. Alfred Vella

The questions in this interview schedule that are highlighted in grey were core questions that were intended for use during the interviews with Maltese participants, and those underlined were intended for use with all participants.

A. The National Perspective

1. What is your experience of QA in HEIs?
2. What QA work was going on at the UoM, at University or faculty level, before the setting up of the PVC and APQRU?
3. What were the drivers for the setting up of the PVC and APQRU?
4. What were the underpinning drivers/principles/examples of good practice/models/criteria /targets that you had in mind in developing QA at the UoM? The ESG? International comparability? Need to address specific deficiencies?
5. What changes have you seen in QA in the UoM since then? I WILL NOT ASK YOU RE THE PRESENT SITUATION AT UoM AND WHERE YOU WANT TO GO SINCE THAT WILL COME OUT IN THE IQA REPORT.
6. Apart from the UoM, what change have you seen in F&HE in the importance given to QA over the last years?

B. The European Perspective

7. What in your view is the importance given to QA internationally at present? What are the drivers for this?
8. What is the feeling internationally: has external auditing improved i) the quality of the learning experience ii) level of attainment iii) employability in HEIs?
9. What is the feeling internationally: what direction is QA taking / should take?
10. What is your perspective of the ESG, its QA vision and its impact on QA issues in EHEA countries?
11. Peter Williams says that he is not happy how the ESG, which he helped formulate, are being used at EU level. What is your opinion of the ESG in terms of:
    - Usefulness to QA in individual HEIs,
    - cross-border standardisation and trust,
    - portability of QA decisions,
    - Restrictions to QA practice , HEI autonomy, national sovereignty?
12. How does EQAR affect the European dynamic and discourse in terms of QA?
13. What do you think are the drivers for the increasing importance being given by the EU Commission to QA in HEIs? How does this effect the European dynamic and discourse in terms of QA?

14. How does all this effect UoM, including EQAR and the use being done of the ESG? What do you consider to be the future of the ESG and EQAR? Will this be useful or a hindrance to the UoM and HEIs generally?

Appendix 4.6

Consent Form

Dear XXXX

Thank you for accepting to be one of my interviewees. As part of the data-gathering for my Ed.D. thesis I shall be interviewing a number of key international stakeholders in the field of F/HE Quality Assurance about their general experiences and perspective with respect the development of quality assurance in their own country and in the European context. My thesis looks at the development of a quality culture in national educational provision, with a particular focus on F/HE, situating the narrative in pertinent European developments.

You may wish to note that:

- the interview will be taped for transcription purposes;
- interviewees are participating in their professional capacity and thus their names and opinions will be quoted;
- no information specific to any education entity or official therein will be available to third parties;
- your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can pull out of the research exercise at any point;
- you may request to review and confirm the transcription of your interview;
- all relevant information will be destroyed at the end of the Ed.D. process;
- Participants will be given a summary of the findings and recommendations of the thesis.

Sandro

_____

I accept to participate in this interview under the above conditions.

_____ _____

Signature *Date*

Appendix 4.7

Dr Maria Kelo, Director on ENQA – Interview Notes (Final Version)

Maria Kelo Interview Notes FINAL VERSION (4TH June 2016)

1. I was part of the team that reviewed the ESG in 2015. After five years of use of the ESG 2005, the E4 wanted to see how they were being implemented and used, through the MAP ESG Project. The E4 did not feel a great need for an actual revision at the start of the MAP-ESG project. Maybe the Commission was keener on an actual revision. When the outcomes of the project came in 2011-12 it was clear that some revisions in terms of the clarity, duplication etc, 'beautifying work' needed to be done.
2. That was the starting mind-frame, but as the work progressed we noticed that we need to go further than anybody had imagined in the beginning. We started with the idea of a very light touch in the revision but it ended up being a little bit more robust.
3. The interest of the Commission was for quality assurance to become a real tool to push forward the Commission policies and tools. So they wanted direct references to ECTS and other Commission policies and tools. I keep referring to the Commission (instead of saying "Europe"), because in this context Europe is also the Bologna process which is wider than the EU.
4. The Commission had noticed that if something gets into the QA criteria it is more likely to be implemented, there is a very direct and clear consequence, you are not approved at a European level, so it can be more difficult to be recognised etc. So I think their idea was, for example, that if we get the ECTS (for e.g.) into the ESG they will be more likely to be implemented.
5. I am not sure if the Commission has really thought through whether they want the ESG to be a compliance tool or not, but they wanted the ESG to support what was important for them. Another issue was employability. The Commission was one of the entities in the BFUG that really insisted on the aspect of employability. So they wanted all these key words in the ESG – which is understandable.
6. We were saying – OK, but we operate on a wider scale, we operate for the 48 countries in the Bologna Process. So the consensus has to be at that level
7. There is a tension between enhancement and accountability, similar to the tension in the use of the ESG for guidance and the use as a compliance tool. Of course not only EQAR but also ENQA uses it in a way as a compliance tool. There is always the risk that it becomes only prescriptive, because it might lead to a reduction in innovation, in reduction in the respect for national specificities, it might stop people from thinking out of the box. We at ENQA try to underline that that is not how it should be. We try to encourage and remind that whilst of course the ESG give the framework within which compliance is assessed, it is not a uniformalising tool, that is not its purpose. There is no easy solution and it is a delicate balance.
8. But I do not see this as a problem, because where we see it as a compliance tool, apart from the countries that have copied the ESG into national law, is at the level of the agencies. If both ENQA and EQAR manage to maintain an open view of what compliance means, we can avoid this problem. It is a potential risk, but we hope that we can manage it.
9. I don't know but I could imagine that of all the stakeholders the QA Agencies should be least uncomfortable with the use of ESG as a gateway and compliance, since they are used to compliance mechanisms – that is what they do! But I really don't know.
10. Although there are differences between the established agencies and newer agencies, the rules of the game in terms of the external review for the membership in ENQA are the same. Of course the team gives a lot of importance to the understanding of the local context by looking at the historical context, the cultural context, the legal context, and we align that a lot. We ask the agencies to describe all this in their report, and we have a contact person at the agency who can really explain the context to the panel before the site visit starts. One of the ways to deal with this is that the panels are international. The fact that they come from very different systems

Comment [MK1]: This is my hypothesis of what the commission's thinking might be and if ever quoted it should be clear that it is expressed in this sense. I.e. that I would imagine that the commission.... Etc.

Comment [MK2]: The meaning of this sentence is: "as long as ENQA and EQAR accept that compliance does not mean that there is only one right way of doing this" – this is the sense of the sentence.

Comment [MK3]: I am not making here a statement of how QA agencies should or should not feel about the issue and I am clear on the tape about not knowing. I am just making an extrapolation that it might be surprising if agencies, out of all stakeholders, had a major problem with this approach.

Please note that I do not agree with your statement that the ESG are becoming more and more a compliance tool!

forces them not to think only in terms of their own system. Of course there is a price to pay for having such mixed panels, because they would have to get used to work together and to understand each others' perspectives, but this has worked for ENQA.

11. The attempt to harmonise HE and vocational QA by the commission was maybe a bit premature. It was not a matter of bringing together two systems that were in place, but trying to bring together one system (HE) with another that was not quite in place (EQAVET). EQAVET are a set of criteria but there no counterpart to ENQA. So it is difficult to match the two at par. However ENQA has several member agencies that are very interested in this issue because they deal with both HE and vocational/professional/lifelong learning provision, such as Ireland and Norway. ENQA has established a new working group on recognition and maybe something comes out of that. ENQA is involved in EQAVET events and vice versa. We have the same objectives after all.
12. *Q: The issue of employability has been on the Commission agenda at least from 2000, with the Lisbon objectives. How did the EUA feel about the employability issue?*
    Ans: Actually this concerns of focusing too much on employability came more from ESU. They were the strongest opponents to the use of the word "employability" (in the ESG). Of course they saw the need for employability, but they did not want to reduce the purpose of HE to only or mainly employability, and put more emphasis on the student's contribution to society, for citizenship. They underlined more the personal aspects of education. I don't remember the EUA have particular issues with this within the discussions on the ESG, though of course I don't know if this is a hot topic for them too.
13. With respect to the revisions of the ESG the Commission may have wanted something more. In the beginning they wanted so much they knew they would not get it, like the start of a bidding process, and then you meet halfway, so on the whole at the end they were very pleased with the compromise, and thus with the revised ESG.
14. Some countries are not interested in EQAR e.g. Sweden because they do not have a mandate for cross-border QA provision. Then there are agencies that operate on a semi-commercial basis and these have to find business, maybe also abroad, why not. E.g. in Germany the agencies operate on competitive basis.
15. EQAR is being identified increasingly with the issue of cross-border provision. There is also an internal tension about this in EQAR. This issue has really overtaken the whole discourse in EQAR and I feel it is now overtly emphasised. We are now working to re-balance this. EQAR was not built for cross-border QA, mainly, although it is one of its purposes and one of the the possible consequences of it being there. It is not what EQAR is principally about. There are also concerns whether institutions want an 'easier' agency to do their QA, or a cheaper one; the cost of staff of an agency coming from one country may be much lower than from another country. My feeling is that even if we open the market totally it will be a small part of the actual provision.

Comment [MK4]: By adding this I try to change the tone of this section to pass the right message: the message is that we are all in favour of putting the two closer together, but it is not easy as the maturity of the systems and their structures are not developed to the same extent. But that we are doing a lot to exchange etc.

Appendix 5.1

Commissions and Committees that Looked into Educational Matters during the British Colonial Period

Table 5.1.1: Commissions and Committees that undertook an inspection and/or audit function during the British colonial period

1823	Committee set up by local colonial government with the remit to "to conduct a minute investigation into the system of education at present practiced in the University of Literature" (Staines 2015 p.344). Focusing on whether the rules were being complied with, and whether this rules were fit for purpose or need to be revised.
1824	Commission set up by local colonial government to look at the state of education in Malta including the University.
1836	Royal Commission set up by the Imperial government to inquire into the state of affairs of the island of Malta, including education.
1850	Committee set up by local colonial government to review the Lyceum, the preparatory school of the University.
1865	Commission set up by local colonial government to investigate public concerns about the quality of educational provision in state schools.
1878	Royal Commission set up by the Imperial government; it included a review of the state of education in Malta by Sir Patrick Keenan.
1888	Committee set up by local colonial government to revise system of Matriculation system for entry into univ., although in fact it went beyond its original remit and looked at the work of particular syllabi and the selection of examiners (Agius 1968 p.143-144).
1888	Committee set up by local colonial government to look at possibility of giving more autonomy to UoM, leading to the new UoM statute of 1889.
1898	Select Committee set up by local colonial government following a complaint by the outgoing Director of Education to inquire into the organization of the Education Department and to report on any necessary reforms that were required, and to look at the standards of teaching and of exams. It led to the tightening of Government control over University through its 1898 Statute.
1920	The Hon. W. Bruce commissioned by local Colonial government to review Malta's education system, from elementary to University. This lead to the 1921 revised University Statute.
1942	Mr C. Ellis HMI commissioned by local Colonial government to advise on how to address the immediate concerns with respect to primary and secondary education provision during the Second World War, and to give recommendations for the post-war situation.
1957	D. Crichton-Miller commissioned by the Maltese government to report on the state of university education in Malta.

The inspections by these Commission and Committees were not necessarily very sophisticated, and mirrored the practice of the Maltese Directors and inspectors: the members of the 1865 Committee (MGG 1865 p 266) and of the 1878 Royal Commission (Keenan 1879) relied on single questions – translating a sentence, or solving a mathematical problem – to gauge the learning not just of single students but of the whole class, and to judge the teacher's fitness and the school's success accordingly.

This was also the practice with Great Brittain's own HMIs (Dunford 1998 p.9) after the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862. Pullicino's remonstrance for the outcomes of the 1865 Committee indicated that this was essentially the system he used himself, although he claimed that his way was more fit for purpose (MGG op. cit. pp. 265-272)

Such external audits were not immune to controversy. The proposals of the 1836 Royal Commission were slammed by sections of the Maltese press because the Commissioners were considered totally unqualified (Vella 1969 p.80). Pullicino complained vigorously and publicly against the 1865 Committee Report. His complaint foreshadowed a common concern that schools often raise against the snap-shot nature of external inspection that is out of touch with what is happening in the schools: since the inspection was carried out without his presence and ignoring his suggestions, and using assessment techniques with which he did not agree, he was not surprised that the Committee members came to conclusions that "do not in any way correspond with those I obtained from the same schools, and on different occasions, during the past nine months" (MGG op. cit. p.272).

Appendix 5.2

Samples of Inspection Registers

The use of School Inspection Registers for public schools was started by Director Canon Pullicino in 1855, and continued at least until 1923. The format of the Registers changed slightly in 1869, and was replaced by a new format in 1888. Further information is provided in Appendix 5.3. Appendix 5.2 presents five samples of pages throughout this period, from both Maltese and Gozitan schools, with transcriptions, translations and annotations as relevant.

Appendices 5.2a and b are from the first version of the Register, and are both signed by Director Appendix 5.2c is from the slightly amended version of the Register, and is signed by Director Savona.

Appendices 5.2d and e are from the third and final version of the Register, which allows for multiple inspection reports in the top half of the page and the examination results in the bottom half. Appendix 5.2e is from a Gozo school.

The following are some highlights from these samples:

4.2.1
- Pullicino gives instructions on the disposal of the inkwells and slates.

4.2.2
- Pullicino signs off as 'Prin. Direttore', or Principal Inspector.
- Instructions on the promotion of students are vague; intended just as an *aide memoire* to oral instructions.

4.2.3
- Savona's comments are more critical in tone than Pullicino's.
- Student promotion instructions are clearer.

4.2.4
- Comments are mainly on order, cleanliness, attendance and discipline.

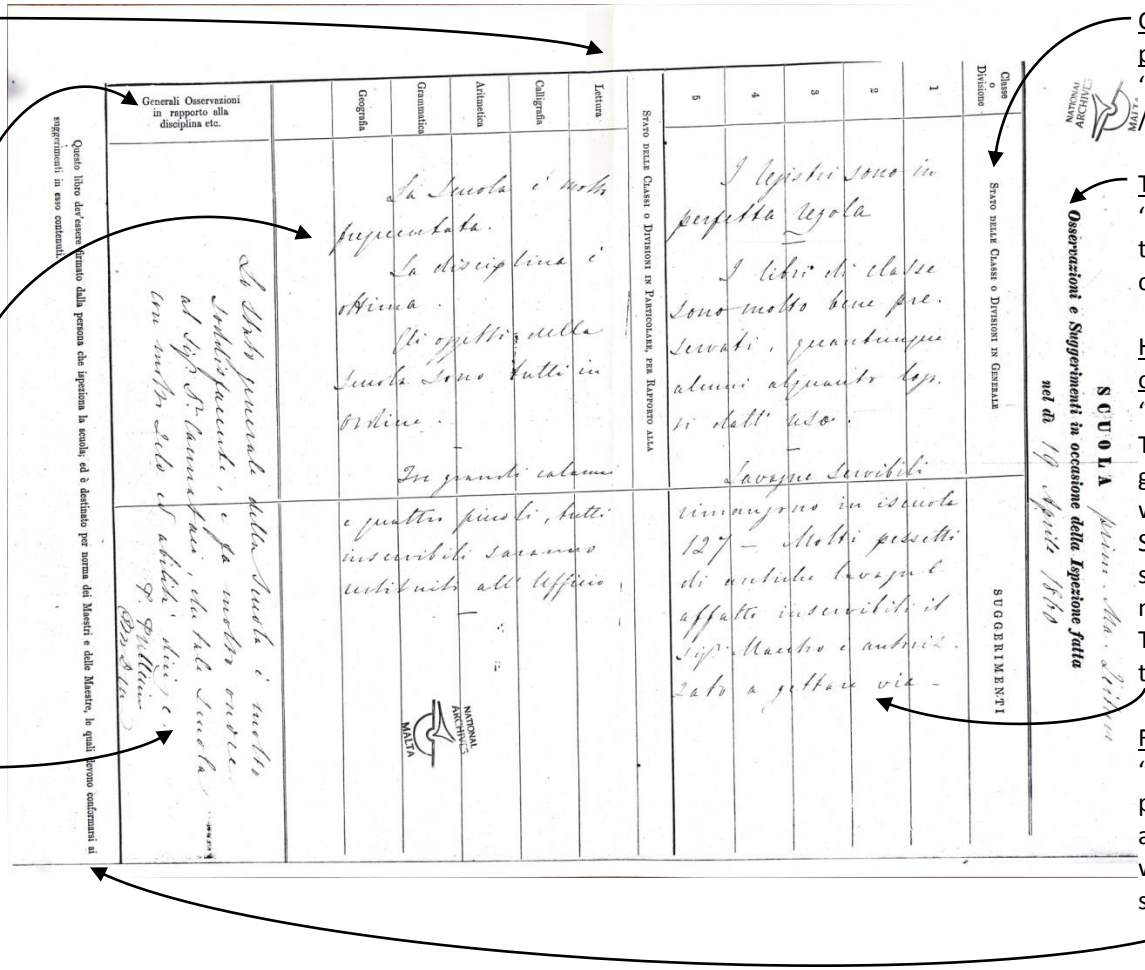
4.2.5
- Showcases the varied comments of the first resident Gozitan inspector.

Column and row headings in top part of page:
'State of Class or Division in particular, reporting on /Reading/Handwriting/ Arithm./ Grammar / Geog.'

Row heading in bottom part of page:
'General observations with respect to discipline ecc.'

Handwritten comment in middle part of page:
'The school is very frequented. Discipline is excellent. All the things in the school are in order. The big inkwells and four small ones, all unserviceable, shall be returned to the Office.'

Handwritten comment in bottom part of page:
'The general state of the school is very satisfactory, and is a great credit to Mr Cannataci, who leads this school with a lot of zeal and ability.'



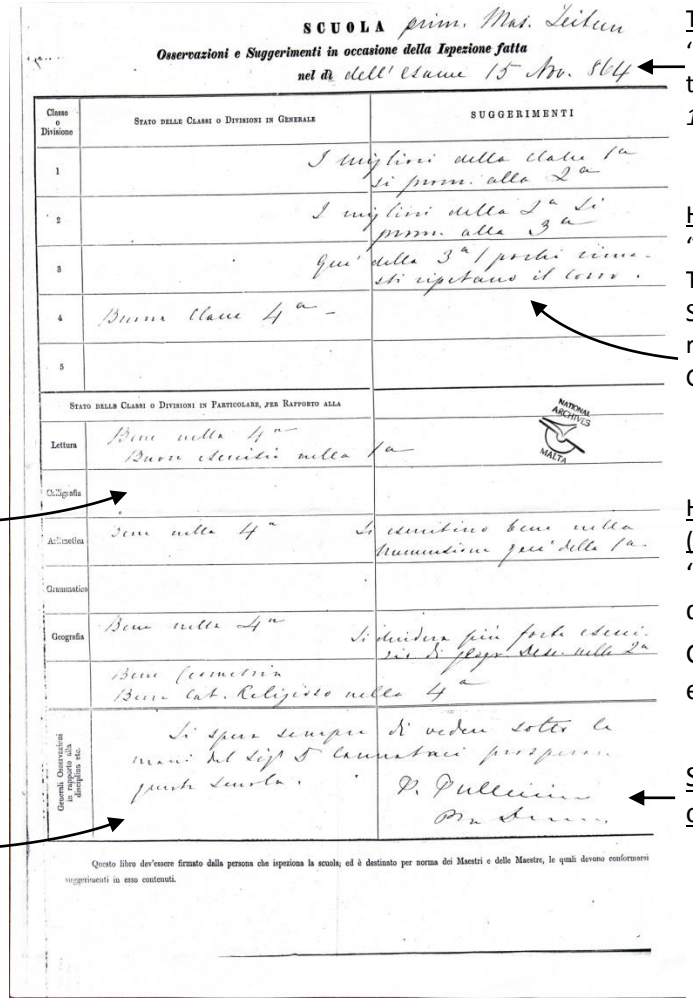
Column headings in top part of page:
'State of Class or Division in General / Suggestions'

Title of the Register page:
'Observations and Suggestions on the Occasion of the Inspection carried out on 19th April 1860'

Handwritten comment in right part of page:
'The registers are in perfect order. The classroom books are in a very good condition although some are worn through use.
Serviceable slates that remain in school: 127 – many (...) slates are not at all serviceable and the Teacher is authorised to throw them away.'

Final Instructions:
'this book must by signed by the person who inspects the school, and is intended for the teachers, who have to comply with the suggestions made.'

Figure 5.2.1: Żejtun Boys' School Inspection Register: page for April 1860 (NAM-SSM26a)



SCUOLA prim. Mas. Żejtun

Osservazioni e Suggerimenti in occasione della Ispezione fatta nel dì dell' esame 15 Nov. 864

Classe o Divisione	Stato delle Classi o Divisioni in Generale	SUGGERIMENTI
1		I migliori della classe 1a si prom. alla 2a
2		I migliori della 2a si prom. alla 3a
3		Qui della 3a / pochi rimasti ripetano il corso.
4	Buona classe 4a -	
5		

Stato delle Classi o Divisioni in Particolare, per Rapporto alla		
Lettura	Bene nella 4a Buoni studenti nella 1a	
Calligrafia		
Aritmetica	Bene nella 4a	Si esercitino bene nella Numerazione qui della 1a.
Grammatica		
Geografia	Bene nella 4a	Si studiera più forte esercizi di Geogr. nella 2a
	Bene Geometria Buona Cat. Religioso nella 4a	
Generali Osservazioni in rapporto alla disciplina ecc.	Si spera sempre di vedere sotto la mano del Sig.r Cannataci prosperare questa Scuola.	D. Pullicino Pr. Direttore

Questo libro dev'essere firmato dalla persona che ispeziona la scuola, ed è destinato per norma dei Maestri e delle Maestre, le quali devono conformarsi suggerimenti in esso contenuti.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MALTA

Title of the Register page:
'Observations and Suggestions on the Occasion of the Inspection carried out on *of the Examination of 15th November 1864'*

Handwritten comment in top part of page:
'The best of the 1st (class) are promoted to the 2nd
The best of the 2nd are promoted to the 3rd
So from the 3rd the few remaining (pupils) are to repeat the year.
Good 4th .'

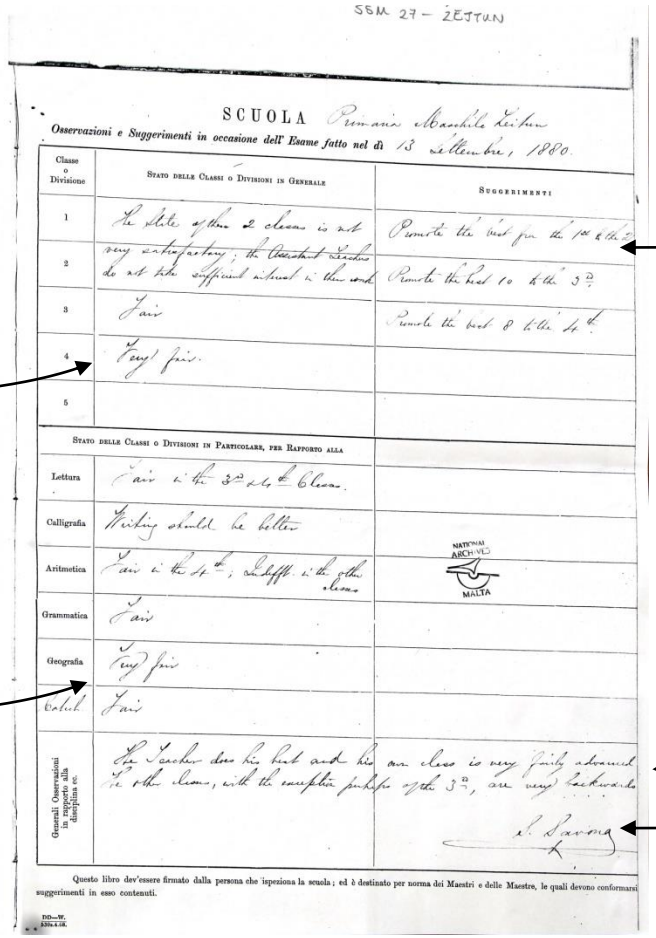
Handwritten comment in left middle part of page (comments):
'Reading: Good (level) in the 4th (Class)
Good (…) in the 1st
Arithmetic: Good (level) in the 4th
Geography: Good (level) in the 4th
Good Geometry
Good Religious Catechism in the 4th

Handwritten comment in right middle part of page (suggestions):
'Arithmetic: The (pupils) in the 1st Class should do more number exercises.
Geography: There should be more emphasis on exercise in Geog. in the 2nd Class.'

Handwritten comment in bottom part of page:
'One always hopes to see this school prosper in the hands of Mr Cannataci.'

Signature of Director Pullicino, with designation of 'Prin. Direttore' (Principal Director)

Figure 5.2.2: Żejtun Boys' School Inspection Register: page for November 1864 (NAM-SSM26b)



Handwritten comment in top part of page (comments):
Classes 1&2: 'The state of these 2 classes is not very satisfactory; the Assistant Teachers do not take sufficient interest in their work.'

Class 3: 'Fair'

Class 4: 'Very Fair'

Handwritten comment in middle part of page (comments):
Reading: 'Fair in the 3rd and 4th Classes'

Handwriting: 'Writing should be better'.

Arithmetic: 'Fair in the 4th; indifferent in the other classes.'

Grammar: 'Fair'

Geography: 'Very fair'

'Catechism: Fair'

Handwritten comment in top part of page (suggestions):
'Promote the best from the 1st (class) to the 2nd.

Promote the best 10 to the 3rd.

Promote the best 8 to the 4th.'

Handwritten comment in bottom part of page:
The Teacher does his best and his own class is very fairly advanced. The other classes, with the exception perhaps of the 3rd, are very backwards.'

