

EDITED BY

GORDON  
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≡ The Oxford Handbook of  
**HIGHER EDUCATION  
SYSTEMS AND UNIVERSITY  
MANAGEMENT**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

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*Edited by*  
GORDON REDDING, ANTONY DREW,  
*and*  
STEPHEN CRUMP

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## FOREWORD

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In troubled times for the institutional architecture of democracies and global collaboration, there could be few more important tasks than reflecting on the importance, direction, and health of one of its cornerstones—our systems of universities.

Not all universities are in democratic systems but there is no enduring democratic system that lacks strong universities. Vital democracies and societies require the constant renewal provided by citizens who prize rational enquiry and engage in reasoned debates about competing visions of the common good, and by the stream of new understandings of the natural and human world that flow from these enquiries and debates. Universities lie at the heart of creating that capacity. History tells us that even in closed political systems this intrinsically subversive vitality contributes to, and greatly aids, the transition to openness and plurality. It is why in revolutionary times just about the first place generals send the tanks is to the gates of universities.

Global collaboration has never been more important to the prospects or prosperity of the planet. Humanity's impact on the environment is at a planetary scale, local conflicts and catastrophes send waves of people crashing across borders, and at the same time global trade has been central to lifting millions out of poverty and to creating levels of material wealth unimaginable to earlier eras. Weighed against this are dark centrifugal forces. Universities are a critical part of the gravity that sustains global cooperation. The knowledge they generate is a great and ever expanding global commons pursued as it is by collaborations that cross borders and political systems, and conduct their work against shared standards of excellence. To be involved in that project creates citizens who owe allegiances to a values system that is shared and debated globally and that acts against polarizing parochialisms.

If the missions of universities are a source of hope for many in them, then their management and the forces working on them can be a countervailing cause of despair. This book is so important in mapping that terrain of hope and despair. Contemporary universities take their places in systems of values often quite at odds with the understandings of many within them about the origins of the idea and ideal of their institutions. The result is tensions and disappointed expectations that are hard to manage and, at times, even hard to talk about. Understanding those tensions—whether between the intrinsic and the instrumental, the consequences of trafficking economic concepts like customers into a world of relationships defined by the complex mutuality of teacher and learner, or the range of other fracturing forces described in this volume—is critical if we are to find a way to navigate them.

If we are to chart a way through those challenges, some might wonder whether it is possible to create a single map of this very varied landscape given the diversity of higher education systems, let alone the institutions within them. The attempt to do so is important. It is an invitation to everyone in those systems to be part of one conversation, however different the conclusions might be that they take from those deliberations. It is that aspiration of a single conversation—that crosses all boundaries where all participants are prepared to engage on the basis of ideas alone and with the belief that such conversations will make the world a better place—that makes this work as hopeful as it is important.

Professor Rufus Black  
Vice-Chancellor and President  
University of Tasmania

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

.....

This handbook gathers together the work of over forty scholars from a wide range of countries and of experiences, all of them dedicated to understanding and explaining aspects of the fast-changing world of higher education (HE). In 1945 one could count around five hundred universities in the world. Today UNESCO lists over ten thousand. This great historical efflorescence of HE has in recent years been made more complex in its workings by the rise of three forces, themselves interwoven, to make up a distinct period of historical change: globalization has loosened many universities from their traditional national bounds; the technical revolution in information and communications has changed how many of life's normal activities can be coordinated; and rises in expectations and personal influence have given many people—although clearly not all—a more open and ambitious perspective on the shaping of their lives. Changes of such large scale and significance were bound to take the managing of universities through new forms of turbulence.

This is the context against which the chapter authors were invited to consider specific aspects of the HE global scene. Those are seen as parts of a total picture, envisaged at the outset, that links the accounts. Its central conjecture is that HE is capable of transforming both its student intake as individuals; and over a longer term, contributing substantially to the catalysts a society can benefit from as it evolves in the form of a complex adaptive system. If HE comes to be at fault it is by not fulfilling either or both of those roles. Many debates then arise in probing how and why such a remit may be acted out under the new circumstances. This collection reviews those debates and tensions. By implication it holds institutions and policy makers to account for how they meet the challenges.

The core theme running through this handbook is that higher education plays a significant role in ensuring that a society achieves the capacity to

adjust itself to change while at the same time remaining cohesive as a social system. Adjusting to change tends to be biased towards comprehension of the natural world. Remaining cohesive tends to be biased towards comprehension of the social world. The two main fields of scholarship—however labelled, Arts and Sciences, STEM and Humanities—are eventually reciprocal in this larger context. The balancing of this complementarity is achieved under respect for the unifying ideals of scholarship and duty to society.

When new forces disturb this balance they usually do so under pressure from uncontrollable external forces, and resulting pressure from interest groups. This may well require that a society re-calibrates its priorities. It then becomes part of the duty of universities and their scholars to enable a society to think through those adjustments in as complete and rigorously reasoned manner as possible. This may entail the crafting of a new relationship between a society and its universities, but the latter have a duty to protect and promulgate their own *raison d'être*, which requires that they have thought through not just what it should be, but how it is designed to foster the changing society's progress. In other words even if they cannot take control of the funding, they might take control of the agenda.

The three editors of this handbook arrived at their roles from different contexts, but they share direct experience of, and strong interest in, the changes currently affecting the world of HE globally. Gordon Redding, after a decade of executive work in UK industry, took a doctorate at Manchester in Organization Theory and then spent the next forty years mostly at the University of Hong Kong, where he was founding Director of the Business School, and coincidentally for twenty years Secretary of the Association of Deans of Southeast Asian Graduate Schools of Management. He has since been Director of the INSEAD Euro-Asia Centre, Conjoint Professor at University of Newcastle NSW, and founding Director of The Head Foundation, Singapore, a think-tank devoted to research on the role of HE in Asian development. He has also held a Visiting Professorial Fellowship at the UCL Institute of Education. In addition Gordon Redding would like to acknowledge his thanks to two institutions: The HEAD Foundation Singapore for providing much of the mental stimulus to thinking about HE's place in development, and in practical terms for providing a much appreciated grant towards editorial coordination expenses. In parallel has been the stimulus provided by the Centre for

Global Higher Education at IoE UCL. He would also, in terms of scholarly support, like to acknowledge a particular debt to the long-term inspiration of Richard Whitley: this has included the intellectual opening up of two major fields: comparative systems of capitalism; and comparative systems of HE, this latter based on Richard's foundational work in the sociology of the sciences. Others who are thanked for providing advice and commentary, but are equally absolved of all responsibility for the end result, include: at UCL IoE, Simon Marginson, William Locke, Celia Whitchurch, and Paul Morris; at The HEAD Foundation, Y. B. Lim, Saravanan Gopinathan, Maryann Ong, and David Clegg; elsewhere John Axon, Geoff Walker, Stewart Clegg, Gabriel Donleavy, Chris Rowley, Christian Welzel, Misho Minkov, Michael Bond, Jacob de Smit, Gilbert Wong, Simon Tam, Michael Witt, Henrik Bresman, and Dennis Ahlburg, all of whom are thanked for their ideas and their companionship. For valuable and extensive reviews of the HE literature thanks are expressed to Theo Boyce, Milo Riley-Smith, Lucas O'Donohue, Thurstan Redding, and Ben Sharples, working under the auspices of The HEAD Foundation; A special debt is owed to librarians: Huw Williams at the Oxford and Cambridge Club Library; and to the helpful staff of the IoE UCL Library, the London Library, the British Library, and the SOAS library. I thank also for their unfailing help Caroline Gallop and Anna Phillips of the Centre for Global Higher Education at IoE UCL.

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Gordon Redding, Antony Drew, and Stephen Crump

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## CHAPTER 1

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# **THE DESCRIPTION AND COMPARISON OF SOCIETAL SYSTEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITY MANAGEMENT**

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GORDON REDDING, ANTONY DREW, AND STEPHEN CRUMP

## **INTRODUCTION**

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THE world's systems of higher education (HE) in the early decades of the twenty-first century are going through the greatest changes since the spread of printing and literacy in their different European and Asian forms centuries earlier. The current external changes may be thought of in terms of four macro shifts: globalization of systems of knowledge acquisition and of institutional identity; demographic expansion in demand for education; new information and communications technology; and changing cost structures influencing societal expectations and control. Along with these forces affecting HE is wider industrial change, as new industries built around knowledge make inroads on the more traditional manufacturing and

service industries, and in doing so often look to universities as allies in enabling staff to acquire new knowledge and skills.

Societies inevitably restructure their responses: student financing policy; immigration and employment policies; research funding; industrial restructuring; forms of accountability; openness to external contributions, etc. But because each society has a specific set of features that have accumulated in distinct histories and traditions, they start from different positions, and so are unlikely to react in the same ways, even though certain responses are shared (Whitley and Gläser 2014).

The institutions of HE themselves have both changed in their practices and structures, and stayed the same by holding on to certain core ideals. They are in other words evolving to adapt to changes in their environment. One visibly repeated outcome here is the tension between managing a university as an organization under increasing pressure from society for *performance*, while having to concede a great deal of authority over the work of academics to their globally distributed academic discipline communities. In Chapter 2 we will also raise the deeper issue of university autonomy from the state and the market and Whitley's Chapter 4 will analyse that issue specifically. As with most complex adaptive systems in the social world, at times of macro change they may well also display proliferating variety in the way they go about adapting. It is these evolving differences that are the focus of interest in this handbook.

The drama of HE growth in recent decades is captured by Marginson (2018) in his report on the new geopolitics of HE. He sees a new form of cooperative competence that—by being geographically spread and consequently *flat* in its structure—works by different logics than do markets or corporate command structures. It works as a ‘vast joined-up zone of free critical enquiry, with larger implications for global civil society, a potential counter to post-truth populism’ (Marginson 2018: 2). The world’s universities dealt with a tertiary cohort enrolment of 15.6 per cent in 1995, growing to 35.7 per cent in 2015. In this, four-fifths of the current world student enrolment of 215 million are in full degree programmes. In sixty societies the cohort enrolment percentage is over 50 per cent. Internet use has grown from 0.4 per cent of world population in 1995, to 54.4 per cent in 2017. The world’s middle class (those with daily incomes above US\$10 to US\$100 at 2005 purchasing power parity [ppp]) doubled in size between

2000 and 2016. A celebration of this apparent extension of Enlightenment rationality is empirically supported in detail by Pinker (2017).

Running through this handbook is a core idea to be unfolded in the early chapters. Briefly summarized it is that any society makes progress towards its desired future condition by achieving two capabilities that allow it to deal with a changing world: adaptiveness to change what it does and how it does it; and cooperativeness to hold together as a society while adjusting. These two complex forces are counterbalanced and interactive, but their balance may be disturbed by the forces of politics, and dynamic equilibrium is vulnerable especially to authoritarian instincts to restrict freedom of commentary on society itself. The tensions surrounding this are being played out today in debates over the attention given to STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) versus the arts and humanities. In that debate there arises the notion of universities that are incomplete, or *hollow*, and can only partially serve their societies. Stated simply a society's HE sector is capable of fostering the ability of a society to think through its own future by studying itself comparatively, and by openly analysing its future options. History suggests that without such thinking, the society may be unable to respond adequately to change. There can be nothing wrong with STEM subjects per se, but education per se entails more. As John Dewey observed over a century ago, moving towards treating people like we treat machines brings the risk of education's main effect—achieving a life of rich significance—falling by the wayside (Nussbaum 2010: v).

In more specific terms a primary role of higher education is to enable societal adaptiveness and cooperativeness. This is examined further in Chapter 2 but may be simply introduced here by saying that HE works in two ways:

- (1) *Internally*, by
  - (a) educating students to higher levels of understanding and of qualification.
  - (b) encouraging higher consciousness of obligations to society; and
  - (c) fostering higher capacities for reasoned, independent judgement and discussion in social exchange.

These qualities are also reflected in Biesta's (2009) classification of core educational purposes, using the terms qualification, socialization, and subjectification.

- (2) *Externally*, over and above the transformation of individual students, universities add to the set of catalysts for change that any society needs to have for stable adaptation. These include:
  - (d) the social spreading of a spirit of scholarship and reasoned criticality so as to raise the quality of societal debate;
  - (e) the fostering of the kind of social fusion that brings people and knowledge together to consider change;
  - (f) the reinterpretation and transmission of the civilizational heritage so as to provide morally legitimate incentives to adapt.

These deep and primary functions of HE are now under threat from interests that compete with them. The latter derive largely from financial pressures due to exploding demand, and market-driven pressures that stress shorter-term interests, especially employment utility. HE then becomes a field of contention, capable of yielding outcomes of both success and failure. This handbook examines that field of contention. In doing so it retains the larger view that in the end the progress of a society will still depend on the longer-term fundamentals of the adaptiveness—cooperativeness synthesis. Within this the protection of scholarly autonomy is an essential component, but the defining of the societal values that such autonomy serves may well be in need of serious review at a level beyond the pragmatic and immediate. HE has a key role to play in this review and a motif we will repeat is for HE to seize the agenda on behalf of its society.

As we will later note, there are voices pointing out the relative paucity of theorizing about the rapidly expanding complexity faced by universities. A common response to (in the new vocabulary) *delivering performance* appears to be a new dividing of staff between a growing *plutocracy* of administrators, and a diminishingly influential *precariat* of faculty (Chomsky 2014). Confusing change is pouring down on university leaders and policy makers. The growing literature on this question is briefly introduced in Chapter 9 but may be here represented by a comment from

Stefan Collini (2018: 38–9) on the case of England (as opposed to Scotland): ‘Successive British governments have enacted a series of measures that seem designed to reshape the character of universities, not least by reducing their autonomy and subordinating them to “the needs of the economy”. “Marketisation” isn’t just a swear-word used by critics of the changes: it is official doctrine that students are to be treated as consumers and universities as businesses competing for their custom. The anticipated returns from the labour market are seen as the ultimate measure of success.’

Such materialism hollows out institutions from the inside, leaving them incapable of seeing their own dilemma except in the terms imposed by the dominant coalition. The distinctiveness of the university as an institution cannot be intelligibly accounted for when the terms used to capture its nature are characterized as dated.

Long-term guidelines and principles are then difficult to formulate when the very vocabulary needed to discuss them is disputed. This handbook will be structured to explore frameworks for rethinking this rationale. It will address not just university leaders but—just as pertinently—those in government and business who influence the workings of universities. In doing so, as just noted, it will have a core theme woven into the particular chapters: the role of higher education in fostering societal progress. The variety across which such a question is posed can only be considered effectively if certain core universals can be identified as bases for comparison. This, in simple terms, is the remit of the handbook, and it will be of use to the extent that it stimulates the kinds of adaptations that assist human progress in its varied societal forms. The main framework for this large view will be explained in [Chapter 2](#).

An important consideration in structuring the handbook has been to ensure that the societal formulae under discussion are seen as resting on their own distinct civilizational heritages, and—although absorbing certain techniques and design influences from elsewhere—are likely to shape their own trajectories for the detailed workings of their systems of HE. This is why the universal capabilities just suggested as foundations for societal progress are defined in the abstract. They apply anywhere, even though their interpretation is likely to be shaped to fit local definitions of reality. Societies may in other words get to the same destination by different routes, just as Japan built a modern society different from that of the West.

Even so an important condition is built into the same argument. Achieving such appropriateness in the societal response rests on the retention of freedom within the system to learn and to think. This freedom rests eventually on the autonomy of scholars, as well as on their dedication to the role of guiding the adaptation of their society while refreshing its heritage. We see this autonomy as being the basis of what is best in higher education, and we see it as under threat from forces now unleashed by the changing world. At the heart of this issue is the general question of academic freedom and a framework for analysing this comparatively is given by Richard Whitley in [Chapter 4](#). It is based on the notion of a danger when universities become *hollow*, in other words become empty of thinking with serious societal impact. This normally rests on a society's scholarship, and on its freedom to engage in reasoned debate about the future.

## BROAD PRINCIPLES OF ANALYSIS

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HE is a vast arena. In crude terms education is the world's second largest economic activity, after healthcare, and arguably the most crucial of the many influences on societal *progress*. To make sense of such a complex set of phenomena means having a way of defining what *they*—in this case systems of HE—are. Until that is accepted, comparison makes no sense, even though no attempt to define and compare can satisfy all people interested in what is at stake: students, parents, teachers, researchers, employers, administrators, sources of funding, government policy makers.

Accepting the idea of education as an evolving social system is a start, because it is loose enough to allow enquiries by all parties. It also provides three ground bases for the considerations that follow: first, societies may be seen as systems of interacting elements full of complex reciprocal flows of influence between social, economic, and political forces; second, the process of evolving is not entirely random and will reflect certain influences carried forward from both history and culture; third, the envelopes inside which such influences may be studied will contain largely—but not entirely—forces that evolve within a society or a culture that is bounded by a political (and probably language) border. So Japanese higher education is not the same as Australian or Brazilian higher education. At the same time

such envelopes are not sealed, and more widespread influences leak into all of them, as for instance does language, technology, or market logics. In virtually all cases political or religious ideology can and does penetrate in varying degrees.

The approach will inevitably require the use of more than one discipline, but we take heart from what seems a rising acceptance of multi-disciplinary work among social theorists. We also see HE as existing in forms of complex adaptive system, within wider societal envelopes. In broad terms there are visible universities, with behaviour that is manifest to observers. As it were *below* these are systems of societal order such as primary and secondary education, law, government, firms, professions, and interest groups. These are all capable of exerting influence on universities, and equally capable of being influenced in return. *Below* both is the level of a society's culture, sets of meanings, norms, and moral values and this tends to interact constantly with both the level of societal order and the level of institutions such as universities. The entire system takes most of its *shape* from a society, but such systems are also now rapidly accommodating global influences of many kinds, and many are becoming less societally *anchored* than before.

A working assumption is that we can proceed by the use of ideal types—summary *approximations* of what a certain kind of HE system looks like. In order to *compare* HE systems, we might usefully consider three questions: What is the principal form of envelope inside which to place the *types*, so against what context do they form as types? What components of an explanation are included in the envelope surrounding each type? And how may the connections between the components be understood? It may be seen from this that, following Ragin's (1987) advice on the epistemology of the comparative method in social science, our interest is in comparing systems *qua* systems each in its own context (e.g. Ivy League versus state schools within the United States), rather than in primarily comparing parts of systems across contexts (faculty employment patterns across societies). This latter approach may prove useful at some stages, but carries the danger of explanation without context. In HE, society still counts, although that logic itself is now losing its dominance with globalization.

## WHAT IS EDUCATION, AND WHAT IS IT FOR?

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It is now necessary to set out some parameters that will be of use in the comparison of HE types, and we begin with the fundamental question of what HE is for. The historian Bernard Bailyn (1960: ix, cited in McCullough 2005: 4) described education as ‘the entire process whereby a culture transmits itself across the generations’. More specifically, Lawrence Cremin (1970) defined it as ‘the deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit or evoke knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, and sensibilities’ (cited in McCullough 2005: 4). In his monumental study of the evolution of childhood Melvin Konner (2010) reminds us of the ultimate universals of Darwinian evolution: variation, self-organization, challenge, and selection. These operate at all levels of human and social life, from neuro-embryology and connectivity, through learning, socialization, enculturation, to culture change. In this view the role of learning before and after adulthood has within it a feature unique to the human species. This is that ‘thinking about and commenting on one’s own and another’s thoughts introduces a new dimension of selection never before seen in the history of life’ (Konner 2010: 739). He argues that because of this feature the human species is uniquely adapted for cultural evolution, but that this process occurs in tandem with genetic evolution. As Maslin (2008) summarizes the issue, humans evolved to deal with massive and unpredictable change. To deal with it, and survive through disasters such as ice ages, the species became highly adaptive and in this process also became hard-wired to cooperate in solving problems using social groups. This double response of adapting via the use of cooperation, identified earlier in this chapter, will be returned to as a central theme beginning in [Chapter 2](#).

According to Konner’s account, cumulative cultural evolution has occurred only in humans, and mainly over the last 200,000 years, accelerating fast over the last 10,000 and ‘finally reaching a rate of change that limits traditional cultural transmission and partly reverses the direction of teaching and learning across generations’ (2010: 747). Innovation by the world’s younger people is now challenging much received tradition, a point made vividly by the Internet with its associated cognitive and machine skills, and also by social media, pop culture, and lifestyle choices. People might say *it was always thus*, but was it always so significantly thus?

Konner also suggests that in the complex of interactions between the worlds of genetic evolution and cultural learning lies a feature that helps us

to define learning, and so by extension to define education at some primary level. This feature is that ‘Genome, nervous system, society, and culture are all information storage devices ... they use information against entropy’ (2010: 740). This works to protect the species against disorder because the most essential information is about surrounding change, and the process succeeds, i.e. life goes on, to the extent that the information captured is relevant. So culture is then ‘a trans-generational, symbolic store of information that evolves non-genetically in interaction with the genome’ (2010: 741).

One could then argue that education as well as achieving the production of a set of cultured people also contains the duty of ensuring that the information being converted into knowledge is relevant in evolutionary terms, in other words is attuned to a changing environment, and able to shape the human survival-driven adaptation to that environment. This then, in this modern form of understanding, becomes a large part of the remit of higher education.

Following on from such a perspective and seeing education as transmitting culture across generations (while keeping the culture tuned to surrounding change), Konner (2010: 720) identifies four fields of action that have evolved widely across cultures to achieve such transmission. They happen before adulthood, and they start to happen early:

- (1) The *reactive* processes of establishing cultural habitus: here patterns of acceptable behaviour are learned in several ways: inherited as in wariness of strangers; conditioned as with responses to parents; associative, as with watching others; instrumental, as in rewarding and punishing; and socially moderated as in defining acceptable behaviours.
- (2) The *facilitative* processes of social learning: this learning is specifically social and includes: participation in local social life that teaches how to interact; mimicry that occurs often before the understanding of what is being copied; emulation that goes beyond mimicry to include taking the perspective of the model; pragmatism in which learning occurs through interacting with a perceived social reality; instruction through teaching, which occurs in all cultures, and that adds scaffolding to the learning process as well as a bi-directional perspective between teacher and

learner; and collaborative learning that fosters sharing and so two-way perspective taking.

- (3) The *emotional* processes of psycho-dynamic recruitment: these patterns are ways in which evolution is expressed through emotion-based responses: attachment to others for nurturing leads to affective rewards and punishments that induce the mastering of social and cultural codes; positive identification fosters emulation and also association with norm-setting bodies such as family, clan, profession, college, class, up to culture itself; fear of strangers enhances core attachments and sets boundaries to what may be emulated; negative identification reinforces in-group cultural identity; emotion management works to help individuals suffering psychological stress to see their condition as shared by others, and so alleviated.
- (4) The *symbolic* processes of cognitive enculturation. The integrating of significant schemas into a culture using symbols is another way of describing formal education and it works in four ways: perception itself varies by culture; reality is constructed socially (Berger and Luckmann 1966) and its schemas are not universal; a culture's narratives usually contain its core ideals; and a culture's coherence usually rests on a set of central axioms and emotional messages, such as *freedom*, and *equality*.

This listing gives us a comprehensive picture of the entire process of cultural transmission (and reformulation). But only parts of it fall within the domain of higher education. In thinking therefore about what HE is, and what it is for, it is useful to see it as part of this complex. HE carries out directly certain of these processes. Its students are shaped by others among these processes; and in return it shapes and influences those students. Perhaps its most direct and heaviest responsibility is that of keeping knowledge appropriate via research. In this, the schemas of learning that come from research serve the purpose of helping people to adapt to the environment, having achieved an understanding of that environment that is relevant, in other words having identified what needs to be adapted to if the species, or a subgroup of it, is to thrive in an evolutionary sense. Recent examples are the growth of environmentalism, or the informed resistance to smoking. An additional function not to be forgotten is the accumulating and

storing of both a society's practical knowledge and its received wisdom. We shall probe these questions further in [Chapter 2](#).

One further element among the large-scale considerations affecting a society's organized absorption of relevant understanding is the dual nature of what is transmitted. The successfully socialized individual can be judged on criteria seen as *ascribed* (character) or *achieved* (performance). As Dewey would see it, we need to emphasize the interactions between private and public spheres so as to have a *self* able to take the roles (and viewpoints) of others in the community, including employers. In other words, we cannot be complete in ourselves and it is a mistake to try to ignore functional relationships upon which we all depend; that is, society and the individual are necessarily bound to one another. As Dewey ([2007: 47](#)) explained, 'To say that education is a social function ... is to say in effect that education will vary with the quality of life which prevails in a group ... a society which not only changes, but which has the ideal of such change as will improve it, will have different standards and methods of education from one which aims simply at the perpetuation of its own customs.'

As Sheldon Rothblatt ([2007](#)) similarly points out, it is the job of education to take responsibility for both the *merit* and the *worth* of graduates. At a more hands-on level, Joel Mokyr ([2002: 4](#)), in his answer to the question: 'What is meant by a society "knowing" something?' proposes a division between *propositional* knowledge, or beliefs about natural phenomena and regularities, and *prescriptive* knowledge, which is about techniques for the application of understanding. Within propositional knowledge lies the reality of such core understanding being socially constructed, and therefore variable across societies. But at least certain core human universals may stay relevant, and one might, for instance, find much commonality between Rothblatt's *merit* and *worth*, and the duo so central to Chinese definitions of the bases for respect: *lien*, or the moral worth of an individual as a decent person; and *mien-tzu*, or the reputation gained by a person from individual effort, such that *face* is accumulated on both grounds (Redding and Ng [1982](#)). With relevance to HE there is a long-running debate as to whether the age of performance management is threatening the balance of these two forces in favour of acquired technique (worth) at the cost of civilization-based morality (merit), understanding, and

independence of judgement (Barnett 2011; Collini 2012; Nussbaum 2010; Rosovsky 1990).

## THE BASES OF VARIATION

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Having suggested a large frame of reference, what kinds of underlying differences will this book have to come to terms with? Again at the level of fundamentals but now in terms of how education is best achieved in practice, what are the most common philosophies and debates about learning? They will always be there in the background, shaping what goes on. We are then better prepared to consider the processes and structures that are so shaped.

The question of how education should be organized so as to fulfil its role in species evolution rests in simple terms on how people define for themselves the *good society*. This has taxed social philosophers for centuries and no single ideal is globally dominant. It is also common for several interpretations to flow together in practice. The options that remain significant and in widespread use, although not a comprehensive list,<sup>1</sup> may be summarized in simple terms as follows:<sup>2</sup>

*Platonic*. Society is seen as intellectually segregated, with prestige attributed to ideas rather than to practical applications. This has historically been very influential in Western societies and tends to separate the liberal arts from more vocational subjects.

*Chinese*. A view of the Chinese philosophy of learning provides contrast with the above approaches. Described by Jin Li (2012: 15) it sees learning and knowing as a goal of personal striving not geared to the external world. It is instead the route to an ultimate societal good that comes from the encouragement of multiple individual quests for moral and social perfection.

*Islam*. This is the religious base for a philosophy of social order based on conformity to five faith-related duties. The conduct of individuals, societies, and governments is prescribed through a prophet, and behaviour pursues a form of perfection sought through submission. Early advances in quantitative and natural sciences, and in medicine, were compatible.

*Thomist.* Founded by Saint Thomas Aquinas this approach sees faith and theology as prior to reason and philosophy, and assumes the existence of prior given truths that serve to discipline rational intelligence with morality. Teacher is above learner, but the acquisition of intellectual autonomy can be achieved as a conduit to self-education. Versions of this are visible in Catholic education and there is a parallel in Islam, and so too a form of it in the Confucian ideal.

*Lockean.* This approach was an outcome of the Enlightenment and its rationality, and served to foster the transition of the Platonically bred person towards the active bourgeois infused with communal virtue and responsibility, wisdom, breeding, and learning, but also engaged practically, and open to learning from experience.

*Naturalist.* Associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, this emblem of the Romantic era in European culture became a counterbalance to scientific objectivity, and stressed the subjective, emotional, free, simple, spontaneous learning of how to fit into society.

*Pragmatist.* Associated mainly with Pierce and Dewey, and exerting strong influence in the United States, Europe, and Japan, this approach stressed the formation of individuals in constant interaction with their natural and social environments. Seen as ‘progressive’ it requires constant reflection on experience.

*Behaviourist.* Associated with Skinner this rested on behavioural engineering, and techniques such as programmed instruction, or problem-based learning. It has been reinvigorated by new forms of communications technology.

*Existential.* An outcome of French twentieth-century philosophy, this stresses current experience over past inherited wisdom, leaving precedents as guides but not infallible. Authenticity in behaviour and the elimination of pretence are central as is also the linking of learning and action.

*Postmodern.* As we have argued, reshaping information is a large part of the production of knowledge. Postmodernism is not an attack upon modernity or a complete departure from it; rather, postmodernism is essentially a continuation of modern thinking in another mode, having first entered the philosophical lexicon in 1979, with the publication of *The Postmodern*

*Condition* (Lyotard 1984). Largely indefinable, it is a set of critical, strategic, and rhetorical practices employing concepts such as difference, repetition, and hyper-reality to attempt to destabilize other concepts such as presence, identity, historical progress, epistemic certainty, and univocality of meaning. Yet Habermas argues that postmodernism contradicts itself through self-reference, and notes that postmodernists presuppose concepts they otherwise seek to undermine, e.g. freedom, subjectivity, or creativity.

The question of what constitutes knowledge, and the debates attached to that, may be summarized simply in another set of universals that societies have to deal with, each lying on a continuum. Societies will find their own positions on these continua, and their own ways of expressing them. These continua will keep appearing throughout the book and so are given here in simple preview form. They are:

*What constitutes knowledge?* Is knowledge primarily the accumulation of information, or the learning of a process of thinking? If both, in what proportions? Another version of that is the separation between *knowing that* and *knowing how*. These are related to the continuum along which rote learning contends with judgemental problem-based thinking.

*Who owns knowledge?* Is it something that comes down from on high, transmitted by a monopolizing group, with potential malevolence as in totalitarianism, or assumed benevolence as in many religions? Or is it the ultimate public good, that all are encouraged to access, and hopefully then control the quality of?

*How to communicate knowledge?* The same authority continuum appears here, applied to the *process of learning*. The range is from *telling* by a teacher in a hierarchy, to engaged learning by the student. In a central position on this continuum is apprenticeship, where role identity is acquired (as in *I am a qualified electrician*) but does not necessarily stimulate new knowledge.

*The purpose of education?* The core question in debate is whether the needs being served are primarily those of the individual or of the society. This has occasionally been controversial if there was a tendency for individual-based education to be a preserve of people at higher levels of a class system, and so elites were formed based on learning, as with *mandarins, enarchs, or Oxford Union presidents*.

*Uniform versus differentiated groupings.* This debate is around the make-up of a class of students. Should it be one gender, one religion, one racial group, one class, or is it better defined by some other identifier that allows for random mixing, and so fosters acquaintance across boundaries?

*Control and discipline.* In some societies hierarchy is instinctive and enters the context of teaching. The debates are on the options of achieving discipline via obedience or by self-control.

*Competition or collaboration.* There is a permanent dilemma in teaching when students are competing with each other and yet may need to collaborate in certain learning modes, such as problem-based group work.

*Formal education boundaries.* The boundary of education action may be penetrated by external forces so as to influence the processes of teaching and learning, prime among such forces being religion or race. Other forces may be taboos such as caste. Young people are generally not well equipped to deal with such influences, and questions of conformity to subgroup norms versus pluralism become societal debates.

We see here a set of deep and complex issues that the education systems of the world are faced with. Together with other wider challenges they will continue to surface in the accounts that follow.

## CONCLUSION

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Higher education is a key part of the larger process whereby a society learns from its past to ensure its future. It extends at large scale the human instincts for being aware of surrounding change, acting to adapt to it, and coming together socially to maximize the chances of improving the conditions for future generations. As HE grows in size as a set of institutions it can accumulate great weight within a society, both of cost and of influence. So too can it bring into its orbit a large portion of the population, a number increasing substantially in recent years.

The societal benefits of HE are those that stem from its two roles: transforming individuals; and being a catalyst for societal transformation. In [Chapter 2](#) these propositions will be examined in more detail.

The overall schema of the book will be to examine various aspects of those ideas so as to illustrate the variety of their expression in practice

globally. The structure of the handbook is designed to answer three questions: What is the nature of universities now and of HE more broadly in society? With what critical influences are they now surrounded? How should they form responses to these surrounding forces such that they perpetuate the crucial role of HE in fostering societal progress?

An explanatory priority is to take on board, in [Chapter 3](#), the role of culture in influencing processes of learning, as this feature penetrates so many HE processes, often invisibly. Then in [Chapter 4](#) the question is addressed of academic autonomy, and how different societies come to terms with that ideal; this introduces the notion of a university's *actorhood* or its ability to control its own action, the lack of which would leave it still functioning, but with a *hollow* character. A continuum of four types is proposed covering all positions from high autonomy *corporate* to low autonomy *hollow*. The degree of autonomy is likely to influence the playing out of a university's role in its own society, but also more widely in its global relations.