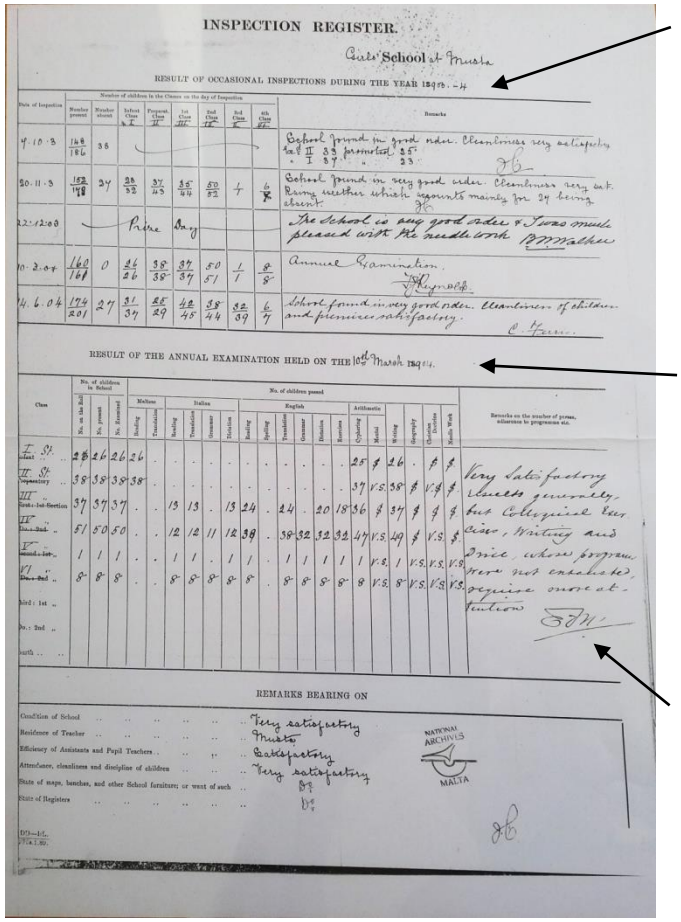
Signature of Director Savona

Figure 5.2.3: Żejtun Boys' School Inspection Register: page for September 1880 (NAM-SSM27)

Column headings in top part of page:
'Date of Inspection/Number present/Number absent/Infant Class/Preparat. Class/1st Class/2nd Class/3rd Class/4th Class' *(class names changed to 'I/II/III/IV/V/VI')*

Column headings in middle part of page refer to different subjects to be examined. Rows refer to the different classes.

General comments at bottom of page on condition of school, attendance, cleanliness, discipline, and state of resources and registers.



Title of top half of the Register page:
'Result of Occasional Inspections During the Year __'

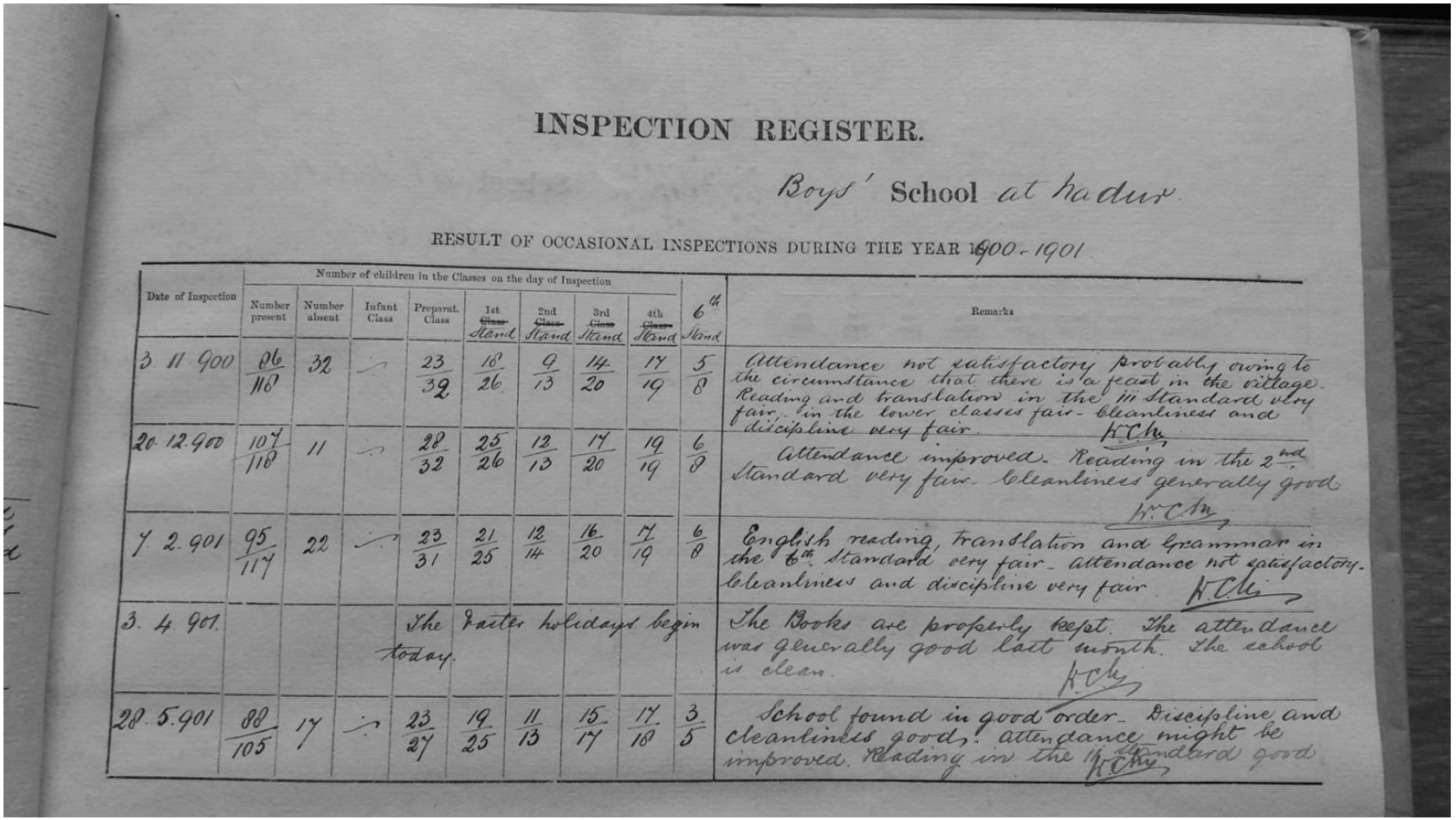
Handwritten comments in top part of page refer to order, cleanliness, attendance

Title of bottom half of the Register page:
'Class/Result of Annual Examination Held On The __/Remarks on the number of passes, adherence to programmes etc.'

Handwritten comment in bottom part of page:
'Very satisfactory results generally, but Colloquial Exercises, Writing and Drill, whose programs were not exhausted, require more attention.'

Signature of Director Mamo

Figure 5.2.4: Musta (Mosta) Girls' School Inspection Register: page for 1893-94 (NAM-SSM32)



INSPECTION REGISTER.

Boys' School at Nadur.

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1900-1901

Date of Inspection	Number of children in the Classes on the day of Inspection									Remarks
	Number present	Number absent	Infant Class	Preparat. Class	1st ~~Class~~ Stand.	2nd ~~Class~~ Stand.	3rd ~~Class~~ Stand.	4th ~~Class~~ Stand.	6th Stand.	
3. 11. 900	96/110	32	–	23/32	18/26	9/13	14/20	17/19	5/8	Attendance not satisfactory probably owing to the circumstance that there is a feast in the village. Reading and translation in the III Standard very fair, in the lower classes fair- cleanliness and discipline very fair. F.C.M.
20. 12. 900	107/118	11	–	28/32	25/26	12/13	17/20	19/19	6/8	Attendance improved. Reading in the 2nd Standard very fair. Cleanliness generally good. F.C.M.
7. 2. 901	95/117	22	–	23/31	21/25	12/14	16/20	17/19	6/8	English reading, translation and grammar in the 6th Standard very fair. Attendance not satisfactory. Cleanliness and discipline very fair. F.C.M.
3. 4. 901.				The Easter holidays begin today.						The Books are properly kept. The attendance was generally good last month. The school is clean. F.C.M.
28. 5. 901	88/105	17	–	23/27	19/25	11/13	15/17	17/18	3/5	School found in good order. Discipline and cleanliness good. Attendance might be improved. Reading in the 1st Standard good. F.C.M.

Figure 5.2.5: Nadur (Gozo) Boys' School Inspection Register: Top half of page for 1900-1901 (NAM-SS22b)

W.C. Millard, the first Inspector for Primary Schools in Gozo, was a resident Gozitan and was formally appointed in the 1st January 1899 but started working as Acting Inspector in 1898. Millard was the only Inspector in Malta and Gozo to consistently comment on more than just attendance, orderliness, discipline and cleanliness; he also gave judgements to specific curriculum areas.

Appendix 5.3

Frequency of visits annotated in the Inspection Registers of Government Schools in Malta and Gozo available at the National Archives of Malta

The table below gives the number of inspection visits carried out in the schools for which the respective Inspections Registers are held by the National Archives of Malta (NAM). The first column gives the scholastic year; so, 1855 signifies scholastic year 1855-56. A scholastic year includes the visits that took place from September to July or August, depending on the length of the scholastic year from time to time. For some years, notably at the turn of the 19th century, some inspectors listed visits on one page of the Inspection Register by calendar year, but since each visit is dated by day and month it was possible to assign the visits to the correct scholastic year.

In all three different versions of the Inspection Register were disseminated to schools. The first one, issued by Director Pullicino, was replaced at the end of 1869. This second version of the Register, also issued by Pullicino, differentiated between the March-April inspection visits and the September-October examination visits, and the template was slightly amended accordingly, as can be seen in Appendix 5.2. The third version of the Register started being used in scholastic year 1888-89, with the start of A.A. Caruana's tenure as Director of Education. Column A on the right-hand side indicates these changes in the successive versions of the Register. Column B indicates the tenure of successive Directors of Education.

It is to be noted that the Registers that have survived are from 'outlier' localities in Malta, away from the localities around the capital, the Grand Harbour and the Dry Docks which were the target of some of the most concentrated bombing on earth during the Second World War. The Registers of the schools in Valletta and Floriana would have probably shown a greater frequency and variety of inspectorial presence. On the other hand proportionately more Registers from the Gozo schools have been preserved, including from the two main ones of Victoria, the regional capital, and Nadur, the second largest and richest community.

In the table below 2+1, say, refers to three visits during that particular scholastic year, one of which would have been an *ad hoc* visit by a person or group of persons other than an inspector. Although at times such persons visited schools on their own, and indeed instructions had to be issued to school about how to handle them (see, for example, NAM, 1910), at other times they were clearly accompanied by an inspector since both the inspector and the guest would comment and/or sign on the Inspection Register, as can be seen in Appendix 5.7. Such a visit has still been counted as an additional visit, since as discussed in Section 5.6 in the main text the opinion of *ad hoc* visitors carried additional weight. An *ad hoc* visit by more than one person has still been counted as one visit.

Only ten Inspection Registers are kept by the NAM from seven government schools in Malta, and ten Registers from five schools in Gozo. Only those that belong to Zejtun, Nadur and Victoria primary go back to the time of Director Pullicino. Finally, quite a few schools were amalgamated or moved premises as the student population grew and shifted over the decades, with the resultant loss of documentation in transit.

Table 5.3.1: Frequency of visits annotated in the available Inspection Registers of Government Schools in Malta and Gozo

Sch. Year starting	*Schools in Malta*							*Schools in Gozo*					**A**	**B[1]**
	Mdina Night School	*Mosta Girls Elem.*	*Mdina Boys Elem.*	*Mosta Infants*	*Għaxaq Boys Elem.*	*Żejtun Girls Elem.*	*Żejtun Boys Elem.*	*Nadur Boys Elem.*	*Nadur Night School*	*Għajn-sielem Girls Elem.*	*Victoria Boys Elem.*	*Xewkija Girls Elem.*		
1855							1						Director Pullicino's first Inspection Register	Canon P. Pullicino
1856						1	2				1			
1857						2	2				1			
1858						2	2				1			
1859						2	2				1			
1860						2	2				1			
1861						2	2				2			
1862						1	0				1			
1863						1	2				1			
1864						2	2				1			
1865						2	1				1			
1866						2	2				2			
1867						1	1				0			
1868						2	2				1			
1869						2	2				1		Director Pullicino's second Inspection Register	
1870						1	1				1			
1871						1	1				1			
1872						1	1				1			
1873						1	0				1			
1874						1	1				0			
1875						1	0				1			
1876						6	0				0			
1877						3	1	1			1			
1878						2	0	1			0			
1879						2	1	1			1			

[1] After Zammit Mangion (1992 p.427, 428)

Sch. Year starting	*Schools in Malta*							*Schools in Gozo*					**A**	**B**[2]
	Mdina Night School	*Mosta Girls Elem.*	*Mdina Boys Elem.*	*Mosta Infants*	*Għaxaq Boys Elem.*	*Żejtun Girls Elem.*	*Żejtun Boys Elem.*	*Nadur Boys Elem.*	*Nadur Night School*	*Għajn-sielem Girls Elem.*	*Victoria Boys Elem.*	*Xewkija Girls Elem.*		
1880						1	1	1			1		↓	S. Savona
1881						2	1	2			1			
1882						2	1	1			2			
1883						2	3	3			1			
1884						2	0	1			1			
1885						2	0	2			2			
1886						1	0	2			2			
1887							0	3			3			
1888		3	3		2		4	3		3	4	3	Director Caruana's Inspection Register	A. Caruana
1899		2	3		3		3	2		2	4	2		
1890		3+1	2		3+1		3	2		3	3	2		
1891	2	2	4		2		2	2+1	1	3	4+1	2		
1892	0	2	3		2		2	3	1	2	2	2		
1893	0	2	2		2		2	2	1	2	2	2		
1894	1	3	2		3		2	2	3	2	2	3		
1895	1	2	2		2		2	2	4	2	3	2		
1896	1	4	4		2		1	7	0	6	6	3		
1897	1	2	1		2		1	2	4	2	2	2		N. Tagliaferro
1898	3	5	3+1	4+1	2		2	10	1	9	6	10		
1899	2	6+1	2	6	2		3	8	2	9	5+1	10		
1900	0	4+1	3	5	1		3	7	0	8	4	7		
1901	1	5	1	5	2		1	3	2	4	3	3		
1902	2	3	2+1	2	2		1	6	2	4	7	6		
1903	2	4+1	6+1	5	4		3	5	1	9+1	4+1	7		

[2] After Zammit Mangion (1992) pp.427-428; for further discussion see Section 5.4.4 in Appendix 5.4.

1904	2	4	3	2	5		5	4	2	5+1	5+1	4		
1905	1	6	3	6	3		5	1	1	4	3	3		
1906	2	5	4	6	4		3	4	1	4	3	3		E. Magro
1907	0	5	5	4	5		6	2	1	4	4	3		
1908	2	4	3	4	4		4	3	1	3	3	3		
1909	2	5+1	3	3	3		3	4	1	5	4	4		
1910	2	3	4	2	2		3	6	1	2	3	4		
1911	2	4	2	3	3		3	2	1	2	3	2		
1912	0	1	3	1	3		4	5	0	2	3+1	3		
1913	3	4	3	1	3		2+1	2	0	2	1	2		
1914	1				2		1		0					
1915	1								0					
1916	1								0					*Others*
1917	0								1					
1918	2								0					
1923									1					

The following observations can be made from this table:

a) Night schools were less visited by inspectors than elementary schools.

b) The Registers were no longer used for the elementary schools by 1913 or 14; however they were retained for the two night schools for which Registers are available.

c) The frequency of visits diminished with the passing years during Pullicino's tenure, picked up during Savona and generally increased thereafter.

d) *Ad hoc* inspections are recorded from 1888 onwards, but this does not mean that there were no such inspections before – both Pullicino and Savona refer to them, as discussed in the main text.

Appendix 5.4

Further Information on Inspection Regimes during the British Period

5.4.1 School Inspection under Director Pullicino, 1850 to 1880

Pullicino had been selected by the Governor and sent to view model schools in Ireland (NAM, 1849). His control on teachers was absolute, ranging from teachers' posture whilst teaching and seating arrangements in the classroom, to corporal punishment and the expulsion of students (NAM, 1851; 1853a; 1854; 1856; 1858; 1860; 1865; 1866). Pullicino was a strict disciplinarian. Cassar gives the example of a new teacher in Mosta primary school who did not improve her teaching in line with Pullicino's instructions following his inspection visits during her probation, and was transferred to a lower-paying post in another school and her probation extended by another year (Cassar 2001 p.161.).

The Principal Director, as he styled himself (see Appendix 5.2), was an assiduous inspector; each school was nominally visited at least twice a year, and many received additional *ad hoc* visits. Appendix 5.3 indicates that he visited some elementary schools more than others and that, in any case, the frequency of visits tended to diminish with the passing of years, probably due at least partly to the increased number of schools under his remit, from 28 in 1850 (NSO, 1850 p.272) to 85 in 1880 (NSO, 1880 U6). Pullicino introduced Inspection Registers to keep a record of his visits and observations; these Registers provide an invaluable insight into school life in the middle of the 19th century.

Pullicino's first general inspection took place in March and April 1850 very soon after taking office with the expressed intention of "focusing particularly on the Registers, the objects of the schools, and the intellectual and moral state of the boys and girls." (NAM, 1850). This meant checking on how the Admission and Attendance Registers were kept, on learners' attendance, the general cleanliness and orderliness of the school, the conditions of the furniture and the few resources available to the teachers, the coverage of the different subjects by the teachers and the understanding and mastery of the learners. By 1853 this general inspection took place in September (NAM, 1853b). In 1855 Pullicino introduced Inspection Registers in the schools; this date can be deduced from the fact that the two schools for which Inspection Registers are retained by the National Archives (see Appendix 5.3) were already operating prior to that date (NSO, 1853). Further information on the Inspection Registers used in schools up to 1914 is given in Appendices 5.2, 5.3, 5.6 and 5.7, whilst further information of the range of relevant primary sources at the National Archives is given in Appendix 5.5.

In his 1864 Report on schools (Pullicino, 1864), Pullicino stated that he visited each school at least twice a year, around September to personally conduct oral examinations to the students, and in April "to consider the material state and discipline of the schools." (Pullicino, 1864 p.7). The extant Inspection Registers indicate that this practice was already in place in 1855. In actual fact the inspection months varied a bit as the number of schools increased and Pullicino found it progressively more difficult to run his one-man show (see Appendix 5.3).

In his 1864 report Pullicino also stated that he carried out additional visits, although these cannot be confirmed independently since the school-based primary sources such as the school Log Books of events that the teachers in charge of the schools were required to keep as from the turn of the 20th century do not go that far back, as discussed in Appendix 5.4. Considering that in 1864 there were 29 primary schools, two evening schools, three infant schools and one Sunday School, and Pullicino conducted 68 additional inspections apart from the September and April visits (Appendix 5.3 indicates that two inspection visits were in fact made in Żejtun Boys' and Girls' schools, but only one in Nadur

Boys), each school was visited four times on average throughout the year, but he visited more frequently those schools he felt were lagging behind. Nor was 1864 an exceptional year: in 1857 Pullicino reported conducting 116 extra inspection visits (Pullicino, 1858 p.8). In 1860 and 1861 he reported carrying out 125 and 86 additional visits respectively (ibid.). In 1862 Pullicino reported conducting only 36 extra visits since for three months of the year he was visiting educational establishments around Europe (ibid. p.3).

Pullicino stated that "these visits give me some times the opportunity of helping the Teachers in the performance of their duties; and above all in properly carrying out the several methods prescribed for instruction of their pupils." (ibid. p.8). However, this was certainly not the only function of such visits. Teachers were expected to retain students from their oldest cohorts and train them as pupil-teachers, in a master-apprentice model. Pullicino warned his teachers that the success of these pupil-teachers in their examinations that he would, as usual, be in charge of, would reflect directly on their efficiency as teachers and lead to extra remuneration according to the results (NAM, 1869).

Schools also received additional *ad hoc* visits, some of which must have been without the knowledge of the Principal Director – indeed, Pullicino had to issue strict instructions in 1853 and 1869 (NAM, 1853c; 1869) as to who were to be considered *bona fide* visitors and who were just loiterers who were not allowed access to schools, "especially the Girls' schools" (NAM, 1869). The permissible visits functioned as informal inspections from "many persons, especially by several English Gentlemen of high consideration. Some of them are connected with the Educational Establishments of Great Britain" (Pullicino, 1864 p.8). Pullicino valued their judgements and feedback, which he considered "a sufficient test of what is actually done in our schools." (ibid.). Pullicino reported on such visits also in his last Report (Pullicino, 1878).

Pullicino's eight reports throughout his 30-year tenure included observations from his visits. The schools and their headteachers were mentioned by name, and his comments were almost invariably positive and laudatory (see for example Pullicino, 1857; 1860; 1864) except for the last report of 1878, as discussed in the main text. Since he remained the be-all and end-all of every aspect of educational provision within his remit he must surely have been aware that his Reports were as much about his work as that of his schools and teachers. Indeed, he was accused of presenting too rosy a picture in his reports, and "in his laudable anxiety to uphold the credit of these Schools, he (…) published for general information reports and programmes which had tended to raise expectations in the minds of the public that he has not the remotest means of fulfilling" (MGG 1865a p.235). It must be said that the comments he left in the available Inspection Registers would tend to reinforce this perception; the examples in Appendix 5.2 are representative of the rest.

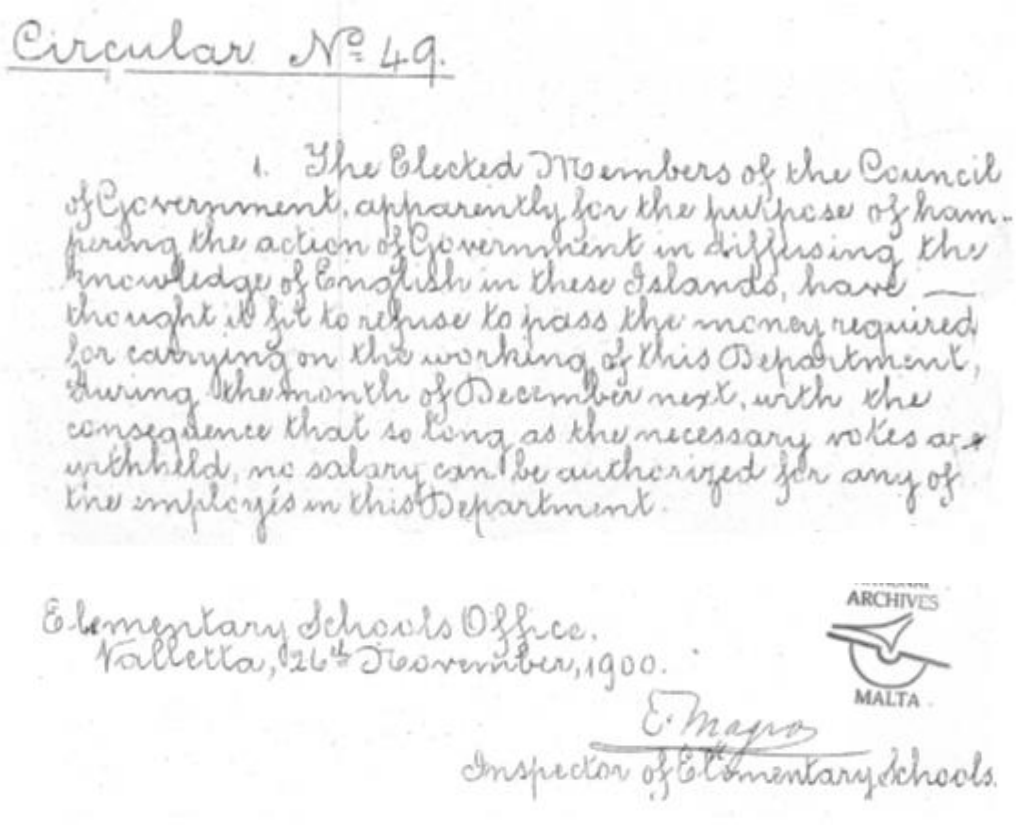
Pullicino's unassailable position is demonstrated by the outcome of an inquiry set up in 1865 by Governor Storks following public complaints on the state of educational provision. This Commission "found nothing to praise and everything to blame, and all declared unsatisfactory and nothing deserving some favourable consideration" (Camilleri, 2001 p.115). Pullicino complained vigorously and publicly to the Governor (MGG 1865b pp. 265-272; 1865c pp. 285-287), who agreed with him that the Commission's accusations were unfounded (Camilleri, op.cit.).

5.4.2 The Post-Keenan School Inspection Regimes

There can be little doubt as to the cultural and political allegiance of the new post-Keenan Directors of Education. The writings of the first one, Sigismonda Savona, are an unending paean to the British Empire (see, for example, Savona, 1870) as are those of Laferla, the most influential Director of the first half of the 20th century (see Laferla, 1938; 1947). Laferla's appointment was commented upon acerbically by the pro-Italian Nationalist Party press who called him "a lawyer and a military man

entirely lacking any school experience whatsoever" (in Camilleri, 2014 p.127). Of particular interest is Circular No. 49, issued by Director Magro on the 26th November 1900, directing schools to close until further notice because:

> The Elected Members of the Council of Government, apparently for the purpose of hampering the action of Government in diffusing the knowledge of English in these Islands, have thought it fit to refuse to pass the money required for carrying on the working of this Department (NAM, 1900).



Circular No. 49.

1. The Elected Members of the Council of Government, apparently for the purpose of hampering the action of Government in diffusing the knowledge of English in these Islands, have thought it fit to refuse to pass the money required for carrying on the working of this Department, during the month of December next, with the consequence that so long as the necessary votes are withheld, no salary can be authorized for any of the employés in this Department.

Elementary Schools Office.
Valletta, 26th November, 1900.

E. Magro
Inspector of Elementary Schools.

ARCHIVES MALTA

Figure 5.4.1: Excerpts from Circular No 49 by Director Magro ordering schools to close

Such a partisan and polemical tone in a public circular to schools by a top civil servant towards the Maltese elected representatives of what functioned as Malta's Parliament at the time, would be unthinkable today. It would only have been written by someone secure of his patronage. Magro went on to become a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils in 1902 (NAM, 1902), and Rector of the University in 1914, when it did not remain under the remit of the Department of Education as discussed in Section 5.6 of the main text.

The actual efficacy of the School Management Commitees set up by Director Savona needs to considered with caution. Although there is a reference to these Committees in Circular No. 16 of 1888 (NAM, 1888a) by A.A. Caruana, the Director who succeeded Savona, by 1910 they had certainly been disbanded. Circular no. 15/910 (NAM, 1910a), that provides an exhaustive list of who was allowed to "visit and examine" schools, does not include such Committees. Appendix 5.7 indicates when *ad hoc* visits were annotated in the available Inspection Registers for the Gozo schools, and who were the visitors. Although in some cases the parish priest of the locality is mentioned, in almost all cases his comments are exclusively on religiuous instruction, in line with the 1910 circular just mentioned. It is likely that Savona, like Pullicino before him and Laferla after him and the other Directors in between, preferred to concentrate all power in his hands. The Inspection Registers attest that the all-important

annual examinations in elementary schools, an exhausting exercise in which each student was tested individually at least until 1914 on the same general lines as those set up by Pullicino, and upon which the promotion prospects of both pupils and teachers rested, were almost always undertaken or at least signed off *in situ* by the Director himself.

Savona's inspection regime appears to have been as high-stakes as Pullicino's before him. Certainly his comments in the Inspection Registers have a sharper judgemental quality than Pullicino's (See Appendix 5.2). In his 1883 Report Savona stated that the schoolmasters and mistresses of Lija and Nadur were pensioned off and replaced because the schools were underperforming (Savona, 1883 pp.4-5). However here there is a conundrum: the inspection that Achille Ferris, the first school inspector to have exclusively this role, made to the same Nadur school on the 16th November 1882 was positive and included the following comment in the Inspection Register:"instruction and discipline highly satisfactory" (NAM-SS22a). On what basis, then, did Savona report that the Nadur schoolmaster needed to be pensioned off in the same year due to under-performance?

The Inspection Registers do provide evidence for the proliferation of inspections during Savona's time. After Savona the Inspection Registers indicate a further increase in the frequency of inspections, although this was irregular across localities and affected elementary schools rather than night schools. The actual number of inspections seemed to depend on the regime established by, and the human resources available to, different Directors of Education; under Magro there were many more inspections. Further details are given in Appendix 5.3. However, as is discussed in Appendix 5.9, not all inspections were recorded in the Inspection Registers; some must have been more informal visits, which were recorded in the school Log Book.

Teachers in charge of schools (sometimes called Masters and Mistresses) were still expected to contribute to the inspection process: Circular no. 22 of 1888 (NAM, 1888b), requested them to send in confidential reports "on the conduct, ability in school management and zeal" of the staff under their charge. This instruction was amplified in 1889 (NAM, 1889).

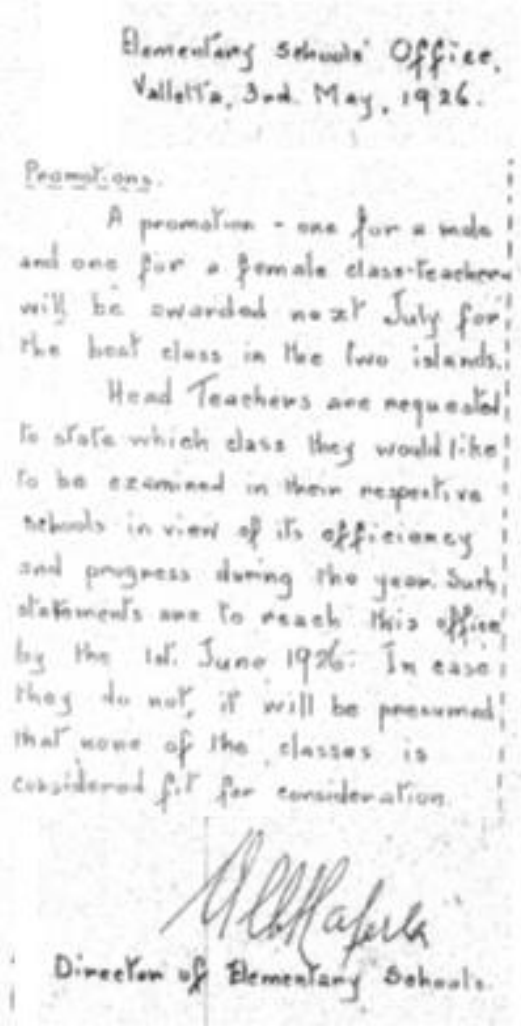
Achille Ferris was the first Inspector of elementary schools to have specifically this role; he was appointed in 1882. In the 'General Regulations relative to the Government Elementary Schools published by Government Notice No.143 May 1898', given as appendix to UOMS (1898), in the discharge of his duties the Director could be assisted by "one or more inspectors", and when possible the inspection of girls' schools would be carried out by inspectresses. W.C. Millard was the first Inspector for Gozo (although the Inspection Registers and Log Books for schools in Gozo show that inspectors regularly came from Malta even during Millard's tenure). He was appointed Acting Inspector for Gozo in 1898, effective Jan 1st 1899. He started Gozo school inspections in October 1898 at Victoria Boys Elementary School. In 1909 he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Government in Gozo. Julia Camilleri was the first Inspectress; she was appointed with W.C. Millard in January 1899[3].

During scholastic year 1909-10 apart from inspections by the then Director of Education Dr Magro, four Inspectors carried out 249 visits for an average of three visits to each school, apart from the individual oral examinations which were also done by the inspectors (MGG, 1911) . The numbers for the 1913 Report on scholastic year 1911-12 were very similar (MGG 1912 p.IX). This Report included a report by the senior Inspector for Elementary schools, who stated that a fourth visit was desirable, but there were not enough inspectors – he observed that the last increase in inspecting staff had been seven years previously, and since then the number of pupils had increased by 13%. (MGG, 1911). By 1934, the heyday of the inspectorial regime under Laferla, there were five inspectors: one for religious

[3] Information culled from NSO Blue Books of 1882, and 1898, 1899 and 1909.

education, one for Housecraft and three for elementary schools (MGG, 1936). Samples of inspection reports are given in Appendix 5.8.

Dr Laferla served from 1920 for twenty three years. He was operating at a time when teachers were still poorly trained, poorly paid and regarded as "the lowest grades of civil service, receiving salaries which were inferior to those of clerks and comparable to those of school janitors" (Barbara, 2009). Indeed, in 1918 the government had to grant a free ladle of soup to "the most deserving" teachers (Cassar, 2009 p.4). In his annual report of 1928 Laferla vented his frustration at the lack of funds available for elementary schools and their teachers' pay: "Against the above gloomy background it is difficult to record achievement during the past year but I wish it to be clearly understood that the fault lies with the system and not with the teachers. (...) this much can be said for them, that they do all they can: when this does not amount to very much, it is not their will that is at fault." (MGG, 1928 p.[47]).



Elementary Schools' Office,
Valletta, 3rd. May, 1926.

Promotions.

A promotion - one for a male and one for a female class-teacher will be awarded next July for the best class in the two islands.

Head Teachers are requested to state which class they would like to be examined in their respective schools in view of its efficiency and progress during the year. Such statements are to reach this office by the 1st. June 1926. In case they do not, it will be presumed that none of the classes is considered fit for consideration.

A. A. Laferla

Director of Elementary Schools.

Figure 5.4.2 Excerpt from Circular No. 101 of 1926 introducing promotion by competitive inspection

The scheme of promotion by competitive inspection discussed in Section 5.4 in the main text that was introduced through Circular No. 101 of 1926 (NAM, 1926a) as per Figure 5.4.1 above was expanded to allow for the award of promotions in each year group (NAM, 1927). At least now the teachers in competition against each other were teaching the same year group, although of course there was no consideration of possible disparities between schools due to the background of the pupils themselves. This scheme did not last long; by 1933 new regulations were in place that tied elementary school

teachers' promotions to the aquisition of qualifications and/or successful practical tests or examinations organised by the Department (NAM, 1933a).

It is ironic that Laferla, the quintessential Orwellian Big Brother in terms of use of inspections, actually styled himself "the leader and elder brother of you all" (NAM, 1933c). Nor could teachers escape his reach outside the confines of the school: in Circular no. 90 dated 21st April 1925 (NAM, 1925) Laferla informed teachers that he was giving a public lecture to raise funds for a charity. Teachers were requested to apply to him personally to book a seat – one can well imagine just how free the teachers felt to accept or refuse this 'invitation' by their Director!

Director Laferla's almost untrammelled positon of power *vis à vis* 'his' teachers, like that of Savona and Pullicino before him, cannot be underestimated. To give two examples, the minutes of the MUT council of the 6th June 1915 refer to "two pupil teachers (female) (sic.) sent over to Kerċem Gozo as punishment" (MUT, 1915). 'Sent over' implies that they were previously in the island of Malta, the largest of the Maltese archipelago. Today, with far better transport and communication links, such a move to student teachers would be unthinkable, let alone as a punishment. The minutes do not refer to any discussion or reaction by the MUT council with respect to this action by Director Laferla.

The use of school inspections for political ends was not only true of the British colony of Malta. Kochhar wrote about the manipulation of school inspection as a function of colonial power in India:

> In the wake of the Partition Agitation of Bengal in 1908, the inspectorate of Bengal was given additional powers to suppress the national spirit of our schools. (…) the inspectors were saddled with the duty of enforcement of discipline; and discipline itself had a new connotation, namely, a curb on resurgent nationalism (1981 p.4).

5.4.3 Comparing English and Maltese inspection regimes

The situation in the UK with respect to elementary schooling and the inspection thereof in the beginning of the 19th century was quite different from that of Malta. A form of general instruction-cum-apprenticeship was provided by the factories that employed children, and successive Factory Acts gave sweeping powers to factory inspectors to oversee the working conditions and educational provision in these factories. Unsatisfactory teachers could be disqualified and the inspectors could impose strong sanctions on non-compliant factory owners (Dunford, 1998).

Apart from this, elementary education for the poor was largely provided by two voluntary religious societies, the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, to which the British Parliament provided annual grants. Both Societies had an informal inspectorial system that was mainly persuasive in function and which greatly respected the autonomy of the individual schools, in the tradition of the 'visits' of senior clerics to Anglican churches and, prior to that, Catholic monasteries (Edmonds, 1962). In 1838 Parliament voted down a proposal for a national system of elementary education, and instead opted for the setting up of a Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839 who would oversee the increasing allocation of funds and supervise its effective use. This arrangement was viewed with reluctance by the Societies since it was felt that it could impinge on their autonomy; the first two Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMIs) were appointed by the Committee in the same year only after concordats were signed with the two Societies that limited the scope of the HMI's remit:

> the inspectors will not interfere with religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information and to report the results of their inspection to the Committee of Council (Dunford, op. cit. p.2).

Additionally, the two Societies would effectively nominate the HMI themselves, who initially were clerics, such that the original inspection function of the societies was *de facto* replaced by the HMI,

who retained the spirit of persuasion and dissemination of good practice that was built into the Societies' inspection model. Dunford opined that because of this accommodation with the Societies, "the opportunity for the Government to introduce a stronger model of inspection, similar to the system of factory inspection, was lost." (ibid. p.2)

1846 saw the first executive powers of HMI, with respect to pupil-teachers who the HMI were required to examine and approve. Additional duties were piled on in subsequent years; however the really drastic change occurred with the introduction of Payment-by-Results in the 3Rs in 1862. The primary role of the HMIs was transformed into that of examiners: as already discussed in Section 5.3 they would ask questions to individual students or classes, and derive a generic judgement on the 'competence' of the students and, by extension, their teachers:

> Inspection Day became the most important day in the school year and there was so much at stake for the managers and teachers that their nervousness was bound to be communicated to the children, however gentle may have been the manner of the visiting inspector. (ibid. p.9)

Although some inspectors were vehemently opposed to this deviation from their original role as "educational missionaries" (ibid. p.5), as can be expected this change intensified the hostility between teachers and HMI (Lawton and Gordon, 1987 p.13), who were "feared and hated" (ibid. p.12) by the teachers. It left a lasting impression in the folk memory of the educational establishment (Dunford op. cit. p.16).

The payment-by-results system was discontinued in 1895. Both Dunford (ibid.) and Lawton and Gordon (op. cit.) refer to the 33 years of Payment-by-Results as a bleak period in the history of the Inspectorate. "It was many years before relations between teachers and inspectors were rebuilt and the teacher no longer lived in terror of the arrival of HMI." (Dunford, op. cit. p.11). With the turn of the century HMI returned to their original vocation, extending their remit to secondary schools, and ditching the previous prescriptive practices to encourage teachers to:

> think for himself (sic), and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. (Lawton and Gordon, op. cit. p.20)

5.4.4 Figure 5.2 in Chapter 5

With respect to Figure 5.2 in the main text, the '*ad hoc visits by British and Maltese personalities*; were in fact of three types:

- Director Pullicino's "English Gentlemen of high consideration" as discussed in Section 5.2;
- Members of University Council, who were explicitly empowered to do so as per the 1898 and 1906 Statutes, and
- Persons mentioned in Circular 15/910 of 1910 (NAM, 1910a), which listed the persons who were allowed to "visit and examine" the schools. These included the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Archbishop, the members of the Executive Council that governed Malta, the members of the General Council of the University as per 1906 Statute, and the Parish Priest (only for religious instruction). Additionally, any Army or Navy officers from the rank of Colonel were allowed to "see the schools".

These one-off visits were not less consequential in terms of their inspectorial potency for being informal; there can be little doubt that the perceptions and judgements of the high-ranking Maltese and English men who performed these 'informal' inspections percolated back, directly or indirectly, to the Director of Education, the Colonial goverment in Malta and even the Imperial Government in London. Although as we have seen the evidence points to few such one-off visits having actually taken

place in the schools for which documentation is still extant, the point is that such visits were considered important, valuable and indeed a right and almost a mark of status for senior colonial personnel.

Successive Directors of Education differentiated between school visits for various 'distinct' purposes including oral examinations and inspections proper; however in actual fact the inspectorial mechanisms and outcomes for these different visits in terms of effects on teachers and schools were equivalent and are thus not differentiated in the above Figure.

It is also worth noting that the reports being referred to in the Figure 5.2 were those with an inspection/educational audit function – not all public educational reports were of this nature. For example the public reports by the Rectors and the Heads of the Lyceum when these posts were seperate from that of the Director of Education, between 1915 and 1934, were purely administrative in nature (see for example MGG, 1913) and are therefore not relevant for the puposes of this discussion. On the other hand those by the successive Directors of Education, whether the remit was limited to elementary schools or was wider, tended to include comments and observations on pupils' competence, the fitness for purpose of individual schools and sometimes Heads or teachers, as well as general comments on the state of educational achievement. This was certainly true of the reports by Pullicino, Savona and Laferla, the most influential British-era Directors of education.

5.4.5 Inspection at the University of Malta

The University traces its origins to the founding of the Collegium Melitense in 1592 by the Jesuits, and was established in 1769 by Manuel Pinto de Fonseca, Grandmaster of the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta, popularly known as the Knights of St John, who ruled Malta from 1530 to 1798. Its first statute, the Constitutions that were promulgated in 1771, gave the Grandmaster sole discretion in selecting the Chancellor, also known as the Protector and who was a senior Knight, as well as the Rector and all other lecturers and officials. The Grandmaster also reserved the right to prescribe all the relevant laws and regulations. Inspectorial duties were divided between the Protector and the Rector: the Protector inspected the studies and ensured compliance, and the Rector visited the schools that composed the University and took disciplinary action (Vella, 1969 p.44). However it is likely that in actual fact the Rector had a bigger role in these matters, since the senior Knights, called Knights Grand Cross, from amongst whom the Protector could be chosen were "mostly illiterates" (ibid. p.41).

Interestingly, in the Statutes of 1838 and 1871 the Rector was charged with ensuring that the University and its preparatory school, the Lyceum, "were in effect worthy of public confidence" (UOMS, 1871 art.7 p.5) – a term not used for elementary or secondary education. This phrase was repeated in the 1898 and 1906 statutes as discussed in Appendix 5.10.

The report of the 1850 Committee set up by Government to review the Lyceum recommended that the limitation imposed on the Rector with respect to inspections discussed in Section 5.5 in the main text with respect to the 1838 and 1871 Statutes should be limited to University teaching staff but not the teaching staff of the Lyceum. With respect to the latter, the Rector should still conduct inspections as often as possible, but without the restrictions for inspections in the University, implying that at the Lyceum the Rector would be free to interrupt the lesson, speak to students and view their work, as happened during inspection in primary and secondary schools (Agius, 1968).

The 1898 and 1906 Statutes also stipulated that the Rector had to visit lectures to ascertain "the progress of instruction and whether his directions are being carried out" (UOMS, 1906 art. 14(2) p.3),

and that the Rector should “revise, or cause to be revised, the school work corrected by teachers” (ibid. Art. 14(3) p.3). Additionally, every member of the General Council of the University had the right to “inspect any school with a view of ascertaining its material and moral conditions” (ibid. Art. 29 p. 5).

The 1898 Statute stipulated that all teaching staff had to submit every year to the Rector a detailed programme for the class or subject for his approval (UOMS, 1898 art.53 p.8), and a monthly attendance register (ibid. Art. 57 p.9). The 1915 Statute specified that:

> Every teacher in the University shall have the power, within the limits of the programmes, which shall be strictly adhered to, to explain the subject to be taught with such criteria and in such particular manner as may appear to him to be the most suitable and efficacious (MGG, 1915 art.12 p.[30]).

With respect to the fourth row of Table 5.3.1 in Appendix 5.3, many texts such as Zammit Mangion (1992) cite 1915 instead of 1914 as the end of this period in which the Directors of Education are also *de facto* Rectors of the University. However the Annual Report of the University for 1913-14, (MGG, 1914) is signed by Magro as Rector of the University. The Report for Elementary Schools in the same year is signed by Director F.J. Reynolds.

Appendix 5.5

Primary Sources in the National Archives of Malta related to School Inspection

In 2007 the National Archives of Malta (NAM) instructed all state schools to transfer archival documents held by the schools, as per legal requirements. In Gozo this process had in fact already started at regional level. The documentation from Malta's schools is held at the Rabat Premises of the NAM, whilst the documentation from the Gozo schools is held at the NAM Office in Victoria, Gozo. Of the documentation submitted by the schools, the following had information relevant to school inspections:

- School Circulars from the Department of Education;
- Inspection Registers, in which the inspectors would comment on their findings and give instructions accordingly, including on the promotion of students;
- inspection reports, which could be for the whole school or for individual teachers;
- Visitors' Books which were used as *de facto* Inspection Registers once these were discontinued in 1914;
- School Log Books in which the Head of school kept an almost daily account of important happenings in the school, which included visits by inspectors and *ad hoc* visitors;

In Malta the school circulars are accessible under the Fond, or category of documentation, entitled 'NAM Education Circulars and Miscellaneous Communications (ECMC)'. The Gozo office has a more extensive collection of school circulars, which are accessible under the Fond 'SS01 Gozo Circulars'; however almost all these circulars are copies that were sent to all government schools in Malta and Gozo.

For the rest, since the NAM does not categorise its school-specific documentation according to relevance to inspection, I have compiled the list of primary sources from government schools with information on school inspection, so that future researchers may continue on the work I started. There is an additional category of documentation, the class registers, which sometimes included comments by the Head of school or inspector but which I did not include in my research since the inspectors' comments were quite limited and did not provide new information in terms of my research interest. Appendix 5.9 includes representative samples of comments in Visitors' Books, as well as a typical log book and a class register.

Table 5.5.1 below categorises the documentation according to school locality, year and type of document, and type of school in Malta. As can be seen, there are big gaps in the documentation. A lot was destroyed in the Second World War, which explains the paucity of information from schools around the Grand Harbour which was the most bombed place on earth due to the military installations there. Other documentation, such as the Inspection Registers, seem not to have been deemed important – certainly not as important as the Log Books, which were filled in almost daily by the Head of school and provide a fascinating glimpse of daily administrative life in Malta's government schools. Further information on the Inspection Registers is provided in Appendix 5.3.

Table 5.5.2 categorises the documentation for schools in Gozo. The documentation in Gozo is proportionately more substantial because the primary schools in Gozo suffered hardly any displacement, and the displacement for the secondary schools was more contained than in Malta, allowing for a smoother accumulation of documentation. Also Gozo was furthest from enemy action in World War II and so no loss of documentation was suffered because of bombardments. For the

same reason, the Gozo Section has a more complete set of education department circulars that start from 1849, even predating Director Pullicino.

It is to be noted that the dates for the individual documents in the tables below are the dates provided by the NAM, and have been retained in the tables to facilitate access by future researchers. The correct range of years for the Inspection Registers for which there are actual entries is as indicated in Appendix 5.3.

Table 5.5.1: List of NAM Primary Sources related to School Inspection in Malta

NAM Ref. No.[4]		Document Type					School Type				
School locality	Doc No.	Inspect. Register	Log Book	Confidential (includes inspect. reports)	Visitors' Book	Monthly Lessons Report	Elem./Sec. Boys	Elem./Sec. Girls	Mixed primary	Infants	Night School
Baħrija	1		1948-70						X		
"	2		1970-74						X		
"	3		1974-89						X		
Gżira	1		1951-56				X				
Sliema	5		1937-57							X	
Għaxaq	1		1906-11				X				
"	13	1895-1912					X				
Luqa	8		1915-55					X			
"	9		1955-77					X			
"	10		1926-58				X				
"	11		1958-71				X				
Mosta	32	1889-1914						X			
"	33	1899-1914								X	
"	34					1908-14	??	X			
"	38		1900-08					X			
"	39		1908-17					X			
"	40		1917-28					X			
"	41		1928-44					X			
"	42		1944-53					X			
"	43		1953-73					X			
"	44			1920's-50's				X			
Mqabba	23		1904-06				X				
"	24		1956-64						X		
"	25		1978-96						X		

[4] A researcher who wished to view, say, the Log Book for Baħrija Mixed Primary covering the years 1948 to 1970 would need to request for: SSM Baħrija No.1. SSM is the Fond, or category of documentation, assigned by the National Archives to government school-specific documentation originating from government schools in Malta.

“	28				1917-67		X		X		
Mtaħleb + Baħrija	1		1949-73						X		
	2		1973-84						X		
Mdina	13		1901-08				X				
“	14		1908-13				X				
“	15		1913-20				X				
“	16		1924-27				X				
“	17		1927-35				X				
“	18		1935-52				X				
“	19		1949-50				?				
“	20		1950-55				?				
“	21				1911-52		X				
“	22	1888-1914					X				
“	25	1891-1920									X
Qrendi	6		1938-52						X		
“	7		1952-82						X		
Rabat	1		1916-37					X			
“	2		1936-67					X			
“	3		1961-78							X	
“	42		1952-68				X				
“	43		1968-78				X				
“	44		1978-91				X				
Paola	3		1939-64							X	
	4		1964-83							X	
	26		1937-79				X				
“	31		1955-82					X			
“	32		1984-85						X		
“	33				1908-48		X				
“	34				1952-92				X		
Tarxien	25		1905-11				X				
“	26		1911-17				X				
“	27		1927-40				X				
“	28		1917-27				X				

“	29		1900-08					X			
“	30		1914-24					X			
Qormi	1				1916-78		X				
“	2		1920-25				X				
“	3		1925-44				X				
“	4		1945-59				X				
“	5		1959-68						?		
“	6		1968-79						?		
“	7		1979-95						?		
Żebbuġ	4		1960-78							X	
Żurrieq	1		1914-25					X			
“	2		1925-55					X			
“	3		1955-76					X			
“	4		1959-71					X			
Żejtun	26	1856-69					X				
“	27	1869-84					X				
“	28	1888-1913					X				
“	29	1856-69						X			
“	30	1871-88						X			

Table 5.5.2: List of NAM Primary Sources related to School Inspection in Gozo

NAM Ref. No.[5]			Document Type					School Type				
School locality	Sub-Fond	Doc No.	Inspect. Register	Log Book	Confidential/ Inspection Reports	Visitors' Book	Monthly Lessons Report	Elem./Sec. Boys	Elem./Sec. Girls	Mixed primary	Infants	Night School
Rabat/ Victoria	08	1		1902-10				X				
"	"	2		1910-16				X				
"	"	3		1916-27				X				
"	"	4		1927-58				X				
"	"	5		1958-69				X				
"	"	6		1969-77				X				
"	"	7		1933-65					X			
"	"	8		1965-71					X			
"	"	9		1971-84					X			
Rabat/ Victoria	10	1	1879-86					X				
"	"	2	1888-1914					X				
"	"	3	1893-1923									X
"	"	50	1985-77					X				
"	"	53				1909-76		X				
"	"	54				1916-91			X			
Rabat/ Victoria	36	1		1924-52					X			
"	"	2		1952-66					X			
"	"	3		1967-74					X			
"	"	4		1974-76					X			
"	"	5		1976-78					X			
"	"	6		1978-80					X			

[5] A researcher who wished to view, say, the Log Book for Rabat Boys School covering the years 1902 to 1910 would need to request for: SS/08 Rabat no.1. SS is the Fond, or category of documentation, assigned by the National Archives to government school-specific documentation originating from government schools in Gozo. 08 is the Sub-Fond for log books from this school.

“	“	7		1980-86					X			
“	“	8		1986-2001					X			
“	“	9		2001-06					X			
Rabat/ Victoria	45	1				1947-60			X			
Għajn-sielem	11	18		1900-08				X				
“	“	19		1913-18				X				
“	“	20		1918-33				X				
“	“	21		1933-59				X				
“	“	22		1943-58					X			
“	“	23		1967-81						X		
Għajn-sielem	12	1	1888-1914						X			
“	“	2				1910-76			X	X		
Għarb	13	13		1903-07				X				
“	“	14		1907-12				X				
“	“	15		1912-17				X				
“	“	16		1917-20				X				
“	“	17		1920-23				X				
“	“	18		1923-29				X				
“	“	19		1929-40				X				
“	“	20		1940-53						X		
“	“	21		1953-73						X		
“	“	22		1902-09					X			
“	“	23		1909-22					X			
“	“	24		1922-37					X			
“	“	25		1937-47					X			
“	“	26		1989-2011						X		
Għarb	14	1	1898-1913					X				
“	“	4				1911-59		X				
“	“	5				1911-59			X			
Għarb	36	14		1970-72					X			
Għasri	15	12		1930-69						X		

“	“	13		1969-72						X		
Għasri	16	26	-		1961-71					X		
“	“	40				1954-66				X		
Kerċem	17	1		1923-33						X		
“	“	2		1933-47						X		
“	“	3		1944-51						X		
“	“	4		1951-56						X		
“	“	5		1956-71						X		
Kerċem	18	1				1946-1976				X		
Nadur	21	51		1902-10				X				
“	“	52		1902-14					X			
“	“	53		1911-16				X				
“	“	54		1914-26					X			
“	“	55		1916-25				X				
“	“	56		1925-49				X				
“	“	57		1926-48					X			
“	“	58		1949-56				X				
“	“	59		1956-67				X				
“	“	60		1957-78					X		X	
“	“	61		1967-77				X				
“	“	62		1978-86						X		
Nadur	22	1	1877-88					X				
“	“	2	1888-1915					X				
“	“	3	1897-1915[6]								X	
“	“	6			1934-59			X				
Qala	23	1		1902-05				X				
“	“	2		1906-10				X				
“	“	3		1910-15				X				
“	“	4		1915-21				X				
“	“	5		1921-38				X				
“	“	6		1939-56				X				

[6] Last entry is for 1913.