Examples, or cases, then follow in [Chapters 5, 6, 7](#), and [8](#) to illustrate the workings of the four main types in their different societal contexts. The hollow type is presented in a study of China's current conscious hollowing out of the universities in Hong Kong. This is balanced by a reference to similar processes of hollowing out being brought about, this time less consciously, in certain Western countries. The three other types examined are represented in [Chapter 6](#) on Poland (*state-guided*), [Chapter 7](#) on change in UK redbricks (*state-contracted*), and [Chapter 8](#) on Oxbridge (*corporate*).

Having described the variety of types [Chapter 9](#) then reviews the challenge that applies in all of them of meeting the executive responsibility of managing such large institutions. Commentary by heads of universities, based on specifics of their experience, will also reflect on that question, beginning with [Chapter 12](#), and including [Chapters 16, 19, and 23](#). In [Chapter 9](#) the question is examined from the standpoint of organization theory, taking account of the unique nature of universities and of certain principles attached to their strategic steering.

The handbook then turns to consider the nature of the changes pouring down upon the HE sector from its many environments. This section starts by summarizing the principal external pressures in [Chapter 10](#). [Chapters 11, 13, 14, and 15](#) then examine the impact on the HE sector of specific forces

of change: information and communications technology; relations with industry; social equality; and relations with government and public services.

A number of large and complex issues are then selected for special attention. They represent widely shared concerns within the changing relations between HE and its surrounding worlds. These are considered in [Chapters 16](#) and [17](#) on the HE mission in society, [Chapter 18](#) on the role of scholarship, and [Chapter 19](#) on the crucial issue of financing HE.

The final section of the book examines the HE sector in proactive mode, and the question of how it responds to the surrounding changes. Returning to the foundational theory in [Chapter 2](#), a broad remit is to ask how HE fosters societal capability in cooperativeness ([Chapters 20, 21, 22](#)) and how it in parallel fosters societal innovativeness ([Chapters 23, 24, 25, 26](#)). The final [Chapters 27](#) and [28](#) trace the argument that runs through the handbook and draw conclusions for policy and practice.

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<sup>1</sup> We acknowledge other influences such as the I-Ching, the Mahabharata, the Buddhist Sutras, Mexico’s Aubin Codex, etc. but omit them here due to their very focused relevance.

<sup>2</sup> This list is derived from *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1992), 25, 725–32: ‘Philosophy of Education’; and *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/postmodernism/>>, accessed 22 December 2015.

## CHAPTER 2

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# CRITICALITY, ACADEMIC AUTONOMY, AND SOCIETAL PROGRESS

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GORDON REDDING

## INTRODUCTION

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THIS chapter explores the role of higher education (HE) in societal progress. It conjectures certain broadly stated capabilities associated with societal success more generally, and then considers what is arguably needed from a system of HE to help make those societal capabilities available. HE clearly does not act alone; it works in parallel with child-rearing, schooling, and many wider societal conditions and institutions, especially including culture, politics, and finance. Nor does it have sole discretion over what it does. But HE is seen as playing an important part in socializing a crucial sector of a society—that of people the society invests in as its future thinkers and advanced specialists.

Suggesting universal societal capabilities brings understandable risk of criticism for grand theorizing, so what is suggested here is presented as reasoned conjecture about broadly defined capabilities summarized from a wide literature. These are seen in the abstract, as features that a progressing society needs, while assuming the *varied interpretation* of the core principles in different societies. This chapter will pay special attention to

the fostering in a society of what Barnett (1997) terms *criticality* (see also Chapter 18), seen as a societal habit of widespread, open, pluralist, informed debate and exchange. It will relate this to theories of social system evolution, and of information theory. In doing so it will take account of the need to deal with the tendency to conflate critical thinking with Western societal formulae, and so will acknowledge alternative societal rationales that include their own forms of it. Among the sources in socio-economic history noted in this chapter are: Mokyr's (2002) historical theory of useful knowledge with its tribute to knowledge diffusion and exchange; McCloskey's (2006, 2010, 2016) extensive historical studies of applied knowledge in trade-tested betterment and virtuous entrepreneurship; Habermas's (1984) central notion of *communicative action*; Evans's (1995) theory of development via *embedded autonomy*; and Kant's (2009: 3) ideal of 'freedom to make *public use* of one's reason in all matters'. It will also note Japanese and Chinese forms of criticality. The discussion will refer to the role of academic autonomy in fostering appropriate societal capabilities, an issue central to this handbook and analysed more fully by Whitley in Chapter 4.

The position taken is multi-disciplinary, and this entails a challenge to the often narrow perspectives of some fields that study societal development. A salutary warning about the partial nature of the educational contribution to explaining development trajectories is given in a recent study by Kamens (2015) of the relation between national test scores of cognitive abilities and faster growth rates in developing countries. Over two time periods from 1960 to 1990, and 1990 to 2012, either side of the 1990 globalization take-off identified by Baldwin (2016), Kamens concludes from a major empirical base that 'countries with higher test scores in math, reading and science are not more likely to experience later higher economic growth in either time period' (2015: 441). So, there is more to this than meets the eye and either 'economists may have wildly overstated the importance of cognitive skills as a source of economic development ... or the process of development may have changed under the pressures of globalization' (2015: 441). Have cognitive skills come to theoretical prominence because of their attractive simple measurability? Have the measures been of the 'right' cognitive skills? Have the restructurings brought by globalization changed the game to outdate the preparations for it? Have societies lost control over the key flows of commodities, capital,

technology, labour, leaving local responses inadequate? Kamens concludes that the real test is a society's ability to absorb talent productively in the changed conditions. 'For education to matter for economic growth, it must be highly articulated with the economy' (2015: 443). A society's capability to *absorb* talent needs to at least match its capability to *encourage* the kind of talent needed. That is the point of this chapter.

The conjecture to be made is of a pair of reciprocally balanced capabilities operating *in any society*, accompanying which are certain supplementary features, acting as catalysts seen as abstract types that foster both the interaction and the balance. HE has a strong influence on certain of these catalysts. Ideas of this nature appear consistently in many attempts to define what both McCloskey (1994: 242) and Mokyr (2009: 10) refer to as 'the big problem': the universal societal keys to progress. Note will be taken of lessons about complex adaptive system evolution, and about the role of information in society.

In recent times, and for his interest in societal knowledge, perhaps the most relevant analyst of such twin forces has been Joel Mokyr who, from his extensive studies of economic history made the distinction between propositional (theoretical) and prescriptive (applied) knowledge, and studied their linkages with the wider socio-economy (Mokyr 2002: 73–7). In later studies Mokyr (2009: 12; 2017: 42) saw the pair manifest in the Industrial Revolution as the twin forces of a 'game against nature' (scientific discovery), and 'a game of interacting with other people' (widespread cooperative action under shared ideals and institutions), this latter concept echoing Habermas's (1984) *communicative action*. I begin by examining this core idea of twin forces. The role of HE can then be situated in a wider dynamic context.

## SOCIETIES AS BALANCED ADAPTIVE SYSTEMS

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There is a consistent theme of a balancing act in much theorizing about complex social systems. At the *primary* level there is a double helix of two intertwined elements as the basis of life. At the *individual* level the basic inherited instincts of *Homo sapiens* are (a) the proactive ones of aggression and possession, balanced against (b) the cooperative ones of empathy and

sociability (Bowles and Gintis 2011). At the *social* level daily life and species reproduction rely on the stable balancing of male and female. Much Oriental philosophy rests on the idea of counterbalanced forces of *yin* and *yang*. At the *organizational* level many theorists explain a complex duality of the social and the technical requiring balancing skills (Kotter 1978: 10; Weick 2001: 374). At the *societal level*, theorists—using many terms—tend to share a view of balanced elements: those that shape change, and those that foster the holding together of the society as it changes.

This balancing of what in essence are the material and the moral elements is found in many of the foundational works in social science, for instance those of Adam Smith (1759, 1776) and in the socio-economics of Max Weber (1964). Even between societies the same notion of balanced forces is common in political theory as Hubbard and Kane (2013: 15) discuss, citing North's observation that 'all nations fall when political institutions reveal their inherent instability'. As Nicholson (1997: 1056) has suggested in describing the core societal tension as that between changing environmental conditions and unchanging human nature, 'much of what we study in the social sciences ... can be understood and explained in terms of these twin forces'.

The conceptual challenge is then that of defining the two forces in such a way as to carry at least some tentative theorizing about their interaction, its consequences for a society, and the role of HE in the balancing process.

## SOCIETIES AS COMPLEX ADAPTIVE SYSTEMS

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In his account of evolved processes of natural ordering, Kauffman (1995: 73) summarizes basic evolutionary logics as follows: '... evolution requires more than simply the ability to change ... a living system must first be able to strike an *internal* compromise between malleability and stability. To survive in a variable environment, it must be stable, to be sure, but not so stable that it remains forever static.' Discussing this point in complexity theory terms Nicolis and Prigogine (1989: 238) state that:

adaptability and plasticity of behavior, two basic features of nonlinear dynamical systems capable of performing transitions in far-from-equilibrium conditions, rank among the most conspicuous characteristics of human societies. It is therefore natural to expect that

dynamical models allowing for evolution and change should be the most adequate ones for social systems.

Here we see again Mokyr's two *games*, an interpretation of Nicholson's *twin forces*, or Adam Smith's fusion of competitive logics and moral sentiments.

In a review of the research dilemma in explaining social history, Lloyd (1986: 201) summarizes the four component ideas most commonly found in theories of social evolution:

- (1) Society is a tightly bounded and integrated system with a cybernetic hierarchy of self-controls which maintain its equilibrium.
- (2) Societies evolve by adapting to their environments.
- (3) The mechanisms of evolution are endogenous mutations, which may be responses to environmental stimuli.
- (4) Societies evolve through stages of ever-greater differentiation and systemic complexity.

Lloyd (1986: 214–16) then advises on certain conditions to be borne in mind while using this framework (most of these caveats being directed at the discipline of economics still dominant in the field of development):

to avoid the “instrumental fictions” that may accompany convenient measurements of defined variables; to avoid simple assumptions of rational choice motivating individual, and then collective, action; to accept the determining role of meanings and norms within a context of reciprocal interaction; to avoid simple assumptions of periods of stable equilibrium punctuated by periods of unnatural instability; to theorize more completely the mechanisms of change.

## CONDITIONS ATTACHED TO GRAND THEORIZING

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Explaining how HE, as one of several potentially powerful determinants, influences the progress of complex societies requires a picture of the totality of forces being examined. This stretches the capacity of social science close to its limits, and—in the eyes of some—beyond those limits. The challenge

of working with a *grand narrative* explaining histories of societal advancement is discussed by McCarthy (2009: 131–2) as follows:

the sheer mass and diversity of data, theories, methods, interpretations, and the like, overpopulating all the relevant disciplinary fields of enquiry lend to the idea of constructing a universal history or unified theory of the entire species, an air of hubris, if not megalomania ... Theoretically generalized historical accounts are themselves historically situated ... they belong to history rather than transcending it.

To avoid being thus trapped in an attempt to theoretically grasp history as a whole, with its risks of running out of connection with empirical support, one might take heart from McCarthy's (2009: 140) concession that a 'postmetaphysical and postempiricist, practically oriented and methodologically interpretive approach ... is a more viable option today'. To illustrate his meaning he pays tribute to Kant's approach of *reflective judgement*.

Following this stern advice, McCarthy goes on to acknowledge the utility of certain universals at a high level of abstraction. He acknowledges for instance the continuing relevance of Kant's reflective judgements about certain societal qualities. Examples might be Kant's definition of Enlightenment as 'man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own understanding without the guidance of another'; and among freedoms 'the most innocuous form of all —freedom to make *public use* of one's reason in all matters' (Kant 2009: 1–3). McCarthy also points to the value of Sen's (1999) view of human progress as the development of people's capabilities via a process of expanding their substantive freedoms. The idea of societal *capabilities* is echoed in Eisenstadt's (1965) view of development as being a matter of a society's *transformative capacities*.

McCarthy (2009: 185) also adds an important caveat, namely that the basic values of personal autonomy and political self-determination be 'freed of the asymmetrical restrictions liberalism historically placed on their application'. In other words they may be expressed in other ways than Jeffersonian democracy. Singapore's and Japan's post-war half-century as *de facto* single party-states comes to mind. I shall later refer to other sources of universals of this nature, such as Habermas's (1984) theory of communicative action and Ostrom's (1990) findings on the shared use of public goods. Before doing so I will examine further the concept of universals within development theory per se.

## CRITICAL DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND UNIVERSALS

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Despite concerns about the historically grounded nature of much development theory, and what critical theorists often see as its ethnocentrism, McCarthy (2009: 221) still acknowledges that ‘there are deep-seated features of the world we live in—inescapable “facts” of cultural and societal modernity—that make it impracticable for us simply to dismiss ideas of development’. In development theory itself Evans’s (1995) notion of *embedded autonomy* stands as an example of an essential societal competence. There are in McCarthy’s view influences already manifest that cannot be ignored, and that shape options, so constraining the range of viable alternative modernities. These influences include cultural and societal heritages. Revisiting and rethinking the idea of development is then a requirement, but to escape from bias (and echoing the caveats of Lloyd) it needs to be done in a way that is in McCarthy’s view: open to dissent; acknowledges multiple trajectories; keeps meta-narratives empirically grounded; is not ethnocentric; keeps potential violence in view; accepts an interacting world; and acknowledges sustainability.

Accepting then that a unified theory of history is hardly feasible, and in any case timing-dependent, but that the shaping of multiple modernities might still be at least made less inscrutable, I return to the question of what universals might remain relevant in such an account. For this, McCarthy (2009) introduces a key distinction between (a) universal factors of an abstract, formal, or structural nature, and (b) the necessarily varied expression of them in different interpretations at the concrete level. As he notes, ‘by their very nature, the universal cannot be actual without the particular, nor the formal without the substantive, the abstract without the concrete, structure without content … thus the idea that all societies are converging on the American model is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of universality as uniformity’ (2009: 223). As each society has its own interpretation of the universals the question that follows is: Which universals (seen in the abstract) appear, at least so far in history, valid everywhere for development through local interpretation?

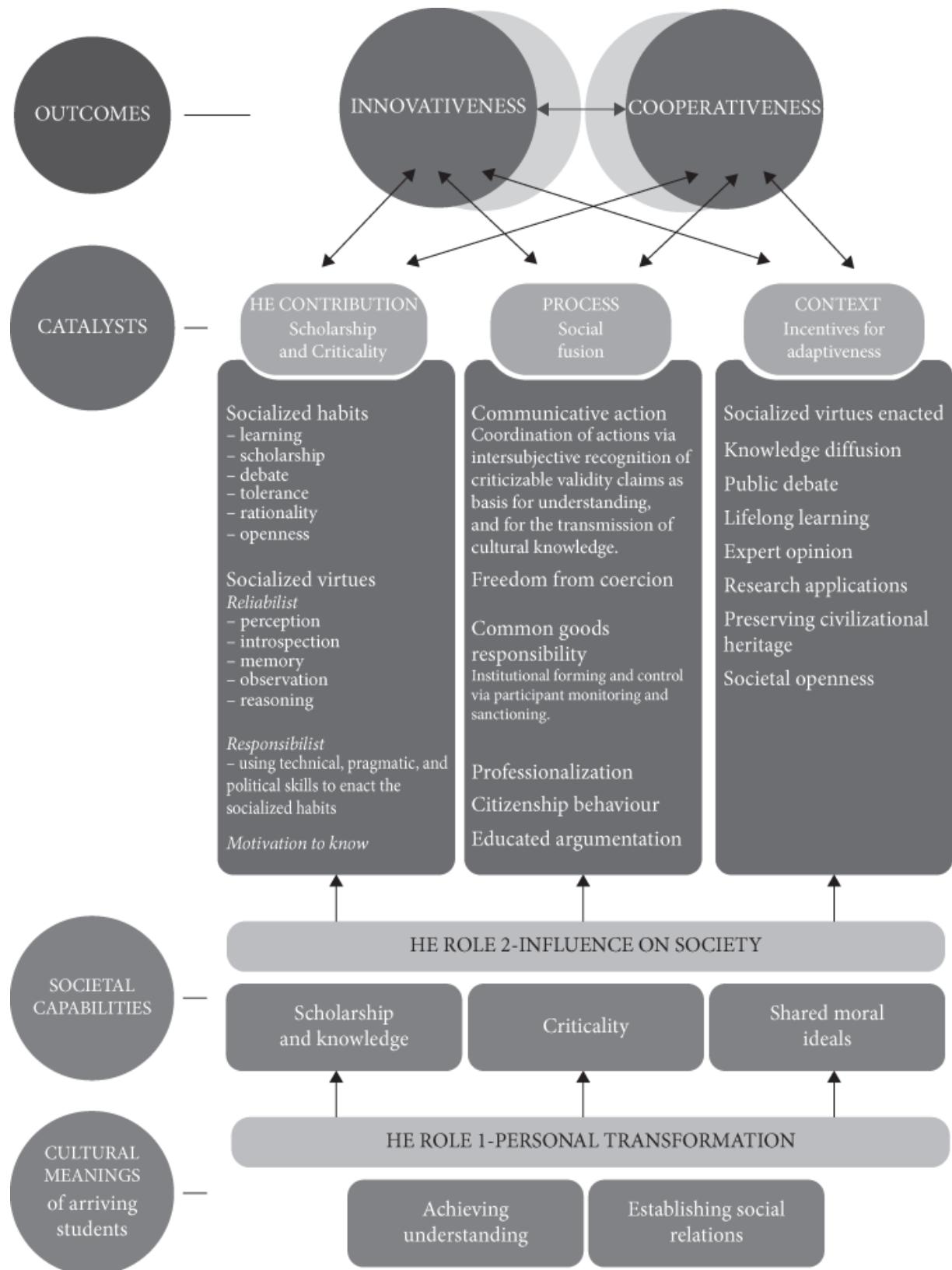
This question in turn raises an important prior question. Do all people today start from—at least roughly—sharing the same basic proclivities? In what ways are they all alike, and in what ways not? Are the universals being applied to the same inputs? Or do any differences that may be revealed affect the way of *acting out* the suggested universal societal capabilities, thus allowing the universals to still stand, at least as abstracts? If such differences exist they might help to explain the variety of ways in which the core variables get to be enacted. If this were a serious possibility it would be useful to envisage two related conditions: (1) in the basic form of human nature are certain shared instincts that typify the species universally; (2) over millennia of exposure to certain ecological conditions affecting survival and ways of living in specific societies, it is feasible for certain *additional* responses to have become imprinted over the basic ones. These might well affect local patterns of social action.

The variation in these latter is evidenced in many cross-cultural studies (Hofstede 2001; Leung and Bond 2004; Li 2012; Schwartz 1994; Watson 2016), and reflected in Bond and Jing's [Chapter 3](#) in this handbook. The prehistoric processes whereby the variations developed are most fully explained by Welzel and his colleagues (Welzel 2013; Welzel 2014). Implications for comparative societal analysis are discussed by Drew and Kriz (2012) and Redding and Drew (2016). It is clear that the daily-practised relations of authority (affecting vertical order) and identity (affecting horizontal order) vary societally. This variation also brings with it different interpretations of the meaning of what knowledge is and how it fits into society (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Nisbett 2003). There are arguably consequences for societal development trajectories, and for higher education, from these varying interpretations and expressions of the deeper human universals.

## THE CORE PROPOSITION

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Higher education exists to help significantly in shaping a society's systems of thinking. The set of influences conjectured is illustrated in [Figure 2.1](#). It will first be introduced and its specific aspects later discussed in more detail.<sup>1</sup>



**FIGURE 2.1** Patterns of historical societal change in the transition from premodern to modern

The basic notion is that societies progress by the balancing of two capabilities: **innovativeness** and **cooperativeness**. The quality of these capabilities is influenced (as far as HE's contribution is concerned) by the work of three catalysts in the society that serve to amplify (or in their absence suppress) the development of the capabilities. The catalysts are (1) **applied scholarship and criticality**, (2) **social fusion**, and (3) **morally legitimate incentives for adaptiveness**. They will be briefly introduced here and examined later in more detail.

Within *applied scholarship and criticality* are the socialized habits that underlie ways of handling knowledge such as to encourage informed, tolerant, debate. There are also socialized virtues that are expressed in two modes (Bowell and Kingsbury 2015): the *reliabilist* that underpin the quality of the knowledge as to its truth, and the *responsibilist* that control the proper exercise of the knowledge. Such catalysts will always exist effectively or not depending on the curiosity to learn that brings them about. The current decline in this curiosity in many HE classrooms is discussed forcefully for the United States by Caplan (2018).

Within the workings of societies, a second critical catalyst of progress is *social fusion*. For the development case this is most cogently argued by Habermas (1984) but is also celebrated in the extensive studies of McCloskey (2006, 2010, 2016), Mokyr (2002, 2009, 2017), Collins (1998), and many other economic historians. Its role is to fuse socially the talents and resources needed to make for progress, in such a way that the social process itself hosts the debates, contentions, and contests that encourage the new responses. Within this social fusion when it works well are normally certain other crucial features: freedom from coercion; a shared sense of responsibility for common goods; and the evolving of behaviour within roles that bring earned respect: professionalism, good citizenship, and educated argumentation.

A third crucial catalyst is the surrounding societal context and its moral content. Here exist the wider ideas and ideals that a societal culture brings that may amplify or suppress adaptiveness and cooperativeness. This surrounding system of meanings shapes behaviours and reciprocally evolves with them (Redding 2008). The key meanings with historically significant impact tend to have circulated around the unifying nature of agreed virtues, openness to learning, a sense of activism that stimulates

innovativeness, and usually a distinct civilizational ideal that acts to unify the sense of identity and to support cooperativeness across the total.

The HE system itself engages in two processes. The first of these occurs *internally* within universities and is seen as **Role 1: Transformation**. It transforms individual students between their arrival and departure. **Role 2: Influence** occurs *externally* and is the spreading into society of the knowledge acquired by graduates, plus understandings based on the HE institution's scholarly research. It assists in changing societies in an ongoing process.

Role 1 begins with the meaning structures brought into HE in the minds of students as they enter. These are their socially constructed realities absorbed to date and their variety is evident in the cross-cultural literature (see [Chapter 3](#)). The aspects of these mind-sets that are relevant here are (a) the meanings associated with knowledge and scholarship, for example whether knowledge is *owned* by a perceived elite and acquired from them, or whether it is openly available to all, and (b) ideas about social relations, especially those affecting attitudes to identity and authority.

HE's Role 1 Transformation process is designed to enhance the incoming individual mentalities by the addition of extra competences, principal among which are: **scholarship-based knowledge and skills; criticality**, i.e. the disciplined social use of understanding; and **shared moral ideals** acting as a basis for responsible citizenship.

For HE's Role 2, that of fostering the catalysts, these three learned competences of the graduating students together become a body of human capital available as contribution to the society. Because of the power of this contribution to enable societal adaptiveness, creativity, and social stability it is, as a total, seen here a key contribution to the **societal capabilities**. These in turn contribute substantially to what Eisenstadt ([1996](#)) defines as a society's *transformative capacity*, its ability to remain stable while changing.

As has been described above, the link between these 'outputs' of HE and the eventual impact of them on societal adaptiveness and cooperativeness is moderated by the catalysts that HE contributes to. Although the catalysts and their influences are largely external to HE they provide HE with an ongoing societal role whose significance may be obscured by the attention paid to the more visible and measurable activities of producing graduates.

Those external catalytic influences in Role 2 can last much longer than the internal influences in Role 1. They will be examined shortly after first considering the balancing act they are involved in so as to maintain a society's equilibrium as it changes.

## WHY INNOVATIVENESS AND COOPERATIVENESS AS THE BALANCED END-STATE?

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A society remains viable when it can stay responsive to change. This means that it has to *read* its surroundings and to know how to deal with what it reads. For this I use the label *innovativeness*, or the collective capacity to know what to change and how to do so. Note here the deliberate distinction between innovativeness and innovation. The former is a culture. The latter is a set of its visible results and they can be instigated elsewhere using borrowings. Innovativeness, however, is a societal quality, and is thus bounded and not easily transferable. You can transplant a wafer fab production line, but you cannot transplant Silicon Valley. You can set up an Institute of Technology, but not move Cambridge Massachusetts.

The workings of innovativeness include the pursuit of new knowledge and its subsequent codification for transmission into society. Included in this concept is the element of adaptiveness that proves so crucial in the application of what stems from innovation. It is also why *cooperativeness* comes into play. As an example the scientific discoveries of the Industrial Revolution would not have led to the societal progress seen in the nineteenth century without the parallel invention of the adaptive instrument of the joint stock company as the coordinating mechanism for risk and capital (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2003). This required the application of learning via a confluence of informed minds trained in law, finance, politics, and commerce, all sharing a morally legitimate aim.

The elements of awareness, search, and invention (i.e. innovativeness) amount in economic history, as noted earlier, to Mokyr's (2009) game against nature. At the same time a society needs to be capable of effectively implementing change and that would normally involve persuading people to

do things differently. When this is possible it is termed here *cooperativeness*, or Mokyr's second of two main forces, the game of interacting with other people. Cooperativeness is taken here to have a wide meaning and mainly pays tribute to people's willingness to trust others, or to find ways of getting around mistrust. As Ostrom (1990) has shown, from studies in many societies, this is made easier when a sense of the common good acts as a motivator of cooperation. Its main facilitator is the stability brought by institutions, shared meanings, and a form of empowerment. As she also concluded, cooperativeness rests on the visibility of others' behaviour and it is participant monitoring and sanctioning that stabilizes and legitimizes institutions, in turn releasing their power to encourage cooperativeness.

In information theory, a field specially relevant to the workings of HE with its responsibility for societal knowledge, an account by Boisot (1995) discusses how knowledge, once gained, comes to be distributed and how it acts to allow a society to cope with growing complexity. Most of the information through which people construct their reality is socially inherited and so already codified in norms of proper conduct. New knowledge that needs to be added to the societal stock is usually first codified into a form that can be diffused. An example would be a new textbook. Codification takes many forms and could equally be seen in the financial pages of a newspaper, or the set of instructions that go with a new appliance.

The coded information diffused into the society often ends up in the form of institutions, or what Boisot (1995: 134) sees as 'zones of stability' that reduce the need for individuals to deal with too complex a flow of information. Inside such zones the information has been stabilized and you can know the rules enshrined there in advance, as for instance you know how to behave when you walk into a library, or when you join a profession. Institutions can only work effectively when all the people for whom they are relevant share a worldview. But when they do work effectively they do so as long-term collective investments designed to lower the information costs of social exchange. So if you are taken ill far from home, but in your own country, you can (one hopes) trust a local doctor on the basis of medical qualifications being monitored by a responsible national professional body. Trust is then institutionalized and its reach greatly expanded. Credentials based on education have a similar effect and utility

and their societal importance lies in their great stabilizing force. System trust of this kind, and the cooperativeness that it engenders, become essential means of dealing with rising complexity.

Metaphorically HE is a major part of a society's *brain*. It is then reasonable to ask whether it can function well enough to contribute to the handling of the two core capabilities of *innovativeness* and *cooperativeness* and help to keep the society in dynamic equilibrium in a fast-changing world. I will later raise the question of whether there is a trend for many HE systems to be persuaded to serve short-term pragmatic societal ends at the cost of long-term adaptive adjustment, and so for societies to be threatened with loss of balance. To help address such questions a fuller account of processes of influence is now outlined.

*Innovativeness* in practice entails: finding new understandings, pursuing their application for improving the society, and building systems that support such momentum. *Cooperativeness* entails: an authority structure seen as legitimate by the population; a sense of shared societal purpose and identity; the releasing of creativity in ways that serve the common good; and holding the common good as being above the individual or subunit good. Such design principles in the abstract will inevitably be acted out on any society's own terms, but they remain core principles. The absence of societal progress is likely to be caused by some inadequacy in meeting these universal requirements.

As Mokyr (2009: 1) observes, 'Economic change in all periods depends, more than most economists think, on what people believe.' So too did Landes (1998: 516) conclude that 'If we learn anything from economic development it is that culture makes all the difference.' These beliefs or axioms are visible in the cross-cultural literature (e.g. Hofstede 2001; Leung and Bond 2004; Welzel 2013). It is this input of more or less shared meanings that HE then takes to another level in fulfilling its primary (Role 1) societal remit.<sup>2</sup>

The components previously introduced are now considered further in a way that connects their origin in HE, their emergence as societal capabilities, and their role as catalysts in supporting the stable evolving of societal *innovativeness* and *cooperativeness*.

## APPLIED SCHOLARSHIP AND CRITICALITY AS CATALYSTS

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As noted earlier, Kant's view on the significance of the Enlightenment was that it encouraged people to be free from dependence on others as sources of thinking. This ideal became realizable after earlier progress in scientific enquiry had introduced the idea of a knowable natural order, the explanation of which could be secular in nature, and so freed from traditional sources of authority. Adam Smith (1759) saw human nature as made up of two features: *affections* (the moral sentiments) and *understanding* (the application of knowledge). Smith was much influenced by Hume, who believed in two principles on the forming of ideas: first that ideas relate directly to first impressions of reality; and second that of 'the liberty of the imagination to transpose and change its ideas' (Hume 2011: 16).

Such freedom of thinking was a central component in many societies that adjusted their ideals and institutions. As noted in Collins's (1998) historical review of the sociology of philosophies, a crucial turning point in the evolution of Western thinking about society was the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel among others became involved in debates where:

Traditional concepts and opposing positions had been subjected to ever more intense scrutiny; rather than destroying a given position, through these debates philosophy had dug more deeply. Distinctions had been made in concepts previously taken as unitary, and on these grounds in turn whole new realms had been discovered.

(Collins 1998: 657)

At a second level university reform at that time was transferring the new thinking into the society. At a third level was the resulting political reform that ran through the nineteenth century with global consequences (Collins 1998: 662).

Similar periods of critical rethinking based in scholarship exercised by groups of thinkers in forms of collegial institutions had been crucial for societal change historically in, for instance, Japan, China, and late medieval Europe.

## JAPANESE SOCIETAL REFORMS

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In his study of Japanese civilization, Eisenstadt (1996) pays tribute to the influence of Ogyu Sorai (1666–1728 CE), a Confucian scholar and government adviser. The influence of his school was on reinterpreting the hierarchical Confucian basis for government adopted by Tokugawa after 1601, in a way that was more consonant with Japanese traditions (Najita 1998). In this Sorai was able to reach back into Japan's much earlier heritage of Buddhist ideals that remained widespread after Japan broke from China in the tenth century CE. As Collins (1998: 322) has noted, 'In tracing modern Japanese development, we have a laboratory for what a society built on Buddhist organizational structures would produce, economically, and intellectually.' Sorai's ideal, stated simply, was of a society that was not tightly regulated, but locally managed.

Over the previous millennium central power had been shared between a hereditary emperor and a series of *shoguns*, or dominant chieftains. With central power divided, this meant that the role of emperor in Japan could not match that in China, where emperors always had unchallenged authority for the worldly interpretation and implementation of the principles of heavenly order. In China too innovativeness had been stifled for centuries by bureaucratic controls. It was this centralizing control that had been Tokugawa's answer to what in 1601 was an urgent need to restore order after centuries of regional wars. A century later Sorai intellectually challenged this as a historically temporary expedient, and his advocacy prevailed.

With Sorai's adjustments, a form of Confucian Buddhism took hold that was a blend of Chinese and Japanese social ideals; what Eisenstadt, acknowledging Murakami (1984), termed an *ie* civilization, meaning community rather than family-based. Further adjustments in subsequent reforms in the 1720s, the 1790s, and the 1820s (Ooms 1975) underpinned the long peace and prosperity of the Tokugawa shogunate until the climactic opening to external learning of 1868. In a modern form, adapted with serious attention to scholarly analysis and open debate (Sansom 1949), the *ie* ideal has remained visible in much of Japanese social and organizational behaviour (Doi 1973; Nakane 1971; Richardson 1997; Witt 2006). Thus its

own scholarship led Japan to adapt, and to remain cohesive as a society, over succeeding centuries.

## THE RESHAPING OF CONFUCIANISM IN CHINA

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After the founding contribution of Confucius (551–479 BCE) the periods of ‘high-density’ philosophizing in Chinese history have been identified by Collins (1998) as two transformations:

- (a) In the late Warring States period (365–235 BCE), there was a flowering of new thinking in separate schools: the work of Confucius was extended by Mencius; Taoism brought forward ancient naturalistic ideals of syncretic *yin-yang* balancing of forces; and the Mohist *Canons* provided ‘the high point of rationalistic logic in all Chinese history’ (Collins 1998: 58). The distinctively blended nature of Chinese philosophizing about society that resulted was then expressed in the flowering of Han civilization for the four hundred years after 200 BCE.
- (b) The second great flowering, the Neo-Confucian, coincided with the Sung dynasty and lasted a century and a half from 1035 CE. In relation to that second rethinking, much of the creative energy in philosophy was based in political debate and it left the Neo-Confucians as radical innovators. Their intellectuals could openly challenge the traditional position on religion, and they could also engage in scientific enquiry. A highly significant and empowering outcome of this was the principle of open (as opposed to elite) national examinations to find the best talent for public administration. Over the years of the Sung regime the number of those examined annually grew from 5,000 to 400,000. The idea of an intellectual elite bureaucracy was later widely adopted by other countries and remains a central Chinese ideal, despite the attempt by Mao Zedong to replace it with a more instrumental alternative.

## **MARTIN LUTHER AND THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION**

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Building on long-standing ethical debates, in the early 1500s Martin Luther, writing prolifically, broke new ground in several fields. Well known for his attack on Catholic Church profiteering through the sale of indulgences, he also had much influence through his publications and sermons on human relations, marriage, and race relations. This societal concern expanded into critiques of the workings of the economy such as usury, distributive justice, and charity, with many such issues remaining valid today (Rossner 2015). The series of Reformations that followed in Europe helped to reshape several societies over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Reformation itself was further reinterpreted under Calvin who attacked the Catholic assumptions of what was to be taken as sacred, and redefined the relations between God and humanity, and so between Church and State. Stimulated also by new science, the consequent disenchantment of the world, and the separation of reason from faith, are considered by many to have contributed to the Enlightenment, the secularization of the West and to the industrial revolutions of the nineteenth century.

## **CRITICAL THINKING AND CRITICALITY**

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This phenomenon of people willing and able to radically rethink how a society works rests on a process of analysis now known widely as ‘critical thinking’ (Davies and Barnett 2015: 8). A definition of its contents has been proposed Davies (2015) as follows:

- (1) core skills in critical argumentation, reasoning, and inference-making;
- (2) critical judgements extending from fundamentals;
- (3) critical-thinking dispositions and attitudes;
- (4) critical being and critical actions;
- (5) societal and ideology critique;

## (6) critical creativity or openness.

These contents include both individual and socio-cultural dimensions. Such an approach to reasoned debate matches Gellner's (1992: 136) description of Western *reason*, as amounting to a lifestyle: 'an inner cognitive moral guide, the repository of our identity ... based on symmetry, order, equal treatment of claims and of evidence ... helping to bring about such a civilization'. Because of these wider ramifications, and their becoming a feature of a society as well as of its members, Barnett (2015) expands the definition of the concept to *criticality* based in scholarship (see Chapter 18). He sees this as ranging from specific skills to transformational critique, with a scope including formal knowledge, the self, and the world.

The interplay suggested between a society's critical thinking capabilities and its quality of innovativeness is mediated by the three catalysts previously noted: applied scholarship and criticality, social fusion, and morally legitimate incentives for adaptiveness.

Scholarship leads to the codification of information in a descriptive and/or explanatory form. This then permits its diffusion into a society as knowledge (Boisot 1995). Such codification also permits the defining of what is not yet known, so helping to shape further attempts to learn, as well as shaping the boundaries of what can be relied on. Much knowledge has monetary value, as for instance the discovery of new techniques such as steam power, new resources such as minerals, or new combinations such as those sought by business entrepreneurs using market intelligence. These opportunities are likely to attract support for the learning process from those with money. When societies evolve they may need to adapt their authority and coordination structures to deal with extra complexity, and thinking through the why's and wherefore's of that may also lead to innovation in social systems.

I began by identifying three catalysts in societal transformation, all influenced by HE: (1) **applied scholarship and criticality**, (2) **social fusion**, and (3) **morally legitimate incentives for adaptiveness**. Studies of societies at times of substantial innovativeness reveal that all three catalysts are normally in play and often in interaction. I now look more closely at the processes involved.

## WAYS OF USING RATIONALISM

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An important element in analysing societal thinking and learning is the intellectual method employed. As Kuhn (2012) has shown these are varied and they evolve. It is, however, possible to claim that, as far as gaining control in the use of natural resources is concerned, what might be broadly termed the *scientific method*, based on Baconian and Cartesian logics and the rigours of rationality, has so far proved more robust than alternatives.

The classic treatment of rationality is Weber's discussion of the Protestant ethic and the accompanying 'specific and peculiar rationalism of Western culture' (Weber 1930: 26). Using the term *reason*, Gellner (1992) responded to Weber's suggestion that some cultures were more rational than others and also answered Durkheim's (1961) different proposal that one should ask why and how all people become rational. A conclusion for Gellner is that Western rationality, as a matter of measurable fact, had led to greater societal progress, at least up to the late twentieth century. Gellner also pointed out that its universal validity was perhaps illusory. It was one social order among others, even though a very special one by virtue of its being 'in some way or other more rational than all the others' (Gellner 1992: 136).

A crucial point now comes to the surface. Gellner (1992: 53) contends that reason is universal within the make-up of *Homo sapiens*. It is then universalistic 'twice over'. First, it is a 'generic faculty incarnate and latent in all people, even if its operation is on many occasions inhibited'. Second, the cognitive style adopted in its practice 'is not controlled by culture but in large measure free of it and is not in any way genetically restricted, though most cultures fail to promote it ... All cognitive claims are equal, and subject to criteria that can in principle be applied by anyone.' Such a conclusion has been supported by Needham (1956) from his extensive studies of science and civilization in China. Evidence for equivalence is visible in the historical museums of Toledo that display the scientific texts and translations that for centuries accumulated at the interface between Chinese, Indian, Islamic, and European scholarship.

Following from this proposition about universal rationalism, latent or otherwise, a key conclusion is that, at least potentially, it does not privilege any society. Its *deep levelling quality* goes against any persons or objects

claiming to be very special. But there are two consequences that stem from the assumption that it shapes action in the real world, and they are both crucial determinants of societal success/failure. One affects societal cooperativeness and it is the *spirit of equality*, argued fully by Gaus (2015). The other affects the legitimizing of authority and it is the *disciplining of greed*. These are both severe tests of the balancing act of politics everywhere and at all levels. What Gellner brought to lists of societal essentials is the clarification of two conditions seen to be absent in cases of societal failure: an egalitarian ideal; and avoiding the corrosive influence of greed. So reasoning is a universal human capacity, an equal inheritance across the species, but the use of it varies with the nature of societal contexts that can amplify or suppress its potential.

The influence of rationality, seen in the above terms, correlates strongly with societal progress historically. In analysing four decades of World Values Surveys Welzel's research confirms the clear rise historically and worldwide of an urge towards the equality and empowerment that have been historical consequences of rationality so far. He also reports a global correlation of 0.78 between such empowerment and GDP per capita and so the 'modern' condition (Welzel 2014). Such a momentum is consistent with Eisendstadt's (1965) contention about reason fostering a society's *transformative capacity*.

## PROCESSES OF SOCIAL FUSION AS CATALYST

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In his global comparative study of the evolution of human empowerment, Welzel (2013) lays emphasis on what he calls 'social cross-fertilization', seeing it as somewhat neglected in research. Its essence is that 'the emancipatory tendency of an individual's education is fertilized through cross-overs deriving from the prevalence of education in the individual's society' (2013: 110). From this he argues that such social cross-fertilization leads to the prevalence of certain values, and so the stabilizing of culture. So 'education tends to make people more emancipatory in their orientations but when more people in a society are educated, this tendency becomes even stronger' (2013: 9).

The practical workings of social fusion as catalyst between the societal capabilities and social action are illustrated in historical studies of periods of marked societal progress. In the realm of scholarship itself, Collins (1998) has shown how networks of scholars throughout history have fostered intellectual progress. As for society more generally, Habermas (1984), as noted, referred to the key phenomenon in development as *communicative action* and placed it at the centre of his work on the societal implementation of philosophical thought. In sum its effect was that ‘a greater degree of communicative rationality expands the scope for unconstrained coordination of actions and consensual resolution of conflicts’ (Habermas 1984: 15). Expanding societal complexity could then be handled, via reasoned discussion, in a peaceful and orderly manner. Putnam’s comparative study (1993) of northern and southern Italy famously revealed the contrast in such societal solidarity and the disadvantages of its absence.

Over time in several places the public sphere of civil society came to influence political contexts so effectively that their communicative action ‘became the very organizational principle of the bourgeois constitutional states that feature parliamentary forms of government’ (Habermas 1989: 74). As an organ of a growing civil society it could persuade state authority to respond to its needs, most of such needs being related to the world of private individuals—both owners and workers—in competitive markets. Such ideals fed into the great efflorescence of higher education in the nineteenth century, both in the West and in parts of Asia, as industrial revolutions brought a prosperity that depended on the application of new knowledge.

Communicative action of both a pragmatic and a moral kind is also visible in the inner workings of several industrial revolutions, as reported extensively by McCloskey (2006, 2010, 2016), Mokyr (2009, 2017), Landes (1998), and North (2005). The case of Japan, also exhibiting extensive communicative action historically, is described by Hirschmeier and Yui (1975), Hauser (1974), and Yamamura (1974). The similar case of Germany is described by Thelen (2004), and that of South Korea by Jones and Sakong (1980). All such accounts portray societies that found ways of bringing together, for explicit purposes of open communication and exchange, the key players influencing economic, political, and social action.

The emergence of the most fundamental idea itself—that societies could be *improved*—is described by Slack (2015), based on studies of seventeenth-century England. Here new kinds of knowledge became the currency of widespread discussions. Outcomes were a new appreciation of material progress, of measurement, of discovery, and ‘the betterment of the intellectual and moral capacities of every individual’ (Slack 2015: vii). Similar processes of intellectual social exchange continued in much of Europe to bring together knowledge, experienced opinion, and opportunism. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, social fusion flourished, as in the Lunar Society of Birmingham, meeting monthly as ‘the friends who made the future’ (subtitle to Uglow 2003) to discuss innovation and bringing together some of the foremost scientists (including from Europe), technicians, and entrepreneurs of the era. In Cambridge at the same period was the Philosophical Breakfast Club of four friends who ‘transformed science and changed the world’ (subtitle to Snyder 2011).

Nineteenth-century Britain saw the flourishing of *literary and philosophical societies* in almost all cities. Operating to the same purpose at a national level, the Collège de France, Britain’s Royal Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences are examples of the urge to treat knowledge as an object of great societal significance requiring wide communication and exchange.

The contrast with China historically in this respect was expressed in *the Needham question* about societal decline (Elvin 1973), a case where high levels of scientific and intellectual quality were not matched by adequate encouragement to spread the knowledge beyond the confines of state institutions. This prevented business entrepreneurs (their activities either carefully monitored by officials or constrained by guild regulations) from joining in discussions about practical and beneficial application. Nor did China over some centuries encourage practical innovations to enter from outside its borders. Limited knowledge flowed through very restricted channels. The contrast with Europe over the same period was stark (Redding 2016).

Incentive to search for, to spread, and to make use of knowledge, may be seen in two broad senses: one where application may yield immediate reward, such as medical research or engineering; the other when reward is more tenuous and where application may need a less pragmatic form of support, as with the arts and humanities. In the former case there is a bias

towards support by industry; in the latter case towards support from institutions set up to serve the public good. The currently changing balance between these forces, generally to the advantage of industry, explains much about a society's evolving knowledge base. But it also in the long term may influence the same society's capacity for balance, as science produces innovativeness, but the humanities may not be able to produce adequate adjustments to cooperativeness, the latter issue being more intractable by several orders of magnitude.

Other aspects of this catalytic process of social fusion concern either styles of interaction, or institutional structuring. Within the former are freedom from coercion, egalitarianism, educated argumentation, and common goods responsibility. Within the latter are the substantial factors of professionalization and citizenship behaviour. These all contribute in different ways to both *innovativeness* and *cooperativeness*. The availability of professions stabilizes and makes predictable a great deal of social order. It then reduces risk. Citizenship behaviour reflects the significance of the common goods responsibilities discussed under Ostrom's (1990) theory of how people in societies worldwide take care of sharing, and deal with the disciplining of greed.

## MORALLY LEGITIMATE INCENTIVES FOR ADAPTIVENESS AS CATALYST

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I have suggested that the societal capabilities of innovativeness and cooperativeness also rest on a foundational moral structure. That moral structure will largely have predetermined the norms surrounding individual identity, and so the degree to which there can be identity with the good of the total collectivity.

As Greene (2013: 26) suggests from a study combining neuroscience with philosophy, 'Morality is nature's solution to the problem of cooperation within groups, enabling individuals with competing interests to live together and prosper.' Ostrom's (1990) extensive work in the third world on the *tragedy of the commons* confirms that norms of proper behaviour make it feasible for individuals to live in close interdependence on many fronts without excessive conflict. In Enlightenment thinking Hume

(2011: 456) proposed three ‘fundamental laws of nature: that of the stability of possession, of its transference by consent, and of the performance of promises’. These co-evolved with morality and he wrote:

the useful tendency of the social virtues moves us not by any regards to self-interest, but has an influence much more universal and extensive. It appears that a tendency to the public good, and to the promoting of peace, harmony and order in society, does always, by affecting the benevolent principles of our frame, engage us on the side of the social virtues. (Hume 2011: 758)

Adam Smith, at the same period, had written on *moral sentiments* prior to his influential work on the wealth of nations and the two are connected. One of his basic assumptions was that people are possessed of ‘fellow-feeling’, or interest in the situation of others, permitting sympathy when appropriate (Smith 1776: 17). Himmelfarb (2004: 19) sees the British Enlightenment as ‘the sociology of virtue’. McCloskey’s (2006, 2010, 2016) detailed historical studies of societal progress have a recurring theme of *the bourgeois virtues*. In each of these analyses the virtues are woven into the economy. For de Tocqueville the ‘central point’ and ‘the end of all my ideas’ was the concept of *moeurs*: the ‘habits of the mind’, ‘the habits of the heart’, ‘the whole moral and intellectual state of a people’ (Himmelfarb 2004: 9, 238). Weber’s analysis of the spirit of capitalism concluded that ‘one of the fundamental elements ... rational conduct on the basis of the idea of the calling, was born ... from the spirit of Christian asceticism’. But morality’s influence can be fragile, and he further notes (writing in 1904) that ‘the Enlightenment seems to be irretrievably fading, and the idea of duty in one’s calling prowls about in our lives like the ghosts of dead religious beliefs’ (Weber 1930: 180–2). The attack by Picketty (2015) on the West’s declining virtue by its fostering of inequality suggests that there may be an agenda for HE if it is to fulfil its complete remit.

Morality works in societal development according to the perceived boundaries of psychological membership. Whom do you identify with and belong to? When a moral system assumes applicability to all in a society, then the likelihood is higher of its promoting widespread public good. As Greene (2013: 23) notes in a study of *moral tribes*, ‘Morality is a set of psychological adaptations that allow otherwise selfish individuals to reap the benefits of cooperation.’ When on the other hand morality is conditional, and applies varyingly to others depending on their subgroup membership, there are negative effects and public good may have lower

priority. For example the weakening of societal morality in China is attributed by Shambaugh (2013: 154), in large measure, to the tragedies of recent history, and he suggests that below the societal ideal promoted by the party-state is a divided society where ‘Trust is at a minimum, and therefore ... collective action cannot possibly be based on common ideals or values ... a society of individual indifference and lack of collective responsibility. As a result a moral void pervades Chinese society.’

## IMPLICATIONS

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Higher education plays an important part in ensuring that the society it serves is able to remain both progressive and stable, to have, in other terms, high transformative capacity. HE joins with other forces in contributing to the availability of this capacity, and the specific HE effects are thus mixed with many other streams of influence. Nevertheless there are certain qualities that any society needs as it moves forward and that HE has alone been designed to contribute. These are the three catalysts that serve to amplify the encouragement of the ultimate balancing act between change and stability, and so the society’s potential for progressive transformation.

Much theorizing about HE circulates around its priorities. Much current practice is affected by pressures to reshape HE institutions so as to meet rising costs, great increases in demand, and expectations. For many observers these pressures will change HE in ways that threaten its traditional educational ideals (Chomsky 2014; Collini 2012; Ginsberg 2011; Marginson 2014; Neave 2012; Nussbaum 2010; Rothblatt 2007; Schweder 2016). This handbook is full of accounts of how those pressures are being felt and responded to.

But one point can be made that is relevant across the entire debate. It is that the societal complexity faced, under conditions of globalization and the information revolution, has increased exponentially in recent decades. To adapt a society to those conditions, and to keep its internal processes in balance, requires a very high level of informed and reasoned debate. If that debate is kept inside a dominant elite, it may be less effective than if it is held openly for all to contribute to—whether that is through democracy or some other form of order. Whatever that form of order, the contribution of

HE to the catalysts for progress will remain effective insofar as they include critical intelligence, the habit of open social exchange and fusion, and moral ideals of the common good.

Considerations of what should be taught, and how, should remain conditioned by those responsibilities. In expressing such ideas I am in debt to the stimulus of Ronald Barnett (2014: 9) when he suggests that ‘imaginative and even utopian thinking is ... rather thin on the ground and unless it is more in evidence, HE as a social institution is liable to be somewhat rudderless, and will be subject to the buffeting of large global forces’. As does Richard Whitley in Chapter 4, Barnett in Chapter 18 raises the possibility of a loss of university authenticity, the hollowing out of academic autonomy, and its replacement by pragmatic delivering of narrowly focused needs. If so, such a trend justifies deep reflection for its longer-term implications.

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<sup>1</sup> Each of the components of this suggested framework is derived from the development and related literature but because the literature is voluminous, it cannot be fully represented here. A selection suggested is: Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), Bowell and Kingsbury (2015), Collins (1998), Eisenstadt (1996) (for Japan), Evans (1995), Fukuyama (2014), Landes (1998), McCarthy (2009), McClellan and Dorn (2015), McCloskey (2006, 2016), Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003), Mokyr (2002, 2017), North (2005), Shambaugh (2013 ) (for China), Taylor (2016), Toye (2017), Witt and Redding (2014) (for Asia more widely).

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of simplicity of explanation it is assumed that the argument being made is about one society and its people. Of course much of HE is now highly varied in the student body and this has strong implications for (a) how to teach and (b) what learning to expect. Such complexities would still be understandable using the theory presented, as a means of coming to terms with the perhaps subconscious variety in the classroom.

## CHAPTER 3

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# **SOCIALIZING HUMAN CAPITAL FOR TWENTY- FIRST CENTURY EDUCATIONAL GOALS**

*Suggestive Empirical Findings from  
Multinational Research*

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MICHAEL H. BOND AND YIMING JING

O tempora, o mores!

Cicero, *First Oration against Catiline*

EDUCATIONALISTS and visionaries have combined to identify a set of human capacities regarded as necessary for humanity to survive the twenty-first century and, if possible in light of current reality, flourish. As in the past, these qualities are socialized through the various educational institutions available to a society for building human capital, from the family and schooling system to the workplace and the community. These twenty-first century skills include the cognitive capacities, empathetic awareness, and interpersonal skills necessary to mobilize a social system for promoting its members' welfare while functioning within a nexus of increasingly interdependent nations and protecting the habitat upon which all nations and their citizens depend for their continued existence.

We contribute to this agenda by providing some empirical support for the linkages between socialization emphases in a nation and its production

of the human and social capital. In doing so, we exploit the data sets provided by the World Values Survey and other relevant multinational indexes. We identify two axes of socialization emphases by which many of the world's nations may be located and compared in terms of how they currently prepare their human capital to contribute to their societies. We then show the associations between a nation's position in this two-dimensional space and its current citizen profile of psychological characteristics deemed by societal analysts as important for our twenty-first century.

To anticipate our conclusions, we show empirically that certain socialization emphases and educational experiences promotable throughout a nation's social system conduce towards the innovativeness, cooperativeness, and worldly-mindedness necessary to enable the widest possible national and human welfare during the twenty-first century. On the basis of these correlational results, we venture to propose that some nations must adopt these identified socialization emphases more than others in order to contribute more strongly towards humanity's common quest. Social planners, especially in these lagging nations, may then consider these conclusions in designing and reshaping educational institutions to refocus their goals and refashion their procedures in socializing their human and social capital. We attempt to assume a position that is not biased towards simply extending a Western perspective into other societies, but to assess global variations against lessons taken as universal from studies of societal evolution.

## **QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESSED**

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What is the sensible role for higher education in the situation facing different nations during the twenty-first century? How does that role relate to the roles played by other components of a society's system of formal education? How does the system of formal education relate to the wider system of socialization by which succeeding generations are transformed into human capital capable of addressing society's basic concerns with surviving and flourishing? In this process of human capital formation, what considerations must be accorded a given society's particular historical-

cultural legacy and current ecological-social circumstances? Can these questions be addressed in light of available empirical evidence on societal differences in socialization emphases in light of each nation's evolutionary developments to date? These questions orient us towards our subject matter, though some answers will be more preliminary than others.

As depicted in [Chapter 2](#), the current situation faced by all nations on our planet in the twenty-first century signals humanity's shared need to realign and re-prioritize its moral underpinnings and worldviews (Koltko-Rivera [2004](#)). What changes in socializing citizens are required by the times and in which nations are they more needed, so that this century may unfold without game-ending results for humanity? We will attempt to address these weighty questions in this chapter by adducing a patchwork quilt of relevant empirical findings from our research as cross-cultural psychologists.

## **EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL AND PROGRESS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY**

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We must, indeed, all hang together or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately.

Benjamin Franklin (1776)

[Chapter 2](#) has presented a challenging assessment of the current global situation—the world as we have come to know it is under threat. Our common fate must be addressed by this and succeeding generations. As this chapter will propose, the education of human capital throughout the world's nations to an awareness of our perilous present is essential. So, too, is provisioning all people, particularly national leaderships, with the required ethical stance needed to address the many tasks at hand for surviving the twenty-first century; a change in worldviews and an enhancement of related human capacities are required. Higher education has a vital role to play in this game plan.

# **World Citizenship in the Face of Nationalism, Ethnocentrism, and other ‘Isms’**

Political psychology has long examined the variation within and across national groups in the basic liberal-conservative divide that runs through all polities. This intuitive contrast has been extended through cross-cultural studies into a two-factor distinction, labelled Moral Regulation versus Individual Freedom and Compassion versus Competition (Ashton et al. 2005). A country’s position in this two-factor space represents its present social-political orientation. In any state, a citizen will likewise adopt a personal position between these two poles of political attitudes.

Additionally, recent political psychology has focused on more virulent forms of individual response to other groups regarded as threatening. This work began after the Second World War with the extended study at Berkeley of fascism as a personality disposition, and later morphed into the study of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA):

Right-wing authoritarians are people who have a high degree of willingness to submit to authorities they perceive as established and legitimate, who adhere to societal conventions and norms, and who are hostile and punitive in their attitudes towards people who don’t adhere to them. They value uniformity and are in favour of using group authority, including coercion, to achieve it.<sup>1</sup>

Later work on social dominance orientation (SDO) (see Sidanius and Pratto 2001) explores this same psychological territory. The problematic arising from these dispositions lies in their capacity to mobilize like-minded others and generate heated, sometimes violent, confrontation with others identified as out-group members. Dialogue and compromise over contentious ground are lost to animosity before they can start.

Ethnocentrism is similarly problematic in the social dynamic of disrespect and division it may set in motion:

Ethnocentrism is judging another culture solely by the values and standards of one’s own culture ... (Sumner) defined it as “the technical name for the view of things in which one’s own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it.” He further characterized it as often leading to pride, vanity, beliefs of one’s own group’s superiority, and contempt of outsiders.<sup>2</sup>

A similar dismissive and combative response has been associated with nationalism:

Nationalism is a complex, multidimensional concept reflected in the social construction of a communal identification with one's nation ... Nationalism is ... oriented towards developing and maintaining a national identity based on shared characteristics such as culture, language, race, religion, political goals or a belief in a common ancestry.<sup>3</sup>

Nationalistic attitudes can be mobilized in times of threat to one's nation against an identified enemy, as evidence by recent political debates over immigration, terrorism, trade imbalances, and so forth. Nationalism need not present a problem, however, when nations face shared problems requiring joint solutions for their management. A significant sense of interdependence and awareness of our common fate must grow across our planet, so that narrowly focused nationalism and other 'isms' can be transcended by our need to resolve growing shared threats to our survival, and ultimately, our flourishing together.

## **Needed: Identification as a Global Citizen**

A sense of one's identity includes many elements. So, one may identify oneself both subjectively and socially in ways defined by gender, ethnicity, mother tongue, and social class, but also more widely as a citizen of the world. Many would argue that this wider identification as a global citizen is emergent, adaptive, and essential in the twenty-first century.

Banks (2008: 130–1), for example, writes about the problems of unifying groups with different claimed identities within contemporary nation states:

Global immigration and the increasing diversity in nation-states throughout the world challenge liberal assimilationist conceptions of citizenship. They raise complex and divisive questions about how nation-states can deal effectively with the problem of constructing civic communities that reflect and incorporate the diversity of citizens and yet have an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all of the citizens of a nation-state are committed.

Accordingly, Banks advocates an educational agenda to deal with this contemporary reality in many nations:

Students need to develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that will enable them to function in a global society ... As citizens of the global community, students also must develop a deep understanding of the need to take action and make decisions to help solve the world's difficult problems. They need to participate in ways that will enhance democracy and promote equality and social justice in their cultural communities, nations, and regions, and in the world. (Banks 2008: 132, 134–5)

## Educated Skills and Goals for the Twenty-First Century

Calls for reform in citizenship training, like those of Banks (2008), are part of a groundswell of proposals for focusing twenty-first century education on the skills, capabilities, goals, and values necessary to develop and nurture in contemporary populations around the world:

The term *21st century skills* refers to a broad set of knowledge, skills, work habits, and character traits that are believed—by educators, school reformers, college professors, employers, and others—to be critically important to success in today's world, particularly in collegiate programs and contemporary careers and workplaces.<sup>4</sup>

The term ‘skills’ is here being broadly construed to encompass many aspects of a person’s human capital regarded as essential for twenty-first century living. The vigorous discourse on twenty-first century skills has generated wide debate and focused attention on specific aspects of human capital formation that are regarded as crucial for individual and societal survival and flourishing. A loose consensus is emerging.

The following list provides a brief illustrative overview of the knowledge, skills, work habits, and character traits commonly associated with twenty-first century skills:

- Critical thinking, problem solving, reasoning, analysis, interpretation, synthesizing information
- Research skills and practices, interrogative questioning
- Creativity, artistry, curiosity, imagination, innovation, personal expression
- Perseverance, self-direction, planning, self-discipline, adaptability, initiative

- Oral and written communication, public speaking and presenting, listening
- Leadership, teamwork, collaboration, cooperation, facility in using virtual workspaces
- Information and communication technology (ICT) literacy, media and internet literacy, data interpretation and analysis, computer programming
- Civic, ethical, and social-justice literacy
- Economic and financial literacy, entrepreneurialism
- Global awareness, multicultural literacy, humanitarianism
- Scientific literacy and reasoning, the scientific method
- Environmental and conservation literacy, ecosystems understanding
- Health and wellness literacy, including nutrition, diet, exercise, and public health and safety.<sup>5</sup>

This is a heady brew, indeed, wide-ranging and demanding. It is based on the premise that ‘students, who will come of age in the twenty-first century, need to be taught different skills than those learned by students in the 20th century, and that the skills they learn should reflect the specific demands that will be placed upon them in a complex, competitive, knowledge-based, information-age, technology-driven economy and society.’<sup>6</sup>

## The Role of Higher Education

Post-secondary education is an expensive provision in any society. To which students should this costly opportunity be provided, and how financed? Is it a right for persons to be educated to this higher level? Is higher education a sensible investment in a society’s economic and social future, despite its current expense? Which skills and abilities are needed from the citizenry of a nation at this stage of its development, and from what percentage of its citizens? Is the secondary school system well enough developed and oriented to prepare and help select the required talent for such educational investment?

These and other questions about ‘higher education’ are being answered at present by the way a nation currently distributes educational resources to its members. Those answers may be changing, however, as the nation confronts its altering situation as perceived by its decision makers and the mechanisms in place for making, then implementing, those decisions. That future has recently been addressed in a report by the World Economic Forum (WEF) titled, ‘10 skills you need to thrive tomorrow—and the universities that will help you get them’.<sup>7</sup>

The WEF report begins by covering the familiar discourse on the changing nature of work in the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Schwab 2015), then listing the emergent skills required to prepare for surviving and flourishing in this ‘brave new world’. Echoing previous discussions on twenty-first century skills, the report points out that, ‘The problem is that none of these skills are [sic] easy to learn alone, online, or without effort. They take practice, and they demand rich, human interactions.’ It further points out the sobering reality that:

The Fourth Industrial Revolution is also bringing us a new meta-trend: a faster pace of change. There is no doubt that technological trends and the list of skills above will continue to shift over the next five years. Adaptation will be the order of the day. Workers at all levels will need to continue learning new knowledge and gaining new skills throughout their lives.

The WEF report continues by asking, ‘So what does the university of the future look like, and what does it do? It answers, ‘First, the university of tomorrow will focus on imparting cognitive and cross-functional skills, like critical thinking, creativity, collaboration, and complex problem solving.’ It then suggests a variety of already tried and tested procedures for their acquisition. Amidst these educational innovations and applications, the report identifies a necessary meta-skill:

The university of tomorrow will also focus on “learning to learn”. Learning is a lifelong process, and with today’s pace of change, everyone will need the tools to learn throughout life. “Grit” or persistence lies at the heart of the lifelong learning process, so university educators will push students to develop the resilience to master challenging material outside the classroom.

The report adds a sobering warning amidst our current fascination with educational technology—it can assist and promote the development of these skills, but cannot supplant the requirement of ‘richer, deeper human interaction as students learn’.

The report concludes with a bracing reality check: ‘many universities already offer many or all of the educational elements described above, and most are not new ... Yet many universities do not use these models at all, while many others cannot or do not offer them to every student in every discipline. The task ahead is to make these learning experiences more universal and accessible.’

Innovation in educational practices is essential then throughout the educational system in all nations, but especially so at the post-secondary level. These practices need to be geared towards developing these higher-order skills identified as prioritized for twenty-first century requirements and provided for those persons capable of blossoming under such tutelage with the guidance of educators capable of enhancing those skills. Who are these persons, both teachers and students, and how are they produced?

## **BUILDING HUMAN CAPITAL: THE ECO-SOCIAL APPROACH**

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Any given society may be understood as a complex net of factors that combines to produce citizens with certain characteristics. Each citizen’s profile of characteristics will be the result to date of his or her genetic endowment as it plays out in the socialization context of family, peer group, school environments, occupational and social-group niches to which each individual has been and is still being exposed. Each individual from the same society will then acquire a somewhat different profile of psychological characteristics. These characteristics may be termed ‘human capital’ when the individual package of characteristics proves to be socially beneficial.

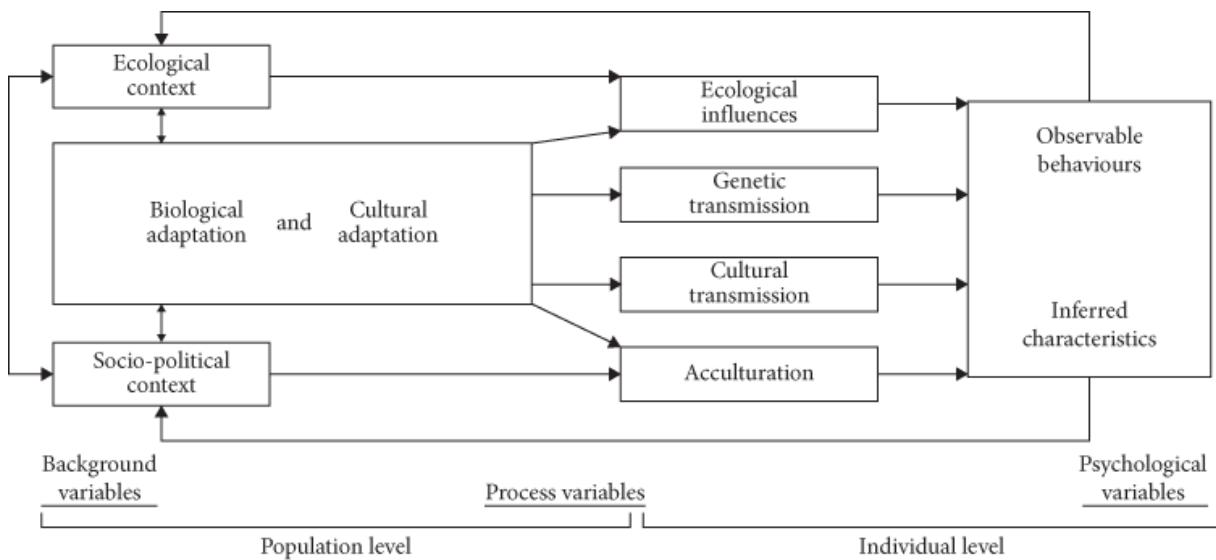
This encompassing socialization context will reflect the historical legacy of that society’s past as translated into the established institutional framework of the society’s economic, legal, educational, and political systems. These systems enable individual human capital to be combined and mobilized in ways that are more or less effective in achieving the society’s goals. Those goals will differ from society to society based on its historical legacy, its current state of development, and the results of its various conflicts and cooperative arrangements with other societies.