“	“	7		1956-68				X				
Qala	36	13		1970-87					X			
San Lawrenz	25	3		1959-74						X		
“	“	5		1988-96						X		
“	“	6		1996-2000						X		
“	“	7		2000-04						X		
“	“											
Xagħra	29	1		1861-1910[7]				X				
“	“	2		1861-1919				X				
“	“	3		1901-10					X			
“	“	4		1910-16					X			
“	“	5		1916-23					X			
“	“	6		1919-35				X				
“	“	7		1923-28					X			
“	“	8		1925-43				X				
“	“	9		1935-62					X			
“	“	10		1944-47				X				
“	“	11		1947-61				X				
“	“	12		1962-77					X			
“	“	13		1963-75				X				
Xagħra	36	15		1986-2000					X			
“	“	16		2000-02					X			
Xewkija	31	1	1888-1914									
“	“	27		1978-82			1916-69		X	X		
“	“	28		1919-46					X			
“	“	29		1925-44				X				

[7] Contains additional lists and information at the end up to 1917

“	“	30		1944-56				X				
“	“	31		1946-54					X			
“	“	32		1954-78					X	X		
“	“	33		1956-71				X				
“	“	34		1971-75				X				
“	“	35					1916-86	X		X		
“	“	36		1994-99			1994-99			X		
“	“	37		1999-2007						X		
“	“	38		2008-11						X		
“	“	39		2011-13						X		
“	“	40		2013						X		
Xewkija	32	13			1960-69			X				
Żebbuġ	33	16		1903-14					X			
“	“	17		1910-14				X				
“	“	19		1924-32				X				
“	“	21		1935-42						X		
“	“	22		1942-50						X		
“	“	23		1950-59						X		
“	“	24		1959-70						X		
“	“	25		1970-79						X		
“	“	26		1979-85						X		
“	“	28		1993-2007						X		
“	34	32			1960-75					X		
Comino	35	1		1948-65						X		

Appendix 5.6

Frequency and type of comments in the 1888-1913 Inspection Register of Mosta Elementary Girls' School

The Inspection Register of Mosta Elementary Girls' School covering the years 1888 to 1913 was perused to elicit the type of comments the inspectors made over the years. This Register is typical of the other Registers held by the NAM, as per Appendix 5.3.

Table 5.6.1: Frequency and type of comments in the 1888-1913 Inspection Register of Mosta Elementary Girls' School

Sch. Year starting	*No. of visits*	*Attendance*	*Cleanliness*	*General condition/ order of school*	*Discipline/ behaviour*	*Lesson preparation*	*Uniform*	*Needle-work*	*Drill*	*Religion*	*Teaching in general*
1888	3	1	1				1				
1899	2	1		1							
1890	3+1[8]	1	1	1							
1891	2	1	1	1							
1892	2	1	1			1					
1893	2	1									
1894	3	1									
1895	2	1	1	1							
1896	4	1	1	1							
1897	2	1	1	1							
1898	5	1	1	1				1			
1899	6+1	1	1	1	1			1			
1900	4+1	1	1	1				1	1		
1901	5		1	1				1			
1902	3	1	1	1							
1903	4+1	1	1	1				1			
1904	4	1	1	1							
1905	6	1	1	1	1						
1906	5	1	1	1	1						

[8] This means that apart from three visits by inspectors, an additional *ad hoc* visit was carried out by a third party. A more detailed explanation is given in Appendix 5.3.

1907	5	1	1	1							
1908	4	1	1	1	1						
1909	5+1		1	1	1					1	
1910	3			1							
1911	4			1							
1912	1			1							
1913	4	1	1	1	1						1

The following observations can be made:

a) There were almost no comments on specific subjects or on teaching and learning. The one exception was with needlework as from 1898 when Ms Julia Camilleri, the first female Inspector, started work as Acting Inspector – more information is available in Section 5.4.2 of Appendix 5.4.

b) The most common comments were on attendance, cleanliness and the general condition of or order in the school. These comments would have been just as valid for the inspection of a military barracks!

c) Comments about absenteeism almost always referred to sickness, since school at the time was not obligatory. The most commonly mentioned ailment was ‘sore eyes’ or trachoma, with a few cases of cough and ringworm.

Appendix 5.7

Comments made in Inspection Registers by *ad hoc* visitors to Government Schools in Gozo

The NAM retains five circulars issued by various Directors of Education from 1853 to 1910 providing instructions to schools on how to manage visitors. These are:

- Circular of 17th June 1853 (NAM, 1853), which instructs schools to ensure that visitors leave their name and date, and preferably a comment on their impressions, in the Register. Which Register is not indicated – during Pullicino's time as Director none of the available Inspection Registers for the schools in Malta and Gozo, as per Appendix 5.3, had any reference or comment by anyone but Pullicino.
- Circular No. 65 of 1869 (NAM, 1869), by which visitors to schools, especially with respect to the Girls' schools, should be limited to relatives of children in the school, those with written permission from the Director, and those who have a real interest in educational matters. The latter would thus be unannounced drop-ins.
- Circular No. 16 of 1888 (NAM, 1888), which reiterates the 1869 circular. Visitors need to have a permit from the Director's Office, except for the Parish Priest and members of the (Management) Committee of the school.
- Circular No. 5 of 1910 (NAM, 1910a), which refers to Circular no. 21 of 1909 (not found in the NAM collection) that extended the right to "visit and inspect" schools to members of the General Council of the University, in line with the 1898 and 1906 University statutes (UOMS, 1898; 1906). Furthermore it extends this right to the members of the Executive Council that effectively run Malta's civil administration.
- Circular No. 15 of 1910 (NAM, 1910b), which confirms Circular no. 5 of 1910 and adds other personalities, including the Parish Priest who is to inspect only for the purposes of religious instruction. The Local Management Councils set up after Keenan's 1879 Report are not included. The Circular also includes all military personnel from the rank of Colonel and higher who are allowing to 'visit' schools. All visitors are to include their comments in the Visitors' Book and such comments are to be sent to the Department.

This Appendix looks at the evidence for such visits in the Inspection Registers held by the NAM go the government schools in Gozo. As indicated in Appendix 5.5, the Gozo Branch of the National Archives of Malta (NAM) retains ten Inspection Registers pertaining to five government schools in Gozo, of these three schools have evidence of visits/inspections by *ad hoc* visitors, with the majority being at Victoria, the regional capital. The list of visits documented in the Gozo Inspection Registers is given in Table 5.7.1. Table 5.7.2 that follows includes the visuals and transcriptions of these comments.

Table 5.7.1: List of *ad hoc* visitors who left comments in the available Inspection Registers of Gozo Government schools during 1856-1914

School	*Visitor/s*	*Month and Year*
Victoria Boys	A. Chapelle, A. Lanzon and M.A.M Mizzi *(accompanied by A.A. Caruana, Director of Education)*	Nov. 1891
	Sir F.W. Grenfell Grenfell, Governor of Malta *(accompanied by Director E. Magro)*	July 1899
	Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke, Governor of Malta	July 1903
	Sir Edward Marsh Merewether, Lieutenant Governor	March 1904

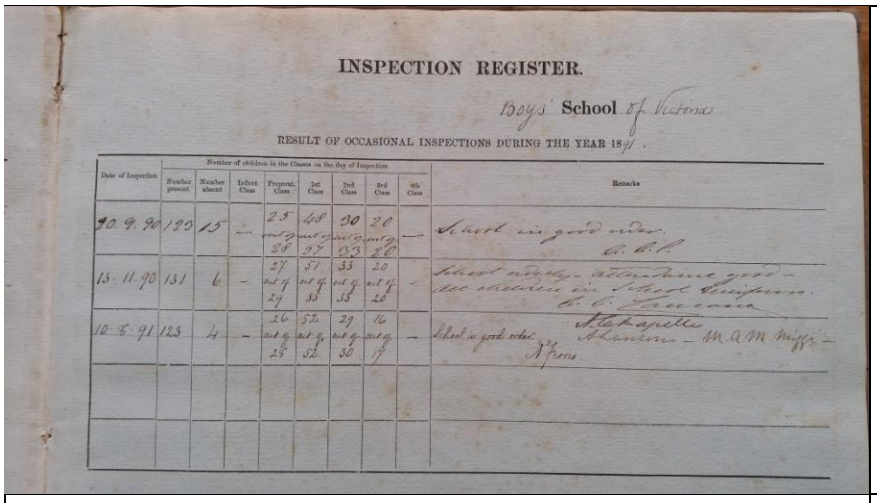
	W.C. Millard, Assistant Secretary to the Governor in Gozo who was accompanying the Governor and wrote in his lieu.	June 1913
Nadur Boys	A. Chapelle, A. Lanzon and M.A.M Mizzi *(accompanying A.A. Caruana, Director of Education)*	Nov. 1891
Għajnsielem Girls	Capt Mc Connell, and Capt. Ford M.B. R.A.M.C.	Oct 1903
	Lieut. J.H.R. Winder M.D., R.A.M.C.	Jan/Feb 1904

The Most Noble Baron Dr A. Chapelle, Antonio Lanzon and Michel'Angelo Maria (M.A.M.) Mizzi were elected members of the Council of Government from 1890 to 1891. (NSO, 1890; 1891)

Between October 1903 and May 1904 Capt. Captain Ernest George Ford MB ChB (Edin 1899) of the Royal Army Medical Corps (R.A.M.C.) was stationed at Fort Chambray, Gozo. (Maltaramc.com 2016a).

Lieutenant James Herbert Roche Winder MD of the Royal Army Medical Corps (R.A.M.C.) arrived in Malta in February 1903 and was stationed at the Cottonera Hospital. He was promoted to Captain on 27th February 1904, so he must have visited the school with his military colleague, whose name is unclear, in January or February 1904 (Maltaramc.com 2016b).

Table 5.7.2: Comments made by *ad hoc* visitors in the Inspection Registers of Primary Schools in Gozo



INSPECTION REGISTER.

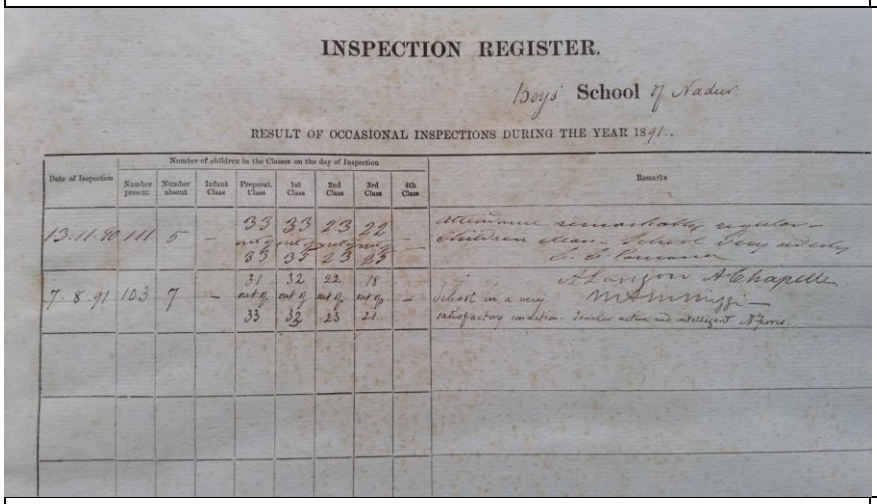
Boys' School of Victoria

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1891.

Date of Inspection	Number of children in the Classes on the day of Inspection: Number present	Number absent	Infant Class	Preparat. Class	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	Remarks
20.9.90	123	15	—	25 out of 28	48 out of 57	30 out of 33	20 out of 20	—	School in good order. A. C. P.
13.11.90	131	6	—	27 out of 29	51 out of 55	33 out of 33	20 out of 20	—	School orderly – attendance good – All children in School uniform. A. C. Caruana
10.8.91	123	4	—	26 out of 28	52 out of 52	29 out of 30	16 out of 17	—	School in good order. A. Chapelle A. Lanzon – M.A.M. Mizzi – N. Pons

Victoria Boys' School 1891

Comment dated 13th November 1891 by Director A.A. Caruana is countersigned by A. Chapelle, A. Lanzon and M.A.M Mizzi:
"School orderly – attendance good – All children in school uniform."



INSPECTION REGISTER.

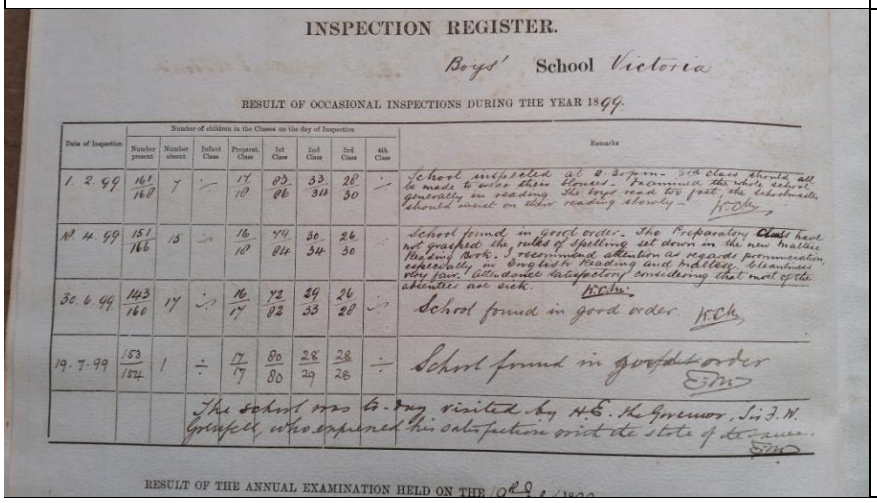
Boys' School of Nadur

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1891.

Date of Inspection	Number of children in the Classes on the day of Inspection: Number present	Number absent	Infant Class	Preparat. Class	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	Remarks
13.11.90	111	5	—	33 out of 33	33 out of 35	23 out of 23	22 out of 25	—	Attendance remarkably regular – Children clean – School very orderly A. C. Caruana
7.8.91	103	7	—	31 out of 33	32 out of 32	22 out of 23	18 out of 21	—	School in a very satisfactory condition. Teacher active and intelligent. A. Lanzon A. Chapelle M.A.M. Mizzi – N. Pons

Nadur Boys' School 1891

Comment dated 13th November 1891 by Director A.A. Caruana is countersigned by A. Chapelle, A. Lanzon and M.A.M Mizzi:
"Attendance remarkably regular – Children clean – School very orderly."



INSPECTION REGISTER.

Boys' School Victoria

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1899.

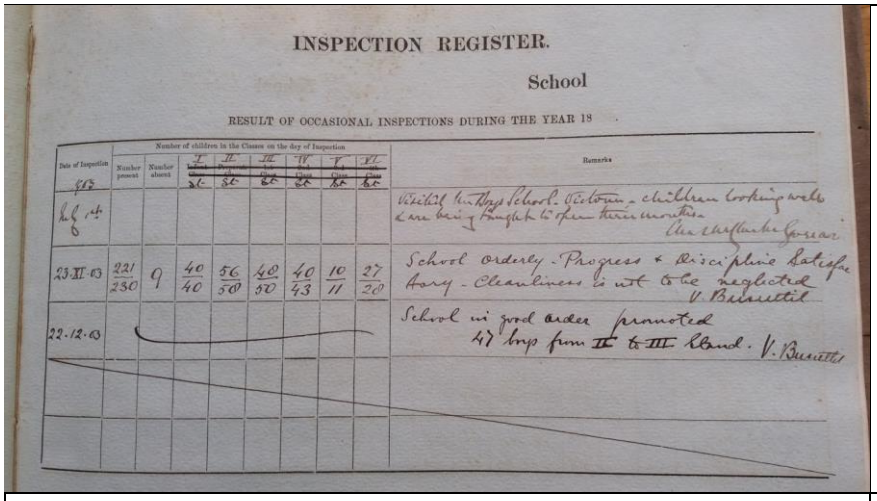
Date of Inspection	Number of children in the Classes on the day of Inspection: Number present	Number absent	Infant Class	Preparat. Class	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	Remarks
1.2.99	161/168	7	÷	17/18	83/86	33/34	28/30	÷	School inspected at 2.30 p.m. – 3rd class should all be made to wear their blouses. – I examined the whole school generally in reading. The boys read too fast, the schoolmaster should insist on their reading slowly. – K.C.M.
18.4.99	151/166	15	÷	16/18	79/84	30/34	26/30	÷	School found in good order. The Preparatory Class have not grasped the rules of spelling set down in the new Mattee Reading Book. I recommend attention as regards pronunciation, especially in English Reading and Mattee. Cleanliness very fair. Attendance satisfactory considering that most of the absentees are sick. K.C.M.
30.6.99	143/160	17	÷	16/17	72/82	29/33	26/28	÷	School found in good order. K.C.M.
19.7.99	153/154	1	÷	17/17	80/80	28/29	28/28	÷	School found in good order. E.M.

The school was to-day visited by H.E. the Governor, Sir F.W. Grenfell, who expressed his satisfaction with the state of the same. E.M.

RESULT OF THE ANNUAL EXAMINATION HELD ON THE 19th July 1899

Victoria Boys' School 1899

Comment in 5th row by Director Magro:
"the school was to-day visited by H.E. the Governor, Sir F.W. Grenfell, who expressed with satisfaction with the state of the school." Comment is probably dated 19th July 1899 as per comment in fourth row.



INSPECTION REGISTER.

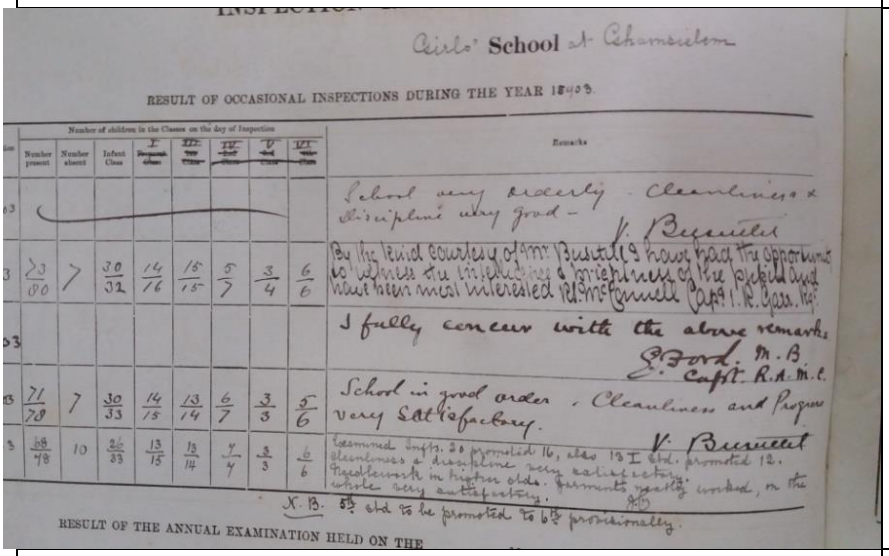
School

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 18

Date of Inspection	Number present	Number absent	I Infant Class	II Preparatory Class	III Class	IV Class	V Class	VI Class	Remarks
1/7			31	31	60	28	10	10	Visited the Boys School Victoria - children looking well & are being taught to open their mouths. Chas Clarke Governor.
23 II 03	221/230	9	40/40	56/50	40/30	40/43	10/11	27/20	School orderly - Progress & discipline Satisfactory - Cleanliness is not to be neglected V. Busuttil
22-12-03									School in good order promoted 47 boys from II to III Stand. V. Busuttil

Victoria Boys' School 1903

Comment in first row dated 1st July 1903 by "Charles Clarke Governor" (Governor Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke): "Visited the Boys School, Victoria. Children looking well and are being taught to open their mouths."



Girls' School at Ghajnsielem

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1903

Number present	Number absent	Infant Class	II Preparatory Class	III Class	IV Class	V Class	VI Class	Remarks
								School very orderly - Cleanliness & discipline very good - V. Busuttil
23/00	7	30/32	14/16	15/15	5/7	3/4	6/6	By the kind courtesy of Mr Busuttil I have had the opportunity to witness the intelligence & brightness of the pupils and have been most interested. J.D. McConnell Capt. I.M.S. Gen. Ret.
								I fully concur with the above remarks E. Ford. M.B. Capt. R.A.M.C.
71/78	7	30/33	14/15	13/14	6/7	3/3	5/6	School in good order, Cleanliness and Progress very Satisfactory. V. Busuttil
68/78	10	26/33	13/15	13/14	4/4	3/3	6/6	Examined Infts. 30 promoted 16, also 13 I Std. promoted 12. Needlework in higher class very satisfactory. Specimens yearly worked, on the whole very satisfactory.

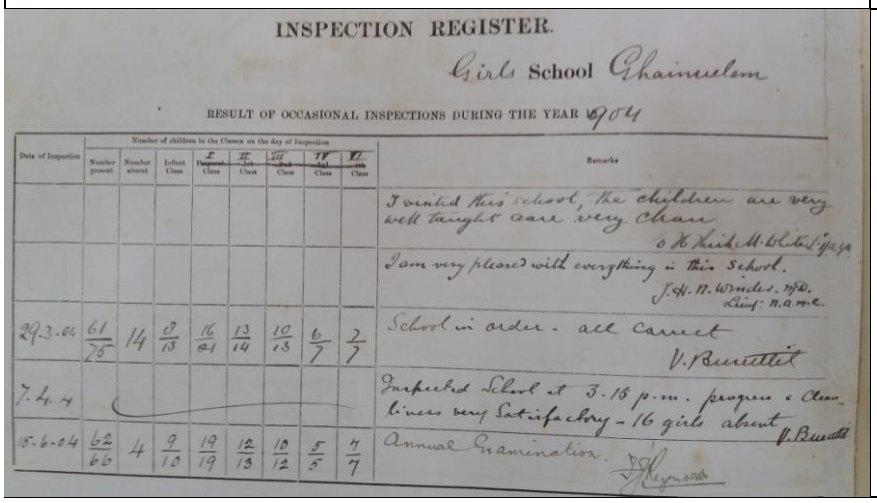
N. B. 5½ std to be promoted to 6½ provisionally.

RESULT OF THE ANNUAL EXAMINATION HELD ON THE

Ghajnsielem Girls' School 1903

Comment dated 20th October 1903 by Capt. Mc Connell: "By the knid (kind) courtesy of Mr Busuttil (Inspector for Primary Schools) I have had the opportunity to witness the intelligence and brightness of the (…) and have been most interested."

Following comment by Capt. Ford M.B. R.A.M.C. with same date: "I fully concur with the above remarks."



INSPECTION REGISTER.

Girls School Ghajnsielem

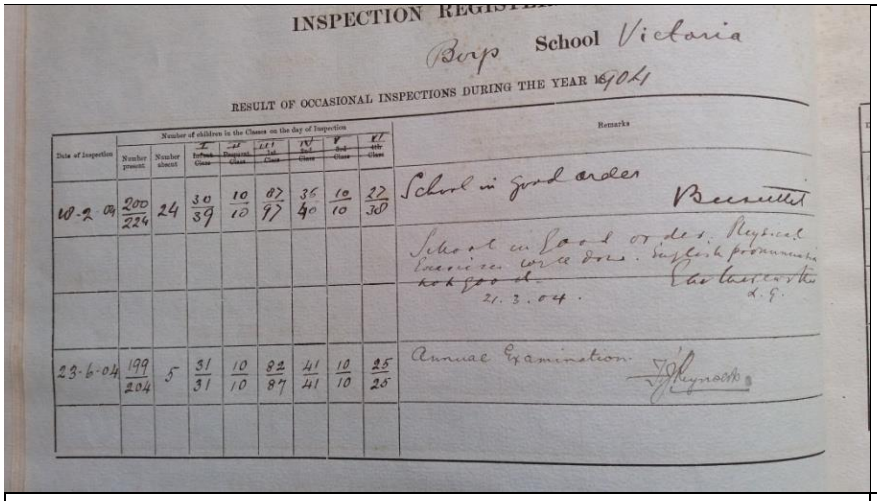
RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1904

Date of Inspection	Number present	Number absent	Infant Class	II Preparatory Class	III Class	IV Class	V Class	VI Class	Remarks
									I visited this school, the children are very well taught & are very clean. A. H. Whitehead White (illegible)
									I am very pleased with everything in this School. J.H.R. Winder. M.D. Lieut. R.A.M.C.
29.3.04	61/75	14	9/13	16/21	13/14	10/13	6/7	2/7	School in order - all correct V. Busuttil
7.4.4									Inspected School at 3.15 p.m. progress & cleanliness very Satisfactory - 16 girls absent V. Busuttil
15-6-04	62/66	4	9/10	19/19	12/13	10/12	5/5	7/7	Annual Examination. J. Reynaud

Ghajnsielem Girls' School 1904

Undated comment by E.M. (?) White (?) L. (lieutenant?) R.A.M.C.: "I visited this school, the children are very well taught & are very clean."

Undated comment by Lieut. J.H.R. Winder M.D., R.A.M.C.: "I am very pleased with everything in this school."