Feedback loops in every social system will enable change in goal priorities to occur over time, since societal goals will change and be re-prioritized following successes or failures experienced internally and observed in the international arena.

The foregoing is a restating of the eco-social approach underpinning cross-cultural psychology. As presented by Georgas et al. (2004: 75):

The ecocultural framework ... proposes to account for human psychological diversity (both individual and group similarities and differences) by taking into account two fundamental sources of influences (ecological and sociopolitical) and a set of variables that link these influences to psychological characteristics (cultural and biological adaptation at the population level and various “transmission variables” to individuals—this includes enculturation, socialization, genetics, and acculturation). Overall, the ecocultural framework considers human diversity, both cultural and psychological, to be a set of collective and individual adaptations to context.

A visual-symbolic model illustrates this complex nexus of social-scientific constructs, their interrelationships, and feedback loops ([Figure 3.1](#)). This model provides a heuristic framework for exploring the links among eco-social, ‘background’ variables, the socialization ‘process’ variables by which biological and cultural adaptations are transmitted and inculcated in the human capital of a social system, and the ‘psychological outcomes’ characteristic of that population—its beliefs, values, attitudes, norms, and behaviours. We will try to navigate this complexity by focusing upon the key process concept of socialization goals, especially as they are realized in educational systems. We will focus on twenty-first century ‘skills’ as psychological outcomes of these socialization processes and briefly present some of the eco-social features of nations that we hypothesize to drive and sustain those socialization processes.



**FIGURE 3.1** The eco-cultural model of eco-social factors leading to culture-member psychological features through epigenetic and socialization processes

Source: Berry et al. (1992).

## Socialization for Group Living

Groups of any size are formed by individuals to leverage power and influence in the game of life. That game includes the basic issues of survival—shelter for protection from inclement weather and storage of accumulated resources, food for nourishment and delight, clothing for comfort and display—but also varying personal needs for sociality, social support, and status along with a striving for self-enhancement through creative developments of material and intellectual culture. The cooperation of others is needed to varying degrees in all these endeavours of need fulfilment, so human beings must be socialized to restrain self-seeking, impulsive desires that wreak havoc on group living and result in the isolation, punishment, or elimination of deviates. Groups vary in the norms they establish to protect the group's integrity and maintain its harmony, while promoting the goals of group extension and member satisfaction.

Whatever logic is applicable to understanding groups is applicable to nations, an umbrella political unit encompassing many groups, be they

regional, occupational, ethnic, caste and linguistic, religious, political, or economic groupings of a nation's citizens. Nations are overarching units that have developed over time a system of institutions that can achieve, with varying levels of success, the social requisites of social order and harmony while ensuring citizen needs for survival, predictability, protection from one another, self-enhancement, and self-expression. How does a nation socialize its human capital to achieve these national goals?

## **THE PRESENT STATE-OF-PLAY: NATIONALLY**

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We now move to considering the present international context within which nations socialize their human capital to achieve national goals for national and individual development in the twenty-first century. To do so, we rely upon the data made available through the demographic, economic, social, and political indexing of nations from many sources along with various surveys of populations in these many nations provided by multinational surveys.

We will place special emphasis on data derived from the World Values Survey (WVS).<sup>8</sup> Its initial interview-survey of representative populations from thirteen nations in Wave 1 of 1981 has now been extended to over sixty nations in 2010–14 of Wave 6 representing 75 per cent of the world's population. Questions asked range from the economic and political to the social and psychological, yielding an unparalleled, open-access portrait of the human capital characterizing the constituent nations in the survey. We will rely on those data arising from Waves 5 and 6 of the WVS collected in 2005–9 and in 2010–14 from seventy-nine different nations or political units.

## **Socialization Goals for Children: National Differences**

One approach to assessing the socialization context in a nation is to ask its citizens to indicate the personal qualities they wish to prioritize in the

raising of their children. The WVS does so by requesting respondent interviewees to select a subset of such qualities ‘that children can be encouraged to learn at home’ from a longer listing of desirable qualities. By comparing the relative frequency of qualities chosen for childhood learning across national groups, we can locate nations in terms of their priorities for socializing human capital to meet their present challenges for nation-building.

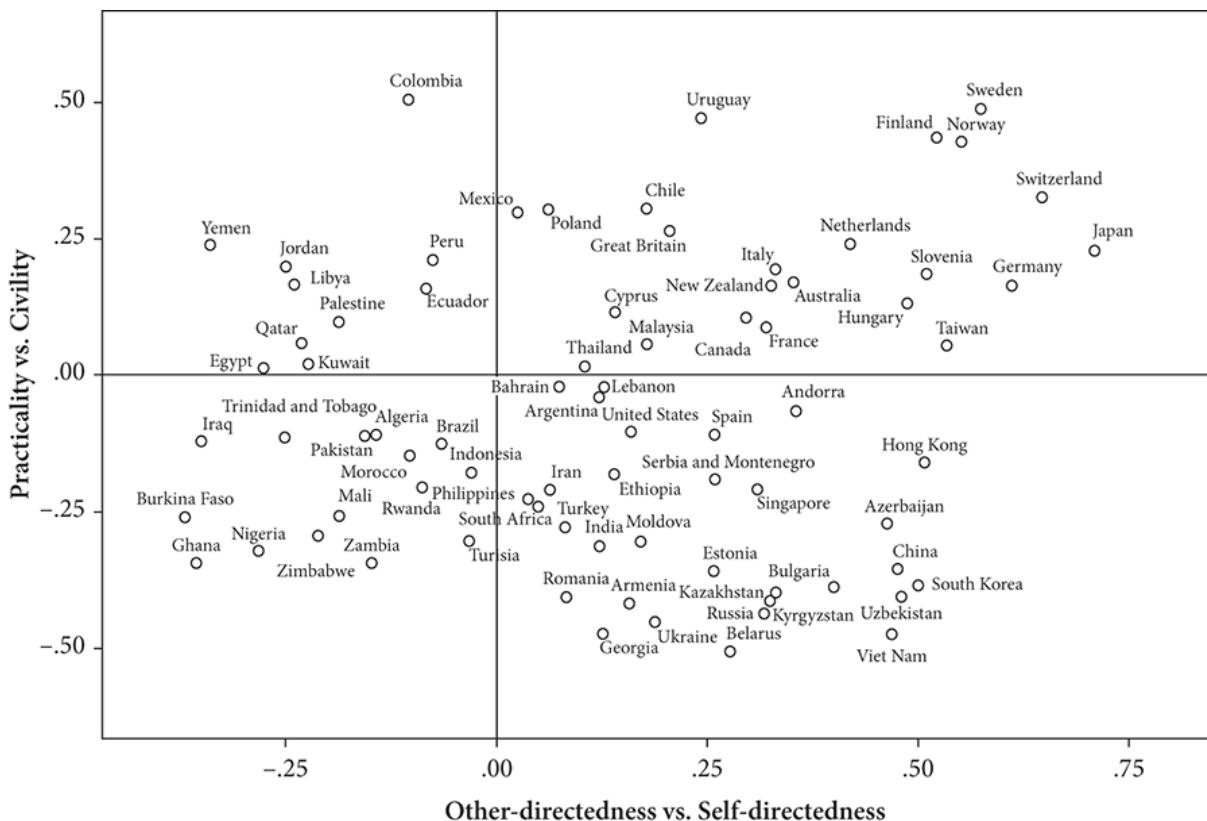
Bond and Lun (2014) analysed Wave 5 data of the WVS and identified two independent factors of socialization that allowed them to array fifty-five nations on a ‘map’ of nations using each nation’s position on the ‘latitude and longitude’ of the two factors or dimensions positioning that nation relative to the other fifty-four nations. These dimensions for the socialization of children were named as Self-directedness versus Other-directedness (S-O) and Civility versus Practicality (C-P):

Self-directedness versus Other-directedness marks the emphasis on socializing individuals to direct their behaviors by themselves (e.g., independence) in contrast to being directed by others (e.g., obedience). Civility versus Practicality concerns the extent to which individuals are encouraged to focus on outcome interdependence among actors, expecting fair play or not ... when striving to live together as opposed to treating others instrumentally; this distinction contrasts a focus on being civil with others (e.g., showing tolerance and respect for other people) as opposed to being practical and self-focused (e.g., being thrifty, saving money and things). (Lun and Bond 2016: 591)

## Extending the Number of Nations Mapped by Socialization Goals

In preparing this chapter, we wished to extend the coverage of nations in Bond and Lun’s (2014) analysis of socialization goals from Wave 5 to include results from Wave 6. To do so, we narrowed the original operationalization of socialization goals by including the strongest definers of each endpoint of the two dimensions in both Wave 5 and Wave 6 analyses. We then reanalysed the Wave 5 and Wave 6 data sets and located the resulting seventy-nine nations using this procedure for positioning each country along the two dimensions (overlapping country scores were averaged). This mapping is represented in Figure 3.2, and a nation’s

position on this two-dimensional grid will be used in subsequent analyses reported later in this chapter.



**FIGURE 3.2** Two dimensions of socialization goals for raising children across 55 nations

## RELATING SOCIALIZATION GOALS TO TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY SKILLS

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Using the eco-social framework outlined previously, we will attempt to relate the two dimensions of national goals for the socialization of children (NGSC) extracted from the WVS to desired psychological ‘skills’ for the twenty-first century. In doing so, we are assuming that, given their derivation from representative samples in each nation, a nation’s position provides an indication of its citizens’ support for these socialization goals and societal initiatives to achieve them. As such, these socialization goals will inform and channel the reward structures for citizen performance found

outside the family and pervade the operating procedures in all the institutions of each nation, a consensual endorsement that McCloskey (2010) regards as essential in sustaining a social system of interdependent individuals. This shared endorsement then shapes the development of human capital within each nation; across nations, their different strength helps explain the different levels of twenty-first century skills currently evident in these seventy-nine nations.

We will concurrently explore how the strength of these skills is amplified by the educational level of the population (the ‘educational advantage’), and how a nation’s socialization goals may further amplify the apparent influence of higher levels of education (‘educational enhancement by socialization context’). These analyses suggest ways in which national policies regarding the socialization of children and the education of a nation’s human capital may promote the acquisition of twenty-first century ‘skills’ in their many psychological manifestations—values, beliefs, attitudes, aptitudes, and attainments.

## **Features of Nations Associated with their Socializing of Children**

Given the feedback loops in the eco-social model presented above, the ecological and social-political conditions characterizing a nation may be considered both a result of the socialization goal profile characterizing a nation (its NGSC) as well as interrelated influences on that socialization profile. So, it is possible to regard the background conditions and psychological outcomes of the eco-social model as joint results, at least in part, of those socialization priorities. For present purposes, we will report the significant associations ( $p < 0.01$ ) between some ecological and socio-political features of nations and their NGSCs. Both Self-directedness and Civility in a nation’s socialization goals for children positively predict and are predicted by:

- (1) the nation’s level of human development (Human Development Index; HDI<sup>9</sup>);

- its competitiveness (the Global Competitiveness Report, World Economic Forum<sup>10</sup>);
- (2) its level of human rights (Freedom House<sup>11</sup>);
  - (3) its level of press freedom (Freedom House<sup>12</sup>);
  - (4) its PPP-adjusted GDP per capita (in the year of 2004; the World Bank<sup>13</sup>);
  - (5) its lower level of corruption (Transparency International<sup>14</sup>); r
  - (6) its lower level of state fragility (Fragile State Index; FSI<sup>15</sup>).

Self-directedness alone predicts:

- (1) a nation's climate harshness (Van de Vliert 2009);
- (2) its level of gender equality (The Global Gender Gap Report, World Economic Forum<sup>16</sup>).

Civility alone predicts:

- (1) a lower level of economic growth in GDP across two time periods, 1999–2008 and 2008–14;
- (2) a higher percentage of its GNP devoted to foreign aid (OECD<sup>17</sup>).

The sourcing of other national indices for other concepts, like birth rate, level of true democracy, ethnic diversity, male–female ratio, percentage of population in agriculture, geographical size of the country, level of parasite stress and so forth, could be extended, since the range of ecological and socio-political ‘background’ variables identified and explored in the literature is extensive, indeed (see Minkov 2013). The point for present purposes, however, is to show their close relationship to NGSCs. Once established as a reasonable and empirically supported premise, we can move on to the key issue for the present chapter, namely, the connection between socialization goals for children in these seventy-nine nations and the twenty-first century ‘skills’ shown by the citizens who developed in these different types of socializing contexts.

## Citizen Outcomes

We will select for analysis those concepts measured multinationally that bear some face-valid connection to the twenty-first century ‘skills’ mentioned previously. As before, we will only report results where their statistical significance is below the more stringent 0.01 level, thereby according greater confidence in the reliability of the reported result.

As previously argued, group survival in the twenty-first century requires that we consider the socialization processes that promote the skills necessary to confront our planetary future and adapt successfully. In [Chapter 2](#), Redding identifies these essential societal capacities or ‘skills’ broadly as cooperativeness and innovativeness, elaborating on their characteristics in specific detail. We propose, however, to expand his cooperativeness domain to explicitly include these twenty-first century underpinnings: the awareness of our common fate as members of an imperilled planet; the realization that zero-sum solutions favouring one’s nation over others are provocative, threatening, and destructive to that common good; and the willingness to make and encourage others to make the personal, social, and international adjustments necessary to save the planet. Without this ‘empathy for the world’, we believe that no amount of innovativeness will save the commons. This same consciousness of wider responsibilities to cooperate is equally valid inside a single society, but now more pressing across societies.

## National Goals for the Socialization of Children (NGSCs) and Level of Education

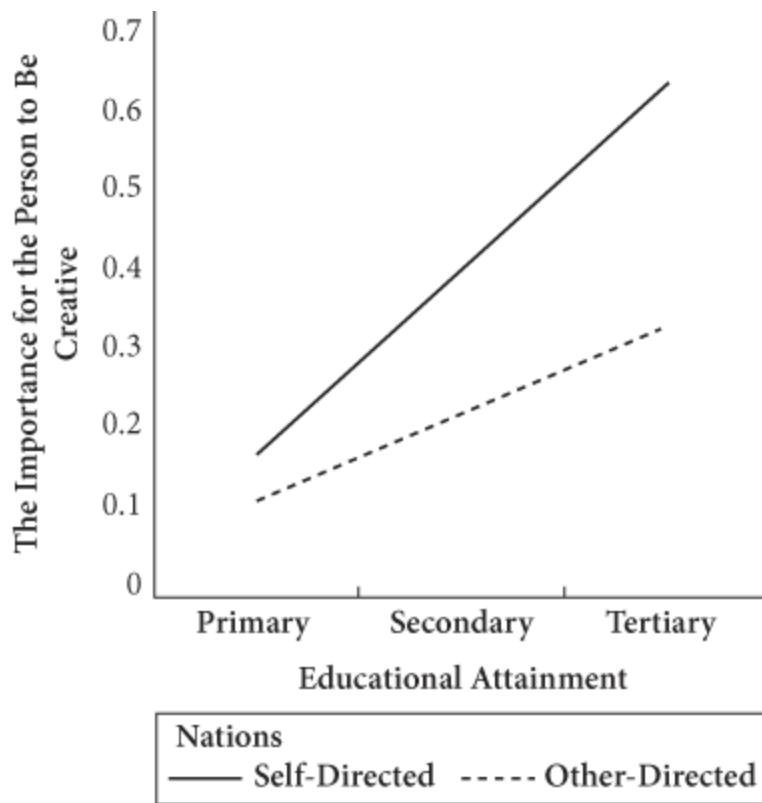
Self-directedness and Civility are two features of a nation’s socialization profile that are only slightly correlated across the seventy-nine countries in our current sample ( $r = 0.12$ , ns). So, if a given twenty-first century skill is associated with *both* Self-directedness and Civility, then their possible ‘influence’ on that outcome is additive—higher Self-directedness and higher Civility yield greater (or lesser) levels of the outcome being targeted.

Otherwise, the association will be specific to the particular dimension of socialization goals identified.

In addition, we will consider whether there is an advantage associated with higher levels of education in each ‘skill’ targeted for analysis. This ‘educational advantage’ will be assessed as a consistent effect across all national groups, but we will note if the national goals for socializing children (NGSC), Self-directedness (versus Other-directedness) and Civility (versus Practicality), are associated with even greater strength in that educational advantage.

**Values.** The term ‘value’ is used rather loosely in general, even social scientific, discourse. In this chapter, we will regard a value as an endorsement of what broad outcome or state of affairs is important to the respondent:

- (1) **Creativity.** After correcting for acquiescence bias, the value attached to creativity ('It is important ... to think up new ideas and be creative; to do things [my] own way') is higher in Civil nations. The value of creativity is also more strongly endorsed by persons with higher levels of education. This educational advantage overall is stronger in more Self-directed nations than in more Other-directed nations; all these outcomes are indicated in [Figure 3.3](#).
- (2) **Protecting the environment.** The value attached to environmental protection ('Looking after the environment is important [to me]; to care for nature') is higher both in Self-directed and in Civil nations.
- (3) **Environment versus economic growth.** Valuing environmental protection when pitted against economic growth was stronger in more Civil nations. There was an educational advantage in this regard, and, as with creativity above, the educational effect was stronger in more Self-directed nations than in more Other-directed nations.



**FIGURE 3.3** Difference in strength of relationship between educational attainment and importance of creativity in other-directed and self-directed nations

**Beliefs.** A belief is a statement about what the respondent says is true about the world in which they function, i.e. beliefs refer to what is true, not what is of value (Leung and Bond 2004). Unfortunately, few beliefs have been measured in multinational surveys (most measure values and attitudes), but we present the more important.

- (1) **The fairness of others.** Whether the respondent believes that, ‘people would take advantage of you if they had a chance or would try to be fair’, is only associated with higher level of national Self-directedness.
- (2) **The role of fate versus personal control.** One question on the WVS (Wave 5) asks interviewees to choose between this assessment of causality (the way things happen in the world)—‘everything is determined by fate versus people shape their fate by themselves’; in Wave 6, a similar question was asked—‘how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way

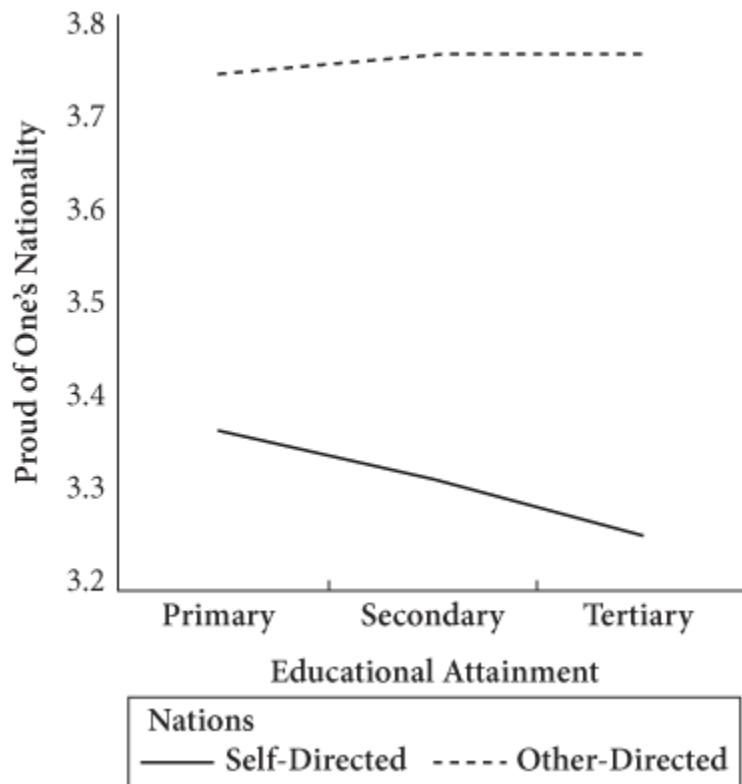
your life turns out'. In both waves, determination of one's fate by oneself is more strongly endorsed in more Civil nations and by more highly educated persons, regardless of nationality, namely, an educational advantage for personal control is found in all nations.

Attitudes towards fellow citizens, strangers, one's nation, and its institutions:

- (1) **Willingness to have out-group members as neighbours.** Respondents indicated their willingness to have 'people of a different race', 'immigrants/foreign workers', 'people of a different religion', and 'people who speak a different language' as neighbours. Citizens of nations higher in Self-directedness showed greater willingness to have such 'people of difference' as neighbours. More educated people indicated more willingness to live close to these out-group members. This educational advantage was more strongly evident in Self-directed nations.
- (2) **Out-group trust.** Trust of unfamiliar persons who fall outside one's daily acquaintance is regarded as an essential component of social capital and as a necessary ingredient of economic success in an interconnected world (Fukuyama 1995). Trust of out-groups enables persons to associate with out-group members securely and in confidence that contracts will be observed. Our current analyses show that it is higher in Self-directed nations. More educated persons show higher trust of out-group persons in all nations, and this educational advantage is more strongly evident in more Self-directed and in more Civil societies.
- (3) **Respect for human rights.** Respondents to the WVS are asked, 'How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in this country?' In contrast to the objective Freedom House ratings reported previously, there were no main effects for Self-directedness or for Civility on this citizen-perceived measure. There is an educational advantage, however, in high Self-directed nations, but none in high Other-directed nations, and in high Civil nations, but none in high Practical nations.
- (4) **Identification with one's nation.** Greater identification with one's nation can be regarded as a component of nationalism, more aligned

with patriotism. National identification was weaker in Self-directed societies than in Other-directed societies.

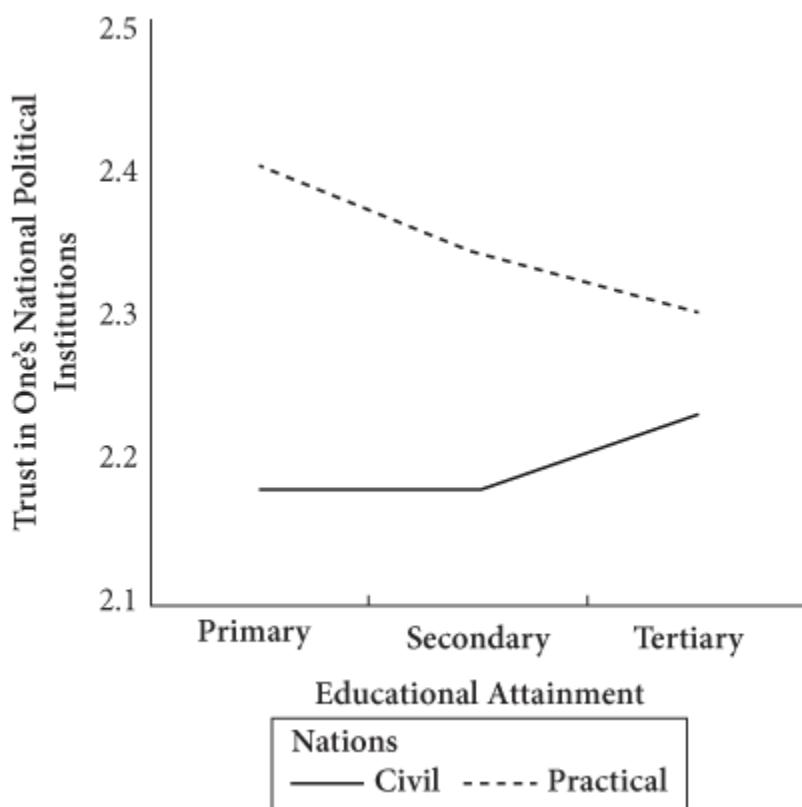
- (5) **Pride in one's nation.** Such pride may be regarded as another component of nationalism. As with national identification, pride in one's nation was weaker in Self-directed societies than in Other-directed societies. There was an educational advantage, i.e. lower pride among the more educated in Self-directed nations, but none in Other-directed nations (see [Figure 3.4](#)).



**FIGURE 3.4** Difference in strength of relationship between educational attainment and pride in one's nation in other-directed and self-directed nations

- (6) **Identification as a world citizen.** Self-directed nations have members more likely to identify themselves as citizens of the world, a component of worldly-mindedness.
- (7) **Trust in one's national political institutions.** Respondents were asked about their confidence in 'central government', 'political parties', 'parliament', and 'civil services'. Citizens of more Civil

nations had less trust in these national political institutions than did citizens in Practical nations. Both Civility and Self-directedness moderated the individual-level effect of education on trusting one's national institutions. In more Practical countries, more educated citizens trusted national institutions less; by contrast, in more Civil countries, different educational cohorts trusted national institutions equally (see [Figure 3.5](#)).



**FIGURE 3.5** Difference in strength of relationship between educational attainment and trust in one's political institutions in practical and civil nations

A similar pattern was found between more Other-directed countries and more Self-directed countries, namely, in more Other-directed nations, educated citizens trusted their national institutions of governance less; in Self-directed nations, there was no difference across educational levels. Higher levels of education are thus associated with less trust of national institutions both in Other-directed and in Practical nations, and thus may be regarded as a destabilizing force in these societies.

Educational attainments, assessments of one's work and life:

- (1) **Educational success.** Self-directedness alone strongly predicts a nation's 2015 PISA scores, a cross-national measure of secondary student achievement in mathematics, science, and reading, separately by academic domain and overall.
- (2) **Educational level attained.** In terms of the percentage of persons in a nation completing a given level of education, only Self-directedness predicts rates of both secondary and tertiary school completion.
- (3) **Completion of post-secondary vocational training.** Analysis of UNESCO data indicates a higher percentage of secondary students entering vocational training in more Self-directed nations.<sup>18</sup>
- (4) **Type of work performed.** The higher the respondent's level of education, the more tasks at work are regarded as being mostly cognitive. The more Self-directed the nation, the greater the 'educational advantage' of doing mostly cognitive work in one's job. These 'tasks at work' are regarded as 'mostly creative' (as opposed to 'mostly routine') in Civil nations. Again, the higher the respondent's level of education, the more tasks at work are mostly creative. As above, the more Self-directed the respondent's nation, the stronger is this 'educational advantage'.
- (5) **Satisfaction with life.** WVS interviewees are asked, 'All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?' The response to this probe may be considered the individual's overall sense about whether his or her years spent in this nation have met fundamental human needs and aspirations across the whole range of human functioning (see Lun and Bond 2016). This self-assessment of life satisfaction is stronger in Civil societies. It also shows an education advantage in all nations, as one might expect given the greater opportunities afforded better-educated persons. However, that advantage is stronger in the more Practical nations compared to the more Civil nations.

## SUMMARY OF RESULTS

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The above results for citizens come from twenty psychological ‘skills’ selected as being important for human capital facing the twenty-first century. Any attempt to integrate these results across such a wide range of outcomes may be an act of hubris in the face of complexity. Nonetheless, some patterns seem apparent.

## **Socializing for Greater Self-Directedness versus Other-Directedness**

The contrast here is between nations the majority of whose citizens, whether parents or not, consider providing children with opportunities for self-discovery through imagining possibilities for alternative ways of doing things and exercising initiative as being more important than embracing the religious traditions of their community and in obeying established authorities. We have argued that this contrasting emphasis on how an institution like the family socializes its human capital will permeate the logic and incentive systems of post-family institutions across the lifespan. In consequence, human capital output from these contrasting socialization environments will differ on average in understandable ways.

So, citizens in more Self-directed compared to more Other-directed nations believe more strongly in the fairness of others; are more welcoming of unfamiliar persons as neighbours, and trust them more; they identify less with their nation and take less pride in their nationality but instead identify themselves more as world citizens. Self-directed nations educate more of their citizens to higher levels beyond primary school, and provide more post-secondary vocational training. Their secondary students excel in international comparisons of academic performance.

These results should be considered in combination with other eco-social findings reported earlier in this chapter. Overall, they reveal nations geared for accomplishment in the material world by protecting the environment, by supporting intellectual development with longer and more effective education for their citizens, and by sourcing competent resources from all sectors of society, including women. There is an openness to unfamiliar others through trusting them, and a sense of being a world citizen rather than a prideful nationalist. This package of ‘skills’ is a prescription for

economic development by widely encouraging personal development through extensive, effective education, cooperativeness with diverse others, human rights protection, and innovation throughout the society.

## **Socializing for Civility**

Civility and its opposite pole, Practicality, presents a contrast between nations the majority of whose citizens, whether parents or not, endorse providing children with educational experiences that promote greater acceptance and support of others as opposed to focusing education on getting ahead in the struggle for survival and material success.

So, on average, citizens of Civil nations, value creativity and environmental protection, but prefer protection of the environment over economic growth, believe persons are more self-controlling than fated, regard their work as requiring more creativity, are less trustful of their national institutions, and are more satisfied with their lives.

As before, these results for Civil nations may be taken in combination with other eco-social findings reported earlier in this chapter. Similar to Self-directed nations, Civil nations provide greater stability, more protection for economic fair play, are wealthier, and provide citizen development through formal education. Distinctively however, Civil nations are more generous with aid to other nations and deliver lower levels of actual economic growth (although being often already at a comparatively high level). Overall, Civil nations provide a fairer, more benign, less materially striving social environment where citizens feel secure to disagree and to be innovative.

## **Socializing Twenty-First Century Human Capital by Providing More Education**

All nations provide some degree of education to some portion and certain categories of their populations, so that graduates of the system may assume the leadership and management roles necessary to maintain that nation, and

if possible, help it progress. All educational provisions are a social expense and represent an investment in a nation's human capital for future return-on-investment. What does that return appear to be for twenty-first century 'skills'?

Regardless of the nation, the higher a respondent's level of education, the greater the yield in these twenty-first century skills—endorsing the values of creativity, protecting the environment, and environmental protection relative to economic growth; a greater belief in self-control rather than fatedness; greater willingness to have unfamiliar others as neighbours, and more trust towards different others; work is perceived as being more creative and as requiring greater cognitive input, and its citizens are more satisfied with their lives. Education thus seems generally to provide greater cognitive emphasis in work life, enhanced interpersonal respect towards others, a sense of personal control, and a personal, social, and physical environment perceived as benign.

## **Providing More Education in Self-Directed and Civil Nations**

Both trust of out-group members and perception of respect for human rights in one's nation are enhanced by education in both Self-directed and Civil nations. Providing more education thus seems to conduce towards even greater social cohesion in nations with these socialization agendas.

## **Providing More Education in Self-Directed Compared to Other-Directed Nations**

Distinctively, higher education in Self-directed nations enhances the value attached to creativity, protection of the environment relative to economic growth, a belief that human rights are respected in one's country, less distrust in political institutions, and a belief that work is more cognitive, and requires more creativity. Higher education in Self-directed nations thus

seems to promote social inclusiveness, environmental concern, and employee perception of a more humane work situation.

## **Providing More Education in Practical Compared to Civil Nations**

The educational advantage for life satisfaction is enhanced in Practical, not in Civil, nations (where satisfaction is already higher). Evidently, the social provisions available in Civil nations allow their citizens to achieve a higher level of life satisfaction than citizens in Practical nations at all education levels, but greater education in Practical nations enables their citizens to flourish relative to their less-educated fellows. Conversely, better-educated citizens in Practical nations trust their national institutions less.

## **Interpretation**

We have identified a set of twenty-first century ‘skills’ whose measures are available for cross-national comparison of representative populations. By analysing results from as many as seventy-nine nations, we cover a wide swath of humanity with these findings. In almost all cases, higher levels of education are associated with higher levels of twenty-first century skills. When citizens of Self-directed or of Civil nations receive higher levels of education, they report higher levels of different twenty-first century skills, but when a better-educated citizen is socialized in both a Self-directed and a Civil nation, as in Sweden, Finland, and Norway, all twenty-first century skills are more fully engaged. The only exceptions to this extensive educational advantage are for better-educated persons in Other-directed nations where they show less trust in national institutions and lower satisfaction with their lives to date than do their less well-educated fellow citizens. Educating members of Other-directed nations seems to enhance their scepticism about society and life.

# THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: WHAT EDUCATIONAL CHANGES ARE NEEDED AND WHERE?

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For now we see through a glass, darkly.

Corinthians 13:12

At this point, we would like to draw some suggestions for practice in national socialization of human capital in the twenty-first century, particularly as they relate to higher education. However, it is clear that we must approach any conclusions from our foregoing analysis with caution. For, if we ‘see’ through these analyses, it is ‘darkly’, and for many reasons:

- (1) Our results are cross-sectional and correlational, requiring a leap of faith to presume direct causality in the processes imputed. So, recommended practices based on such data must be treated as provisional, even though care has been taken to achieve wide representation.
- (2) These results are based on our selection of the available measures that seem relevant to our concerns about the role of higher education in the production of the human capital necessary for national and planetary survival and flourishing in the twenty-first century. Despite our empirical limitations, we present our work as deriving from the defensible assumption that there are linkages between the socialization goals, the educational provision, and the needed qualities identified.
- (3) These results point to a linchpin role of national goals for the socialization of children, but our conclusion does not exclude later discovery of other features playing a significant part in national patterns of human capital development.
- (4) Goals for socializing children must be realized through the many different procedures in training them throughout the life course. So, how is a nation to proceed should it decide to shift and reposition its goals in socializing its human capital? Is there a variety of

nationally acceptable ways to achieve a given set of socialization goals?

Acknowledging these demurals but leaving their study to future research, we will draw what conclusions we consider sensible from the analysis of our planetary situation and the results presented above:

- (1) Each nation would arguably benefit from educating its population for the ‘skill’ profiles deemed above as necessary to cope with the present and emerging situation of the twenty-first century. In addition to the traditional emphases on literacy and numeracy, curricula everywhere should include training on system complexities, global interdependencies, innovation in resource conservation, the danger of exclusionary and virulent ‘isms’, and on solutions to the commons dilemma faced by all people of all nations.
- (2) Given the wide genetic distribution of intellectual capital and trainability of any skill in any nation (e.g. Deary et al. 2010), higher levels of education should not logically be lavished on everyone. However, a nation’s available human potential would be enhanced by improving access to education regardless of a person’s gender, age, social class, and rural/urban residence. Procedures for identifying such talent and potential for development should be implemented to ensure efficient deployment of a nation’s human capital in the face of emerging realities.
- (3) Age-appropriate procedures for training children and learners at any age should be developed and used to enhance the nurturing of more ‘Self-directed and Civil citizens’. The goals of these procedures are to produce broadly informed and innovative members of society who treat others respectfully and understand the necessity of cooperation and self-sacrifice that extends beyond the boundary of traditional in-groups. The socialization procedures and educational activities used should themselves instantiate these goals. Policy makers in Other-directed and Practical nations should thus consider their options for reorienting their socialization procedures in light of these findings for twenty-first century ‘skills’.

These conclusions, and others that may occur to readers of our argument, seem to follow from our analysis of current national situations as revealed through data collected in our recent past. How they may apply to a kaleidoscopically morphing future is uncertain, but surely it would be folly to ignore their suggestive implications. As George Santayana remarked in *The Life of Reason* in 1905:

and when experience is not retained, as among savages, infancy is perpetual. Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.

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<sup>2</sup> <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnocentrism>>.

<sup>3</sup> <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalism>>.

<sup>4</sup> <<http://edglossary.org/21st-century-skills/>>.

<sup>5</sup> <<http://edglossary.org/21st-century-skills/>>.

<sup>6</sup> <<http://edglossary.org/21st-century-skills/>>.

<sup>7</sup> <<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/08/10-skills-you-need-to-thrive-tomorrow-and-the-universities-that-will-help-you-get-them/>>.

<sup>8</sup> <<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>>.

<sup>9</sup> <<http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr14-report-en-1.pdf>>.

<sup>10</sup> <[http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GlobalCompetitivenessReport\\_2014-15.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GlobalCompetitivenessReport_2014-15.pdf)>.

<sup>11</sup> <<https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FIW2014%20Booklet.pdf>>.

<sup>12</sup> <[https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP\\_2014.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP_2014.pdf)>.

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<sup>17</sup> <<https://data.oecd.org/oda/net-oda.htm>>.

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## CHAPTER 4

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# CHANGING THE NATURE AND ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

*The Effects of Funding and Governance Reforms on Universities as Accountable Organizational Actors*

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RICHARD WHITLEY

## INTRODUCTION

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RECENT reforms of higher education (HE) systems in many OECD countries have combined changes in the governance and financing of universities with the intensification of competition between them for resources and prestige (Paradeise et al. 2009; Regini 2011; Seeber et al. 2015; Shattock 2014b). A common theme underlying much of the rhetoric accompanying these reforms has been the need to create more effective universities capable of competing successfully nationally and internationally in the development of high level expertise for elite labour markets and the generation of new scientific knowledge that contributes to the success of the so-called knowledge economy (de Boer et al. 2007; Ferlie et al. 2009; Huisman 2009).

Together with the more general diffusion of the New Public Management (NPM) ideology for restructuring public services that became widely adopted in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly in the Anglophone countries (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011: 9–18), this policy priority has intensified pressures for universities to become independent organizational actors that could be held accountable for their advanced research and teaching activities and contributing to public policy goals (Bleiklie and Michelsen 2013; Enders et al. 2013; Kruecken and Meier 2006; Schimank 2005). As autonomous collective actors responsible for their own performance in a more competitive national and international environment, universities are supposed to be able to acquire and manage human and material resources, develop their own strategic priorities, and be held responsible for their performance on a variety of criteria.

However, given the considerable diversity of HE systems across the OECD member countries and corresponding large differences in the governance and internal structures of universities, it is not surprising that their levels of strategic autonomy and development of distinctive organizational competences continue to vary greatly between countries (Estermann et al. 2011; Paradeise et al. 2009; Regini 2011; Seeber et al. 2015; Whitley 2012). Such variations reflect, amongst other factors, historical differences in university–state relationships, the division of authority between state ministries, national discipline elites, university managers, and senior academic staff, and the nature of funding and governance changes (Gläser 2010; Huether and Kruecken 2016; Whitley 2010b).

In particular, the ways that governments have attempted to reform higher education systems has differed between societies in which universities were largely parts of the state’s public service provision and directly administered by government officials; and those in which universities were legally established as separate state-chartered organizations that employed academic staff directly, could decide which teaching programmes would be provided for students they selected, and controlled the award of degrees. Governments in the more state-centred societies where universities were integral parts of the public administration usually focused on separating universities and academics from the civil service and granting them some operational autonomy and responsibility as distinct organizational entities. This often involved turning universities into formally independent

organizations governed by variously constituted boards, and formalizing competition between them for public funding and research excellence, while delegating some operational discretion to their managers within jointly agreed—or imposed—strategic objectives and profiles (Enders et al. 2013; Klumpp et al. 2014; Meier and Schimank 2010).

In contrast, more liberal, or regulatory, states that have traditionally adopted a custodial approach to societal development (Evans 1995: 11–14, 77–81; Johnson 1982: 19–23) and tended to charter universities as independent organizations have relied more on market-like mechanisms for achieving change. These often included intensifying competition for public funding and scientific prestige between separate, hierarchically managed universities and establishing strong evaluation systems that linked research performance to the level of state support (Whitley and Gläser 2007). In practice, of course, such delegation of responsibility to quasi-market processes for the allocation of resources and coordination of the development of HE has been less than overwhelming in these kinds of societies, not least because the state has been, and remains, heavily involved in constructing and modifying the rules of the competitive game in these markets and is still seen as being politically responsible for the management of the HE system that has a major impact on the careers of elites and elite aspirants (Marginson 2013).

Additionally, OECD states have varied in how they changed the public financing of universities, particularly the extent to which they allowed them to charge tuition fees for foreign and domestic students. Such private funding of universities has varied from zero to well over half their budgets, both between different kinds of universities within national HE systems and between countries (Perotti 2011). Also, the percentage of university budgets dependent on performance-based funding and the procedures governing performance assessment differ significantly between countries in ways that can affect their strategic autonomy and patterns of development (Capano 2011; Claeys-Kulik and Estermann 2015).

In considering, then, how alterations in state funding and management of universities in different countries are changing their nature and behaviour as organizations competing for prestige and resources, it is important to take account of their pre-reform characteristics, established patterns of state coordination and control of universities, and the distribution of authority between different groups and organizations over research and teaching

activities. The extent to which they are able to formulate and implement distinctive organizational strategies and develop collective organizational abilities as a consequence of these changes can be expected to differ considerably between: HE systems; variations in state policies and structures such as those discussed by Bleiklie and Michelsen (2013); and prevalent modes of market governance in different political economies (Crouch 2005; Whitley 1999).

Accordingly, this chapter compares the major organizational characteristics of research universities in differently organized HE systems and how these are changing as a result of the combination of expanded participation in higher education and changing state financing and governance policies in many OECD countries. Initially, I summarize the major contrasts between three ideal types of university in terms of their strategic autonomy and competence to determine their own development as organizational actors, on the one hand, and their ability to integrate the core activities of research and teaching and direct these towards central university objectives, on the other hand. I then discuss the ways in which governments in societies with predominantly state-administered, or hollow, universities have developed and implemented reforms in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and consider how these changes are likely to affect their development as organizational actors. In the following section, I summarize the changes in funding and management that many governments in countries with predominantly state-chartered universities have implemented and discuss their likely impact on their strategic autonomy and development of distinctive organizational capabilities.

## **TYPES OF UNIVERSITIES AS ORGANIZATIONAL ACTORS**

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The two major aspects of universities that distinguish their actorhood as separate organizations concern their ability to make and implement decisions about their own activities, direction, and structures as autonomous collective entities, on the one hand; and their authoritative integration and direction of organizational activities in the pursuit of collective purposes, on the other hand. If universities are to be held responsible for their success in

meeting market demands and providing valued services as independent entities, then they both have to be able to make their own choices about which services to provide and on what terms to which groups of consumers, and to be able to organize and direct service provision sufficiently coherently and distinctively to be accountable as discrete entities.

Considering first their strategic autonomy and identity, this encompasses at least three aspects: first, the ability of each organization, usually as represented by its senior managers, to decide which kinds of research and teaching activities are to be undertaken; second, their authority to select the staff to carry out those activities, and on what terms, as well as the recruitment and assessment of different groups of students; third, their ability to decide the internal authority structure governing core activities and the allocation of resources between them, including their reallocation.

The direction and coordination of organizational activities involves a further three dimensions: first, the degree to which universities' managers are able to decide how research and teaching activities should be organized and carried out; second, the extent of their authority over academic careers and rewards; third, their ability to coordinate and direct research and teaching activities to achieve organization-specific objectives and develop distinctive organizational capabilities in a comparable manner to firms in competitive markets (Metcalfe and James 2000; Penrose 1959; Richardson 1998; Whitley 2010a).

These six dimensions enable us to summarize the major organizational variations between universities in different HE systems as three ideal types. These represent three kinds of organizations, that differ greatly in their capabilities and governance, to function as integrated collective actors pursuing particular priorities, and so in their accountability for contributing to public policy goals. These can be labelled as **hollow**, **state-chartered**, and **corporate** universities and their characteristics in terms of these six dimensions are listed in [Table 4.1](#).

**Table 4.1 Characteristics of three ideal types of universities as organizational actors**

Characteristics	Types		
Degree of organizational autonomy over:	Hollow	State-chartered	Corporate
Choice of core research and teaching activities	Very Limited	Considerable, subject to public policies governing teaching programmes, public sector recruitment, and funding conditions	High for private universities governed by independent trustees, lower for publicly supported universities
Recruitment of academic staff and students	Very limited	Considerable, subject to scientific communities' standards and to government restrictions on student numbers and fees	High, subject to scientific communities' standards and labour market demands
Authority structures and allocation of resources	Very limited	Considerable within the scope of their charters, shared with scientific communities and professional associations	High, shared with scientific communities and professional associations
Degree of organizational authority over:			
Conduct of core activities	Very limited	Limited	Limited
Academic careers and rewards	Very limited	Some, subject to scientific communities' standards and academic entrepreneurs	Considerable, subject to scientific communities' standards and academic entrepreneurs
Direction and integration of core activities to achieve organization-specific goals and capabilities	Very limited	Limited by disciplinary allegiances and priorities	Some ability to focus resources and skills on priority fields but limited by disciplinary allegiances and priorities

## HOLLOW UNIVERSITIES

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Hollow universities have hardly any independent decision making authority separate from state ministries and are unable to determine their own priorities and core activities as autonomous organizations. Essentially, they

are subordinate units of the state administration in each region or country in which authority over research and teaching activities is largely shared between the bureaucratic hierarchy, on the one hand, and disciplinary elites and senior professors, on the other hand. Often the ostensible leaders of such universities are elected for relatively short periods of time from the academic staff and return to their usual academic roles at the end of their terms of office. As integral parts of the state, their budgets are determined annually, usually on a line-by-line basis for each post and activity as approved by the appropriate ministry, and their ability to raise and retain extra revenues from other activities and services is quite limited.

Developing new teaching programmes, and lines of research that involve new resources or the reorganization of existing units and posts, typically requires the approval of state officials and often the consent of current senior professors. Most academic and administrative staff in such universities are state employees whose terms and conditions of employment are determined by ministries, not universities, and authority over their mobility and promotions is also shared between officials and members of the academic ‘oligarchy’ (Capano 2011; Clark 1983: 201–2) rather than being a matter for each university. Additionally, the organization of research and teaching activities within hollow universities is quite standardized with the basic administrative units responsible for conducting them being structured in much the same way throughout the whole HE system, whether these are the integrated research and teaching institutes of the Humboldtian university or the faculties of the more Napoleonic HE system (Clark 1983: 125–7; Dobbins et al. 2011; Regini 2011).

Universities approximating to this ideal type were typical of many, if not most, HE systems in continental Europe, Japan, and some other Asian political economies, as well of course as those in state socialist societies (Clark 1983; Coleman 1999; Huang 2015; Oba 2014; Wittrock 1993). While the balance of authority between state officials and elite academics may have shifted somewhat towards the latter in post-Second World War Europe, the fundamental pattern of very limited organizational autonomy and cohesion remained for much of the twentieth century in these countries. As Regini (2011: 3) puts it: ‘the traditional governance models of the universities of continental Europe [are] aptly described as sets of lecturers organized into faculties headed by a minister’ and university administrators functioned more as mediators of conflicts between academic interest groups

than as organizational managers able to develop and implement distinct organizational interests that override those of the academic oligarchy, particularly in Italy (Ballarino and Perotti 2011).

## STATE-CHARTERED UNIVERSITIES

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State-chartered universities have more independence from the state and a greater ability to organize their activities in distinctive ways. A particularly important feature of this type is their status as employers. Both academic and administrative staff are employed directly by universities who are able to make their own selection of recruits, and decide—at least formally—their conditions of employment and promotion in a comparable manner to private companies. Usually chartered by the state as distinct, separate, and independent corporate entities dedicated to advanced research and teaching, such universities are able to award degrees and other qualifications to students who have successfully completed programmes designed and taught by their academic staff in accordance with their own procedures. Typically, their public funding is allocated as a block grant that can, in principle, be distributed between different activities and groups at the discretion of each organization, within broad guidelines set by state agencies mediating between ministries and individual universities.

However, this considerable formal independence from the state enshrined in their charters is often modified and constrained in practice as the state becomes more directly involved in funding student places and faculties (Shattock 2014a; Trow 1993). As governments took on more responsibility for supporting higher education in the twentieth century, especially for expensive programmes in medicine and laboratory sciences, they increased their influence on student numbers and how these were allocated between universities. With the expansion of state support for academic research in the second part of the twentieth century, as well as increasing numbers of undergraduate and postgraduate students as part of the growing institutionalization of national systems of HE, the role of the state in managing this system became more significant, with funding agencies undertaking subject reviews and transferring resources between

universities, as in the case of the United Kingdom's University Grants Committee (Martin and Whitley 2010).

The ability of chartered universities' managers to determine their direction and development has also been limited by their charters bestowing considerable powers on academic senates, particularly over degree programmes and staff appointments. Usually composed of senior academic staff together with some student and junior academic representation, senates are responsible for the academic direction and functioning of this kind of university and, at least formally, restrict the ability of presidents and vice-chancellors to act against the wishes of their senior colleagues. Additionally, of course, managerial authority over what research should be done, by whom, and how it should be conducted, is limited by ignorance of the multifarious intellectual disciplines and specialisms that academics contribute to the dominant role of extra-mural scientific elites in assessing the worth of employees' research. The more that research reputations become critical to the status of universities, and their ability to attract the best students and resources, the more managers have to share authority with researchers and their intellectual communities.

Universities similar to this ideal type are found in twentieth-century Britain and many of its former colonies, especially the Anglophone ones with the exception of the United States (Clark 1983; Shattock 2014a). While the role of the state became much more significant in determining student numbers, particularly in high cost fields and those training staff for the public services, and in encouraging universities to contribute more directly to socio-economic goals as it assumed greater responsibility for their finances, their independence as self-governing institutions remained largely unquestioned until the 1980s in the United Kingdom and other Anglophone societies.

## CORPORATE UNIVERSITIES

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Corporate universities are the most autonomous type and, in principle, are able to determine their own development as advanced research and teaching organizations. Usually governed by lay boards of trustees who are responsible for the financial and educational health of 'their' university and

the appointment of the chief executive or president, each university can decide its own priorities, which activities to undertake, and how to obtain the required human and material resources and organize them best to achieve its objectives. In principle, then, the design of teaching programmes, recruitment of students and teachers, level of student tuition fees, assessment of performance and award of degrees, and allocation of resources to different activities and purposes are decided independently by separate organizations in HE systems dominated by these kinds of universities.

Authority is here concentrated in the hands of the president and senior managerial staff, subject in principle to the oversight of the trustees, with academic employees having little or no formal authority over the direction of university development, the allocation of resources, or the recruitment and reward of researchers and teachers. The organization of research and teaching activities, their coordination and modes of contribution to collective organizational goals, are the responsibility of the managerial hierarchy that is separate from the bulk of academic employees. However, managers' ability to organize the division of scientific labour, determine research priorities, and assess the intellectual value of results remains as restricted by the dominant authority of scientific communities as it is in the other kinds of research universities.

The dominant example of such corporate universities in the twentieth century has been the privately run university in the United States (Geiger 1986; Thelin 2004). As Trow (1993: 292) has suggested:

In the case of the US ... almost without exception our colleges and universities have been created by a group of laymen who selected a president to actually direct and manage the day-to-day life of the institution. And this founding body and its successors ... together with their chosen agent (the president), have occupied the leading positions of authority and power in American colleges and universities, and still do.

While the extent of strategic autonomy and hierarchical concentration of authority in the leading private US universities may have become somewhat attenuated in the second half of the twentieth century as the federal government became more involved in financing university research and student support, their overall level of independence from the state remains considerable.

However, the unilateral exercise of managerial authority over academics' careers and resource allocation in leading US universities has undoubtedly been limited by the ability of professors to obtain substantial extra-mural resources independently of their employers and increased competition between them for gaining prestige through attracting the most productive and scientifically renowned researchers. As research success has become more critical to US universities' status and ability to attract resources, the authority of national and international scientific elites over academics' careers has increased and reduced the ability of managers to coordinate and direct research and teaching activities across disciplines and specialisms in the pursuit of organizational objectives as distinct from being limited to providing support for a more fragmented and divergent set of activities (Bowen and Tobin 2015).

## **THE IMPACT OF FUNDING AND GOVERNANCE REFORMS ON HOLLOW UNIVERSITIES**

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Reforms made by governments in countries where universities were part of the state administration typically included: changing the provision and distribution of public funding for universities; turning them into public corporations; delegating some discretion over the choice of, and allocation of resources to, different activities; and transferring authority over their internal organization and employment relationships. An initial step towards turning hollow-like universities into strategically autonomous organizations has often meant their incorporation as separate legal entities governed by independent boards or councils that have significant external, i.e. non-academic, membership. These boards are usually responsible for appointing the rector or president of the university, approving major strategic decisions, and ensuring financial stability. The more their membership is selected by the university itself, typically through invitations from the current Chair, and the more they can decide the terms and conditions of senior managers' appointments and the priorities they are supposed to pursue, the more likely these universities will develop some strategic autonomy as distinct organizations.

However, in many states these decisions remain heavily influenced, if not determined, by government officials. In the Netherlands, for example, the supervisory boards of universities are appointed by the ministry (Enders et al. 2013) and few continental European states delegate the selection of all external board members to universities, particularly their Chairs (Engwall 2014). The majority of these countries' governments also continue to specify the terms of office of university rectors as well as regulating the procedures governing their dismissal (Estermann et al. 2011).

Additionally, few, if any, states with these kinds of universities have actually carried out consistent reforms that delegated high levels of discretion over the choice of scientific fields to be actively researched and of teaching programmes offered, as well as over student admissions, assessment, and certification, despite much rhetoric to the contrary (Capano 2011; Hanada 2013; Oba 2014; Paradeise et al. 2009). In much of continental Europe, Japan, and other societies where the state has historically administered universities these decisions depend on agreements with government ministries and/or state-established accreditation agencies (Kehm 2014; Regini 2011; Stensaker 2014). Increasingly, university teaching is subject to a variety of quality assessments, usually conducted by a public agency, which may have financial consequences (Claeys-Kulik and Estermann 2015).

While, then, some reforms have formally delegated authority over the selection and designation of certain core activities to such universities in a number of countries, their substantive strategic autonomy remains constrained by the continued high levels of dependence on state funding for research and teaching, as well as the need to gain the approval of state created accreditation agencies in many cases. Additionally, governments have often coupled the formal corporatization of universities as distinct legal entities that directly employ academic and administrative staff with the imposition of increasingly elaborate and detailed performance monitoring measures and variously negotiated contracts that tied financial support to the achievement of specific outcomes (European Universities Association 2017). Especially since the 2008–9 financial crisis, the combination of steady state or reduced public funding of higher education and intensified regulation of university performance has greatly restricted the substantive autonomy of universities in many countries, as Enders et al. (2013) have recently emphasized in the case of the Netherlands.

Furthermore, the incorporation of universities as separate organizations accountable to the state for their performance has led a number of governments to pressure them to focus their research on particular areas and types of sciences through multi-year ‘contracts’ agreeing the building of distinctive profiles of activities and achievement of particular results (Klumpp et al. 2014). Although much of such profile building by formerly hollow universities was supposed to be a bottom-up process initiated by each organization and subsequently agreed by state authorities (Meier and Schimank 2010), and so might be expected to increase their strategic independence, it seems that some governments have begun to use financial pressures and negotiations over performance targets to encourage universities to follow state priorities in their research strategies (Seeber et al. 2015).

Even when this top-down planning of university research is not directly imposed by state agencies, in situations of financial stringency university managers often anticipate government priorities and try to allocate resources accordingly, as in the Netherlands (Laudel and Weyer 2014). Clearly, where such state guided profiling and contracting is reinforced by public research foundation priorities and severe financial constraints on universities, they have much less substantive strategic autonomy than might be expected from the advocates of NPM, and are unlikely to pursue goals and strategies that deviate greatly from current policy priorities.

Similarly, while the move by many governments to replace line budgeting of public funding by the allocation of block grants to university management might increase their strategic autonomy, this has often been rather more constrained by state regulations and priorities in many countries than much of the NPM rhetoric suggested (Estermann et al. 2011; European Universities Association 2017). Where governments have: prevented universities from retaining annual surpluses; restricted their use of block grants by hypothecating some parts of these for specific purposes; and limited their ownership and disposal of buildings and land, their financial independence has been quite limited (Kehm 2014). In general, many of these states have established new sets of regulations governing financial decisions and resource allocation processes, often imposing quite detailed and restrictive rules with elaborate control and accountability processes, as in France (Boitier and Rivière 2013, 2016).

Another way in which hollow universities have been encouraged to gain some independence from the state is by diversifying their sources of revenue, particularly for research projects and consultancy but also by charging foreign students considerable tuition fees for postgraduate programmes. Additionally, where states have introduced tuition fees for the bulk of domestic students that are paid directly to universities, we might expect them to gain financial autonomy. However, student fee levels for most home undergraduates in continental Europe and elsewhere remain quite low and are decided by governments rather than by universities (Marginson 2013), thus limiting their scope for accumulating significant financial reserves that could enable them to exercise strategic discretion.

Turning to consider the development of hollow universities' strategic autonomy in deciding internal organizational structures and employment practices, there is little doubt that granting them discretion over their academic structures, and turning them into employers, represent major shifts in their collective identity and responsibility. In principle, they mean that university managers should be able to reorganize faculties and departments in their pursuit of particular strategies, decide whom to appoint and on what terms, and how to reward and sanction staff as independent employers. However, in practice, such autonomy has been less than might be expected.

Particularly in more corporatist political economies with entrenched collective bargaining institutions, university managers are quite constrained by established rules and procedures, national pay scales, and strong labour unions. Additionally, in some countries recruitment to senior academic positions remains dependent on the judgements of national disciplinary committees and academic 'oligarchs' (Chatelain-Ponroy et al. 2014; Clark 1983; Moscati 2014) that select those appointable, as well as deciding on bonus payments and other aspects of reward policies.

In sum, then, the growth of these universities' substantive strategic autonomy as a result of removing them from state administrative structures and making them responsible for financial and other outcomes has been limited by a number of conflicting policies and practices. These include: (a) the continued high dependence on state financing, (b) state setting of targets and public policy goals for individual universities through contracts and profiles, (c) the establishment of detailed and sometimes intrusive performance monitoring regimes often implemented by newly authoritative

accreditation and evaluation agencies, and (d) the strength of national and international scientific elites.

Similarly conflicting changes and continuities have affected their ability to develop distinctive, organization-specific capabilities and achieve collective objectives by coordinating and steering research and teaching activities. A number of changes in the financing and evaluation of universities could be expected to support such managerial development within the overall constraints stemming from the high levels of uncertainty involved in these activities (Boitier and Rivière 2016; Musselin 2007; Whitley 2008; Whitley and Gläser 2014). These include: (a) the centralization of resource allocation resulting from the move to block grant funding, (b) the centralization of control over applications for funding from external agencies and over submissions to accreditation and evaluation agencies, (c) increasing competition for students and correlative need for the university as a whole to provide enhanced student services and support, and (d) the vertical integration of authority hierarchies through the top-down appointments of faculty deans and department heads.

According to Seeber (2013), many of these factors have helped to enable Twente University in the Netherlands to steer research strategies in fields that benefit from institutional and cognitive complementarities such as the biomedical sciences—but not so much in other types of science. In the case of recent reforms in France, Musselin (2014) has suggested that the use of peer review to evaluate research contributions and the channelling of applications for funding and submissions to evaluation agencies through the central management of universities have enhanced the legitimacy and authority of senior managers. As the state makes universities responsible for achieving particular results, the more their senior managers could justify their authority over resource (re-)allocation and the restructuring of groups, departments, and faculties, in terms of their accountability for the performance of the entire organization.

However, the dominant role of diverse scientific communities in setting research priorities and the standards governing the assessment of intellectual contributions, limits the authority of university managers over scientific activities and their ability to generate academic commitment to organizational goals and strategies. The more that the state and other extra-mural agencies pressure universities to become excellent and competitive in terms of international achievements, the more difficult it becomes for such

managers to focus academic activities and skills on organization-specific objectives to generate novel collective competences in a comparable manner to those developed by many private companies.

Similar points apply to most forms of research commercialization and business collaboration. These rely a great deal on the efforts of individual academic entrepreneurs and groups rather than on the initiatives of central university service groups who typically are highly dependent on scientists being willing to inform them of potential commercial possibilities and to work with them to realize these. Particularly in universities that cover a diverse range of subjects, and address many separate audiences, the ability of central university managers to make informed and effective decisions about such matters without relying on peer group judgements and field-specific knowledge remains very limited and inhibits the achievement of collective integration of goals, skills, and knowledge across established intellectual and organizational boundaries (Gläser et al., 2010).

Furthermore, the widespread limitation of periods of office in many managerial positions, such as rector or dean, and continuation of appointment arrangements that involve collective election or approval from academic bodies in some form in many European countries (Huether and Kruecken 2016), are likely to limit the degree of integration of authority throughout the administrative hierarchy as these manager-academics may feel pressured to further the interests of their electorate rather than those of the top management group pursuing university-wide objectives, as Musselin (2014) has suggested is the case in some French universities. This highlights the strong fissiparous tendencies in many hollow-like universities where senior academics have traditionally had closer ties to state agencies and advisers dealing with their discipline than to their local universities. Thus, we would expect it to be more difficult to establish integrated authority structures throughout each university in the more ‘Napoleonic’ higher education systems and where appointment to managerial positions is through election or other forms of academic approval than where they are selected in more of a top-down process (Regini 2011; Shattock 2014b; Woolf 2003).

These kinds of universities are unlikely, then, to develop much organization-wide coordination and steering of research and teaching activities, and hence distinctive organization-specific capabilities, in societies where: (a) discipline elites remain powerful at the national level in

judging competence and merit, and hence academic careers, (b) competition for students is weak, (c) managerial authority remains weakly vertically integrated, and (d) central managerial discretion over the use of financial and other resources is relatively low. Together with continued restrictions and/or specific national procedures governing academic promotions, salaries, and dismissals in a substantial number of European countries, these arrangements constrain managers' willingness to undertake, and capacity for, restructuring universities and greatly altering their established portfolio of activities.

Overall, despite many of these universities becoming employers and being granted formal powers over their internal organizational structures, their ability to generate significant levels of organizational commitment to the university as a whole and develop organization-specific capabilities in research and teaching activities remains quite constrained and is unlikely to increase in the short to medium term. Continued dependence on annual state budgets that are subject to revision and unpredictable shifts in priorities prevents universities from building up reserves. It thus prevents them from maintaining substantial centrally-controlled resources for investment in strategic priorities. These restrictions make their transformation into organizations similar to state-chartered universities—let alone to those dominating the US higher education system—most unlikely.

Rather, a number of them seem to be developing into a different kind of university, which could be termed 'state-guided' as summarized in [Table 4.2](#). This combines formal or procedural autonomy from the state with high levels of dependence on public funding, state regulated competition, and frequent performance assessments. State-guided universities have separate legal identities with their own governing body, management structure, and employees, but the state exercises considerable influence over the appointment of external members of their boards, the conditions of appointment of their top managers—and often retains veto rights over who is appointed to these posts—the establishment and closure of teaching programmes as well as student assessment procedures and fee levels, and the institutionalization of accountability and performance measures that often have financial consequences. Additionally, research and teaching activities in these kinds of universities are subject to government steering towards public policy priorities through guidance given to research funding agencies and direct support for particular fields.

**Table 4.2 Characteristics of state-guided universities as organizational actors**

Characteristics	State-guided universities
Degree of organizational autonomy over:	
Choice of research and teaching activities	Formally considerable, but limited by continued strong state influence on governing bodies, appointment of top managers, teaching programmes, student admissions and fees, and activity profiles, tight state funding constraints, performance-based financing, dependence on extra-mural project support, strong research evaluation systems
Recruitment of academic staff and students	Formally considerable, subject to scientific communities' standards, state influence over student numbers, and public policy priorities
Authority structures and allocation of resources	Formally considerable, subject to state funding and priorities
Degree of organizational authority over:	
Conduct of core activities	Limited
Academic careers and rewards	Some, subject to scientific communities' standards and academic entrepreneurs
Direction and integration of core activities to achieve organization-specific goals and capabilities	Some ability to focus resources and skills on public policy priorities but limited by disciplinary allegiances and priorities

The combination of tight financial constraints, extensive performance-based funding, top-down profiling of research strategies and teaching programmes, and short-term accountability and performance assessments by state agencies seems likely to restrict such universities' willingness and ability to invest in costly areas of research that have considerable intellectual potential but do not fit in with public policy priorities or readily meet dominant epistemic standards. To some extent, this appears to have happened in the Netherlands in the first decade of this century where experimental research in evolutionary-developmental biology has almost

ceased and studies of Bose-Einstein condensates has declined (Gläser et al. 2014; Laudel and Weyer 2014). In contrast, where some elements of the NPM programme involving increased university autonomy and competition for scientific reputations have been coupled with continued generous funding of universities' block grants and public research councils' budgets without a great deal of state steering of research priorities, universities can gain greater strategic autonomy, as appears to be the case in Switzerland (Benninghoff et al. 2014; Laudel et al. 2014a, 2014b).

Similarly, these universities' authority over academic staff recruitment and careers is limited by their dependence on the judgements of disparate scientific communities in assessing the worth of their work and investing in different areas of expertise and problems. As governments establish strong research evaluation systems that assess universities' performance in terms of their contribution to the intellectual goals of different specialisms (Whitley and Gläser 2007), managers' ability to integrate research activities across disciplines towards the accomplishment of organizational objectives and development of organization-specific competences is quite limited. Furthermore, in a number of countries traditional connections between academic oligarchs and ministerial officials, national competitions for senior academic positions, and, in the case of Italy, a strong parliamentary representation of academic barons, continue to restrict universities' influence over careers and other rewards (Capano 2011; Chatelain-Ponroy et al. 2014; Woolf 2003).