INSPECTION REGISTER

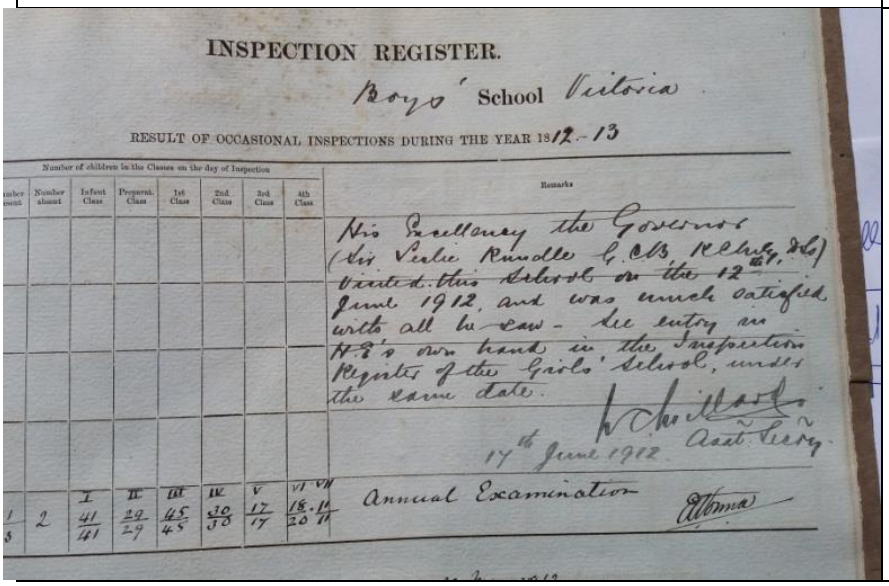
Boys School Victoria

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1904

Date of Inspection	Number present	Number absent	I Infant Class	II Preparat. Class	III 1st Class	IV 2nd Class	V 3rd Class	VI 4th Class	Remarks
18-2-04	200/224	24	30/39	10/10	87/97	36/40	10/10	27/38	School in good order. Bussettet
									School in good order. Physical exercises well done. English pronunciation not good. 21.3.04. Ebenezer Clarke L.G.
23-6-04	199/204	5	31/31	10/10	82/87	41/41	10/10	25/25	Annual Examination. T.J. Reynolds

Victoria Boys' School 1904

2nd row comment dated 21st March 1904 by Sir Edward Marsh Merewether, Lieutenant Governor: "School in good order. Physical exercises well done. English pronunciation not good."



INSPECTION REGISTER.

Boys' School Victoria

RESULT OF OCCASIONAL INSPECTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1912-13

Number present	Number absent	Infant Class	Preparat. Class	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	Remarks
								His Excellency the Governor (Sir Leslie Rundle G.C.B. K.C.M.G. D.S.O.) visited this School on the 12th June 1912, and was much satisfied with all he saw - See entry in H.E.'s own hand in the Inspection Register of the Girls' School, under the same date. W.C. Millard Asst. Secy. 17th June 1912.
1/3	2	I 41/41	II 29/29	III 45/45	IV 30/30	V 17/17	VI 18/20 VII 11/11	Annual Examination. A. Thomas

Victoria Boys' School 1912-13

Comment dated 17th June 1912 by W.C. Millard, Assistant Secretary to the Governor in Gozo: "His Excellency the Governor (Sir Leslie Rundle GCB GCMG DSO) visited this school on the 12th June 1912 and was much satisfied with all he saw – See entry in HE's own hand in the Inspection Register of the Girls' School, under the same date."

As can be expected, most of the comments are in the Victoria Inspection Registers, because this was closest to the government officers and catered for the families that dominated Gozitan cultural and economic life. The comments were almost uniformly complementary, except that by Sir Edward Marsh Merewether, Lieutenant Governor, who in his visit to Victoria Boys Primary on the 21st March 1904 commented that the pupils' English pronunciation was not good. Governor Mansfield Clarke's comment on his visit to the same school of the 1st July 1903 included the curious phrase: "Children looking well and are being taught to open their mouths"; one assumes that he was referring to the teachers urging their students to overcome their shyness in speaking up in front of his redoubtable presence.

Two visits took place on the same day, 13th November 1891, by A. Chapelle, A. Lanzon and M.A.M Mizzi who were clearly accompanying A.A. Caruana, Director of Education, since they counter-signed his own comment in both the Victoria and Nadur Inspection Registers. These two visits in one day are the only visits by 'third party' Maltese persons recorded in the Inspection Registers of Gozo's schools.

The two visits in Għajnsielem in 1903 and 1904 each include doctors from the R.A.M.C., the Royal Army Medical Corps. Captain Ford visited the school as soon as he was stationed to Fort Chambray, which overlooks the village of Għajnsielem. Lieutenant Winder visited the school whilst he was stationed at Cottonera, around the Grand Harbour on the main island of Malta. His visit to Gozo in

January or February, when the trip by small boat tends to be cold, wet and dangerous, would indicate that, like Captain Ford, this was not a casual walk-in. However the comments are not exclusively medical in nature but refer also to the school's educational endeavours.

Appendix 5.8

Samples of school and teacher Inspection Reports

This Appendix presents a representative sample of school and teacher reports by inspectors. The first report is the earliest one retained by the NAM, a school report for Asciak (Għaxaq) Girls Elementary School dated 18th November 1905. The next report is of a particular teacher at Musta (Mosta) Girls, dated 36 yearly later. It retained the same format and tone as the 1905 report, but with a greater effort at highlighting the good practices and what needed to be improved. The 1941 report was a generally positive one by an inspector who was clearly not trying to make life unduly difficult for the teacher concerned and wrote that the teacher was "very willing" but required a second inspection when the headteacher indicated that she was delivering "higher standard work". Reading between the lines, the inspector was probably taking a page from Director Pullicino's inspectorial writing 75 years before, toning down his written report but telling the teacher and her headteacher that she needed to pull her socks up before the second inspection. This report includes a comment by the Director of Education Laferla (the initials are the same as the signature in other reports such as the one in Figure 5.8.1 from an inspection report of the Mosta Infants School in 1942).

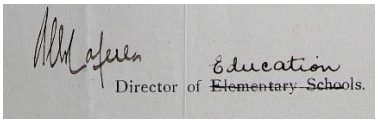
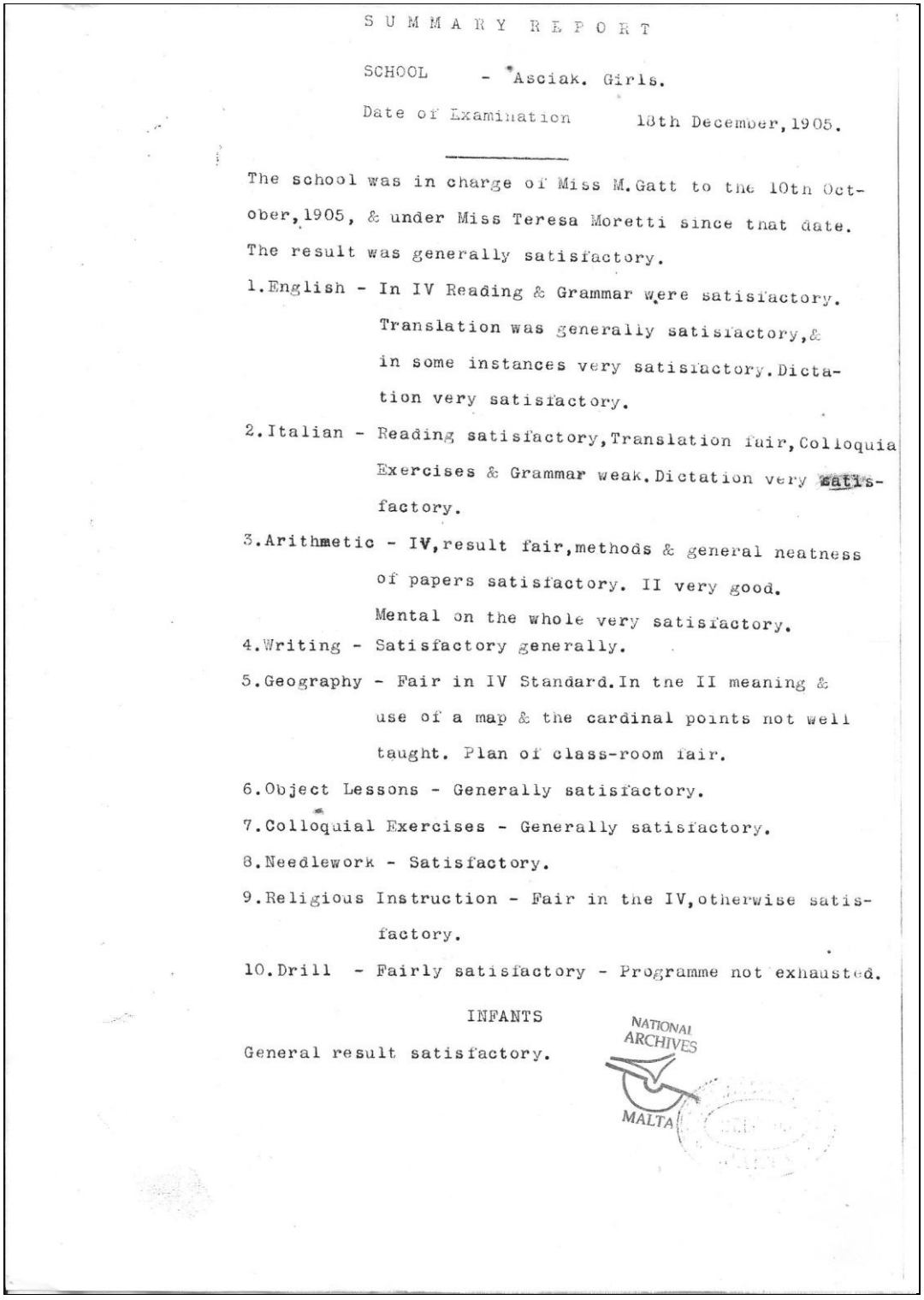


Figure 5.8.1: Signature of Director Laferla

Director Laferla seems to have smelt a rat; he wrote: "A borderline report. Will Miss Busuttil be ready for inspection in higher standard work before the holidays?" A fair comment, seeing that the report is dated 1st July and Director Laferla reviewed it just a week later. This type of ex-cathedra comment, very probably based simply on a reading of the report itself, as well as the general tone of the 1941 report, are repeated in the reports reproduced here of 1960, 1966 (2 years after Maltese Independence) and 1975 (1 year after the Republican constitution). The 1975 report is the latest one retained by NAM.



SUMMARY REPORT

SCHOOL - Asciak. Girls.

Date of Examination 18th December, 1905.

The school was in charge of Miss M. Gatt to the 10th October, 1905, & under Miss Teresa Moretti since that date. The result was generally satisfactory.

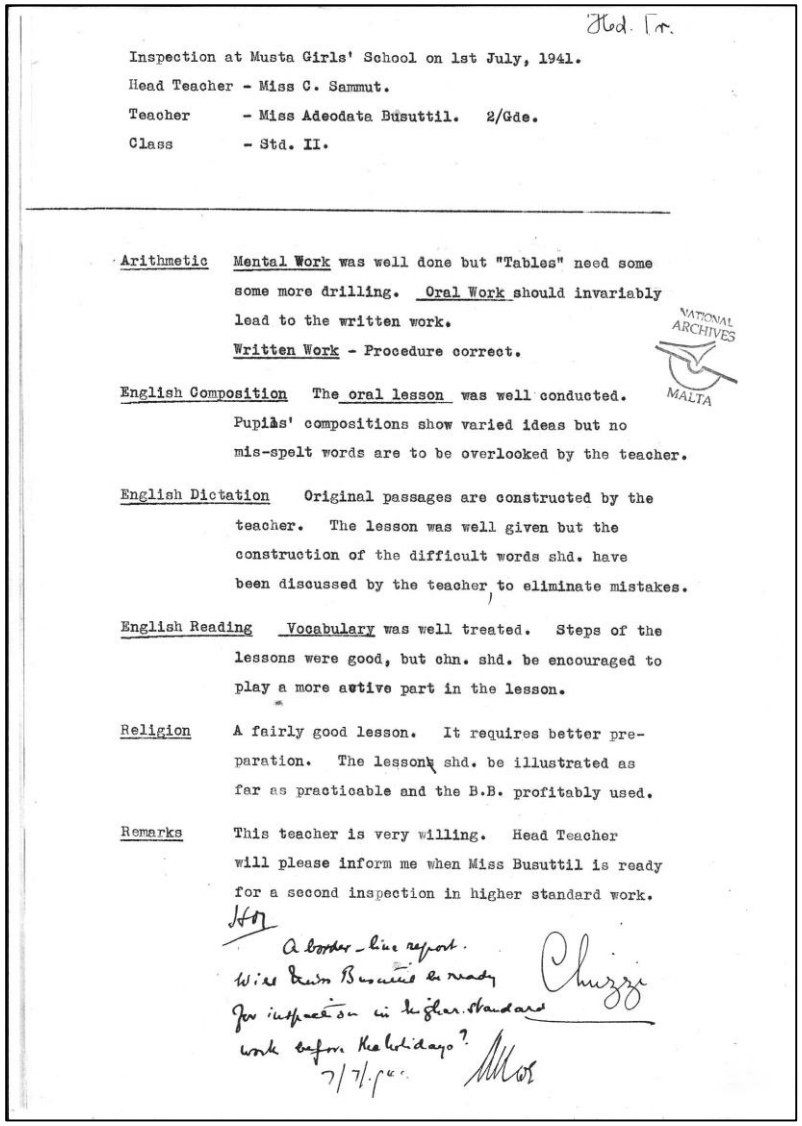
1. English - In IV Reading & Grammar were satisfactory. Translation was generally satisfactory, & in some instances very satisfactory. Dictation very satisfactory.
2. Italian - Reading satisfactory, Translation fair, Colloquia Exercises & Grammar weak. Dictation very satisfactory.
3. Arithmetic - IV, result fair, methods & general neatness of papers satisfactory. II very good. Mental on the whole very satisfactory.
4. Writing - Satisfactory generally.
5. Geography - Fair in IV Standard. In the II meaning & use of a map & the cardinal points not well taught. Plan of class-room fair.
6. Object Lessons - Generally satisfactory.
7. Colloquial Exercises - Generally satisfactory.
8. Needlework - Satisfactory.
9. Religious Instruction - Fair in the IV, otherwise satisfactory.
10. Drill - Fairly satisfactory - Programme not exhausted.

INFANTS

General result satisfactory.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MALTA

Figure 5.8.2:
Summary Report for Axiak (Għaxaq) Girls' School, 18th December 1905 (NAM, 1905)



Hd. Tr.

Inspection at Musta Girls' School on 1st July, 1941.

Head Teacher - Miss C. Sammut.

Teacher - Miss Adeodata Busuttil. 2/Gde.

Class - Std. II.

Arithmetic Mental Work was well done but "Tables" need some some more drilling. Oral Work should invariably lead to the written work.

Written Work - Procedure correct.

English Composition The oral lesson was well conducted. Pupils' compositions show varied ideas but no mis-spelt words are to be overlooked by the teacher.

English Dictation Original passages are constructed by the teacher. The lesson was well given but the construction of the difficult words shd. have been discussed by the teacher, to eliminate mistakes.

English Reading Vocabulary was well treated. Steps of the lessons were good, but chn. shd. be encouraged to play a more active part in the lesson.

Religion A fairly good lesson. It requires better preparation. The lessons shd. be illustrated as far as practicable and the B.B. profitably used.

Remarks This teacher is very willing. Head Teacher will please inform me when Miss Busuttil is ready for a second inspection in higher standard work.

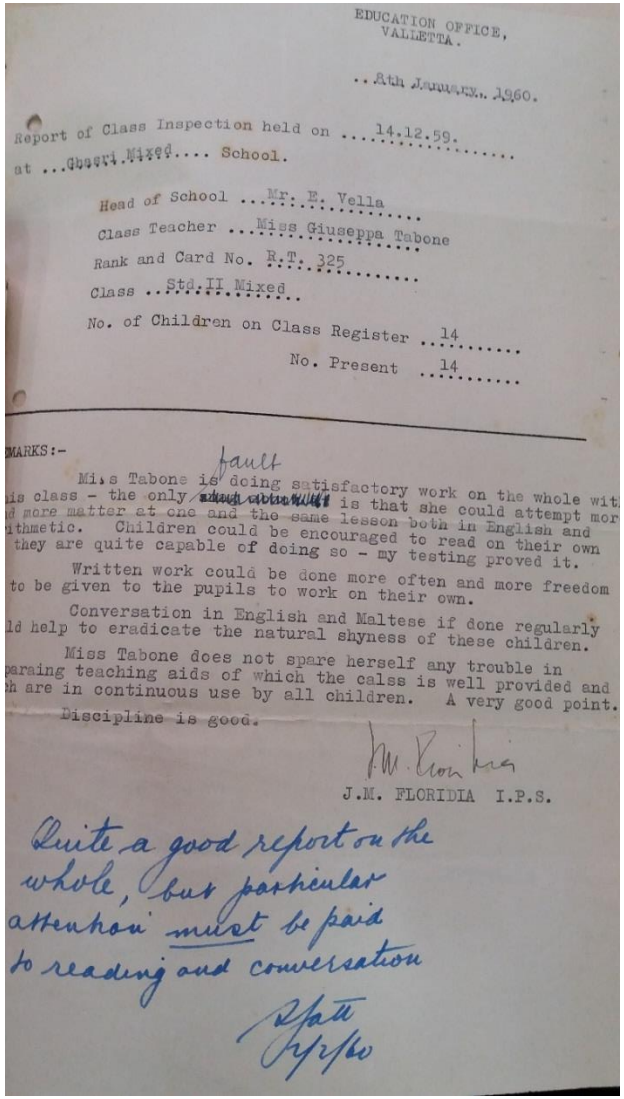
Hoy

A border-line report.
Will Miss Busuttil be ready for inspection in higher standard work before the holidays?
7/7/[illegible]

Chizzi

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MALTA

Figure 5.8.3:
Teacher's Inspection Report, 1st July 1941 (NAM, 1941)



EDUCATION OFFICE,
VALLETTA.

..8th January.. 1960.

Report of Class Inspection held on ....14.12.59.....

at ...Ghasri Mixed.... School.

Head of School ...Mr. E. Vella.....

Class Teacher ...Miss Giuseppa Tabone.....

Rank and Card No. R.T. 325.....

Class ..Std.II Mixed.....

No. of Children on Class Register ..14.....

No. Present ..14.....

MARKS:-

Miss Tabone is doing satisfactory work on the whole wit is class - the only fault is that she could attempt mor d more matter at one and the same lesson both in English and ithmetic. Children could be encouraged to read on their own they are quite capable of doing so - my testing proved it.

Written work could be done more often and more freedom to be given to the pupils to work on their own.

Conversation in English and Maltese if done regularly ld help to eradicate the natural shyness of these children.

Miss Tabone does not spare herself any trouble in paraing teaching aids of which the calss is well provided and h are in continuous use by all children. A very good point.

Discipline is good.

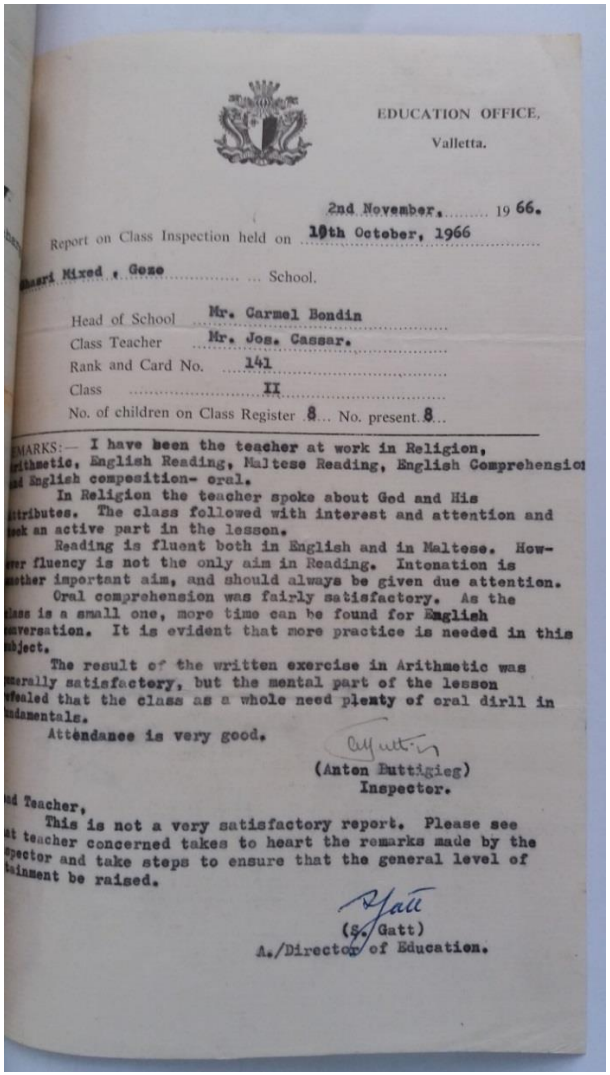
J.M. Floridia

J.M. FLORIDIA I.P.S.

Quite a good report on the whole, but particular attention must be paid to reading and conversation

Statt
7/2/60

Figure 5.8.4:
Teacher's Inspection Report, 8th January 1960 (NAM, 1960)



EDUCATION OFFICE,
Valletta.

2nd November, 1966.

Report on Class Inspection held on 10th October, 1966

Ghasri Mixed , Gozo School.

Head of School Mr. Carmel Bondin
Class Teacher Mr. Jos. Cassar.
Rank and Card No. 141
Class II
No. of children on Class Register 8 No. present 8

REMARKS:— I have been the teacher at work in Religion, Arithmetic, English Reading, Maltese Reading, English Comprehension and English composition- oral.

In Religion the teacher spoke about God and His attributes. The class followed with interest and attention and took an active part in the lesson.

Reading is fluent both in English and in Maltese. However fluency is not the only aim in Reading. Intonation is another important aim, and should always be given due attention.

Oral comprehension was fairly satisfactory. As the class is a small one, more time can be found for English conversation. It is evident that more practice is needed in this subject.

The result of the written exercise in Arithmetic was generally satisfactory, but the mental part of the lesson revealed that the class as a whole need plenty of oral dirll in fundamentals.

Attendance is very good.

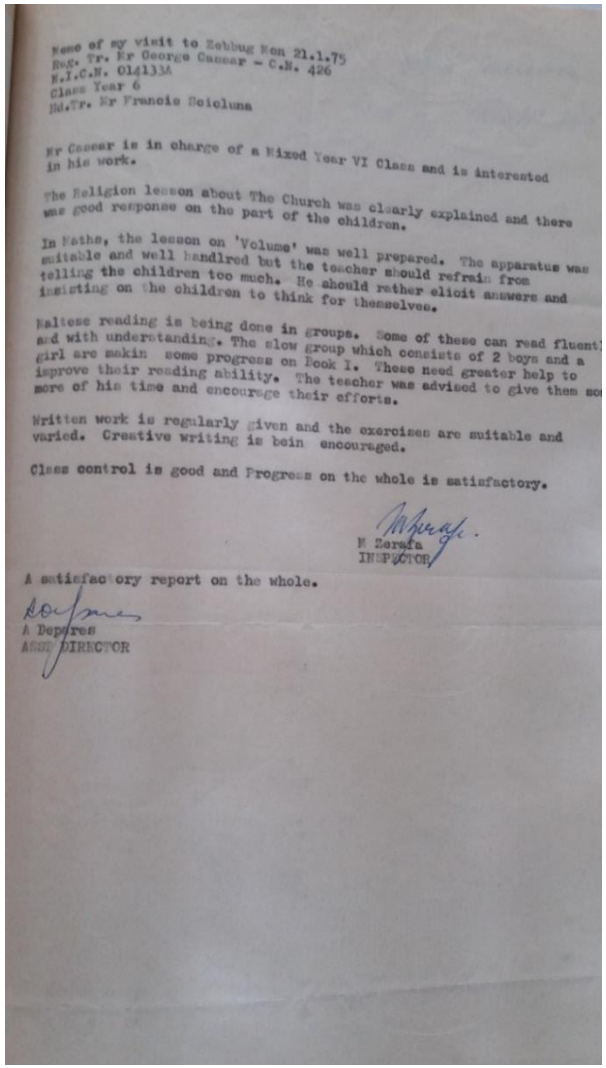
(Anton Buttigieg)
Inspector.

Dear Teacher,

This is not a very satisfactory report. Please see that teacher concerned takes to heart the remarks made by the Inspector and take steps to ensure that the general level of attainment be raised.

(S. Gatt)
A./Director of Education.

Figure 5.8.5:
Teacher's Inspection Report, 2nd November 1966 (NAM, 1966)



Memo of my visit to Zebbug Mon 21.1.75
Reg. Tr. Mr George Cassar - C.N. 426
N.I.C.N. 014133A
Class Year 6
Hd.Tr. Mr Francis Scicluna

Mr Cassar is in charge of a Mixed Year VI Class and is interested in his work.

The Religion lesson about The Church was clearly explained and there was good response on the part of the children.

In Maths, the lesson on 'Volume' was well prepared. The apparatus was suitable and well handlred but the teacher should refrain from telling the children too much. He should rather elicit answers and insisting on the children to think for themselves.

Maltese reading is being done in groups. Some of these can read fluently and with understanding. The slow group which consists of 2 boys and a girl are makin some progress on Book I. These need greater help to improve their reading ability. The teacher was advised to give them some more of his time and encourage their efforts.

Written work is regularly given and the exercises are suitable and varied. Creative writing is bein encouraged.

Class control is good and Progress on the whole is satisfactory.

M Zerafa
INSPECTOR

A satisfactory report on the whole.

A Depares
ASST DIRECTOR

Figure 5.8.6:
Teacher's Inspection Report, 21st January 1975 (NAM, 1975)

Appendix 5.9

Inspection Notations in School Vistors' Books, Log Books and Class Registers

This Appendix provides samples of inspection comments included in school Visitors' Books, Log Books and Class Registers, as discussed in Appendix 5.5. The Log Book was a daily record of events kept by the headteacher, whilst the Class Register included the class attendance, learners' marks, and comments by the headteacher and inspectors following class inspections. Visitors' Books were sometimes used by inspectors as well as by VIPs and third parties. Until the 1920s the tone of the comments in the Visitors' Books retained by the NAM was a continuation of the judgements and opinions that visitors had previously expressed in the Inspection Registers; after this time the Books functioned more as would be expected today, to record the presence of a VIP and to allow for the customary laudatory comment about the school.