## **THE IMPACT OF FUNDING AND GOVERNANCE REFORMS ON STATE-CHARTERED UNIVERSITIES**

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Some of the recent reforms to the funding and governance of state-chartered universities have resembled those applied to more hollow universities in combining reductions in the growth, and sometimes the level, of public support for academic research and teaching, with pressures to adopt more hierarchical management structures, the establishment of new systems for evaluating the performance of universities, and steering public research

funding towards policy priorities (Seeber et al. 2015). However, governments have tended here to focus more on the intensification of competition between universities as separate organizations for publicly provided resources as the primary means of increasing their efficiency, and the use of formalized, published evaluations to stimulate rivalry, rather than direct ministerial involvement in developing individual contracts and profiles for public policy purposes. At least publicly, states with these kinds of universities have preferred to maintain their arm's length, remote role in steering university development and relied on quasi-market mechanisms, particularly financial incentives and sanctions, to influence research and teaching activities and limit the growth of public expenditure on higher education, following what Marginson (2013) has termed a Neo-liberal Market Model.

In some cases, they have introduced tuition fees for home students as well as for foreign ones as a way of reducing public expenditure on higher education and increasing the diversity of universities' income streams. To the extent that such fee income does become a significant and reliable component of their annual budgets over time, it could enhance their independence from the state and encourage them to compete more vigorously for students, typically by providing better services and facilities and more prestigious qualifications for elite labour markets, rather than by reducing the cost of tuition. The growing importance of such varied income sources coupled with increasing revenues from research commercialization and other fundraising activities carried out by universities could increase their financial independence and enable them to pursue distinctive strategic choices.

It is, though, worth emphasizing that most competition between research universities for domestic students remains focused on their intellectual quality and potential rather than for larger student numbers and increasing fee income. In most cases, students compete for entry to these universities as they tend to be the most socially prestigious and advantageous for career opportunities, so such universities can continue to be highly selective and do not need to invest as heavily in student support services and facilities to attract undergraduates and expand the number of non-academic employees quite as much as many US universities have done (Marginson 2006, 2013). While this may begin to change as direct state support for teaching declines and fees increase, as has happened in the United Kingdom (Shattock 2013,

[2014a](#)), a more common response may well be to reduce the number of universities offering degree programmes in less popular subjects.

State-chartered universities' autonomy from governments remains limited by continued ministerial control over the allocation of substantial resources in most countries, particularly those derived from undergraduate student numbers and fee levels. Additionally, where there are limited national opportunities for gaining resources for core academic activities from non-state agencies and sectors, such universities continue to be highly dependent on public funding, and the state as a whole, even as the level of that support is declining ([Marginson 2013](#)). This is especially so in countries where universities have been developed by the state without establishing much economic and political independence, as in Australia ([Marginson and Considine 2000: 53–9](#)).

In these societies, governance reforms have often been imposed more directly and intrusively from the centre than in countries where elite universities had longer established independence, as in the United Kingdom. In the former societies there have been quite detailed requirements regarding internal structures and processes, including extensive benchmarking, in imitation of private companies ([Meertens 2013](#)). The combination of reduced public support, standardization of governance arrangements and performance indicators, as well as intensified competition for resources in a homogeneous quasi-market has considerably restricted universities' autonomy from state priorities and procedures despite official rhetoric to the contrary ([Marginson and Considine 2000: 215–32](#); [Wood and Meek 2002](#)).

Such cases highlight some more general points about the effects of increasing competition for limited—and sometimes severely reduced—public funding through the imposition of detailed regulations standardizing the rules of the game to ensure the so-called level playing field. The more states insist on treating universities as identical kinds of organizations competing for scarce resources according to uniform rules that reward specific kinds of activities and competences, the more they are likely to try to imitate the most successful ones in terms of their core activities rather than develop novel strategies that deviate from those institutionalized in these rules. The tighter are resource constraints and the more the competitive rules are designed by the state to homogenize the nature of

competing organizations and encourage a narrow range of achievements, the less strategic autonomy do universities have.

In the case of Australian graduate business schools, for instance, the combination of state-induced mergers, funding cuts, standardized competition rules, and the creation of strong research evaluation systems has reduced organizational diversity and strategic choices, according to Ryan and Neumann (2013). Especially where the state remains by far the dominant actor allocating resources and deciding the rule of the game, individual universities, and probably their collective associations—unless these are able to establish strong authoritative influence over their membership—are unlikely to be able to effectively challenge state priorities or terms of competition, unlike private companies in many markets.

Additionally, as has been emphasized in recent debates over the construction and use of university rankings (see, e.g. Rauhvargers 2013), competition for resources and prestige remains more conducted at the subunit level than by universities as whole and so tends to be discipline-specific. Thus, to rely on summative rankings of universities to assess their international excellence or competitiveness is highly misleading and presumes that there is a single model of successful universities against which all such organizations can be judged on one dimension (Marginson and van der Wende 2007; Sauder and Espeland 2009). It also assumes that university managers are able to make a significant difference to the achievements of departments and research groups despite their ignorance of the epistemic priorities and standards governing research strategies in each field.

Overall, the more that governments intensify competition between state-chartered universities for tightly constrained public funding in quasi-markets that are structured to favour public policy priorities, the less such universities are able to develop and implement distinctive strategic choices as autonomous organizational actors. This is especially so when accountability and performance measures imposed by the state focus on specific activities and competences over short periods, and have financial consequences.

Turning next to consider how funding and governance reforms to state-chartered universities are likely to affect their management of research and teaching activities and development of organization-specific competitive competences, the widespread adoption of more conventional managerial

structures, and the reduction in the powers of academic senates and similar bodies, might be expected to enhance managers' ability to respond to external demands by reallocating resources and changing degree programmes and research goals. This seems more likely in universities where managerial roles are filled by top-down appointment processes rather than by election or with the approval of representative bodies, thus increasing the degree of vertical authority integration, especially where this leads to the establishment of distinct managerial career paths in which promotions and other rewards depend on the judgements of hierarchical superiors.

However, the more that such universities come to depend on extra-mural fundraising by academics, and the achievement of high reputations for contributions to scientific knowledge—as assessed by national and international scientific communities—the more dependent their managers become on the commitment and skills of their employees, which typically are focused more on their specialized fields than on the university as a whole. Although managers can use external evaluations to inform decisions about resource allocation, these usually refer to the outcomes of past activities, often conducted by people who have left the university, and do not provide current information about the most effective use of resources for the future (Gläser et al. 2010). The selection, organization, and coordination of core academic activities in competing universities is primarily undertaken by small groups within each university and their international scientific community, not by managers who typically lack the competence to decide which questions are the most important to study, which people with specific skills and knowledge are most appropriate to deal with them, and how significant are particular research results.

The limited ability of university managers to monitor subunit performance and evaluate alternative strategies directly means that it is difficult for them to manage groups and departments as discrete items in an investment portfolio. Furthermore, given the specialized nature and continual development of university teaching and research, it is often very difficult to restructure the portfolio of activities by redirecting resources to new purposes in the short to medium term. As organizations, then, universities function more as providers of common services to these weakly connected subunits than as cohesive and integrated authority structures

capable of generating distinctive collective competences that offer competitive advantages to the entire organization.

Additionally, while traditionally collegiate and diffuse pluralist authority relations in state-chartered universities may have been weakened by state pressures to improve performance and demonstrate efficient use of resources in situations of declining public funding of research and teaching, they remain significant components of the academic culture in many societies that can affect universities' ability to recruit and retain the most prestigious scientists (Edgar and Geare 2013). In the United Kingdom, the long established intellectual and social prestige of Oxford and Cambridge universities has limited the standardization of corporate managerial models across the entire higher education system. In contrast, the greater state prescription and standardization of rules and procedures for universities competing for reduced public support for research and teaching in Australia seems to have increased the homogeneity of university structures and strategies and restricted innovation and diversity (Marginson and Considine 2000; Wood and Meek 2002).

In sum, it seems that the authority and steering capabilities of the state and its agencies have increased in the state-chartered kinds of HE systems, as has the financial and employment authority of senior university managers and the influence of national and international scientific elites on research strategies and careers. In contrast, the independence and ability of academic staff as a whole to exercise authority within universities over scientific goals and careers have probably declined, although the importance of highly successful individual scientists able to generate significant revenues has increased. Most of these kinds of universities, then, remain organizations that combine variously integrated financial and administrative services with quite limited coordination and control of core activities in epistemically fragmented subunits that do not contribute a great deal to organization-specific problem solving and competence. This inhibits the development of integrated managerial hierarchies coordinating and directing research and teaching activities towards collective objectives in organization-specific ways that could generate distinctive university capabilities and reputation.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

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This brief discussion of how institutional reforms are affecting the nature of universities as organizations in different kinds of higher education systems has highlighted four points that are worth emphasizing. First, although many of the changes to university funding and governance by OECD governments since the 1970s shared a common concern to increase universities' responsibility for managing the expansion of HE, while limiting the growth of public expenditure in this area, as well as encouraging them to contribute directly to public policy priorities, the nature and extent of their reforms have differed considerably between states.

While many states may have attempted to institutionalize a 'steering at a distance' mode of university governance across the OECD world, as Capano (2011) suggests, the wide diversity of administrative cultures, political systems, and university types has ensured considerable divergence of university authority structures and capabilities as organizational actors in the twenty-first century. In particular, the intensity of competition between universities for resources and reputations, the vertical integration of authority within universities, and their ability to implement heterogeneous strategic choices differ considerably between countries in ways that can affect the direction of scientific research, as the contrasting behaviour of universities in the Netherlands and Switzerland illustrates (Laudel and Weyer 2014; Laudel et al. 2014a, 2014b).

Second, combining (i) pressures to make universities more accountable and vertically integrated organizations with (ii) intensifying competition for scientific prestige as assessed by national and international intellectual elites, institutionalizes conflicts between university leaders, academic employees, and extra-mural intellectual elites over authority, and over the relative prioritization of organizational and scientific goals. The more governments allocate resources on the basis of scientific excellence as judged by diverse disciplinary communities, the more they are likely to intensify researchers' primary loyalty to their intellectual communities rather than to their current employers. This is reinforced by the establishment of strong research evaluation systems that assess the value of research in terms of their contributions to disciplinary goals (Whitley 2007). Particularly in formerly hollow universities struggling to reconstruct themselves as distinctive employment organizations, such priorities and

performance measurement devices inhibit the development of organizational loyalties and the managerial coordination of academic activities across scientific fields for university-wide goals and strategies.

Third, constructing formally homogeneous markets with standardized rules of competition for severely limited resources that treat all actors alike tends to encourage imitative strategies rather than divergent ones, especially when universities are highly dependent on the state and lack many alternative sources of support. Emphasizing the equal status of each organization competing in what amounts to a zero-sum game, and encouraging elaborate and repeated benchmarking of their performance against other players on standardized measures, has led Australian universities to pursue similar approaches and imitate the most prestigious ‘sandstone’ organizations rather than become more innovative kinds of universities as policy makers assumed (Marginson and Considine 2000; Wood and Meek 2002).

Finally, the combination of managers’ dependence on (a) the commitment and specialized knowledge of academics for achieving any competitive success, and (b) scientific communities’ coordination and evaluations of their work—typically at some distance from its performance—greatly restricts the managers’ ability to develop organizationally-specific capabilities based on their authoritative planning and integration of work goals and processes. By gaining some authority over the allocation of state-provided resources and employment decisions in many countries, university managers have, in principle, become able to exercise some discretion over the range of activities conducted in each university, and who performs them. However, they remain unable to decide on the selection of research problems to study, which skills and knowledge are most appropriate to work on these, how they should be tackled, and how results should be assessed.

They are, then, quite limited in their capacity to manage universities as project-based organizations in a comparable manner to professional service businesses (Whitley 2006). Rather, ‘reformed’ universities are better understood as providers of common facilities and services for a diverse range of research and teaching activities, whose composition and personnel they may be able to influence over the medium to long term if they gain discretionary powers over substantial resources from both state and non-state sources.

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## CHAPTER 5

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# RECENT TRENDS IN EAST AND WEST UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE

*Two Kinds of Hollowness*

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GABRIEL DONLEAVY AND KUAN-CHENG CHEN

## INTRODUCTION

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DUE to substantial financial investment from the Chinese government, China's higher education system has developed rapidly over the past thirty years, in terms of research capacity, student enrolments, as well as global university rankings. For example, as illustrated by [Table 5.1](#), the past decade saw the improvement in the QS ranking of Peking University, from 50th in 2008 to 38th in 2018; Tsinghua University from 56th in 2008 to 25th in 2018; and Zhejiang University from 231st in 2008 to 87th in 2018. They are well on their way to becoming top research universities in world terms.

**Table 5.1 Ranking summary of selected universities in China, 2008–2018**

Institution	2008		2009		2010		2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016		2017		2018		
	QS	THE																					
Tsinghua U	56	49	54	58	47	71	48	52	50	48	49	47	47	25	35	24	35	25	30				
Peking U	50	52	47	37	46	49	44	46	45	46	48	57	42	41	29	39	29	38	27				
Fudan U	113	103	105		91	229	90	216	215	88	193	71	253	51	155	43	155	40	116				
SJTU	145	154	151		124	316	125	299	338	123	296	104	323	70	213	61	201	62	188				
Zhejiang U	231	248	218	197	191	317	170	316	312	165	329	144	284	110	215	110	201	87	177				
UST China	142	155	154	49	188	192	186	218	234	174	209	147	201	113	153	104	153	97	132				
Nanjing U	144	169	177	120	186	249	168	258	268	175	271	162	280	130	231	115	201	114	169				
Beijing Normal U					300		252			252		240		232		257		256					
Tongji U	434				388		416		500			393		563		345		504		315		401	
Sun Yat-sen U						171	460	297	460	345		372	384	306		401	307	413	297	401	319	351	
Huazhong UST									471					521		493		401	471	401			

Notes: QS—Quacquarelli Symonds; THE—Times Higher Education.

According to Leon et al. (2014), while many countries are keen to produce world-class universities and especially world-class research universities, there has been very little research on this topic for Asia. Among these studies, only a small portion study China's higher education, and they tackle several areas: private higher education (e.g. Cao and Levy 2015; Su 2012; Yang 2015), financial management (e.g. Bao 2007; Carnoy et al. 2014; F. Li 2012; Min 1991; Sun and Barrientos 2009), internationalization (e.g. Huang 2007, 2003; Ng and Nyland 2018; Yi 2013), and administrative/governance (e.g. Huang 2017; Li 2010; Mok 2002; Ong and Chan 2012; Xia, 2013; Zhao and Jones 2017). The latter has attracted attention from most of the scholars in recent years. Their research mainly focuses on how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) controls the universities and how the higher education policies have changed over time.

The key characteristics of higher education governance in China in the 1980s included centralized decision making by the Ministry of Education and other central and local level ministries on almost all administrative and academic matters, institutional governance dictated by CCP and Ministry of Education policies. What became normal was a dual institutional governance system in which the university Communist Party Committee directed by the party secretary worked in parallel with the administrative or academic operations headed by the university president. This institutional governance structure is firmly entrenched today.

During the 1980s, the Chinese government had introduced higher education policies that were in line with the country's transition from communism to 'socialist market capitalism'. After 1985, China's higher

education system has been moving from a party-control model to a more decentralized but still state-supervised governance style, and several educational decrees were instrumental in the reform and development of higher education in China. While the CCP delegated decision making in certain areas, such as allocating revenues, determining staff salary, and appointing and promoting key personnel to university level management, it has nevertheless maintained tight control over what is taught, particularly since the ascension to power of President Xi Jinping.

Few studies on higher education governance in China, however, have touched on how scholarship has been affected. This chapter attempts to explore this issue by discussing the hollow type of university, one of the three ideal types of universities as organizational actors as proposed by Whitley in [Chapter 4](#). As explained there ‘hollow’ is used to signify a university in which academic freedom and its range of influence, is restricted, and by implication the full meaning of scholarship cannot be realized. The characteristics of the hollow type fit into the mode of development of higher education governance in China. According to Redding in [Chapter 2](#), these characteristics would have a negative impact on the institutionalizing of critical thinking. The impact could be amplified in China given its cultural and historical background and its distinctively top-down learning process ([J. Li 2012](#); [Nisbett 2003](#)).

This chapter begins by recalling the idea of varieties of education systems, explained in [Chapter 4](#). It then adds the concept of governance in higher education, to be followed by reporting the changes in Chinese university governance and its relation to university autonomy. The typical Chinese university structure controlled by the party-state will then be discussed. The chapter also considers the characteristics of Chinese higher education governance, and closes by looking at contrasts in emergent higher education governance in the Anglophone West.

## VARIETIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS

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Whitley coined the term ‘business system’ through his pioneering comparative work on systems of capitalism (Whitley [1991, 2000](#)). Redding ([2005](#)) added the dimension of varying managerial ideologies in his work,

while Hall and Soskice (2001) created the term ‘varieties of capitalism’. The three terms—variety, divergence, comparison—all refer to particular socio-cultural structures which influence how the abstract notion of ‘business systems’ works in particular contexts. Whitley’s parallel concept for higher education (HE) systems now provides a grounded taxonomy for considering their variety. Within this, the present chapter explores the hollow type as visible in the emergent character of the Chinese HE governance.

Before that we explore further the important concepts of higher education governance and institutional autonomy.

## HIGHER EDUCATION GOVERNANCE

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The concept of governance varies in meaning and use according to context. The common threads are ‘exercise of authority’, ‘steering’, and ‘lead’. It is then important to understand who does it, why they do it, and what are the consequences of a particular form of authority.

Consistent with the above, Clark (1983: 107) believed that ‘the reality of academic power is to discern broad patterns of legitimate power, and authority rooted in the dominant locations of certain groups’. The governance concept in higher education systems thus includes structures of authority both within the higher education system and in its interaction with other segments in the society. Most obviously this applies in the financing process as discussed by Bruce Johnstone in Chapter 19.

Paquet (1998) also discussed how—when the structure of authority is changed—a judgement has been made about who deserves the power. An interesting insight into the question of authority in the university world is in William Clark’s (2006) study of ‘academic charisma’ in research universities. This influence stems from an individual’s leadership in scholarship. When acknowledged by colleagues this leads to the clustering of other scholars around that individual, as for instance over decades at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge under the leadership of Thomson, then Rutherford and, at later periods other pioneers in the theory of physics such as Bragg, Mott, and French. The same clustering is described in detail for many societies in Collins’s (1998) global theory of intellectual change. But

ultimately societies differ in the values they place on aspects of knowledge and this will be reflected in the governance arrangement.

## **INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY**

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Institutional autonomy of universities refers to a status in which academic work standards, management, and related activities are self-governed without fear of interference or repercussion from external parties (Andren and Johansson-Dahre 1993; Vrielink et al. 2011). Institutional autonomy is a normal prerequisite to academic freedom (Andren and Johansson-Dahre 1993; Vrielink et al. 2011). While the latter has a variety of definitions, a widely respected one comes from the American Association of University Professors (AAUP): (1) the freedom to conduct research and publish the results; (2) the freedom to discuss subject matter in the classroom; and (3) the freedom to write and speak as a citizen without censorship or unwanted sanction (AAUP 2001; O’Neil 2005; Ruch 2001; Teichler et al. 2013). Academic freedom is taken to uphold quality in teaching and research, and to allow individuals to contribute knowledge to the world (Akerlind and Kayrooz 2003). Institutional autonomy and academic freedom are seen widely as the foundations for critical thinking, the pursuit of truth, and knowledge creation in higher education.

## **CHANGES IN CHINESE UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE AND AUTONOMY**

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The higher education governance system in China was influenced by France and Japan from the late nineteenth century through the 1910s. From the 1920s to 1949, it was influenced by the United States (Hayhoe 1996; Huang 2011). Then until the mid-1980s, it was under the influence of the Soviet Union (Pepper 1996).

When the CCP initially took power, the party and the government, using a technique of widespread fear, came to control virtually every aspect of social life. This reached a climax during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–

76 during which much of China's HE capability was destroyed. In a speech on 13 February 1963 Mao compared much teaching to preparation for the old imperial examinations. He accused the education system of favouring students from bad class backgrounds—capitalists, landlords—and attacked 'bourgeois intellectuals' for failing to raise 'revolutionary successors' (Dikötter 2016: 38, 78). After later letting loose the Red Guards on the capital, in 'Red August' 1966, 1,770 people were killed there. Some 77,000 other targeted victims from the capital were transported to the countryside. In this exodus many faculty members spent a decade as farm labourers.

What education system remained then followed the 'centralist model', symbolized by central government control of (1) core funding, (2) student enrolment in each institution, (3) senior staff appointment, (4) new academic programmes, and (5) student assignment (Wei 1997: 8; China National Institute of Educational Research 1995). The main function of the higher education system was to produce skilled labour for the state, similar to the Soviet model. Specialized colleges were set up to train students in specific knowledge and skills for economic development (Hayhoe 1984). Hence, Li (2010: 479) commented that 'universities were more like state-owned companies producing manpower, rather than cultural institutions enjoying academic freedom'. His statement can be taken to imply that this distinct governance type might hinder the development of critical thinking. As an example the discipline of sociology was allowed only to study and teach demography.

After 1980, when China launched its open-door policy and began major economic reforms, the higher education system, together with the whole public sector, experienced a decentralization process and gained a certain degree of autonomy. In 1985, individual higher education institutions were given more powers through the 'Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Reform of the Educational System'. This new policy had three effects. First, it provided a certain degree of institutional and academic autonomy to higher education in China. Second, it brought fundamental changes in university governance (Long and Liu 2006). Third, this rule specified that 'individual institutions may be granted different kind of autonomy in different situations', meaning that higher education had become a sector with specific utilities, and the degree of autonomy that a university could get hinged on its bargaining power (Li 2010).

The student protest movement in 1989, however, was seen as a warning to the CCP that they needed to maintain tight political and ideological control over the intellectuals. A new presidential responsibility system placed university presidents under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCCCP 1990), and the system was legitimized in 1998 (Zhang 2005).

As China continued to transform from a planned to a socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics, the general trend of decentralization and devolution continued for the higher education sector. In 1992, the Opinions about deepening reform and expanding autonomous rights for universities sponsored by the Commission of Education (State Commission of Education 1992) gave universities the powers to set up new undergraduate programmes, determine course content and objectives, set admission standards for self-funded overseas students, appoint managers of ranks below vice-president, hire technical support staff, authorize travel abroad for faculty members, adjust enrolment levels within the state quota, and propose tuition levels (subject to the approval of the Commission of Education).

In 1993, the Mission Outline for Educational Reform and Development in China reaffirmed state support for the decentralization policy, encouraging incorporation of universities, giving provincial governments part of the governance and funding responsibilities, and promoting joint-development and mergers (CCCCP and State Council 1993), and stated that government would ‘change its function from direct control to managing schools through legislation, funding, planning, advice on policies and other necessary means’ (State Education Commission Policies and Law Department 1993: 6).

In 1995, the Education Act furthered the decentralization process through granting schools and other education institutions the status of corporate bodies at the time when they are approved or registered (Article 31). In this period, concepts like ‘competition’, ‘effectiveness’, ‘efficiency’, and ‘the law of supply and demand’ became more widely used in the higher education sector.

The Higher Education Act in 1998 was a milestone in the history of autonomy of higher education in China. Under this law, universities in China were granted the status of a corporate body on the day of their approval, and university presidents would be the legal representatives of the

institution (Article 30). University autonomy proposed in previous rules and guidelines was also legitimated. Also in 1998, the Ministry of Education issued Opinions about deepening reform of the personnel and distribution system in higher education, reinforcing university autonomy in certain aspects (Ministry of Education 1999) while tightening state control at the same time by defining the limits of autonomy and responsibility of universities in personnel management, such as through setting the administrative/academic staff ratio and the student/staff ratio.

The Act also confirmed the governance system of individual universities as subject to the leadership of grassroots committees of the CCP, in place to support university presidents in discharging their duties. These committees would in future have strong influence over political ideology, organization structures, key appointments, regulations, and overall policy. Article 41 defined the president, now advised by the committees, as ‘responsible for the teaching, scientific research and other administrative work of the respective institution’.

The Ministry of Education further issued regulations in 2011 to give universities more autonomy, asking universities to revise their charters, such as for academic regulations to be handled by professors and not administrators. However, ‘the CCP secretary and the president are still the final decision makers’ (Hao 2015).

When Xi Jinping assumed the CCP leadership in 2013, it was after a period of political turmoil and uncertainty, much of this related to corruption in the Party. A tightening and re-legitimizing of central control was predictable. Control in Chinese higher education was tightened, and the importance of political ideology as the core task for the universities was re-emphasized. Government controls over academic freedom significantly increased under Xi. In early 2013 CCP Communique Document 9 prohibited classroom discussion of press freedom, universal values, civil society, citizens’ rights, historical aberrations of the Party, the privileged capitalist class, and judicial independence. Global Internet access became more limited and affected much research. Leading research universities, disturbed by this trend, then signed the Hefei Statement in support of academic freedom in conjunction with the Australian G8, the League of European Research Universities, and the Association of American Universities (Xinhua Net 2013). Administrators at such high profile Western installations as Duke University’s Kunshun campus and NYU’s

Shanghai branch insisted that Document 9 did not apply to them. This was plausible as these universities were allowed to use virtual private networks (VPNs) to ensure unlimited access to websites. This privileging of foreign universities' Chinese sites was somewhat redolent of the privileges of the colonial era treaty ports (Ross 2017).

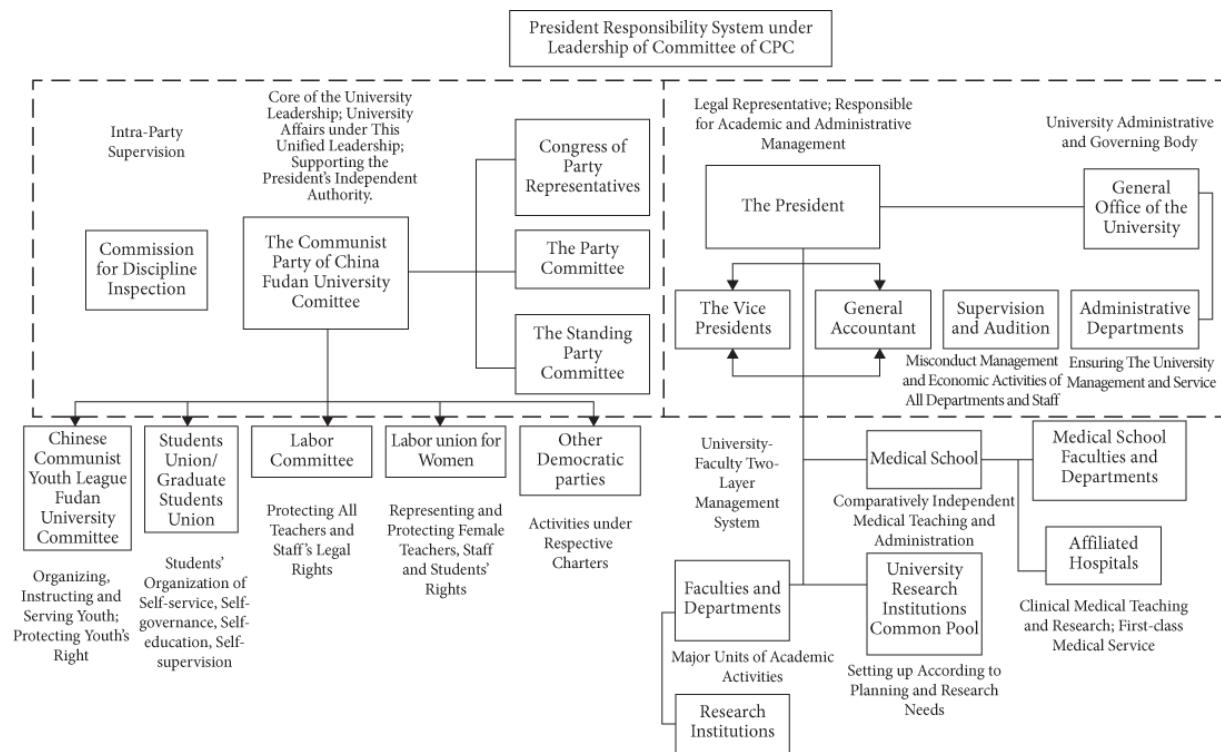
## HOW THE PARTY GOVERNS THE UNIVERSITIES

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The higher educational system is now supervised by the CCP to ensure adherence to the state political direction. Formerly state controlled, the system has fallen into Whitley's ultimate 'hollow' category of 'state-directed'; or as Yang et al. (2007) term it 'state-supervised'. Some universities report to the central government and some to the thirty-four local governments, with most of them receiving funding from the central or provincial governments (Yang 2004).

Unlike in many countries, China's university presidents are not elected by faculty members or appointed by a board of trustees, but appointed by the Ministry of Education and other government bodies. The presence in universities of Party general secretaries is unique to China. In the leading universities, such as Peking and Tsinghua, party secretaries and presidents are nominated and appointed by the Ministry of Organization of the CCP rather than by the Ministry of Education. According to a study of seventy-five universities administered by the Ministry of Education in 2013, thirty of the Party general secretaries in universities were previously leaders at provincial or central governments. Among the thirty, about half of them had been provincial officials and half directors of the Ministry of Education or other departments of the central government (Daily of Southern City 2014). Similarly, another study by Fu (2007) suggested university presidents were selected through three channels. Almost half of them were vice-presidents or other leaders promoted internally from the same university. Close to one-third were from the Ministry of Education. The remainder were veteran presidents or vice-presidents from other universities. Chen (2013) also found that most university presidents are CCP members, thus ensuring campus supervision at all times.

The dual leadership system, also referred to as the ‘president-responsibility system led by the Party’ (Law 1995), is repeated at the other two levels: faculty and students (Du 2016). The Communist Youth League, the Department of Students’ Affairs, and the Press Department in any university are all controlled by a CCP university committee, and they share responsibility for students’ political socialization and political education (Zheng 2012). Figure 5.1 illustrates an example of the dual leadership structure system at a Chinese university, Fudan. The CCP dominance ensures that the inculcation of China’s form of socialist values becomes a primary function of the HE system (Liu et al. 2012; Xiong 2011).



**FIGURE 5.1** Example of China’s dual leadership system, Fudan University, Shanghai

## ‘Whose Bread You Eat, His Tune You Sing’

Weber (1973: 20) in criticizing conditions under nineteenth-century German imperialism, observed that a government would ask universities to follow this principle: ‘I sing the tune of him whose bread I eat.’ This means if the

government provides funding to the university, it would need to follow the instructions from the government, including politically. Similarly today, if a business provides funding to a university, in return it also needs to please the business. Weber (1973: 20) further argued that ‘such a castration of the freedom and disinterestedness of university education [or research], which prevents the development of persons of genuine character, cannot be compensated by the finest institutes, the largest lecture halls, or by ever so many dissertations, prize-winning works and examination successes’. Weber’s comments and observations still hold in the twenty-first century wherever political or commercial control replaces scholarship as the fundamental institutional rationale.

The Chinese higher education system fits into Weber’s scenario. According to Piao (2014), the CCP committees of three top universities, Peking, Fudan, and Sun Yat-Sen, have pledged in the CCP journal *Qiushi* to uphold the Party ideologies in their research and teaching and to maintain ideological controls over students and faculty. Universities are increasingly perceived as think tanks of the government (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences 2014) from where they take most of their funding (Hao 2015). Hao (2015) further points out that they conduct research on government policies based on political and ideological correctness. Ideological correctness includes refraining from research and publication on Party history related to the anti-Rightist movement, the Cultural Revolution, national minority issues in Xinjiang and Tibet, or issues like Taiwan (or Hong Kong) independence (Hao 2015). He further added that in 2013 the government expanded its restriction list to include civil society, civil rights, universal values, legal independence, press freedom, the bourgeois class with money and power, and the historical wrongs of the Party: in accustomed CCP terms, the Seven No’s.

All of the above means that scholars need to ‘sing the tune’ of the CCP and strictly follow its direction. They have to remain politically correct or focus on less sensitive areas, such as engineering and natural sciences. Scholars not following the above principles would face consequences. Jacobs (2014) found that Ilham Tohti, a scholar from the Minzu University of China who had founded a website with political messages, received life imprisonment. In January 2015, CCP Document 30 reinforced CCP Document 9 and Xi Jinping announced ‘Never permit eating the Communist Party’s food and the smashing of the Communist Party’s

cooking pots'. This close (if accidental) echoing of Weber's words was justified on the pretext of keeping Western influences out of classrooms (Ross 2017: 12).