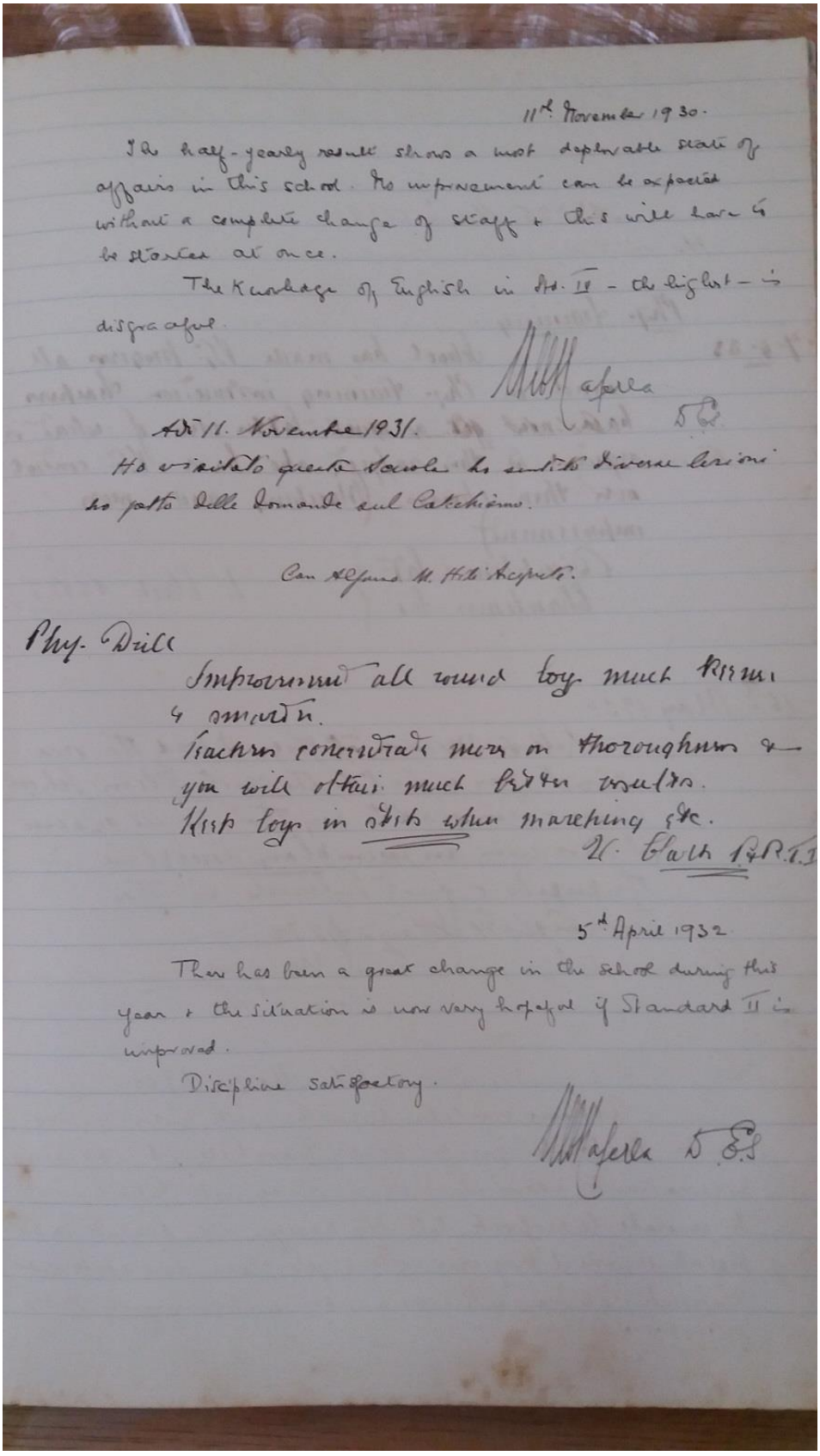
Table 5.9.1 gives one page from the Visitors' Book of Victoria (Gozo) Boys' School, with entries from November 1930 to April 1932. The page starts and ends with two entries by Director Laferla with the second referring to the first. It also includes an entry by the Archpriest (priest in charge of the parish) focussing on catechism, and an entry by the inspector who in all Inspection Registers, Visitors' Books and Log Books perused by the author commented only on Physical Drill, which was the school version of parade-ground military exercises.

In his first entry, Laferla strongly criticised the school for "a most deplorable state of affairs" that required a complete change of staff that needed to take place at once. If his intension was to set the cat among the pigeons, it seems to have worked, because his second comment in the following scholastic year indicated that there had been a "great change" for the better. In the 1930's Laferla was at the height of his power; more examples of his latitude for draconian action are given in Section 5.4.2 of Appendix 5.4.

Figure 5.9.2 gives two pages from the Visitors' Book of Victoria (Gozo) Girls' School. Of note are the first entry by Joseph Howard, who had just been made the first prime Minister of Malta under the 1921 constitution, who describes his visit as "inspecting this school". The next two entries are from Gozitan clerical personalities who comment on the learners' religious knowledge. The last two entries on the second page are by two British servicemen. Both reported that they had tested the learners' knowledge of English and were impressed by what they had heard.

Figure 5.9.3 gives one page from Mosta Girls Elementary School Log Book for 1905, which includes the comments on J.C. who is Julia Camilleri, the first school inspectress (see Section 5.4.1 in Appendix 5.4). Ms Camilleri visited the school on the 27th September 1905. Not only did she leave instructions on how to manage the correction of sums and spelling mistakes in dictations; she also reviewed the log book itself, correcting a spelling mistake by the headteacher in the entry of the 12th September (phyisical), underlining three entries which presumably she wanted to persue further, and ticking with a 'very good' the final comments in the entry of the 13th September, presumably because she was in agreement.

Figures 5.9.4 (a) and (b) gives two pages from a typical class register for scholatic year 2015-16. The first page included notations from the headteacher, who in four months visited the class 26 times, sometimes twice a day, to teach specific subjects, check corrections and test the learners. The second page includes comments by an inspector after a class visit.



11th November 1930.

The half-yearly result shows a most deplorable state of affairs in this school. No improvement can be expected without a complete change of staff & this will have to be started at once.

The knowledge of English in Std. IV – the highest – is disgraceful.

[signature] Mafella D.E.S.

Adì 11. Novembre 1931.

Ho visitato questa Scuola ho sentito diverse lezioni ho fatto delle domande sul Catechismo.

Can Alfonso M. Hili Arciprete.

Phy. Drill

Improvement all round boys much keener & smarter.

Teachers concentrate more on thoroughness & you will obtain much better results.

Keep boys in steps when marching etc.

W. Clark P.R.T.I.

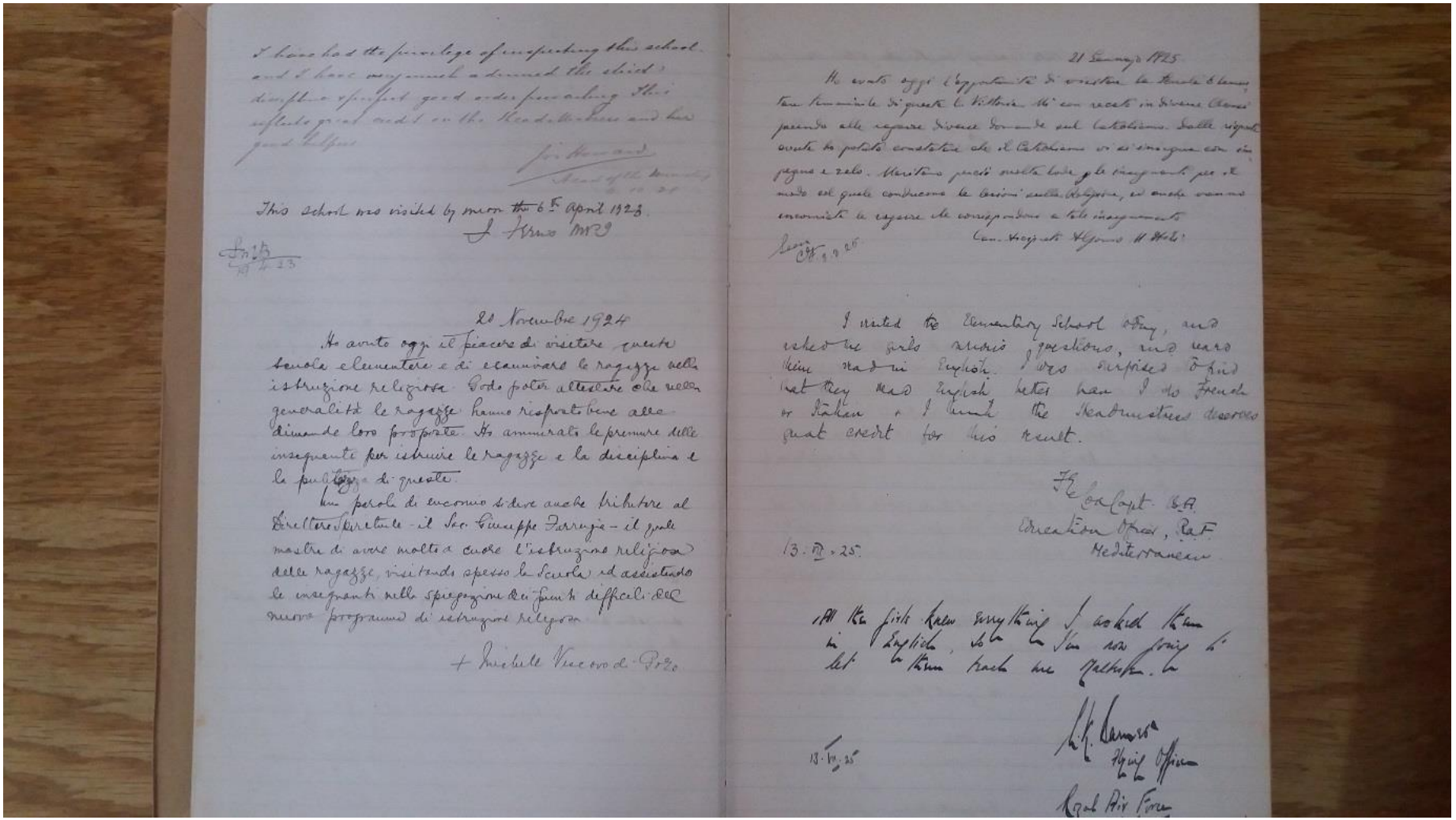
5th April 1932

There has been a great change in the school during this year & the situation is now very hopeful if Standard II is improved.

Discipline satisfactory.

[signature] Mafella D.E.S.

Figure 5.9.1: Page from Boys' School, Victoria Gozo Visitors' Book (NAM-SS10)



I have had the privilege of inspecting this school and I have very much admired the strict discipline & perfect good order prevailing. This reflects great credit on the Headmistress and her good helpers.

[illegible]
Head of the Mission
[illegible]

This school was visited by me on the 6th April 1923.
J. Ferris MRI

[illegible]
19.4.23

20 Novembre 1924

Ho avuto oggi il piacere di visitare questa scuola elementare e di esaminare le ragazze nella istruzione religiosa. Godo poter attestare che nella generalità le ragazze hanno risposto bene alle dimande loro proposte. Ho ammirato le premure delle insegnanti per istruire le ragazze e la disciplina e la pulitezza di queste.

Una parola di encomio si deve anche tributare al Direttore Spirituale - il Sac. Giuseppe Farrugia - il quale mostra di avere molto a cuore l'istruzione religiosa delle ragazze, visitando spesso la Scuola ed assistendo le insegnanti nella spiegazione dei punti difficili del nuovo programma di istruzione religiosa.

+ Michele Vescovo di Gozo

21 Gennajo 1925

Ho avuto oggi l'opportunità di visitare la Scuola Elementare Femminile di questa L. Vittoria. Mi son recato in diverse Classi facendo alle ragazze diverse domande sul Catechismo. Dalle risposte avute ho potuto constatare che il Catechismo vi si insegna con impegno e zelo. Meritano perciò molta lode le insegnanti per il modo col quale conducono le lezioni sulla Religione, ed anche vanno encomiate le ragazze che corrispondono a tale insegnamento.

Can. Arciprete Alfonso M. Holt

[illegible]
[illegible]

I visited the Elementary School today, and asked the girls various questions, and heard them read in English. I was surprised to find that they read English better than I do French or Italian & I think the Headmistress deserves great credit for this result.

F. E. Coe Capt. B.A.
Education Officer, R.A.F.
Mediterranean

13.VII.25

All the girls knew everything I asked them in English, so I am now going to let them teach me Maltese.

[illegible]
Flying Officer
Royal Air Force

13.VII.25

Figure 5.9.2: Pages from Girls' School, Victoria Gozo Visitors' Book (NAM-SS45)

12th Sept. Watched Std V II & III take physical drill from 8 45 to 9. 5 Some of the movements were slightly lacking in smartness

Examined Std IV in Dictation from 10 25 to 10.30

13th Sept. Examined Copy Books in Std II Div: B Correction neglected

Asked some questions to Std II Div: A & B on Geography from 2. 36 to 3. No answers obtained

Recommended both A. Ts to be more careful in teaching Geography.

English Exercises in Std III & IV from 3 to 3. 35

15th " " " V Div: A from 11 to 11. 30

" " " B " 3 to 3. 25

18th " Examined Std II in Dictation and Colloquial Exercises from 10 to 11. 45

19th " Exercised the girls of Std IV in Colloquial Language from 9. 15 to 9. 36

Asked some questions on Geography to Std II from 9. 45 to 10. 5. Some questions were correctly answered by the majority.

Coll: Exers: in Std III from 2. 35 to 2. 55.

21st " Watched Stds IV & II — taking physical drill from 8. 45 to 9.

Heard Miss Vella give object lesson to the girls of Stds III & IV on "Slate" from 3. 10 to 3. 15

Coll: Exers: in Std II Div: A from 3. 15 to 3. 25

Gave to Stds II & III a needlework lesson on "Patching" "Print" from 3. 40 to 4. 10.

27.9.5 1. Corrections of sums to be made on exercise books & not on slates.

2. Words wrongly spelt in dictations to be re-written correctly by the Chrs on exercise books.

29-9-05 Miss Vella Carmela is absent from duties on account of sickness.

2nd Dec 1905. 5th "

6th "

9th "

11th "

12th "

16th "

18th "

23rd "

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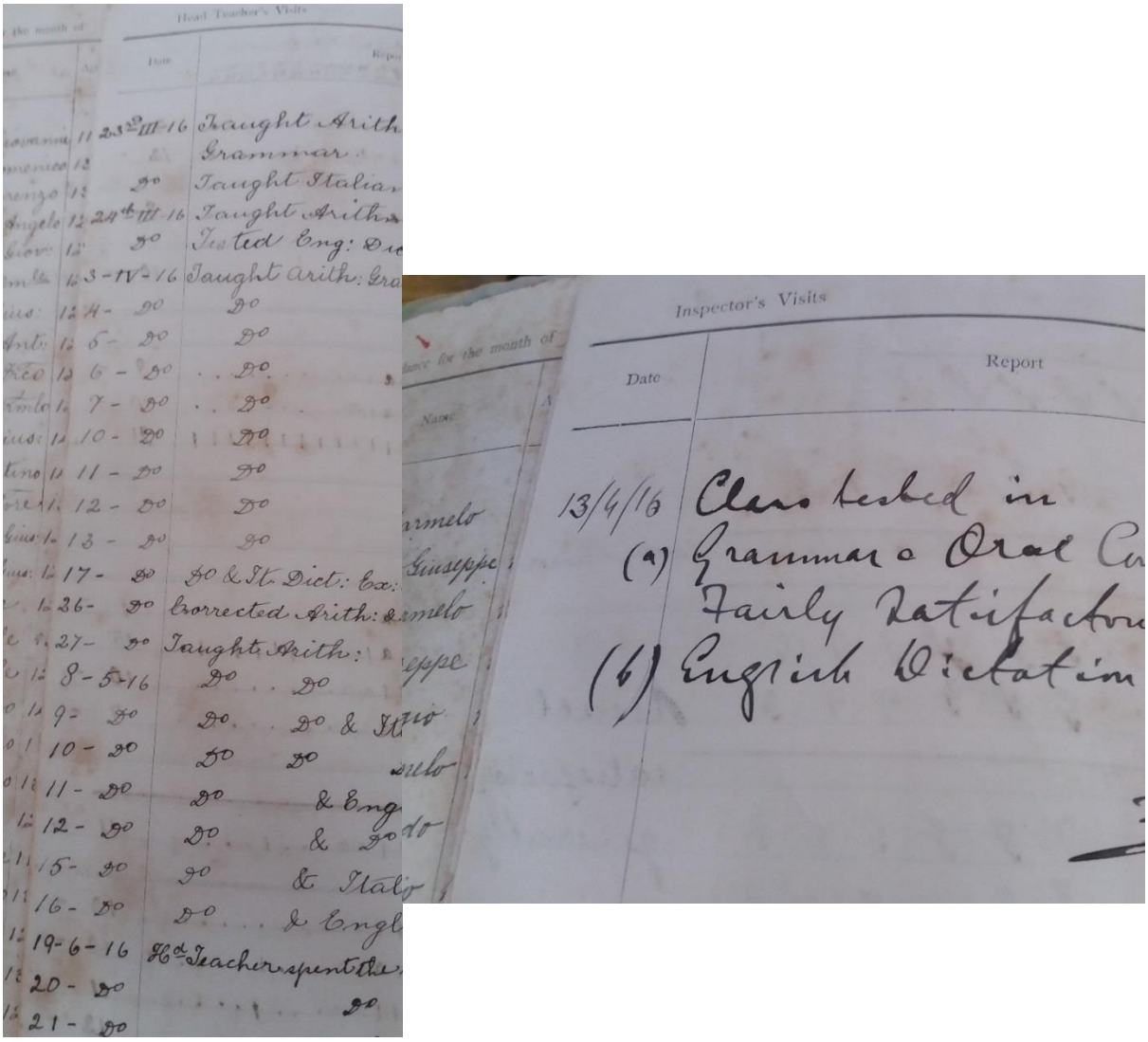
Figure 5.9.3: Page from Mosta Girls Elementary School Log Book for 1905 NAM-SSM38)


Head Teacher's Visits
Date
Taught Arith
Grammar
Taught Italian
Taught Arith
Tested Eng: Dic
Taught Arith: Gra
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do & It. Dict: Ex:
Corrected Arith:
Taught Arith:
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do
Do

Appendix 5.10

Comparing University of Malta Statutes

Table 5.10.1 compares the statutes or equivalent documents of the University of Malta (UoM) from its inception as such in 1771 through the British colonial period. This can be compared to the parameters of the 1988 statute, given at the end of the table.

Table 5.10.1: Comparing University of Malta Statutes from 1771 to the end of the British period, with the Statute of 1988

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1771[9]	Non-issue: Catholic. The setting up of the UoM is authorised by the Pope in 1769, and one justification is for the religious instruction of the Knights of st John.	Non-issue: Italian and Latin.	• Protector/ Chancellor selected by Grandmaster, is a senior Knight of the Order of St John. • Grandmaster reserves "the sole right of electing and appointing" the Rector, lecturers and all other officials, and to prescribe all relevant laws and regulations.	• Protector oversees Rector's work. • Protector calls and chairs Council meetings, settles all disputes, inspects studies, ensures compliance.	Selected by Grandmaster.	Rector prepares syllabi, visits schools (to monitor teaching), assists in exams and disputations, takes disciplinary action.	• Protector inspects studies, ensures compliance • Rector visits schools, takes disciplinary action.	None. Its predecessor, the Jesuit College, was not under the jurisdiction of the Grandmaster. The expulsion of the Jesuit Order gave the Grandmaster the opportunity to gain control of the new institution.
from Following Jesuits' expulsion Malta in 1768								

[9] Grandmaster Pinto issued a Foundation decree on 22nd November 1769 to erect a Public University of General Studies. On 22nd May 1771 he promulgated the Constitutions of the University, which in effect were its first Statute.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1824[10] Following 1824 Govt Commission	Not mentioned, because it is a non-issue. Status of Catholic religion is unchallenged.	Not mentioned, because it is a non-issue. Status of Italian and Latin is unchallenged.	Council made up of 7 *ex-ufficio* Government officials and 7 nominated from time to time by Government.	Council to implement Governor's direction re new courses; to consider what is supplementary to Governor's plan, and to make suggestions.	Selected by Chancellor (who is the Governor) on nominations by Council.	• Rector reports directly to Chancellor.	No info	None
1838 Following 1836 Royal Commission	• It is the basis of instruction in UoM and Lyceum. • No teaching permitted that is "repugnant to Catholic principles"[11].	• Statute in separate Italian and English versions. • The English version at the UoM library has a hand-written note on the cover: "literal translation from the Italian", implying that the official version was deemed to be Italian. • Not mentioned, because it is a non-issue. Status of Italian is unchallenged.	• General Council replaces Council of the UoM. • Selected by Governor from amongst members of faculty councils. • Special (Faculty) councils chaired by Rector; each includes faculty professors and two external members nominated by Governor. • Seating at faculty council meeting is specified, by seniority.	General Council meets four times a year, and when called by Governor or Rector to discuss specific issues.	Not indicated, but almost certainly directly by Governor.	• Chairs the General Council. • Administers the UoM. • Answerable to the governor and presents an annual report to him.	• Rector in charge of compliance and discipline, ensuring "public confidence" • Rector needs to carry out class inspections as often as possible. • Statute includes precise instructions on how Rector may conduct inspections of lectures.	None

[10] Not a statute but a Minute of September 13th by Governor Hastings.

[11] Based on preliminary agreement reached with representatives of the clergy in 1837 (but not the Archbishop who remained opposed on orders by Vatican) on Liberty of the Press, that such a law would punish whoever indecently offended or insulted Roman Catholicism (Laferla 1938 p.165).

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1871	Same as in 1838 Statute	• Statute in Italian. • Not mentioned, because it was a non-issue. Status of Italian is unchallenged. • Entry into Lyceum through exams in Italian and Maths	Same as in 1838.	Same as in 1838.	Not clear in the Statute, but almost certainly directly by Governor.	Same as in 1838.	Same as in 1838.	None.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1887	No information available		• General control and management of the UoM entrusted to Senate that replaces Council. • Senate is presided by Chancellor, who is the Governor. • Vice Chancellor is the Director of Education. Of the other 10 members, 4 are elected academics; the other 6 are nominated by the Governor.	• All proposals approved by Senate have to be passed for approval to the Legislative Council of government, which effectively has the power of veto. • Senate meets regularly every 3 months, and receives report from Vice-Chancellor on the running of the UoM, disciplinary issues, requirements and suggestions. • Senate may frame regulations on all academic and disciplinary matters. • Senate recommends academic staff for selection by Governor. • Senate may also consider all matters related to primary, secondary schools and Lyceum referred to it by the Director of Education (who at time of Ordinance is the Vice-Chancellor/Rector).	• Vice-Chancellor (Rector) selected by Governor.	• Vice-Chancellor presents annual report to Senate, who submits it to Governor.	• Vice-Chancellor responsible for "minor offences". • Other issues of immorality, insubordination, and serious violation of discipline are dealt with by the Senate.	Limited. The slight improvement mirrored the new 1887 Constitution which gave new, if limited, powers of popular representation in the Council of Government

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1889	This is not a full statute but Ordinance XII of 1889 (GGM, 1889) revising certain aspects of the 1887Statute.		Same as 1887.	• Same as 1887… • HOWEVER Senate now has power to decide on all matters such as syllabi and textbooks except for changes in Statute. • Senate can propose amendments to statute, but these changes have to be approved by the Council of Government.	Same as 1887.	Same as 1887.	Same as 1887.	Limited
Following 1888 Govt Commission								

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1898[12] Following 1896 Govt Select Committee	• It is the basis of instruction in all public educational establishments. • No teaching permitted that is "repugnant to Catholic principles" • However, non-Catholic students are not obliged to sit for exam in religious instruction as pre-condition to Matriculation and entry into UoM.	• One version in English and one in Italian. • However, on the first page on the top left-hand corner the English version has the word 'translation', inferring that the original text is in Italian. • No reference to language of instruction at the UoM. • However, English and Italian are both required exams for Matriculation and entry into UoM.	• President of the General Council appointed by Governor. • General Council mostly elected by and from academic staff.	• Power to amend the statutes rests with the Governor. • Senate is abolished. • General Council advises the Rector. • Opinion of the Council needs to be sought for programmes of studies and books of any public school. • "Every member of Council shall have the right to inspect any school with a view of ascertaining its material and moral conditions". • Head of Elementary Education has the right to be present for and vote on relevant discussions by the Council.	• Appointed by Governor. • Governor may abolish the office of Director of Public Instruction, and instruct the Rector to take on this role.	• Answerable to the governor and presents an annual report to him. • In charge of compliance and discipline and reports to Governor. • Charged with ensuring "public confidence". • Ensuring quality of teaching through inspections.	• Rector can visit lectures to ascertain "the progress of instruction and whether his directions are being carried out". • Rector shall "revise, or cause to be revised, the school work corrected by teachers". • Same precise instructions as in 1838 on how Rector may conduct inspections of lectures.	Very limited.

[12] Includes reference to Ordinance No. XII of 1898.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1906[13]	Same as in 1898.	• The title and facing page of the Statute are in English. • No reference to language of instruction at the UoM, in the main text of the Statute. • Matriculation exam includes English OR Italian. • However, appendixes include Govt direction in 1901 and 1902 to allow candidates for admission into UoM and Lyceum to answer in Italian and/or English. • In the same appendices, Governor may issue regulations "as to the manner of imparting instruction or otherwise." • However theology may be taught in Latin or Italian.	Same as in 1898.	• Same as in 1898... • BUT without reference to Head of Elementary Education (since this role is now subsumed by the Rector).	• Appointed by Governor. • Rector is also the Director of Public Instruction.	• Same as in 1898... • BUT without the detailed instructions on how to conduct inspections.	• Same as in 1898... • BUT without the detailed instructions on how to conduct inspections.	Very Limited

[13] The title of the Statute refers to the 1898 version "with amendments up to 1906". Includes reference to Ordinance No.1 of 1905.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1915	• It is the basis of instruction in all public educational establishments • No teaching permitted that is "inconsistent with Catholic principles" • However, non-Catholic students are not obliged to sit for religious instruction exams, including for University entry, and apart from Degree of Theology cannot be discriminated against.	Same as 1906.	• Same as 1906… • Governor has role of Visitor, reprising terms used in 1771 Constitutions. • Student Representative Council officially recognised *(but replaces pro-Italian Comitato Permanente Universitario, set up in 1901 and not officially recognised but effective (Vella, 1969)).*	Same as 1906.	Same as 1906.	Same as 1906.	Same as 1906.	Very limited.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1921[14]	Same as 1915.	• The title and facing page of the Statute are in English. • Statute is in English and Italian, with the English version on the left-hand column, thus having precedence over Italian. • Matriculation exams for entry into UoM include both Italian and English. • The 1921 Self-Government Constitution that came into force a few days after the Statute states that both English and Italian are the official languages of	• UoM recognised for the first time as the sole institution empowered to matriculate students and confer awards up to degrees. • Governor has role of Visitor. • General Council is elected from amongst academics and has no Govt nominees. • New structure set up: Convocation elected from amongst lecturers and graduates, with one student representative.	• General Council can make amendments to Statute and new regulations, subject to Governor's approval. • However, power over Lyceum is retained by the Governor. • It takes all the relevant academic and administrative decisions with respect to the UoM, including selection of examiners and approval of programmes of study.	Not indicated in Statute, but selected by Governor.	• Presides over the General Council • Responsible for conferment of qualifications, compliance and discipline. • Reports to the Governor and submits a yearly report.	No reference	Considerable – mirroring Malta's first Self Government of 1921

[14] Includes reference to Ordinance IX of 1921

Following 1920 Bruce Report		Malta, and are recognised as equal languages of culture at the UoM. • At UoM decision whether to teach in English or Italian rests with students and according to utility in future work. In actual fact out of 76 subjects 40 are taught in Italian, by 19 professors, and 36 subjects in English, by 9 professors (Camilleri, 2001 p.170)	• Student Representative Council retained.	• Nominates lecturers for appointment by the Governor. • Convocation can propose amendments to regulations proposed by the General Council, but cannot propose new regulations.				

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1935	Same as in 1921.	• Statute is in English. • English or Maltese is the official language as the General Council may direct. • Teaching in modern language to be in that language. • Theology to be taught in Latin. • Matriculation exam includes English, and either Italian of French.	• Given title of Royal University of Malta • Recognition as sole institution as per 1921 retained. • Governor has role of Visitor. • General Council has 6 elected members from the faculties, and 6 nominated by the Governor of which 3 are past academics or graduates. • Student Representative Council retained. • Convocation abolished.	• Power to revoke or revise Statute reverts to Visitor. • Visitor shall consult General Council on staff appointments, but "not bound to follow advice". • Visitor approves examiners nominated by General Council (this is a later amendment pasted to the text). • Powers of General Council include making regulations on exams and on discipline.	Not indicated in Statute, but selected by Governor.	• Presides over the General Council. • Responsible for conferment of qualifications, compliance and discipline. • Reports to the Governor and submits a yearly report.	No reference.	Very limited.
1943	Same as in 1935.	• Statute is in English • Teaching of any subject that it not a Modern Language shall be through English. • Theology to be taught in Latin. • In Matriculation exams English, Maltese and Mathematics are compulsory. • Italian one of many options – does not have special status.	Same as in 1935.	Same as in 1935 Including the later revisions included in that text in the intervening period.	Same as in 1935.	Same as in 1935.	No reference.	Very limited.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1947	No reference, implying continuation of 1943 status.	• English is the official language of the UoM.	• Title of Royal University and "sole entity" as per 1935 retained. • Governor is the Chancellor of the UoM, and presides over the Council. • Rector is the Vice-Chancellor. • General Council replaced by University Council, which has 6 elected members from the Senate, and 6 members of the Maltese Legislature, 3 members nominated by Chancellor after consultation with Rector, 1 member from the Inter-University Council for Higher Education, and 1 from the Guild of Graduates. • New structure: Senate with representatives and deans of each faculty. • New structure: Guild of Graduates.	• Council is supreme organ of the UoM – can enact and amend statutes, appoint staff, control expenditure. • Council to publish annual report. • Council will receive block grants from the Maltese legislature, determined following "periodical visitations of the University" • Senate to regulate and superintend teaching and discipline in the University.	• Rector selected by Chancellor (Governor) after consulting the Council.	No reference, implying continuation of 1943 status.	No reference, implying continuation of 1943 status.	Considerable.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Autonomy from government
1953	No reference.	• English is the official language of the UoM. • Medium of teaching is English except for modern languages, and Latin for theology. • In Matriculation exams English, Maltese and Mathematics are compulsory, whilst Italian is one of many options – does not have special status.	Same as in 1947… • New structure: Guild of Undergraduates that elects Students' Representative Council	Same as in 1947… • Council has added function to promote research *(the first time last item is mentioned)*	Same as in 1947.	• Appoints examiners • Ensures compliance • Chairs Senate	No reference.	Considerable.
1961	Examination in religious doctrine is one of the entry requirements.	Same as in 1953.	• Royal University retains "distinct legal personality" • Role of pro-Chancellor introduced to deputise for Chancellor, who remains the Governor. • Council membership: out of 20, 2 are nominated by Chancellor.	Council's powers practically the same as in 1953.	Same as in 1953.	No reference.	No reference.	Autonomous but relies on public financing.

Year	Catholic Religion status	Language status	Governance	Role of governing bodies	Selection of Rector	Role of Rector	Internal inspection	Legal autonomy from government
1988	Not mentioned. This issue is covered generally in the Constitution of Malta, in which the Roman Catholic religion is the official religion but there is freedom of worship and guarantees against discrimination based on belief, amongst other things.	• Maltese and English are the official languages, and compulsory subjects for entry into UoM. • The UoM can use either language for official purposes.	• Education Act XXIV of 1988 refounds the Univ. of Malta. • Governing bodies are the Council, the Senate and the Faculty Boards. • The Principal officers include: Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor, Rector and Pro-Rector. • The Chancellor is appointed by the President of Malta following advice of the Prime Minister who consults the Opposition Leader. • Govt-appointed members on the Council may never exceed University staff and student representatives. • Senate mostly composed to Deans of Faculties, reps of lecturers & students, and 2 members appointed by Minister from UoM graduates.	• Chancellor promulgates statutes, regulations and bye-laws in the Government Gazzette, and these have the force of law. • Pro-Chancellor chairs the Council and deputises for Chancellor. • Pro-Rector deputises for Rector. • Council is the supreme governing body, makes statutes for administration of the UoM. • Senate makes regulations and bye-laws for academic matters. • Council may not make statutes or regulations of an academic nature, nor may it revoke such regulations made by Senate.	• Elected by Council.	• Is the chief academic and administrative officer of the UoM. • Presides over the Senate and the Faculty Boards. • Is vested with the legal personality of the UoM. • Shall enforce discipline and ensure compliance.	• Rector responsible for regulatory compliance. • Apart from this, internal inspection not specifically assigned to any one person or body, although Senate deals with all academic matters.	• Autonomous but relies on public financing. • Can freely source other funding.

Appendix 6.1

Comparing Inspectors' Power

Table 6.1: Comparing Inspectors' Power at the start and end of the Panoptic Inspection Paradigm

Power to:	Clerical Paternalistic Phase 1800-1880	Diminishing Oversight Phase *(Just before 2006 Act)*
Staff Issues		
1. Select teachers*	X	X
2. Train teachers	X	(+X)
3. Confirm teachers' employment	X	X
4. Deploy teachers	X	
5. Promote teachers (within teachers' grades)	X	+X
6. Sanction teachers	X	+X
7. Terminate teachers' employment	X	(+X)
8. Select headteachers**	X	
9. Train headteachers	X	
10. Confirm headteachers' employment	X	
11. Deploy headteachers	X	
12. Promote headteachers	X	
13. Sanction headteachers	X	
14. Terminate headteachers' employment	X	
Instructional Issues		
15. Design syllabi	X	X
16. Develop/select resources	X	+X
17. Control access to resources	X	(+X)
18. Design tests for students	X	+X
19. Test students	X	
20. Promote students	X	
21. Monitor regulatory compliance	X	
22. Monitor students' attendance	X	
23. Assess quality of teaching	X	(X)
24. Assess quality of school leadership	X	
25. Support teachers to improve learning and teaching	X	X
Policy Issues		
26. Advocate for teachers' salary increases	X	
27. Advocate for more space and resources	X	X
28. Open new schools	X	
29. Close down schools	X	
30. Design curricula	X	X
31. Give educational advice to govt	X	(+X)
32. Give educational advice to schools	X	X

Key

*	including teacher assistants and pupil-teachers	+X	Inspectors' contribution is significant
**	or equivalent	(+X)	Inspectors' contribution is minor
X	Sole or main responsibility of Inspectors	(X)	The responsibility of Inspectors, but in actual fact not carried out effectively

Appendix 6.2

Implementing the Quality Enhancement Paradigm in Compulsory Education

The implementation of the 2006 Education Act quality enhancement agenda with respect to compulsory education was carried out in a number of stages. Work on the structures and systems with respect to compulsory education were started in 2008 with the setting up of the School Inspectorate that focussed first on strengthening school development planning so as to foster the capacity of school communities to reflect on the way forward and take action accordingly. External quality assurance (EQA) came in later, with a pilot held in May 2010.

The visits of the School Inspectorate are called external reviews, not audits or inspections, to underline that the intention is to 'see again' what the school development processes were already focussing on. To emphasise the educational focus of the reviews, they purposely by-pass administative and regulatory compliance matters, which are addressed with separate mechanisms, and target teaching and learning, the learning environment as well as school and teacher leadership. Schools are alerted well in advance of the coming of the review, and from one month before the actual event a number of meetings are held with all stakeholders to explain the process and to answer all queries.

The external reviews are linked to schools' development plans and are intended to form a single comprehensive review mechanism. Prior to an external review a school submits its development plan and a self-reflective document, on which the initial research questions of the external review are based. Prior to the review anonymous questionnaires are distributed to parents, teachers, school leaders, and students according to age. During the review itself time is spent observing teaching and learning, discussing these with the teachers, interviewing all stakeholders and accepting all requests for confidential meetings for further collection of information. The review closes with a meeting with the school leaders to discuss the outcomes of the review.

The review report does not give judgements, but highlights areas of good practice and provides detailed recommendations for improvement. These recommendations may lead to a short-cycle follow-up review if the situation in the school warrants it.

Schools are allowed a preview of the draft review report to point out any factual errors, and the final report is circulated to the school governance structures, administration and teachers. The report is not available publicly because of limitations in Malta's Data Protection Act. The reviewers communicate directly with parents to give the results of their questionnaire, and inform them that the school will be providing further information. The school is bound to develop an action plan to address issues raised by the report, and to inform parents of the outcomes of the review and what steps are being taken by the school. This format was utilised to give stakeholders access to the necessary information, whilst giving schools some elbow room to present the information in a positive way, typically linking the review recommendation with their own action plan. Some schools upload the review report for public viewing.

Finally, up to one year after the review the Inspectorate holds an unannounced one-day visit to check on work to implement the recommendations made. Further information and documentation on the whole process is available at: https://education.gov.mt/en/education/quality-assurance/Pages/External-Reviews.aspx

After every audit teachers are asked to submit an anonimous questionnaire to provide feedback on the review itself, directly to the top mangement of the Inspectorate. Saliba and Spiteri (2012) conducted an in-house anlysis of this data for the first two years of external reviews covering 29 schools. Feedback was very positive and did not vary significantly from kinder to secondary and between the state and non-state sectors.

Appendix 6.3

Further Information on the Professionalization of Teachers in Malta

The first pre-service Training School was set up by Director Laferla in the early 1920s, in which prospective teachers were trained in Pedagogy and School Method (Laferla, 1947). In 1935 this was updated to a 3-year part-time Post-Certificate Course in pedagogy and primary school curriculum subjects. A fourth year which concentrated on English Language and Literature was added for the most meritorious (Zammit Mangion, 1992).

In 1944 systematic pre-service training began in the form of a two-year residential course separately for men and women, run respectively by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart and the De La Salle Brothers, following recommendations by the Ellis Report of 1942 (Times of Malta, 1942). Certificates were recognized by the Institute of Education of the University of London. In 1973 the two teacher training colleges were amalgamated into one state-run Malta College of Education under state control, providing a non-residential course that was extended to three years. In 1974 the Malta College of Education was amalgamated into MCAST, the nation's further education vocational college, and became its Department of Educational Studies. In 1978, when as we have seen MCAST was elevated to the status of New University, this Department became its Faculty of Education, and for the first time in Malta, pre-service teacher education took the form of an under-graduate course (Zammit Mangion, op. cit.).

In 1980 when the 'old' University of Malta and the New University were combined into one, the Faculty of Education was retained. Finally, 10 years after the elevation of teacher pre-service training to undergraduate level, the 1988 Education Act referred for the first time to the 'Profession of a Teacher' (Government of Malta, 1988), requiring a teaching warrant to be given by the state. The Act also included the first Teachers' Code of Behaviour.

What did the 'professionalization' of teachers of 1988 mean to the rank and file? Saliba (1998) interviewed 20 teachers a decade after the event. The element that was mentioned first and most often was the increase in pay, followed by a sense of pride and responsibility in being considered a professional. Some candidly conceded that they hardly understood what being a professional meant other than continuing to do their role as a teacher as they had always done. None considered that official recognition of their work as a profession changed their practice – if it did, some argued, it would be an admission that their previous practice was not professional. This was in direct contradiction to the expressed expectation of the authorities, itself in line with an understanding of 'professionalism' as performativity (Ball 2008 p.51):

> Now it must be made quite clear that the raising of the status of the teacher to that of a "profession" – or its formal recognition by the Government and the State – does not merely imply an increase in their salary. Salaries are pinned to output and responsibilities. One expects a bigger output and, more importantly bigger responsibilities from teachers (Zammit Mangion, 1991 p.30).

What the expected bigger output and bigger responsibilities were not clear – Saliba's interviewees were certainly not aware of them. What Whitty (2008 p.32) called the 'professional mandate' that comprises government's expectations of the teaching profession would only be spelled out and refined in later years.

Returning to Saliba's interviewees, none mentioned the Code of Behaviour/Ethics as enshrined in the 1988 Act as impinging in any way on their professional life – in fact hardly anyone mentioned it at all.

Only one teacher mentioned that professionalism should lead to a code of ethics developed and enforced by the profession itself, not by the state – very much on the lines of Lunt (2009). The same Consultative Committee on Education mentioned earlier stated that:

> Teachers, in spite of their formal professional status, have not been recognised as 'leaders' who have the ability to exercise autonomy in terms of such vital responsibilities as curriculum development and innovation, setting of learning goals, evaluation of student attainment, diagnosis and remedying of failure, choice of textbooks and so on (Consultative Committee on Education op. cit. p.34).

Appendix 6.4

Timeline for the Implementation of QA in F&HE in Malta

Table 6.4.1: Timeline of QA Implementation in F&HE

1996	• Government sets up the English as Foreign Language Monitoring Board to regulate the sector. • University sets up first Quality Assurance Committee which operates until 2006.
2005	• Government sets up the Malta Qualifications Council (MQC), in charge of mutual recognition, the national qualifications framework, and setting the groudwork for QA in F&HE.
2006	• 2006 Education Act sets up the National Commission for Higher Education (NCHE) to provide advice including on QA issues. • It also refounds the University of Malta, founds MCAST and re-affirms ITS, with new remits with respect to QA. • The University sets up its Programme Validation Committee (PVC) and APQRU, its supporting secretariat, to strengthen its IQA, with a special focus on programme approval.
2008	• MCAST sets up its QA unit.
2009	• NCHE issues its policy on higher education 'Vision 2020', that includes QA proposals.
2012	• Government amalgamates MQC and NCHE to set up the NCFHE with recognition, accreditation and QA powers to function in both further and higher education sectors. • Government enacts regulations for F&HE on programme accreditation and QA, recognition of qualifications and accreditation of prior learning.
2013	• Institute of Tourism Studies (ITS) sets up its QA Committee. • Launch of ESF Project 'Making Quality Visible' led by NCFHE on the National QA Framework for F&HE.
2014	• NCFHE launched consultation on draft national QA Framework for F&HE.
2015	• Launch of national QA Framework for F&HE. • Launch of Standard Operation Procedures for F&HE external audits. • First three external audits undertaken for the three major state institutions of full-time F&HE: University, MCAST and ITS. • As a result of its external audit, which is negative (NCFHE, 2015b), the ITS starts a process of comprehensive restructuring which included a new management structure, courses revamp and new premises. • As a result of its external audit (NCFHE, 2015c) the University sets up its second Quality Assurance Committee and the Quality Assurance Unit, its supporting secretariat, to enhance the quality culture of the University in light of the external audit recommendations.

Appendix 7.1

Further Information on HE QA Stakeholders in Europe

The BFUG is made up of all members of the Bologna Process, the European Commission and social partners as consultative members. These include the E4 Group (see below), the Council of Europe, UNESCO, Education International which represents organisations of teachers and other education employees, and BusinessEurope which represents business and enterprise. The BFUG is co-chaired by the country holding the EU Presidency and a non-EU country, to underline that the EHEA functions beyond the boundaries of the EU and has a larger agenda although, of course, the Commission is a very influential member.

ENQA, EUA, EURASHE and ESU are referred to collectively as the E4 Group (for 'European' in their titles), and have a significant influence; they were called upon by the EHEA to develop and update the European Standards and Guidelines, the first version of which was approved in 2005, and in 2008 were the founding members of EQAR at the request of European Ministers of Education (Eqar.eu, 2016a).

EQAR is the first legal entity created in the context of the Bologna Process, and is designed to improve the quality of European higher education and to promote greater student mobility. However, as we shall see, its role has been expanding continuously. Although it works closely with ENQA and indeed accepts the accreditation processes for ENQA members for inclusion in the EQAR Register (Eqar.eu, 2016b), there is a fundamental distinction between them. ENQA represents QA agencies that are required to have sufficient autonomy from third parties including government. Indeed in the third section of the ESG that refers to the QA and accreditation of the agencies themselves, the third Standard is about Independence: "Agencies should be independent and act autonomously. They should have full responsibility for their operations and the outcomes of those operations without third party influence"(ENQA, 2016 p.22). On the other hand EQAR was set up by governments to promote their agenda, which may not be the same as that of the QA agencies', as we shall see. In the words of the Director of ENQA, who was one of my interviewees: "governments decided that they needed an independent agency that would make an authoritative decision as to which agencies were fit for purpose. This decision cannot be done by the agencies themselves" (CT2).

The International Organization for Standardization (ISO) has 163 national standards bodies as members. It has published more than 21,000 standards and related documents and in its own words: "ISO International Standards impact everyone, everywhere"(Iso.org, 2016). The ISO 9001 Standards for quality management saw somewhat of a surge of interest in applications to HE IQA contexts in the 1990s (see, for example, Moreland and Clark, 1998; Lundquist 1997), mainly in "universities of technology, some former polytechnics in the UK, institutions engaged in further education and support units within universities" (Lundquist 1997 p.170), although there are still instances of contemporary application (Kasperavičiūtė-Černiauskienė and Serafinas, 2016) or proposals thereof (El Abbadi, 2013). This ran in parallel with interest in the application of New Public Management theories and processes to the sector (see, for example, Lewis and Smith 1994 and Kanji et al., 1999).

The Common Assessment Framework (CAF) is promoted by the European Institute of Public Administration (Eipa.eu, 2016), which is run by representatives of EU Member States and supports national public administrations. CAF is intended to provide a simplified, more user friendly and free version of copyrighted quality management systems. The CAF version for education was first developed in 2008. The bland justification by its promoters for the adaptation of CAF to the educational context is that:

> CAF was initially conceived to be used in all fields of the public sector in EU. Therefore, it seems only logical that it would be an interesting tool for the Education sector in general (…) CAF and Education is intended for all teaching and training institutions, no matter what their level. It ranges from pre-school level to higher education and lifelong learning in Europe (IEPA, 2013 pp.14-15).

An overview of the list of CAF users available from the CAF website indicates that it has had some limited application in HE contexts, with entities with a similar profile to those mentioned earlier that adopted ISO 9001.

The PROSE quality management model was the result of collaboration between eight Higher Education Institutions in Belgium in 1996, which was led by Prof. A. Vyt who was one of my interviewees. PROSE is an e-based self-checking system for assessing the quality and quality management in organisations from a total quality management perspective; as with CAF it is compatible with the Excellence model of the European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM). It is currently being used by over 500 entities including universities in and around Belgium (Prose.be, 2016). Vyt maintained that: "The difference between PROSE and CAF is that the former is developed by a team of quality co-ordinators within HEIs, so it is custom-built for HEIs (…) some entities chose CAF because it looks easier to do; it is very simplistic, certainly simpler than the full EFQM. PROSE is somewhere in between" (AV7, 11).

The first international ranking of universities was the Academic Ranking of World Universities in 2003 which was created to benchmark Chinese universities (Shangairanking.com, 2016). Others followed, such as the Ranking Web of Universities (Webometrics.info, 2016), The Times Higher Education University Rankings (Timeshighereducation.com, 2016) and the QS World University Rankings (Topuniversities.com, 2016). These are all run by private entities, and are often criticised because they do not compare 'like with like', do not focus on teaching and learning, and provide users little if any control on the ranking criteria and comparison parameters (Bollaert, 2014). U-Multirank (Umultirank.org, 2016) was created in response to these concerns, by a European universities-led consortium funded by the EU. It first came online in 2014 and presently covers over 1,300 universities, but as with all EU-funded projects it needs to find a self-funding sustainable model once the EU funding ceases, and it remains to be seen how market forces will shape its approach from there on.

The international literature on QA often includes the World Bank as one of the supranational influences on national HE policy formulation, but this more true to developing countries that require its loans, rather than in Europe.

Appendix 8.1

Further Information on the Work of the QAC of the University, 1996-2006

From 1996 to 2006 the first QAC of the University organized University-wide competitions for its logo and motto, and developed several job descriptions, the University Mission Statement and Goals, as well as procedures for good practice in a number of areas (Quality Assurance Committee 1999). It produced a QA Handbook that was disseminated to all University Staff that was a collation of these outcomes (Quality Assurance Committee, 2001b). The QAC also introduced systems of student course feedback and of suggestion boxes, both with mixed results (CF5 and 6).

In 2005 the QAC was responsible for the University's first Internal Academic Audit across the faculties, which was carried out by teams of three academic peers that included a representative of the QAC, a peer from another faculty within the University, and an external peer from a foreign University. Each audit was a week long, and included interviews with stakeholders including students and employers. Each Faculty was assessed on a number of measures broadly similar to the ESG 2005 version, and passed judgement on each sub-measure as well as provided a qualitative report with recommendations. Each team seems to have had a lot of latitude in the level of detail and manner of compiling the report, especially the final qualitative part: some simply gave the judgements and a list of recommendations, whilst others provided the evidence for each judgement and a detailed analysis of several aspects of provision (Quality Assurance Committee, 2005). The QAC published a list of ten preliminary findings (Farrugia, 2006). Both Farrugia and his successor as Pro-Rector Prof. Vella reported that the findings of this audit were handed over to the new University administration in 2006 (CF9, AV10). However although Farrugia claimed that they were studied closely by the incoming Rector, Vella was not so sanguine.

Appendix 8.2

Further Information on the Development of the National QA Framework for F&HE

8.2.1 Theoretical and Legal justification

In the Maltese context, 'further education' refers to provision up to the equivalent of Level 4 in Malta's National Qualification Framework (NCFHE, 2016b) that mirrors the European Qualifications Framework ((Europa.eu, 2016a); 'higher education' refers to provision from Levels 5 to 8. Thus, vocational/professional education provision can be either 'further' or 'higher' depending on the qualification Level.

The need for an overarching framework encompassing further and higher education had first been identified at European level. The first conference on 'Quality Assurance in Vocational Education and Training and in Higher Education' organized jointly by the EU Commission and CEDEFOP was held in Graz, Austria, in May 2006 (Cedefop.europa.eu, 2006), following the Parliament and Council recommendation on further European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education in February 2006 (European Union, 2006). The EQF Recommendation of 2008 (European Union, 2008) outlined eight common principles for quality assurance in both further and higher education. In December 2013 the European Commission held a consultation exercise on a proposed European Area of Skills and Qualifications that included moves towards a convergence between vocational and higher education QA systems (European Commission, 2013a). The latest proposal for a unified QA framework has come from the Structural Reforms Working Group of the Bologna Follow-up Group in the context of the EHEA (Structural Reforms Working Group 2014).

However, by the time we started work on the F&HE QA Framework for Malta in December 2014, these ideas had not left the drawing-board, and at the time of writing are perhaps even further away from realization at EU level. This was mainly due to objections from stakeholders (European Commission, 2014a; 2014b) and a change of focus by the new 2014 Commission, which separated higher from vocational education in the commissioner portfolios (Europa.eu, 2014), tying the latter to employment. One of my interviewees, the Director of EQAR, confirmed that although "having this coordination is logical and would underpin the work of the EQF. We should invest in seeing how much common ground there is, because having a unified QA framework would only serve to ensure standards (…) there is no longer the strong push to have this coordination on QA at European level" (CT7,8). One of my European interviewees commented that perhaps this vision was premature: "we are all in favour of putting the two (vocational and higher education) closer together, but it is not easy as the maturity of the systems and their structures are not developed to the same extent" (MK11). One of my Maltese interviewees concurred: "I think it is very interesting. It will not happen unfortunately" (VM94).

Apart from Malta the one exception within Europe is Ireland, where in December 2015 Quality and Qualifications Ireland – that has the same breath of remit as Malta's NCFHE – launched a consultation process for Core QA guidelines that covered both further and higher education (Quality and Qualifications Ireland 2015). This was finalised in 2016, making it the second such framework after the Maltese one which was finalised in November 2014 and officially launched in July 2015.