On the other hand, Pan (2009) is one who has argued that universities in China have the power to fend off political intervention in some areas. He used Tsinghua University as a case in point, albeit protected by its renown and its focus in technology, and came to the conclusion that while government can influence the universities, universities can also affect government policy decision making.

## IN SEARCH OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

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The above narrative illustrates what Altbach (2004) called a country that 'permits unfettered academic freedom in the nonpolitical hard sciences but places restrictions on it in the more sensitive social sciences and humanities'. To ask 'Is this model ideal for China?' raises complex issues about alternative trajectories of development. Is it possible for a society with such limited free speech to find the creativity within its people sufficient to deal with the transition to the modern levels of societal complexity that accompany high per capita wealth?

There is much in Chinese history to explain the appreciation of strong leaders and the obedience of followers. Having evolved in parallel with such an authority tradition, the Chinese mind-set inclines towards absorption of knowledge provided by perceived authorities, without debate and question, also emphasizing perseverance and concentration, and looking at problems holistically. By contrast Westerners tend to explore and enquire, and break down problems into pieces before solving them (J. Li 2012; Nisbett 2003). As Redding suggests in Chapter 2, the idea of critical thinking is commonly seen as Western in its origins and accompanies the concepts of empowerment and societal openness. In support of a different kind of social stability the concept of Harmony became ingrained in Chinese culture, such that criticism of the government was contrary to good taste. Such sentiments run counter to societal openness and political liberty (Anastaplo 1992: 621). Further reflections on the cultural preconditioning

of learning processes are provided by Michael Bond and Yiming Jing in [Chapter 3](#).

## HOLLOWING TRENDS FOR HONG KONG UNIVERSITIES

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We now turn to consider the dramatic case of the universities in Hong Kong. Most of them were founded and run on principles of HE derived from their British or American founding ideals. They flourished in serving a vibrant world city as it prospered and expanded its industrial reach into China. The overall standing of its universities internationally became highly respectable. In 1997 China and Britain began to implement a fifty-year transition period during which Hong Kong would slowly return to China. In that treaty university autonomy and academic freedom were specifically protected. Twenty years into the fifty-year period China has now made it clear that it will implement the plan in its own way. A set of globally respected institutions is now in process of being hollowed out, and several events in the last decade have indicated that hopes of the treaty being honoured are forlorn. Three cases illustrate the change in the location of authority, and suggest its consequences.

*The Robert Chung case.* The Basic Law (the quasi constitution for Hong Kong as a Special Administrative Region in China) Article 34 says that Hong Kong residents have ‘freedom to engage in academic research’. In 2000, the post-transition Hong Kong Chief Executive, in the interest of relations with Beijing, disapproved of the opinion polls taken by Dr Robert Chung at the Centre for Social Research in the University of Hong Kong, and he communicated that disapproval to the vice-chancellor who passed it down the line to Chung, asking him to stop on the grounds of the low academic value of such research ([Petersen 2000](#)). Chung refused to obey and after a supporting petition from 900 faculty members the university council conducted a public inquiry which led to the vice-chancellor’s resignation. In this case direct interference with academic freedom was resisted by the university council. Indeed, the Hong Kong University Senate Task Force following the Chung affair found that academic freedom was not negotiable with a funding agency by way of political horse-trading.

*The Institute of Education case.* Article 137 of the Basic Law states that ‘educational institutions of all kinds may retain their autonomy and enjoy academic freedom’. A Hong Kong Government proposal for education reforms was criticized by a number of academics at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. They were privately intimidated by then Secretary of Education via the Institute’s vice-chancellor. The Chief Executive’s Commission of Inquiry censored the Secretary of Education and the censure was confirmed by further judicial review (Chan and Kerr 2016).

In the case of the *Secretary for Justice v. Commission of Enquiry re Hong Kong Institute of Education*, Justice Hartmann said that academic freedom has an institutional as well as an individual academic application especially with respect to recruitment of staff and students and determination of course content (Chan and Kerr 2016).

In 2013 a student-led ‘Occupy Central’ protest movement was strongly associated with the universities in the eyes of the Hong Kong public and its government. This is a major factor to bear in mind when appraising what now follows.

*The Johannes Chan case.* Johannes Chan, former Dean of Law at Hong Kong University was recommended for the post of Vice-President for academic staffing and resources, after its Council had established a search committee and followed due process. The Chan recommendation was leaked to a pro-China newspaper which attacked the proposed appointment on the grounds that Chan when Dean did not restrain a law academic from promoting and launching the Occupy Central movement. Some 350 articles attacking him followed in the pro-China media, and many threats were made by letter and email. The unanimous recommendation of the search committee in November 2014 was not put forward to the university council in December. Instead, the University Audit Committee was asked by council to look into a donation made by the Faculty of Law in May 2013. It first exonerated Chan then looked again and said that he did not apply appropriate standards in vetting donations, so the June council deferred the appointment in order to consult a yet to be chosen provost.

Next, the University Convocation resolved in September 2015 to ask council either to approve the appointment or to give reasons for not doing so. However what the council actually did on 29 September by 12 votes to 8

was to reject the appointment without giving any reason. This was a clear case of political interference with an academic decision and marks the point where the University of Hong Kong became a hollow university, perhaps irreversibly. Given this is the top ranking and oldest university in Hong Kong, it is reasonable to assume that the other higher education institutions in the jurisdiction are also in the process of being hollowed out in the Whitley sense. Indeed at the time of writing in late January 2018, a new storm is breaking in Hong Kong Baptist University over the attempt to make passing a Mandarin language unit a prerequisite of receiving that university's degree (Chiu 2018).

Government interference with Hong Kong's academic freedom is made easier by the inheritance from British colonial times of a statute that the Hong Kong Chief Executive acts as Chancellor of all the Hong Kong higher education institutions.

## A CAVEAT

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Of course, academic freedom is a Western Enlightenment ideal and through Western eyes, any threat to it is a potential stab in the heart. However, the sciences and engineering fields may be able to flourish even under the restraints on the political aspect of academic freedom that has emerged in Hong Kong. China has evolved as a world leader in many areas of progress and quality of life welfare. These include: becoming the world's leading producer of solar power, converting arid deserts into fertile crop-growing steppes, pioneering the use of artificial intelligence (AI) in medical diagnosis and treatment, having built the world's largest network of bullet trains, having a larger proportion of the population settle bills through their mobile phones than by cash, planning a lunar colony with Europe from 2020 and achieving its 2020 solar energy targets in 2017 (Al-Ghaili 2018). The bleak effect of state control on freedom of speech may be seen by many people as outweighed by the welfare benefits (to a large number of citizens) of the fruits of the first two decades of advanced scientific effort in China. They might endorse the cynical reply of Gao Xiqing, an investment manager on Duke University's Kunshan Board of Trustees, to the question whether academic freedom could be guaranteed at Duke's Kushan campus.

‘Academic freedom is a relative concept’, he said (Ross 2017). In homage to George Orwell in *Animal Farm*, others might remark that some ‘relatives’ are freer than others.

The Whitley paradigm in Chapter 4 is not so superficial that it easily enables the freedom of an institution to be regarded as sufficient to guarantee the academic freedom of its faculty and students. As noted earlier he specifies six dimensions of university decision making that together represent the control needed to implement an agreed strategy. All of these dimensions are subject to influence from state interference, but so too are they affected by the political reframing of higher education, as for instance from being a public good verging on being a human right, to becoming a private investment in future private earnings.

In the West, the corruption of traditional academic values by the managerialist and corporatist turn of the universities has been widely documented for several decades and much of this handbook is about the issues surrounding that trend. Other persuasive accounts include Chomsky (2014), Ginsberg (2011), Giroux (2002), Gumpert and Pusser (1995), Melluish (2018), Rhoades (1998), Shweder (2017) Slaughter and Leslie (1997), Stein et al. (2013), and Thornton (2016). The common story runs as follows. As governments systematically reduce their financial investments in universities and place the burden more on capital markets to fund student debt, universities become increasingly under pressure from business to produce measurable, preferably also bankable, outcomes. Competitive markets in the knowledge-led economy have increasingly come to determine content, process, and practice. In the neo-liberal view universities are ‘knowledge factories’ where widely defined ‘innovation’ and commercialization begin. They are also seen as skill factories which produce the next generation of skilled and intelligent labour, in which science, technology, engineering and medicine, the STEM subjects, receive most favoured funding: this despite the growing demand from business for critical thinkers, creative and imaginative team players.

In the United States, there is commonly now no freedom to speak out about your own university employer or to engage in discourse that may damage the university brand value (Janz 2016). Outside of the elite universities, competition for student fee and research grant incomes has enabled the morality of institutional survival (rather than that of, say, the pursuit of truth) to guide strategy, with the accompanying commodification

of courses and deskilling of the faculty (Burgan 2006; Fairweather 1988; Kolsacker 2008; Smith 2012; Taylor 2000; Whitchurch 2007).

In Australia, HE ‘providers’ moved towards buyer–seller relationships with student ‘consumers’. Under these conditions, universities were seen to be offering ‘positional goods’ to the market—being status goods whereby students selected by a particular institution would be afforded a relative advantage in the competition for jobs, social standing, income, and prestige (Marginson 2004; Raciti 2010). Given that all degrees *had* to be accredited within the rules of the Australian Qualifications Framework, all degrees offered by all institutions were *formally* equivalent (Marginson 2004). Despite this, the perception remains that degrees from certain institutions are superior, in that they afford a greater prospect of enduring opportunities and enhanced social status. Thus, the status of the university dominates the decision making process of a majority of students so, as is natural with exclusively branded positional goods, demand has outstripped supply (Marginson 2004; Raciti 2010).

Britain represents perhaps the most advanced case of university transformation into knowledge factory corporations (Murgatroyd 2015). Professors are hired to boost the citations count for the research funding reviews and, once the reviews are completed, these professors are dismissed as surplus to requirements. The post-Eversheds (2009) developments mentioned in the concluding section below suggest that Britain can still lead the world in higher education, albeit in quite the opposite direction from the destination envisaged in and since the Enlightenment—a move that might be characterized as proceeding from the subversive emancipation of critical thinking to the dehumanized automation of artificial intelligence.

## CONCLUSION: WHOSE APPLE IS IT ANYWAY?

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China’s university system is under close management by the CCP and by state and national governments. Documents 9 and 30 issued in Xi’s period, restricting classroom discussion, are just the kind of results that the Whitley paradigm predicts for a hollow university. Hong Kong universities are moving towards hollow status with each new public eruption of calls for independence and fuller democracy. This does not stop universities in either

jurisdiction from achieving world-class breakthroughs in science, technology, engineering and medicine that bring direct quality-of-life improvements, as well as enhanced security and surveillance payoffs. In China, there is a view that Hong Kong has had privileges denied to Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Beijing, in free speech and democracy, that need not be perpetuated. The notion of one country trumps the initial reality of two systems. That is, Hong Kong will have to wait till China catches up with its shopping list of democratic delights, freedom—like academic freedom—being a ‘relative concept’ as we have seen.

This handbook cannot help but rest heavily on a Western-based field of theory, despite an intention expressed in [Chapter 2](#) to avoid the partiality that goes with that. Largely Western Enlightenment values run through its assessments. Research taking ‘society’ as its remit is largely absent elsewhere. We should accordingly question whether free speech and critical thinking in universities are threatened more by funding famines that induce appeasement of market forces (real or imagined), or by clear political directives. As to freedom of speech in the Western university, it can be provocatively argued that it is irrelevant in an age when anyone can tweet their views under any name they like to the whole world (whether or not they have acquired the necessary preparatory scholarship). A kind of hollowness for a university may be what institutional theory terms decoupling—espousing the great traditional values of the Western Enlightenment in their mission statements and list of graduate attributes, while in practice behaving like a Milton Friedman-inspired business corporation and being managed like a premier league soccer club with any talented tenure being equally dependent on very short-term results. On this journey England has perhaps been a leader and a pathfinder ever since premier Blair introduced tuition fees ([Willmott 1995](#)).

Hard commercial realities arrived officially in the UK Eversheds Commission (2009) which advised universities on how to accomplish management buy-outs and private company acquisition of their institutions. The university would retain its degree-awarding powers, governing body, charitable status, and funding council grant. It would transfer its assets and liabilities to a new company, in which senior management and external financiers would have a pecuniary interest. This company could float on the stock exchange and sell shares or raise bonds. Profit would not only derive from current revenue, but also from stripping assets—physical ones such as

buildings and equipment and soft ones such as reputation—that had been built up with government funding over a long time (Wright 2015).

Established universities experimented with group structures. University College London (UCL) which already had a number of spin-off trading companies, became the lead sponsor of Camden Academy set up as a company, and injected it into the UCL group structure. The University of Central Lancashire (UCLAN), advised by Eversheds, asked the Secretary of State to allow it to disband and reassemble itself as a company limited by guarantee with charity status but allowed to attract private investment. It was allowed too to set up a group structure (with the then vice-chancellor Malcolm McVicar as its initial group CEO). The University name was retained for awarding degrees but employment and all support activity was to be managed and/or outsourced through the corporate group companies (Wright 2015).

Eversheds' advice was followed by similar reports from PWC and from PA Consulting (Wright 2015). Not only is traditional asset stripping enabled in the suggested restructuring but also all the obscure financial manipulations such as collateralized debt swapping that made the 2008 global financial crisis so much worse than it might have been otherwise. Fittingly perhaps, Milton Friedman's alma mater, the University of Chicago, has been held by Shweder (2017) to exemplify in the United States the new type of corporatized knowledge factory. In this dystopia, the final key performance indicator for a corporatized university group is not placement in one of the most widely cited world rankings but annual increase in the stock market value of the holding company.

This examination of other forms of hollowing provides context for the China situation. The West's new knowledge factory corporation could become a much more thorough hollowing of a university and its old values than the sometimes quite enlightened despotism of the Chinese Party secretaries. There is a common-sense reluctance among many holders of influence in Western HE systems to challenge the convenient idea that what's good for highly paid vice-chancellors is also good for the people who work for them or study in their premises. As suggested in Chapter 7, the senior executive duty of building cooperation within an organization does not fit easily inside a system driven mainly by other more pressing and more measurable performance goals imposed from outside. In Whitley's hollow university type a university has low freedom of action by loss of its

autonomy to external forces. A hollow university in the corporatized mode requires a hired and enriched power-elite in the university to carry out an externally-set remit, but one that includes moving the academics closer to membership of the precariat and makes many students into bonded serfs at the mercy of the latest buyer of the loan book in which their debt is collateralized (Chomsky 2014; Wright 2015).

The hollow university in either the Whitley sense or in the corporatized sense is an academic grove where, as in the biblical Garden of Eden in which apples from the Tree of Knowledge (of good and evil) are forbidden, certain kinds of enquiry, discussion, and knowledge are forbidden or made impossible. God may well have been fine with STEM disciplines, had they existed when Genesis was written. In the bliss of Eden general ignorance was equated to innocence and the mythical first case of critical thinking was literally demonized. The serpent validly predicted to Adam and Eve that they would not be killed for eating the forbidden apple and the pair were certainly enlightened after eating it. For the Whitley general kind of hollow institution, we have the state, or party-state, taking the role of the Genesis God and defining the forbidden.

For the post-Eversheds English corporate university and its equivalents elsewhere in the world, God is represented by the Market—which abstraction is in turn interpreted by the executive directors of its holding companies. In this conceit, what is the equivalent of the wicked and cunning serpent? Is it perhaps the academic, staff or student, following the central motto of the Enlightenment attributed to Kant—‘dare to think for yourself’? Commodification of learning and commercialization of academic decisions became hard for universities to resist when the knowledge economy became *the* economy in the 1990s. Apple was the inspiration, and Steve Jobs was the hero. In the decades before the Renaissance, the Ottoman Turks had nicknamed Constantinople ‘the Apple’, and their conquest of it in 1453 was seen as the end of Western civilization at the time, though we now could with hindsight see it instead as the beginning, its culmination so far in The Big Apple. The Beatles named their ill-starred corporate vehicle Apple Corps, and Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak named their Apple in honour of that. The apple of academic freedom has been with us since Genesis, but it may require more cunning and more courage than that of the serpent in Eden to succeed in seizing it in an age when the spectre of university hollowness seems to be relentlessly advancing.

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## CHAPTER 6

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# CYCLES OF EVOLUTION OF IDEAL TYPES OF UNIVERSITIES

*Causes and Consequences for the University  
Mission—The Case of Poland*

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GUMINSKA

## INTRODUCTION

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THIS chapter explores Poland's tertiary education sector. Globalization, mass education, a demographic low, the need to diversify the sources of funding, and external pressure have all made universities across the world function in an unstable landscape. They are facing many challenges. For some time now, there has been a noticeable turn from the current Humboldtian model towards new forms of cooperation between universities and business. This concerns higher education in Poland as well. The aim of the chapter is to cover the changes occurring in Poland's tertiary education system, considering the differences between public and private Polish universities. The analysis includes also the impact of the said changes on the mission of selected universities.

# **LEGAL REGULATIONS IN THE SCOPE OF TERTIARY EDUCATION IN POLAND**

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Poland's constitution grants universities autonomy. The way they function is defined in the higher education law act with the 2016 amendment thereto and executive acts issued on the basis thereof. The act applies to both public and private universities. The development of higher education in Poland is a result of the liberal act of 12 September 1990 on higher education (Journal of Laws no. 65), which made establishing private universities possible. The Ministry of Science and Higher Education (MSHE or the Ministry) offers the following definitions (Act of 27 July 2005, Law on higher education, Journal of Laws 2005 no. 165 item 1365 as amended):

- public higher education institution (henceforth referred to also as public university)—a higher education institution established by the State, with the State represented by a competent authority or public administration body;
- non-public higher education institution (henceforth referred to also as private university)—a higher education institution established by a natural person or body corporate other than a State- or local authority-administered body corporate;
- degree programmes—first cycle (also undergraduate), second cycle (also graduate) or long cycle programmes of study provided by higher education institutions authorized to provide such programmes.

The Ministry e.g. grants the right to teach particular fields of study and deals with matters concerning compliance of university bodies with the law and statutes. A register of public and private universities and of degree and doctoral students is kept and managed by MSHE via POL-on—a database with information about scientific research institutions in Poland. The Polish Accreditation Committee (PAC) assesses the fields of study offered by public and private universities, the quality of teaching, and the activity of scientific research institutions. The Committee for Evaluation of Scientific Research Institutions evaluates the quality of scientific and research activity

conducted by scientific research institutions, based also on information provided by universities alone.

## **DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES**

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Based on the act of 27 July 2005, Law on higher education (Journal of Laws of 2005 no. 164 item 1365 as amended), one can list several differences between public and private universities in the following areas: establishing and managing universities, statutes formation, offering and running study programmes, number of students, and funding.

### **Establishing and Managing Universities**

(a) *Public*: Establishing, closing, and merging a public academic university with another public university requires an act. A public university may be closed, merged with another public university, or have its name changed after consulting the senate or senates of the universities whom these acts concern. The first rector of a university is appointed by the minister of higher education. The first term of office of bodies of a newly established university lasts until 31 August of the year after the academic year in which the university has been established. Electing bodies of public universities are electoral colleges: academic teachers, doctoral students, degree students, and non-teaching staff members.

Given the education profile of private universities, they are supervised by the Minister. Public universities are supervised by ministers in charge of internal affairs, maritime economy, health, etc.

(b) *Private*: Establishing a private independent university and making it eligible to offer degree programmes in a given field of study and at a given level of education requires a permit of the minister of higher education. The minister may also revoke such permit. The act defines the terms and conditions of granting and revoking the permit to establish a university by the founder. The permit is time-unlimited. After obtaining the permit, the

founder submits a notary deed with a declaration of intent to establish a public university—a ‘founding act’ that indicates the founder, the name, the seat, and the detailed scope of the university’s activity, the amount of assets allocated to form the university, including the value of property ownership transferred to the university, the date of transfer thereof, and the plan of financing of the university’s further activity.

The proceedings leading to the award of a permit to establish a public university involve a fee to cover the costs of consultative proceedings.

The first statutes are drawn up and provided by a university’s founder. The founder appoints its first rector, whose term of office lasts, as with public universities, until 31 August of the following academic year.

Closing a private university involves disposing of its tangible and intangible assets after satisfying or securing the claims of its creditors, especially staff and students, where the costs of its closure, including the liquidator’s remuneration, are covered from its assets with precedence before the creditors’ claims. When the process of liquidation ends, the university is removed from the register.

## Statutes

University statutes govern matters related to a given university’s activity not regulated in the act such as university structure and division of competence, and issues related to the didactic process.

(a) *Public*: The statutes of a public university are approved by its senate, after consulting the unions functioning within the university. Collegial bodies of a public university include its senate and councils of basic organizational units; the statutes may name a different collegial body instead of or apart from the senate. One-person bodies include the rector and heads of the basic organizational units. A dean is the head of a college. The rector of a public university makes all decisions regarding matters concerning the university, except for matters named by the act or the statutes as reserved for other university bodies or the chancellor. They also form special purpose vehicles upon the senate’s approval.

(b) *Private*: The statutes of a private university are drawn up and provided by its founder or the collegial body indicated therein, also after consulting the unions functioning within the university. A private university's founder may make decisions concerning the university only in cases defined in the statutes.

The statutes name the collegial body of a university. They may also provide for a different one-person body except for the rector. Such statutes describe the procedure of appointing and dismissing one-person university bodies and their deputies, and define the rector's authority. One-person university bodies and their deputies are appointed and dismissed by the founder or the body indicated in the statutes, upon consultation with the senate.

The statutes determine the body to form special purpose vehicles (a one-person corporation formed for the purpose of indirect commercialization). The statutes of a private university determine the teaching load and the work time of academics.

## **Offering and Running Study Programmes**

Councils of basic organizational units set the directions for the development of the programmes, adopt programmes for undergraduate/graduate/doctoral/postgraduate studies, and curricula—after consulting the relevant bodies and according to the guidelines set by the senate (*public*) or the relevant collegial body/senate (*private*).

## **Number of Students**

(a) *Public*: A public university's senate's resolution sets the number of places for particular fields of study of full-time studies in a given academic year. The number of full-time students may not be lower than the number of part-time students. The rector addresses MSHE or another relevant minister with a request to increase the number of full-time students if their number exceeds 2 per cent of those admitted in the previous academic year. The

number of degree and doctoral students is set by the senate of a given university.

(b) *Private*: The senate decides on the rules of admission to undergraduate/graduate/postgraduate studies.

## Funding

Abiding by the act, state authorities provide public universities with funds required to pursue their activity and grant aid to private universities in the scope and forms provided for in the act. Universities may obtain other funds from the state budget, European funds, and from budgets of local government units or their associations. In the case of the latter, they may also benefit from designated subsidies to pursue tasks that are related to own tasks of a given local government unit.

(a) *Public*: The activity of public universities is state-funded, and may be financed from own revenues to let them educate full-time degree/doctoral students and academic staff, to pursue tasks related to the profile of a given university, to maintain their facilities, to cover the costs of renovation and non-refundable material support offered to disabled degree and doctoral students, to create conditions favourable to their education, to co-finance or finance investments, etc.

A public university may also collect tuition fees for part-time programmes, granting a possibility to repeat classes as part of full-time studies, for delivering classes in a foreign language, classes from outside the curriculum, for offering postgraduate studies, improvement courses, training sessions, and for verification of learning outcomes. The fees are determined by the rector, taking the conditions stemming from the rules set by the senate into account. Public universities manage their finances independently on the basis of a finance and operations plan approved by each university's senate, according to the legislation on public finance and accounting. Universities submit their finance and operations plans to the relevant ministers. A university establishes (a) a capital fund (reflecting the value of its assets), including a fund of material support for degree and

doctoral students; (2) other funds, e.g. a fund for university development, a scholarship fund. The Council of Ministers issues a regulation determining detailed principles of a given university's financial management.

A public university that accrues net losses exceeding 25 per cent of the state budget grant received in the year preceding the current budgetary year over the period of the last five years is obliged to prepare a recovery programme to let it recover its financial balance. The programme is to be presented to the relevant minister.

(b) *Private*: The activity of private universities is financed from own revenues and may be funded from state subsidies granted to pursue statutory tasks: non-refundable material support offered to disabled and economically disadvantaged degree and doctoral students. The MSHE issues a regulation determining the way and the procedure according to which earmarked subsidies are divided among and provided to the said universities to support them in their quality-focused tasks, considering the number of full-time doctoral students and the cost of full-time doctoral studies. If a state subsidy is not used, the university returns the unused amount to the state.

The principles of collecting fees for education services are set by the body indicated in the university's statutes.

Private universities manage their finances independently based on a finance and operations plan approved by collegial bodies indicated in their statutes, according to the legislation on accounting and on public finance in the scope of managing resources obtained from the state.

## **DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN POLAND**

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Development of Poland's education system is related to the process of the political transformation that began in 1989 and changed the tertiary education landscape fundamentally. The said transformation resulted, among others, in a clear democratization of academic life, a bigger freedom of research, choice of teaching content, and appointments of faculty (Olesiński 2017). The act of 12 September 1990 on higher education, which brought about a new reality in the scope of academic freedom, institutional

autonomy of universities, possibility of collecting tuition fees for selected types of studies, and possibility to establish private tertiary education institutions became a milestone in the development of higher education in Poland (Leja 2011).

There were also significant changes of both qualitative and quantitative nature in the demand for education services. The early 1990s entrepreneurial revolution, the dynamic inflow of international enterprises to Poland, the growing value of knowledge in the society's consciousness, and the increasing education aspirations accompanying the demographic high of the time led to a growing interest in acquiring top professional skills and pursuing higher education at a low growth enrolment ratio (Górniak 2015). All this led to a dynamic development of tertiary education, manifested in an increasing rate of enrolment in the public sector and the development of private universities. Moreover, the public policy of the time contributed to the appearance of higher education institutions that encouraged potential applicants to take advantage of their offer and postpone entry into the labour market to avoid the prospect of unemployment (Sułkowski 2017).

In the academic year 1990/1991 there were 112 universities in Poland, educating over 390,000 students. The academic year 2009/2010, in turn, saw a record-breaking number of 461 universities educating over 1,916,000 students, including 330 private universities with over 624,000 students. In the peak year, 71 per cent of higher education institutions were private universities educating over 32 per cent of all students (GUS 2010, 2013, 2014). After the academic year 2009/2010, the number of universities started decreasing consistently. As for the number of students, the record figure for public universities occurred in the academic year 2005/2006, and for private universities in 2007/2008 (GUS 2017).

The increasing demand for education and the growing number of universities in the period 1990–2010 triggered a dynamic growth of the gross enrolment ratio, which describes the general level of higher education. It was 12.9 per cent in the academic year 1990/1991, and reached an all-time high of 53.8 per cent in the academic year 2010/2011.

The upward trend for universities ended when demography took a reverse turn (i.e. a progressing low) in the age group of potential students. The number of those willing to improve their professional skills at a later age dropped too. At present, given a demographic low, the number of

potential students is decreasing consistently, which is felt most by private universities, which—unlike public ones—offer their full-time programmes for a fee and thus tend to lose to competition. In the academic year 2016/2017, there were a total of 1,348.8 thousand students studying at 390 higher education institutions. Among these there were 258 private universities (66 fewer than in 2007/2008), educating some 314,700 students, which made up 23.3 per cent of all students (see [Table 6.1](#)). The changes taking place in tertiary education caused the gross enrolment ratio to drop to 47.4 per cent in 2016/2017 ([GUS 2017](#)).

**Table 6.1 Students according to the form of studies in 2007 and 2016**

Detailed list	Overall		Studying			
			Full-time		Part-time	
Years	2007	2016	2007	2016	2007	2016
Overall	1,937,404	1,348,822	940,204	895,725	997,200	453,097
Public universities	1,276,937	1,034,161	803,473	813,596	473,464	220,565
Private universities	660,467	314,661	136,731	82,129	523,736	232,532

Source: own work based on GUS (2007, 2017).

The data given in [Table 6.1](#) show that the lower number of students in 2016 compared to 2007 has affected private universities much more than public ones. Of the reported difference of 588,600 students 41 per cent has been absorbed by public universities and 59 per cent by private ones.

Poland's private higher education sector, shaped in the period of a demographic high and an increasing interest in tertiary education, is marked by a set of specific qualities. These are:

- significant fragmentation: many institutions of little potential;
- taking little advantage of state support (maintenance grants, research grants, European funds);
- failure to keep to the applied standards (regarding both private and public universities);
- in most cases—not having own academic staff and relying on public university staff, which lowers the research potential and the level of

- involvement in organizational matters;
- founders and authorities of private universities being often suspected of gaining excessive private benefits (Koźmiński 2009).

A distinctive trait of public universities is the large number of part-time students. This form of study is fee-based regardless of whether the institution is public or private. In recent years, the number of part-time students and their share in the total population of students has been consistently decreasing, though. Part-time students made up 52 per cent of all students in 2007. This rate fell to 33.6 per cent in 2016/2017, which had a negative impact mainly on private higher education institutions, where the majority of students—73.9 per cent—still studied part-time (GUS 2017).

Also, private universities tend to be evaluated lower by the Polish Accreditation Committee (PAC). In their case, negative assessment, suspensions, or withdrawals from assessment of fields of study are much more frequent, which may result in the Minister of Higher Education suspending or revoking the right to teach a given field of study for 12 months (GUS 2017). For instance, in 2012, PAC's assessment resulted in suspension or revocation of rights to teach 70 fields of study at 44 private universities and 13 fields of study at 12 public universities (Antosz 2015).

Public and private universities differ also in terms of the structure of revenues. This stems from the legal considerations concerning their funding mechanisms. In 2016, the operating revenues of universities (both public and private) amounted to 22,679.1 million zloty, including 20,496.0 million zloty made by public universities. Of the total revenues of public universities, 77.9 per cent came from teaching activity, 81.1 per cent of which came from state subsidies and 13.6 per cent from research activity. Regarding private universities, 89.0 per cent of operating revenues was made on teaching, where 83.4 per cent involved tuition fees, and 3.0 per cent was the revenue from research activity (GUS 2017). Details are shown in [Table 6.2](#).

**Table 6.2 Revenues and costs of higher education institutions in Poland in 2016**

	Revenues			Own costs		
	from teaching activity	from research activity	from separate economic activity	of teaching activity	of research activity	of separate economic activity
<i>in thous. PLN</i>						
TOTAL	17,908,118.2	2,860,843.9	146,604.4	18,671,3680.7	2,974,9750.9	162,281.4
PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES	15,965,537.3	2,794,602.8	130,248.6	16,693,572.5	2,839,679.2	147,556.8
PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES	1,942,580.9	66,241.1	16,355.8	1,977,796.2	135,296.7	14,724.6
of which:						
Academies of economics	609,872.6	11,353.5	4,663.4	607,502.4	49,446.7	3,186.9
Other higher education institutions	950,986.9	29,024.4	8,940.4	963,533.0	56,990.7	8,696.9

Source: GUS (2017).

The forecasts for tertiary education suggest that if the current funding mechanisms in view of the deepening demographic low by 2025 do not change, a big part of the private education sector, which is currently formed of 258 higher education institutions with over 314,000 students, will simply disappear (cf. Górniaik 2015). This is opposite to the global trend, where private higher education tends to play an increasing part (Sułkowski 2017). The said demographic low will also influence the way private universities operate. At present, they have developed new management practices, becoming more commercialized. According to Koźmiński (2009), this manifests itself in e.g. increasing the number of fee-based educational programmes, research initiatives, and expert services; tuition fees covering a part of costs of education services collected in a growing number of countries; using donations and taking advantage of sponsorship of individuals and companies; participating in public–private partnerships; and professionalization of management.

# EVOLUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

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Higher education institutions had been operating for years in a stable environment. In the nineteenth century and until the mid-twentieth century, European—including Polish—universities functioned on the Humboldtian (i.e. liberal) model, where the freedom of research and education was supported by the state. The main activity of universities involved scientific research. Research results, expected to be credible to everyone, are public property, and so they are published in specialist press or books, and anyone can become familiar with them. The main objective of universities operating on the Humboldtian model is the development of learning and science (Haberla and Bobowski 2013). Knowledge used to be created in separation from the needs of the environment since it was assumed to offer self-justifying value (Leja 2013). Application research was neglected (Jóźwiak 2003). The Humboldtian model of higher education is a ‘concept of culture and ethos—the core of a university is formed of values such as academic freedom, autonomy of the university and scientists, community of academics and students, and culture-forming role of the university. Derivatives of values include public institutions, standards, cultural patterns, and ideals to which the university aspires’ (Sułkowski 2016: 17).

In Poland, the act regulating the functioning of higher education institutions, based on the Humboldtian model, was the first act of the reborn Poland (the bill on academic schools of 13 July 1920). It granted freedom of education and teaching, and guaranteed academics freedom of selection of research themes. The formal and substantive autonomy of universities was limited in the scope of personal and financial matters<sup>1</sup> (Leja 2013).