In Malta the need for an overarching framework was first established in a report exploring the feasibility of a QA framework for further and higher education (NCHE, 2007) by the NCHE. Following a national consultation process, this led to the Further and Higher Education Strategy 2020 for Malta (NCHE, 2009). This Strategy outlined 12 priority areas of action and identified three areas of policy

development as an immediate priority. The priority directly related to quality was the promotion of excellence in further and higher education and in research by creating a quality culture across the sector.

Apart from being a signatory to the Copenhagen and Bologna Processes with respect to F&H education provision respectively as already discussed in Section 6.7.2, Malta is also committed to achieving the Education and Training 2020 targets that include improving the quality and efficiency of education and training by, amongst other things, developing effective quality assurance systems (Council of the European Union, 2009). With respect to adult learning, the European Commission adopted a Communication (European Commission, 2006), followed up by an Action Plan (European Commission, 2007) that was endorsed by Malta, amongst others, in May 2008. The Action Plan identified the need for quality assurance systems for providers.

8.2.2 Comparing QA systems across sectors

Both the ESG and EQAVET allow for institutional-level as well as programme-level quality assurance. The conceptual differences are that the ESG are more explicit in their process orientation, in the relationship between internal and external quality assurance functions, and in placing the primary responsibility of quality assurance on the provider. On the other hand the EQAVET model is more explicitly oriented towards employability and employment outcomes, with a clearer reference to employers' involvement. The Shewhart/Deming Quality Cycle is an explicit component of the EQAVET model, whereas it is subsumed within the ESG and certainly does not act in contradiction to it (NCFHE, 2015a). Kelly (in NCFHE 2015g p.12) also compared the ESG and the EQAVET models and came to similar conclusions.

In 2014, MCAST completed an exercise that cross referenced the support and operational processes of its customised Quality Management System (QMS) with the requirements of three specific external standards/recommendations, namely the ESG, the EQAVET Maltese model and the Bureau Veritas Standard for Quality Management Systems of Maritime Training Institutes. It concluded that the structure of the MCAST QMS was compatible with and fulfilled the requirements of these three systems (NCFHE, 2015g)

Finally, two important initiatives by the European Commission looked at the quality assurance requirements for adult education. In 2009, the Commission initiated a three-year Thematic Network of national agencies for lifelong learning entitled 'Quality Assurance in LifeLong Learning with a Focus on Vocational Education and Training and Adult Education' (QALLL), in order to increase the impact of innovative projects in VET and adult education. One of its ten key recommendations was the adoption of the EQAVET quality cycle to ensure constant improvement in the provision of adult education (European Thematic Network QALLL 2012).

In the report 'Developing the adult learning Sector - Quality in the Adult Learning Sector' for the European Commission, Broek and Buiskool (2013) concluded that the EQAVET and ESG quality reference frameworks are applicable to the adult learning sector, whilst acknowledging that this is less uniform in terms of objectives, organisation, target groups, and societal results, especially with respect to the nonformal part of adult learning.

8.2.3 The Scoping Exercise

I have discussed the QA practices of the University of Malta earlier in Section 8.2; they are clearly influenced by the Bologna Process. As mentioned earlier MCAST had developed its own quality management system that was congruent with both EQAVET and the ESG (VM66); "The important thing is, I believe that we have a system designed internally that from a conceptual framework (standpoint)

can fit into any standard" (VM70). In fact, my interviewee who set up the MCAST IQA system had been inspired by QA concepts and concerns in HE:

> When I started in this new role all the papers I read, not in VET because there were not many at the time, but in the HE sphere, I was struck by the negative perception of all academics for any sort of quality assurance organisation. And I said this is not healthy. If I replicate something on these lines, it won't work. And already with our Maltese culture that is quite closed and defensive, if I replicate something like this here, it will work even worse. I did not want to do this (VM40).

> The first thing I did was write a concept paper that was presented to the Board of Governors, and it was approved (…) I told them that we need to look at quality as an agent of change; MCAST is evolving at a very past pace (…) (we need) a strong quality culture and this change must happen within this culture, within this set of values, so that it will be driving the change (VM16,18).

The other ESF project partners were exposed to the EQAVET model but in practice were quite new to QA considerations. Further information is given in NCFHE (2015a).

The scoping exercise indicated that there was a wide variety of providers that ranged from self-accrediting institutional providers such as the University of Malta, to specialized micro-providers of locally accredited vocational and professional courses. It also highlighted a pervasive culture of quality assurance good practice already in place. In some cases especially with the newer and the smaller providers relevant structures and procedures were informal, but they were nonetheless underpinned by the intent of ensuring a valid educational experience for students. In these cases the scoping exercise served to bring to consciousness the QA value of these good practices. Local providers of foreign – mostly UK – courses had a particular reality in that they were subjected to the QA procedures of the parent entities and, in some cases, subject to EQA auditing from the country of origin. Many other providers had in place IQA processes based on EQAVET, ISO or similar systems which they wished to continue using and be recognised in the EQA process. All these realities were matched with the seven Standards of ESG 2009, and the scoping exercise determined that any external quality assurance procedure that recognized these practices already in place and helped providers identify what could be further improved would be appreciated by them.

The feedback received indicated that the internal and external quality assurance measures needed to ensure that entities were not divested of their 'ownership' and primary responsibility to ensure quality themselves. Care needed to be taken so that these measures were not so cumbersome and inflexible, especially for micro operators, as to overwhelm them and be an actual disincentive to the development and sustainability of a quality culture.

Appendix 8.3

Further Information on the National QA Framework for F&HE

8.3.1 the National QA Framework for F&HE

Malta's National F&HE QA Framework is underpinned by six principles:

1 Framework is based on the **ESG and enriched by the EQAVET** perspective
2 Framework contributes to a **National Quality Culture**
3 IQA is **Fit for Purpose**
4 EQA is a tool for both Development and Accountability
5 The **Quality Cycle** is at the Heart of the Framework
6 **Integrity and Independence** of the EQA Process

As discussed in the main text, it is based on the ESG – by July 2015, when the Framework was formally launched in public, we could also take on board the ESG 2015 changes – and enriched by the EQAVET perspective. Secondly it is intended to contribute to a national culture of quality, in line with the 2006 Education Act, by supporting providers to develop or identify and improve their own internal quality management systems which are regulated, monitored and supported by external quality audits. Figure 8.2 represents the concentric nature of the national culture of quality. At its core is the internal quality assurance (IQA) process conducted by the provider. This needs to be augmented by external review that is sought by the provider as part of its IQA, and is required for all entities with higher education provision. The third cycle in the quality culture is the external quality audit (EQA) conducted by the NCFHE, as explained below. Finally, the NCFHE is itself to be peer reviewed by other QA agencies within the context of the due diligence process of the European Quality Assurance Register, EQAR. To achieve this aim the NCFHE applied for and was granted affiliate membership in ENQA, with the aim of applying for full membership.

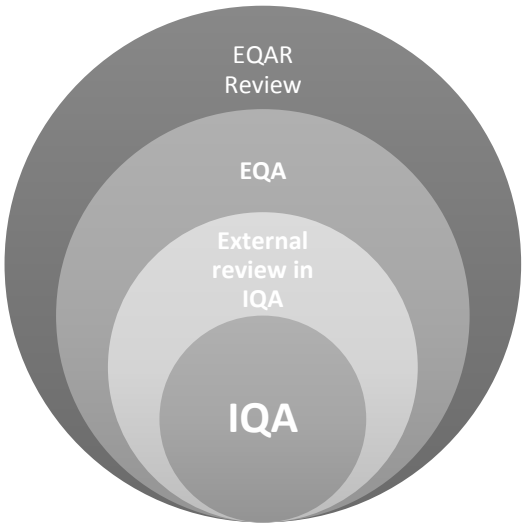


Figure 8.3.1: Malta's National Quality Culture

Another two principles of the Framework are that it is intended to be sufficiently flexible so that appropriate IQA mechanisms of entities can be recognised as fit for purpose, and that the EQA mechanisms of the Framework are a tool for both development and accountability. The EQA ensures that the internal quality management system of the provider is, amongst other things, fit for purpose according to the provider's courses and service users, and implemented with effectiveness, comprehensiveness and sustainability. The fifth principle is that the Quality Cycle is at the heart of the Framework, meaning that both IQA and EQA processes are intended to be developmental and based

on the entity's capacity to plan for improvement and learn from experience. Finally, the integrity and independence of the EQA process is guaranteed.

The Framework includes the first and second part of the ESG, amended following the cycles of feedback mentioned earlier. The first part, that relates to the IQA of providers, includes the ten ESG Standards in which the relevant guidelines have also been incorporated and adapted to the Maltese context and to VET provision, plus an eleventh one that relates to the financial and institutional probity of the provider since this is a Maltese legal requirement. Appendix 8.3 indicates how the ESG 2015 has been adapted to cater for Maltese regulatory requirements and VET aspects.

The decision was taken to first focus on institutional-level QA systems and EQA, since it was felt that this would be the best way to support entities in the development of their quality cultures. The Framework was tested in the three biggest state providers of full-time F&HE which were also partners in the ESF Project and therefore fully involved in the development and approval of all relevant procedures and tools: the University of Malta, MCAST and the Institute for Tourism Studies. It was tested in two ways: a) extensive training was provided to the QA staff and key administrative and teaching personnel to undertake the IQA and to understand and prepare for the EQA; and b) each of the three institutions hosted a week-long EQA in April or May 2015. The full reports of these EQAs are available at the NCFHE website: www.ncfhe.org. At the time of the submission of this thesis, they were not at all easily accessible, for reasons I shall hint at later on.

The Standards for QA form the basis of the peer review process and incorporate the expectations of the ESG, which have been augmented, as indicated below in italics and underlined, to take into account the circumstances of vocational education and training provision and the particular context of educational provision in Malta. The left-hand column provides comments on these additions.

Table 8.3.1: Comparing the National QA Framework with the ESG

Standard	***Comment***
1. Policy for quality assurance: entities shall have a policy for quality assurance that is made public and forms part of their strategic management.	
2. <u>Institutional probity: entities shall ensure that they have appropriate measures and procedures in place to ensure institutional and financial probity.</u>	*This additional Standard was included in comformity with Maltese legal requirements.*
3. Design and approval of programmes: self-accrediting providers shall have appropriate processes for the design and approval of their programmes of study, *<u>based on the NCFHE model of programme acreditation</u>*.	*Self-accrediting providers were required to use an accreditation similar to that of the NCFHE to ensure a level playing field.*
4. Student-centred learning, teaching and assessment: entities shall ensure that programmes are delivered in a way that encourages students to take an active role in the learning process.	
5. Student admission, progression, recognition and certification: entities shall consistently apply pre-defined and published regulations covering all phases of the student 'life-cycle'.	

6. Teaching staff: entities shall assure the competence and effectiveness of their teaching staff. *Entities have different minimum standards for their part-time and full-time staff.*	*This flexibility was important due to the large number of micro-providers who operate with part-time staff.*
7. Learning resources and student support: entities shall have appropriate funding for their learning and teaching activities and sufficient learning resources to fully support the students' learning experiences.	
8. Information management: entities shall ensure that they collect, analyse and use relevant information for the effective management of their programmes and other activities. *This information shall include reference to vulnerable groups, and participation, retention and employment rates.*	*This specific information was included in line with government targets for comprehensive information on student intake in throughput.*
9. Public information: entities shall publish information about their activities which is clear, accurate, objective, up-to-date, *sufficient and readily accessible*.	*The last two terms were added following the experience of the first three pilot EQAs.*
10. Ongoing monitoring and periodic review of programmes: entities shall implement the 'Quality Cycle' by monitoring and periodically reviewing their programmes to ensure their continuing fitness for purpose. *With employment-oriented programmes such monitoring and review should include representative from the world of work*	*The added text reflected the requirements of vocational providers.*
11. Entities shall undertake an external quality audit by, *or approved by, the NCFHE*.	*The added text allowed for future provision of EQAR-approved external QA agencies.*

The second part of the Framework related to the EQA process; the text added to the ESG is indicated below in italics and underlined

Standard	***Comment***
1. EQA to assess effectiveness of first 10 IQA standards. *EQA needs to check that the IQA systems are fit for purpose, are in fact functioning and effective, and are sustainable.*	*The second sentence was added after the experience of the first three pilots EQAs, to ensure clarity of purpose.*
2. EQA designed to be fit for purpose, with stakeholders	
3. Implementing processes shall be reliable, useful, pre-defined, implemented consistently	
4. Peer-review experts selected/approved by the NCFHE, to include students	
5. Explicit criteria for formal outcomes	
6. Publishing of full EQA reports, including any decisions	

7. Clearly defined complaints and *two-step* appeals procedure	*An additional, internal, appeals procedure was included prior to the formal appeals court procedure already enshrined in Maltese law.*

The full text of the Framework Standards is available at NCFHE (2015g).

8.3.2 Piloting of the EQAs

The three pilot EQAs were carried out on the basis of Standard Operating Procedures (EQA SoP) (NCFHE, 2015d) that were also developed through the ESF project, with the assistance of the Quality Assurance Agency of the UK. The EQA SoP endeavours to promote the development of a quality culture whilst ensuring the rigour of an independent international-standard HE EQA. Thus, the EQA outcomes are not an overall judgement or judgements; rather, a judgement is made on a four-point scale (ibid. p.50), for each Standard. Another important innovation is that the EQA report shall include the official reaction of the hosting entity, indicating the way forward following the EQA recommendations. In this way the entity is seen as participating in the EQA process, not simply submitting passively to it.

The piloting of the IQA and EQA processes was generally considered positively by the EQA evaluators themselves (NCFHE, 2015e,f,h) and the stakeholders of the institutions involved (Grant Thornton, 2015). Some important lessons were learnt (Spiteri, 2015; Grant Thornton, 2015): with respect to the IQA processes, more work was needed to bring to consciousness good practices, and to change the mentality of institutions from mere providers of educational services to educational entities with an intrinsic quality culture. With respect to the reporting of the IQA processes that was a requirement prior to the EQAs, institutions needed to do more to ensure that such reporting was not just descriptive but truly self-reflective, identifying needs and proposing concrete and sustainable action plans.

With respect to the judgments of the EQAs, there was a need to standardize their interpretations, whilst at the same time reiterating that judgments could not be compared across different categories of entities. In the medium- to long-term the Standards and SoP needed to be adapted for programme-level EQAs. The pilot EQA also showed that the eleventh Standard, that the entity would undergo an EQA, was self-evident and did not require a judgement, so in future the EQA will deliver ten judgements for the first ten IQA Standards of the Framework.

Once the EQA reports were in the public sphere, there was a very different reaction by the three partiicpants. Whilst the MCAST EQA produced a clean sweep of 'meets Standard' judgements, the University received one 'exceeds Standard' judgement, four 'meets Standard' judgement and five 'needs to improve' judgements – as indicated previously the result for Standard 11 is being ignored. The EQA report for ITS was by far the most negative: it indicated three 'needs to improve' judgements and seven 'does not meet Standard' judgements.

Along with the EQA Reports, the NCFHE issued an explanatory note in which it emphasized that the judgements for any one institution were: "*sui generis* and cannot be compared with those conducted on any other educational institution. All entities are measured against established criteria, rather than against each other"(NCFHE, 2016a p.1). The NCFHE was: "extremely conscious that it is breaking new ground in Malta, where a culture of accountability and sensitivity to constructive criticism has still to take root" (ibid.). The explanatory note also underlined that although the three EQAs were pilots (in

that the hosting institutions received significant support in preparation for their EQAs and the judgements of the final reports kept in mind that these were the first EQAs in Malta), they were "fully-fledged external quality assurance audit(s)" (ibid.).

Although the EQA SoP (NCFHE, 2015d p.9) indicated that the EQA report would be published within approximately six months of the audit, the reports of the first three pilot EQA reports were published about a year after the respective EQAs, with the University EQA report coming out in April 2016. Although the original proposal, the formulation of which I was also involved in, was to publish the EQA reports in the media and foreground them on the NCFHE website on the same lines as the practice by other national QA agencies, in the end the NCFHE opted for no media announcement, a preliminary explanatory meeting with the media and simply placing the documents on its website without any indication of this on the website landing page itself. At the time of writing they are tucked under a section that would be accessible only to QA *cognoscenti*, for all intents and purposes invisible to the general public.

Whilst MCAST immediately issued a public declaration of satisfaction with the result (Malta Independent 2016), the University to date has issued no public statement. In its reaction to the audit as part of the EQA report, the University criticized aspects of the preparation for the EQA and the way it was conducted (NCFHE 2015c Chapter 4) – both aspects in which it was fully involved as a partner of the ESF Project.

Appendix 9.1

Further Information on Research Avenues

My work made use of Foucauldian and Weberian perspectives to focus on the macro level of quality assurance within Malta and Europe. However, I am aware that these two perspectives do not adequately explain the networks and vectors of power at a micro-level, in the school and classroom. By 'networks' here I mean the interconnections between the different roles in the educational inspection / quality assurance context. By 'vectors' I refer to the transitivities of these networks, the directions of power and communication: who tells whom what to do; who is subject to whom and in what context. Symbolic interactionism may be a more generative theoeretic framework for such micro-level analysis.

Gender could also provide an interesting research angle. All my Maltese interviewees were men, and only two of the foriegn group were women. Certainly in the local scene, positions of power and influence related to quality assurance issues are at this point very much male dominated. We have yet to have a female head of a major F/HE institution, and the only female Director of Education covering compulsory in the 19th or 20th century was Ms Margaret Mortimer who held post from 1968 to 1970, although in the last 15 years there has been a marked improvement. It would be fascinating to explore to what extent this gender bias has influenced the discourse on school inspection and quality assurance in education. *Prima facie* a gender-oriented reading of the actions of political and educational leaders in Malta 19th and 20th century, and to an extent also the 21st, with respect to school and University inspection would seem to merit further investigation. Possible lines of inquiry could be to explore educational inspection and quality assurance in Malta with respect to gender and colonial power (Levine 2004), and gender and power in education settings (for example, Brimblecombe et al. 1996).

I am aware that in Chapter 5 I represented the developments of Imperial policy and its implications for education and educational inspection in Malta in a fairly linear fashion. This is not to say that it is not broadly correct, but rather that the bird's eye view with which I discussed the contours of this policy necessarily could not discern the more convoluted corrugations that would have become visible on closer inspection. A more detailed analysis of the effect on Empire on Maltese educational development and QA would need to take into account the changes in the concept of Empire throughout the 19th century. These would include, for example, the sense of moral superiority afforded by the abolishion of slavery in 1833, the affirmation of cultural and military superiority born of the outrage the followed the Indian Mutiny of 1847 (James, 1990), and the struggle over the meaning and purpose of the Empire between the governments and supporters of Gladstone and Disraeli. The former saw only moral danger and a disruption of trade in the jingoistic expansion of the empire that was championed by the latter (Grierson, 1972). Even Gandhi had an ambivalent relationship with the British Empire: on the one hand he considered that "the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world" (Tidrick, 1990), whilst later on he led the national movement to end the British Raj.

Perhaps nothing depicts better the centrifugal contradictions that characterised the British Empire even at its zenith as the two poems that Rudyard Kipling, the Poet of Empire *par excellence*, wrote for the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897. The first was called 'The White Man's Burden', that epitomised the Emperial project of 'civilising' the natives, depicted as barely human:

> Take up the White Man's burden, Send forth the best ye breed
> Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives' need;

To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child. (...)

However Kipling then exchanged this poem with 'Recessional', that depicts the existential angst generated by the deleterious effect of building and maintaining the empire:

(...) Far-called, our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire:
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the Law—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget! (...)

This second poem could not be further removed from the hubristic self-justification of the first. 'Recessional' was Kipling's *Sic Transit Gloria Mundi* to the lords of the British Empire. And yet in 1899 Kipling adapted 'The White Man's Burden' to celebrate the newly emergent American Empire and its control of the Philippines. The White Man's Burden became a euphemism for imperialism, and many anti-imperialists couched their opposition in reaction to this phrase. Pont (1956), for example, who was the famous cartoonist of the British humerous magazine 'Punch' in the 1930s, satirised 'The White Man's Burden' with a poem of his own, called 'Lines':

(...) It is the White Man's Duty,
As everybody knows,
To teach the black to feel ashamed
And then to sell him cloes.

Instead of letting him exist
Just how and where he pleases,
We teach him how to live like Us
And die of Our Diseases.

(...)The most disturbing nightmare
Which haunts each White Man's son
Is:"If there was no White Men
What *would* the Blacks have done?

In the same fashion I greatly simplified the corrugated surface of Maltese politics and the nexus between Empire, the Maltese elites, local cultural politics and education development. Sometimes the interest of the colonial government were at variance with the English residents in Malta. The 1836 Royal Commission, for example, complained bitterly about the attitude of British residing in Malta (Laferla, 1938 p.160). Towards the end of the same century the Duke of Edinburgh and Governor Simmons resigned their membership of the Union Club, Malta's premier pro-British 'gentlemen's' club, in protest over the blackballing of the proposed membership of Sir Adrian Dingli, Malta's Chief Justice (Laferla, 1947 p.81).

The British practiced 'indirect governance' in Malta as consumately as in other parts of the Empire (Tidrick, op. cit.). Savona, for example, who we met in Chapter 5 as the first Anglophile Rector-cum-Director of Education in 1880 went on to form the pro-British Reformist Party (Frendo, 1979). He was but one manifestation of the political, cultural and social 'multiplex relationships' as discussed in Section 3.2 between the colonial power and the Maltese elites.

One interesting line of further inquiry could therefore be to explore how the sometimes contradictory currents in English society and Imperial governance impacted on the intertwining networks within Maltese society during the British period, with respect to educational development and QA in Malta.

Another fruitful line of inquiry would be to explore beyond the self-imposed Wittgensteinian silence that I discussed in Section 4.4 due to my proximity as insider researcher, into what has happened to the evolution of the Quality Enhancement Paradigm in Malta. With respect to compulsory education it would be worthwhile to analyse the impact on the QA processes and outcomes of schools by the Inspectorate that was re-established with the 2006 Education Act. This would be particularly apposite given the possible changes in the function of school inspection with the proposed changes in the education legislation discussed earlier.

With respect to F&HE, it would be worthwhile exploring the impact on both the local external and internal quality assurance processes once the EQA reports for the University of Malta, MCAST and ITS were ready in July 2015. Going back to the comparison in Table 8.2 of the University's QA phases with the QA developmental sequence identified by Bollaert (2014), one would explore whether Phase 2B of the University after its first EQA would be still referenced to Bollaert's Phase 3, or if there would be sufficient evidence of quality that is being continually improved by innovation to warrant a Phase 4 designation.

Both lines of investigation for the compulsory and F&HE sectors would throw light on how the development of the Quality Enhancement Paradigm in Malta is being influenced by the small island characteristics of Isolation, Smallness, Intimacy and Monopoly. For example, future research could explore how the intricate power-play between the different institutional stakeholders was affected by the small island conditions of Intimacy and Monopoly, and how this in turn impacted the national quality culture that was the intended outcome of the 2006 Education Act and the 2015 F&HE QA Framework. The research could also look at how the concept of Monopoly might need to be reinterpreted to refer not only to the ubiquitousness of the state, but to the quality of presence of major institutions in a small island context.

Would such findings be limited to Malta? A corollary to the above would be to explore similarities and differences between the QA realities in other small island communities, which might or might not be sovereign states (see, for example, Baldacchino, 2010), and might or might not have a colonial and post-colonial heritage.

At a European level, it would be worthwhile to investigate further the evolution of the two Paradigms discussed in Chapter 7 by following closely the ongoing choreography/ies between the EU, the EHEA, the OECD, member countries, the E4 Group and European universities. One area in particular that merits analysis is with respect to the EHEA and the evolving role of EQAR as discussed in Section 7.7. Another area is to what extent are universities managing to undertake parabolic rather than entropic isomorphism.

Thesis References

Abbreviations used in References

AACSB: Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business
ECMC: NAM Education Circulars and Miscellaneous Communications
ENAEE: European Network for Accreditation of Engineering Education
EUA: European University Association
DBIS: Department for Business Innovation & Skills
MGG: Malta Government Gazzette
MUT: Malta Union of Teachers
NAM: National Archives of Malta
NCFHE: National Commission for Further and Higher Education
NSO: National Statistics Office
OMCU: Observatory Magna Carta Universitatum
PTM: Parlament ta' Malta (Parliament of Malta)
UOMS: University of Malta Statute

References from the National Archives of Malta (NAM)

NAM references by date of document

NAM (1833)	GOV.1.2.10 *Letter by Governor Ponsonby to the Rt. Hon. E. G. Stanley, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.*
NAM (1849)	GOV.1.3.7 *Letter from Governor O'Ferrall to Imperial Government.*
NAM (1850)	SS.01.01 Circular of 4th September 1851. *Notice of first general inspection by Director Pullicino.*
NAM (1851)	SS.01.01 Circular of 10th March 1851*. Forbidding corporal punishment.*
NAM (1853a)	SS.01.01 Circular of 19th September 1853. *The seats in the classes cannot be moved around without the Director's permission.*
NAM (1853b)	SS.01.01 Circular of 17th June 1853. *Notice of general inspection by Director Pullicino.*
NAM (1853c)	SS01.01 17th June 1853. *Instructions with respect to school visitors.*
NAM (1854)	SS.01.01 Circular of 20th May 1854*. Students should only be expelled after all other avenues are exhausted.*
NAM (1855)	SS.01.01 Circular of 6th October 1855*. Teachers in charge instructed to send in monthly reports on the attitude and efficacy of their staff.*
NAM (1856)	SS.01.01 Circular no. 1 of 1856. *Detailed instructions on teaching timetables and classification.*
NAM (1858)	SS.01.01 Circular no. 16 of 1858. *Teachers are not allowed to make financial profit from their students, including in providing additional tuition.*
NAM (1860)	SS.01.01 Circular no. 25 of 1860. *Teachers are to teach standing up.*
NAM (1865)	SS.01.02 Circular no. 40 of 1865. *Instructions when to ring the school bell.*
NAM (1866)	SS.01.02 Circular no. 43 of 1866. *Only the Director can promote students from one class to another, following the annual exams, except for identified exceptional circumstances.*

NAM (1869a)	SS.01.02 Circular no. 66 of 10th July 1869. *Teachers will receive extra remuneration according to the examination results of their pupil-teachers.*
NAM (1869b)	SS.01.02 Circular no. 65 of 30th June 1869. *Instructions with respect to school visitors.*
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