Application of the German model onto the Polish landscape after the First World War manifested itself also in the lack of the state’s need for works useful to the country. The academic community, understanding the significance of education to the society, made attempts to explore such practical issues, emphasizing the social role of education as a whole. A 2007 OECD report says: ‘The university-level state institutions were “autonomous and self-governing” universities, broadly on the German model (i.e. with a strong element of academic self-government under state

control and regulation, and identifying themselves with Humboldtian traditions of teaching, research and academic freedom' (Fulton et al. 2007: 12). After the Second World War, Poland's tertiary education was first organized based on an act of 1933 amended in 1937, and then on the basis of the decree of 1947 on the organization of science and higher education, which made the minister of education in charge of tertiary education in cooperation with the General Council of Science and Higher Education appointed by Poland's president at the request of the said minister (see Table 6.3).

**Table 6.3 Evolution of universities in Poland since 1945**

Years	Rector's authority	Institutional autonomy	Collegiality
1	2	3	4
1947–51	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The rector is appointed by the president of the Republic of Poland following a request of the minister of education, upon consultation with the General Council of Higher Education, from among three candidates selected at a staff meeting from among a body of professors for a three-year term of office.</li> <li>- The rector is the superior of all staff members, a person in charge of and dealing with and managing student affairs, a person representing the university externally.</li> <li>- The rector's authority is poor, rector is the executor of the senate's resolutions save for the possibility to suspend the senate's resolution on account of the public interest or the education institution's good.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Scientific research is unconstrained; scientific-research centres are established in one or several universities to make carrying out such research possible.</li> <li>- The statutes of a university are drawn up and provided by the minister of education with the consent of the General Council of Higher Education, upon hearing of the institution's bodies.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The senate is composed of the rector, vice-rectors, deans, vice-deans, delegates of <i>docents</i> (<math>\approx</math> readers), assistant professors, assistants, the administrative director, and other persons listed in the statutes.</li> <li>- The senate is the supreme body and the advocate for the education institution's needs and the body dealing with and managing student affairs.</li> <li>- The senate passes the budget and represents the owner of the education institution. If an education institution owns its own property, resolutions concerning property matters need to be approved by the minister.</li> </ul>
1951–6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The minister is in charge of universities.</li> <li>- The rector is appointed by the minister—like vice-rectors, deans, and vice-deans—following the rector's request.</li> <li>- Strong authority of rectors and deans—one-person bodies.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No autonomy—the minister draws up and provides statutes, establishes, closes, and transforms departments, arranges curricula, programmes, rules, and regulations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The senate is composed of: the rector, vice-rector, deputy rector for administration, deans, vice-deans, coordinators of special programmes of study.</li> <li>- Collegial bodies provide opinions—the senate cooperates with the rector, and the department's council cooperates with the relevant dean.</li> <li>- The senate is composed of elected members.</li> </ul>
1956–8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The rector is elected by the senate for a three-year term of office.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The minister is in charge of universities.</li> <li>- The statutes are drawn up and provided by the minister following the senate's request presented by the rector.</li> </ul>	
1958–82	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The rector is elected by the senate for a three-year term of office, but the procedure of appointing the rector and vice-rectors by the minister, who had the right to extend the rector's term of office, was reinstated in 1968.</li> <li>- The rector's authority became reinforced, i.e. they are able to overrule a decision of a one-person body or a department's council if the decision is against the law or contravenes the public interest.*</li> <li>- The senate may address the minister with a request to dismiss the rector.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A higher education institution is established by way of an act, not a resolution of the Council of Ministers, upon consultation with the General Council.</li> <li>- The minister supervises universities and may overrule any resolution and decision if they are against the law or contravene the public interest.</li> <li>- Study programmes at universities are established based on general guidelines.</li> <li>- A principle of freedom of scientific research and debate is in place, becoming limited after the events of March 1968.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Senates cooperate with rectors in managing activities, rectors consult senates in all matters of significance to their education institution.</li> <li>- The senate's authority was limited in 1968, when rector's and dean's colleges offering a seat to a representative of the Polish United Workers' Party were introduced.</li> <li>- The senate is composed of elected members.</li> </ul>
1982–90	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The rector is elected by the senate or by the electoral college.</li> <li>- The rector is the supreme executive body of a university.</li> <li>- A self-governing university is managed by its whole community through elective collegial and one-person bodies.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Universities are self-governing communities of academic teachers, students, and other members of their staff.</li> <li>- Universities operate driven by the principle of freedom of arts and science respecting differences of outlook at the same time.</li> <li>- The statutes of a university as passed by the senate need to be approved by the minister.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The senate is composed of elected members. The senate and department councils are collegial bodies of universities.</li> <li>- The senate is the supreme body of a university.</li> </ul>

1990–2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The rector is elected by the electoral college or the senate for a three-year term of office.</li> <li>- The rector manages the activity of their university, represents the university in its external environment, and is in charge of all university's staff members and students.</li> <li>- The rector makes decisions concerning their university's functioning provided that such decisions are not reserved for other bodies of the university or the administrative director.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- University statutes are passed by the senate, and in the case of universities employing fewer than 60 (in the case of universities of arts—fewer than 20) professors, the statutes need to be approved by the minister.</li> <li>- The minister is in charge of universities in the scope of compliance of their bodies' activity with the statutory regulations and their statutes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The senate and department councils are collegial bodies of universities.</li> <li>- The senate is composed of elected members.</li> <li>- The senate's resolutions adopted in matters in which the senate is competent are binding upon the rector and other bodies of the university, and upon all members of the university's academic community.</li> </ul>
2005–	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The rector is elected by the electoral college or the senate for a four-year term of office.</li> <li>- The rector manages the activity of their university, represents the university in its external environment, and is in charge of the university's staff members and students.</li> <li>- The rector makes decisions concerning their university's functioning provided that such decisions are not reserved for other bodies of the university or the chancellor.</li> <li>- from 01.01.2018</li> <li>- The rector of a public university presents the minister in charge of tertiary education with a performance report regarding the finance and operations plan by 30 June of the year following a given reporting year.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Universities are autonomic in all areas of their activity, according the principles defined in the act.</li> <li>- The statutes of universities holding the right to award the degree of <i>doktor habilitowany</i> make for &gt; 50% and ≤ 60% of the senate's composition respectively, and representatives of students make &gt; 20% of its composition.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The senate and department councils are collegial bodies of universities.</li> <li>- Representatives of professors and academics holding the degree of <i>doktor habilitowany</i> make for &gt; 50% and ≤ 60% of the senate's composition respectively, and representatives of students make &gt; 20% of its composition.</li> <li>- The senate's resolutions in the scope of decision-making competence are binding upon other university bodies, staff members, and students.</li> </ul>

\* Such provision or a similar provision of the same sense is found in all acts on higher education.

Source: Leja (2013: 26–8); the higher education law act of 27 July 2005, Journal of Laws no. 164, item 1365 with changes.

The above analysis shows a clear influence of the German concept of a liberal university. The focus is on academic autonomy, and freedom and unity of research and teaching. Major changes occurred only in 2005, which proves how deeply rooted in Polish education this concept was. Collegial decision making gained in significance, involving inclusion of representatives of academic teachers, of other staff groups, and of students, who now represent 20 per cent of members of the senates and department councils of Polish universities (Leja 2013). The goal has become to commercialize research results and pursue more application research—in compliance with the intellectual property law.

Globalization, growing competition, and external pressure have all made universities evolve from traditional colleges to more venturesome organizations.

## The Role of Entrepreneurial Universities

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, universities across the globe came under growing pressure to change the way they operated. Universities started resembling business, political, and community organizations, becoming very complex institutions. This was caused, among other factors, by the development of the knowledge economy and the increasingly dynamic external setting.

Universities decided gradually they had to react to the changing demands of governments, industry, and various communities while maintaining and improving traditional spheres of research, teaching, and learning, which tended to become more and more sophisticated each year (Clark 2004). The tertiary education of today faces many challenges. Van Vught (1999: 349–50) lists them as follows:

- *Other knowledge producers*: At present, knowledge comes from many different organizations, including universities, but also businesses, state institutions, or think tanks. Enterprises of today in particular see knowledge as the main means to create value added. Businesses operating in the knowledge industry compete with each other, thinking of new creative ways to produce knowledge. According to OECD (1998), knowledge has become the most important factor in production.
- *Students and employers*: The Western systems of tertiary education have become mass-systems. Hence, most graduates expect their universities to offer them effective training to prepare them to the pursuit of a career. Employers highlight this point, underlining their willingness to support universities if the latter are able to provide them with appropriately skilled and qualified human resources.
- *Education providers*: There have been new entrants to the commercial higher education market, focusing on vocational education and ready to challenge academic institutions.
- *New technologies*: Information and communications technologies have a big impact on tertiary education systems. The ability to adapt is crucial.

Sulkowski (2016) extends the list. Public universities suffer from education underfunding. The reasons behind it are both internal and

external. Public institutions tend to turn away from the welfare state model, aiming at minimizing the costs of provision of education services. There is also a growing number of private universities and other education institutions.

In such a situation, universities look for new sources of funding—called ‘third stream’ by Clark (2004)—alone. These sources include business activity focusing on innovation, cooperation with industry, and implementation of new economic projects (so-called spin-offs) (Johnstone 1998).

The mid-1990s were a time of a crisis in tertiary education, as mentioned in reports by the World Bank and UNESCO. Its symptoms included: mass higher education not translating into equal education opportunities, insufficient differentiation among education programmes and institutions, and development of education under conditions of decreasing unit expenditures (per one student). The suggested solutions involved suiting tertiary education to social needs, improving the quality of education and of the conducted research, the need for universities to settle accounts with their environments, ensuring transparency of functioning, and rationality in allocating the resources at their disposal. UNESCO’s declaration entitled ‘Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century’ has a similar overtone, stating that education should be oriented towards students’ needs and based on partner relations with the surroundings. It also highlighted sharing knowledge and know-how (Leja 2013).

A focus on competitiveness leads to revision of the mission and vision of universities, forced to adapt to the labour market. Universities concentrate on either research or education. They are not local institutions any more. They are international, or even global. They educate professionals specializing in particular fields (Sulkowski 2016; see Table 6.4).

**Table 6.4 Transformations of university models**

Criteria	Past	Present	Future
university funding	state funding	different sources of funding	self-funding or co-funding
dominant founding structures	public institution	predominance of universities, increased presence of private education institutions	predominance of private education institutions, including those profit-oriented
essence of university education	education as a public good	education as a public good or a public service	education as a public good and a public service
mission	science and higher education	higher education and scientific activity	education and science combined with a 'third mission' in the form of cooperation with and services rendered to the external environment
tuition fees	no tuition fees	mixed model, some programmes are paid	paid or partially paid programmes
student's role	student—member of the academic community	student becomes the key stakeholder	student as a client, purchaser of education services
role of research-teaching staff	focus on research-teaching staff	focus on research-teaching staff, but also on students	focus on students and other clients
university's autonomy	autonomy of the institution and staff	limited autonomy of the institution and staff	departure from autonomy (corporate system)
governance	collegial model—'professorial democracy'	mixed collegial-managerial model (stakeholders model)	managerial-corporate management model
relationship between education and science	relationship between teaching and research	diversity of research and teaching aspects	specialization in research and teaching
popularization of higher education	elite education model	egalitarian and mass education	permanent and common education model
university's mission	society-oriented vision and mission	society-oriented mission with market elements	market-oriented vision and mission
competition among universities	no market competition (regional quasi-monopoly)	limited market competition	free market and competition
university's range and role	national and culture-forming institution	supranational and culture-forming institution	global institution creating professional environments
learning ethos	academic learning ethos	erosion of the traditional academic learning ethos	corporate learning
orientation on theory vs. practice	orientation on theory	orientation on theory and practice	orientation on practice
graduates	intellectuals, oriented on scientific learning	professionals, oriented on vocational and scientific improvement	specialists, oriented on vocational improvement
approach to university management	public administration	new public management	university governance, managerialism, neo-liberalism
general orientation	universalistic approach	particularistic approach	pragmatic approach

Source: Sułkowski (2016).

The idea of an entrepreneurial university is considered a natural next step in the process of university development (Etzkowitz 2003). The factors behind organizational transformation include competition and the need to react to accumulated pressure (Pettigrew 2003). Such external pressures and challenges make universities change and adopt new courses of action (Mészáros 1999; Sporn 1999).

The term of 'entrepreneurial university' was coined by Clark (1998). Such a university is marked by a strengthened steering core, an enhanced development periphery, a discretionary funding base, a stimulated heartland, and an entrepreneurial belief. Universities need to innovate, i.e.

become innovative and more entrepreneurial in the following three areas (Van Vught 1999: 351–3):

- *research*: new approach to research management, with an emphasis on strategic partnership, sharing of resources, and a search for new problem contexts;
- *teaching and learning*: ‘professional skills’ rather than transmitting past knowledge. The most required skills are transferable skills. Gibbons (1998) and Reich (1991) argue that universities need to shift from ‘training disciplinary specialists’ to educating ‘professional knowledge workers’;
- *knowledge transfer*: instruments and mechanisms such as science parks, technology transfer centres, incubator programmes, and venture capital funds.

It is important to mention, though, that not all the researchers see entrepreneurial universities as the right transformation direction. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) claim that there are many charges to be raised. They assert that entrepreneurial universities betray original academic values, present an opportunistic approach to research and teaching, and focus only on financial gains and are therefore engaged in many insignificant external projects. One cannot either clearly assume that private universities function according to an entrepreneurial culture, or that public universities uphold merely traditions (Rinne and Koivula 2005).

The answer to the challenges of today’s tertiary education can be found in the declared mission statements of many European universities. Pursuing a mission in practice is a complex process, especially for universities, given the fact that formulating a mission statement is more important than the outcome (Koźmiński 1999). University mission expansion is presented in Table 6.5.

**Table 6.5 Expansion of university mission**

Teaching	Research	Entrepreneurial
Preservation and dissemination of knowledge	First academic revolution (late 19th century)—made research a university function in addition to the traditional task of teaching	Second academic revolution (early and mid-20th century)—transformed universities into teaching, research, and economic development enterprises
New missions generate conflict of interest controversies	Two missions: teaching and research	Third mission: economic and social development; old missions continued

Source: Etzkowitz (2003).

The mission statements of the selected Polish universities are analysed below to examine their aspirations for becoming entrepreneurial universities.

## MISSION STATEMENTS OF POLISH UNIVERSITIES

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Statutes, mission statements, and development strategy are of strategic importance to every university. They set the course of action and the direction for development. Twenty mission statements of both public and private universities have been analysed. The selected universities were those ranked highest in Perspektywy's ranking<sup>2</sup> of Polish universities.

The first criterion is the easiness to find the mission statement. All of the analysed public universities had their mission statements published on their websites. This was not the case with private universities. In some cases, mission statements were either unavailable or outdated (judging by the periods they were declared to concern). The second criterion is the length of the mission statement, which as a rule should be short and inspirational. The mission statements of public universities appeared to be extensive. One of these mission statements was four pages long. Sometimes they rather described a given university, not its goals. As for private universities, mission statements were short and to-the-point. The third criterion is the

key elements to be emphasized, which are critical for becoming an entrepreneurial university. Mission statements focus on about thirty elements, including professionalism, responsibility, lifelong learning, or multiculturalism. But there are several aspects encountered most often: society, research, practice, cooperation with the external environment, entrepreneurship, and internationalization. They are illustrated by the following examples:

- University of Wrocław (public university): *Our mission is to conduct and promote highest, top quality research. We maintain close relations with Wrocław and Lower Silesia. We are also open to cooperation with other institutions of higher education and domestic and foreign businesses. We desire to build a centre for scientific, intellectual and cultural life together.*
- Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (public university): *The mission of Nicolaus Copernicus University is to develop and disseminate knowledge, especially through: conducting scientific research and making its outcomes available; teaching at an academic level and engaging in other forms of education and popularization activity corresponding to the current and future needs and aspirations of the society; educating researchers and scientists and conferring professional titles and academic degrees related thereto—all of the above considered equally important.* (own translation)
- Kozminski University (private university): *We are leveraging our entrepreneurial flair, our corporate relations, our research potential and our internationalization to make a difference in business, law and society.*
- University of Dąbrowa Górnica (private university): *By offering professionalism and knowledge, the University of Dąbrowa Górnica educates students who will become people open to challenges and able to react dynamically to changes taking place in their environment. By conducting scientific research combined with business practice, it creates tangible values for the society and business world.* (own translation)

The analysed mission statements show that these universities do aim at becoming entrepreneurial universities. It is clear, however, that public

universities—unlike private ones—are unable to communicate what makes them different, or have no specific priorities. This is proven by the length of their mission statements, which often tend to function as an ‘about’ section. The analysed public mission statements spoke of values, but failed to name the aims and aspirations of public universities.

## CONCLUSIONS

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In conditions of a deepening demographic low, high level of gross enrolment ratio, growing migration in search of high quality education, underfunding of scientific and higher education institutions, and the increasingly commercialized nature of functioning of public universities, the sector of tertiary education faces some serious challenges, especially private universities, forced as they are to adapt to the growing competitive education market by developing permanent sources of competitive advantage (Koźmiński 2009; Sułkowski 2017). An analysis of mission statements of selected universities from Poland shows that their common goal is to serve the society, and focus on research, entrepreneurship, and cooperation with their environment—also international. But in many cases, there are no distinctive elements that make universities stand out. Their aspirations are not clearly highlighted either. Universities need to be fully aware of their strengths if they want to compete successfully in the global market effectively.

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<sup>1</sup> This autonomy was first limited in 1932, when the minister was granted a right to dismiss inconvenient academics.

<sup>2</sup> One of the most popular rankings among high school graduates in Poland.

## CHAPTER 7

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# THE IMPLICATIONS OF A DIVERSIFYING WORKFORCE FOR INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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CELIA WHITCHURCH

## INTRODUCTION

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THIS chapter will draw on three research projects undertaken by the author and colleagues between 2013 and 2018:

- (1) Staffing Models and Institutional Flexibility (Whitchurch and Gordon 2013a, 2013b; 2017), funded by the UK Leadership Foundation for Higher Education.
- (2) Shifting Landscapes: Meeting the Staff Development Needs of a Changing Academic Workforce (Locke et al. 2016), funded by the Higher Education Academy.

- The Future Higher Education Workforce in Locally and Globally
- (3) Engaged Higher Education Institutions (Whitchurch et al. 2019), funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE).

Together the three projects involved a total of twenty-three case study institutions in the United Kingdom, and 183 interviews with senior managers, middle managers, and early and mid-career staff. Expert witnesses were also consulted by phone or by Skype from a range of other countries including Australia, the United States, Ireland, South Africa, and Hong Kong. These were senior higher education managers such as vice-chancellors, pro-vice-chancellors, heads of administration, and researchers with an international reputation in higher education studies.

From all three projects there emerged, *inter alia*, issues around the relationship between a diversifying workforce and institutional structures, and following on from this the challenges arising from increasingly devolved management and governance arrangements. One key finding was that the role of middle managers such as heads of department and principal investigators of research teams emerged as critical in interpreting and modulating institutional policy. Their impact on individual lives could be disproportionate, both positively and negatively. At the same time there was a growing bottom-up dynamic as staff negotiated the structures they encountered to meet individual strengths, requirements, and aspirations, including factors such as work-life balance, caring responsibilities, and partner careers. Sometimes these were adjusted seamlessly in consultation with a line manager, sometimes with an element of paying lip service to formal processes and structures while working round them. This could be interpreted in different ways, from demonstrating pragmatism to, at times, a sense of subversiveness. Nevertheless, the interpretation and ownership of institutional policy at ground level with respect to, for instance, terms and conditions, rewards and incentives, and career development, emerged as critical to individual motivations and outcomes, as well as to institutional profiles and reputation.

What also seemed to be the case was that institutional managers, as represented by senior management teams, and often despite their professed best intentions, tended to be behind the curve in observing and responding to these trends, and in moving towards what might be seen as community

governance (Benington 2011; Feldman and Khademian 2007; Ferlie et al. 2008), based on partnership as well as top-down communication. However, it was also clear from the narratives that ‘traditional ways of representing collegial and managerial governance as polar opposites or a dichotomy do not reflect accurately the realities of contemporary university structures and processes’, and that ‘the evolution of network governance means that academic governance no longer takes place only within universities but also in other, intra-institutional spaces’ (Rowlands 2016: 111).

## CONTEXTS

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As shown in Whitchurch and Gordon (2013a, 2013b), institutions are experimenting with more flexible structural arrangements to meet less certain environments and to reduce institutional risk. These adjustments do not necessarily operate solely in the interests of the institution, and cater in different ways for different constituencies. For instance:

- Annualized contracts, whereby individuals’ hours can be varied to meet peaks and troughs in demand and also assure individuals on such contracts of a regular monthly salary.
- Benefit packages that offer financial and other types of reward and are tailored to meet individual needs including flexitime, off-campus working, and trade-offs between pay and leave entitlement.
- A broadening of criteria for promotion that can recognize and reward, for instance, achievement in teaching, scholarship, pedagogical research, professional practice, and links with the community or the business sectors.
- Flexible career tracks that can accommodate, for instance, teaching and research, teaching and scholarship, professional practice, innovation and/or knowledge exchange at different points in an individual’s career.
- Employment contracts that do not distinguish between academic and non-academic roles and give professional staff equivalent status in undertaking work with academic components such as tutoring, programme development, institutional research and development.

Such mechanisms enable institutions to make adjustments on an evolutionary basis, as a result of, for instance, developments in competitor institutions, a new senior management team, bottom-up pressure from staff and/or their line managers, or internal restructuring. Institutions are likely to be driven to respond, not only to market forces in an effort to reduce their cost base, but also to new ways of working as a result of pressure from staff themselves. In turn, local managers are likely to be instrumental in how moves towards greater flexibility are presented and perceived. Thus, whatever organizational models are chosen, their dependence on facilitative relationships, and on interpretation of the formal contract of employment rather than the precise letter of the contract itself, is likely to be critical. Therefore, flexibility may be provided by custom and practice as much as by formal provision, and adjustments to the employment equation may also involve what one respondent described as ‘trade-offs’. A key responsibility for institutional managers, therefore, is in assessing the point at which local arrangements might be optimal, in the light of a range of considerations. The changes described have therefore put pressure on the concept of the generic academic with a balanced portfolio of teaching and research, and the continuation of the apprenticeship model of the full-time, sequential academic career. Out-with what might be seen as a core of staff who have a balanced teaching, research, and knowledge exchange portfolio, there are a significant minority of staff whose experiences, needs, and expectations diverge from this norm (Locke et al. 2016). Higher education institutions have begun to develop distinctive career pathways, and these might be extended in future to include, for instance, the student experience, professional practice, or international roles.

Key points that arose out of the three studies included:

- The impact on both institutions and individuals of a diversifying workforce, with an increasing range of career histories and trajectories.
- The impact of a greater range of employment contracts and models on institutions and those working in them.
- The discretion available to local managers in interpreting institutional policies in ways that meet the needs and develop the potential of those for whom they are responsible.

However, the studies also showed that there could at times be a disconnect between policy and practice at the level of governance and management, the day-to-day understandings of rank-and-file staff in early and mid-career, and at times, their line managers such as heads of school and department.

## GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

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Horvath (2017), drawing on a recent literature review of what governance means for contemporary higher education institutions, drew attention to the relationships among governance actors, the means that different actors have to negotiate for their goals and interests, what formal and informal rules restrict or enable their actions, and how such rules are communicated, implemented, and enforced (Horvath 2017: 13). The way that governance is enacted, therefore, and the need for flexible governance that recognizes and is sensitive to a variety of local conditions, is increasingly pertinent in the light of the changing structural contexts of institutions. In particular, issues of achieving a balance between institutional and individual aspirations, channels of negotiation, and the location of decision making would appear to be paramount in a higher education setting. Ideas about the significance of spatial configurations of people as opposed to linear and historical views of structures, in particular social networks at the borders of recognized spaces (Castells 2000; Soja 1996), suggest that formal arrangements might increasingly need to take account of these. The aim would be to achieve what might be termed more iterative forms of governance, in which senior management teams, heads of school and department translate, facilitate and enact policy, whilst ensuring that legal, financial, and ethical obligations are met.

On the one hand, there was in the studies acknowledgement at the most senior levels that decisions needed proper consultation and discussion in order to achieve a balance between supporting the institution's overall employment proposition and motivating staff in ways that would do this. An over-bureaucratic committee structure could encourage a silo mentality, militating against joined up approaches in which every member of the governing body contributes to its collective value. On the other hand,

concern was also expressed in more than one institution about the need to be able to respond rapidly to external demands, and this had involved, for instance, reducing the number and balance of the governing body membership, increasing frequency of meetings, reducing sub-committees and the increasing use of correspondence for decision making (including email). Thus:

our existing governance arrangements are really not fit for purpose for the flexibility needed in times to come ... they risk hindering institutional decision making ... we should [in future] have a more flexible, more responsive, fleet of foot, capability at that level ... so that should yield a balanced Council, but one that's much more focused on the job in hand. (Chair of governing body)

Some institutions had established an executive that met, say, once a month, with a wider forum meeting, say, three times a year. Frustration with bureaucracy and the inability to move quickly was also a common theme among department heads and programme leaders, particularly in relation to appointments to posts and programme approvals. Again, this had to be weighed against the consultation and timescales required in relation to, for instance, the adjustment or phasing out of a teaching programme, as well as issues of fairness and equity.

In terms of their focus on staffing issues, it was suggested that governing bodies were more likely to be concerned with performance and equity in an institution than with future staffing profiles. Thus there was more interest in 'a backlog of unmet capability issues, people not tackling performance ... more [about] getting what's there working properly, rather than thinking about what could or should be there instead' (vice-chancellor). The accent was therefore more likely to be on matters of probity and justice than workforce trends and forward strategies. At the same time, although governance procedures might be seen as offering protection for staff, a number of respondents also pointed out that institutions are in any case bound by employment law, in that they are obliged to have a contract with employees, consultation processes, and procedures to deal with grievances and dismissal on disciplinary grounds. Thus, an appeal to the governing body could simply delay matters in ways that were not necessarily beneficial to individuals:

all it really does, in many cases, is prolong the outcome to a formal resolution, because it gives so many ... predefined layers of consideration ... All [individuals] have more rights to time and process. (Head of administration)

Thus there is a delicate balance to be struck between fair governance and the way this facilitates good practice in relation to management, as opposed to creating what many referred to as ‘bureaucracy’. A stark example of the latter, representing a mechanistic relationship between individual and institution, is typified by the way that automated systems create inappropriate alerts:

they’re supposed to warn you a few months before your contract comes up ... if you receive a letter in the post with your Pay As You Earn (PAYE) form, it doesn’t exactly send the best message, does it? ... For example ... just under a year ago I was made a permanent member of staff but officially my contract for ... would have ended in March, and when I came in on the 1st April, my staff login didn’t work because basically Human Resources hadn’t told the IT system that I was still a member of staff. (Early career academic)

Structures such as workload models could also be the source of significant dissatisfaction in that they did not necessarily reflect the reality of the time it took, for instance, to provide pastoral care for students:

workload models have caused massive problems ... and there is a project ... on how to counter some of the criticisms ... it’s not [so much] about the amount of work, it’s about a number of other things, some of which is cultural, some of it is because we’ve got no processes or procedures, so actually, to get anything done you have to go round 3 or 4, you know, times so everything, even the simplest things, takes a lot of time, and that’s a legitimate complaint and we need to sort that. (Director of human resources)

Therefore if not tempered by a more personal relationship there is the danger that the individual’s relationship with the institution can become defined by formal structures and processes and dislocated from human contact. The lack of a bespoke and ‘intelligent’ relationship between individuals and institutions is demonstrated in the following statement, which also reflects a mismatch between an ‘accounting’ and an ‘entrepreneurial’ culture:

we work as a very commercially oriented research group and do very well because we’ve got good industry links, we get lots of sponsorship from industry, so it’s a nice little team that we’ve got going ... I find compared to working in the ... private sector, it’s a very sort of clunky bureaucracy ... So I think that’s the biggest hindrance, the amount of bureaucracy and the hoops and hurdles you have to jump through to get anything done. (Mid-career academic)

In these contexts, a key aspect of governance is to take account of the impact of policy on a range of constituencies and the variables that are

likely to affect this at the implementation stage. These might include, for instance:

- Institutional or sub-institutional mission, including balance of teaching, research, and knowledge exchange activity.
- The size of the institution. Smaller institutions tended to see this as an advantage in fostering collaborative working, as well as commitment to institutional goals. At the same time, there may be issues about a lack of critical mass, the ability to provide cover, and equity between staff in different faculties who may know each other.
- Disciplinary mix of staff, including professional practitioners, and number of part-time and hourly paid staff.
- Relationships with local trade unions and/or staff forums.
- Locale of the institution, for instance whether co-located with other tertiary providers who could become partners for collaborative teaching or benchmarking, more likely in large urban conurbations and some regions.
- Student mix and mode of study, for instance the extent of work-based or online learning.
- The existence of outreach and overseas campuses, and associated staff contracts, which may differ from those in the home institution.

In what Krull ([2017](#)) terms ‘creative governance’, appropriate adjustments can facilitate a different worldview among staff by:

- providing a stimulating environment
- encouraging risk-taking
- allowing for failure
- establishing high-trust relationships
- creating research-friendly governance structures, and
- enabling individuals to see things differently.

Facilitators for these conditions are described as timely and transparent decision making processes; communication and cooperation; building a common sense of identity; and decision making assigned to those who are

able to take responsibility for outcomes. Krull goes on to identify four domains of institutional governance:

- Overarching governance, including the participation of external experts in its decision making and advisory bodies such as governing boards and evaluation committees.
- Internal governance and the interaction between the various stakeholders.
- The university–government relationship and how the respective legislation is being put into practice.
- The university–society relationship and the social dimension of the institution.

This chapter focuses on the interaction between the first and second of these, overarching and internal governance, and the balance between the two. Despite perceived gaps and dissonances, adaptive governance would appear to work best where an iterative relationship exists between institutional policy and practice. In some cases practice may be ahead of policy, and although there may be a time lag before policy catches up, practice is likely to have a bottom-up influence. In that sense practice could be seen as a critical force informing policy, even if this is not explicitly articulated or acknowledged.

At the same time, adjustments necessarily take place within structures and the interaction between individual roles and institutional strategy is likely to be reworked on an ongoing basis:

actually what we should be doing is, I think ... be a little bit more organic and being able to say, 'For us as a university right here, right now, that is really valuable and in order for us to retain that, or recognize it or whatever, we're going to promote, we're going to reward, we're going to recognize you for it' and we should be confident as managers to be able to say, 'And the reason that we did that for that individual ... we're doing it because that's really important for us right now' and, you know, if the world changes in 2/3 years' time then that person over there who's doing that other stuff that might be really valuable at that moment in time, we'd look at that kind of stuff and that way of promoting and progressing. (Director of human resources)

Much therefore depends on the role of senior and middle managers in interpreting and adjusting policy made by senior management teams in the

light of their knowledge of the potential contributions of staff in schools and departments.

The issue of managing expectations on both sides was one that recurred, although there was a nice distinction between being overly prescriptive in those expectations, allowing space for individuals and roles to grow, and providing no guiding frameworks. Thus, when responsibilities were devolved, there was a balance to be struck between delegating authority and ensuring that institutional requirements were met:

if you want heads of department to take on that sort of role, you've got to have a system or approach which enables them to adapt to circumstances ... [However], if you give discretion to line managers, but you don't give a frame within which line managers can operate ... you are not giving discretion, you've fully devolved, delegated, and in some cases potentially abdicated responsibility at an institutional level.

(Head of administration)

This could involve, for instance, decisions around the balance between deteriorating staff–student ratios and pressure on individual workloads. This might be seen as being in subtle contrast to what is traditionally seen as a collegial approach, the difference being that local managers are now more likely to interpret job descriptions and criteria in relation to departmental and institutional, as opposed to purely disciplinary, agendas.

The studies therefore demonstrated that ‘The landscape of practice is ... not congruent with the reified structures of institutional affiliations, divisions and boundaries. It is not independent of these institutional structures, but neither is it reducible to them’ (Wenger 2010: 131). In turn Shattock concludes that successful institutions ‘have developed an organisational culture which gives them the resilience to continue to rely on trusted constitutional arrangements, on the virtues of academic participation in decision-making and on the exercise of consultative leadership’ (Shattock 2017: 393). In practice this is likely to be an iterative process involving listening and interpretive skills on the part of local managers that help to build confidence among their staff, and an exchange relationship built on what one director of human resources described as a ‘something for something’ basis.

## THE PUBLIC SERVICE/MARKET DICHOTOMY

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Not only has the workforce diversified, but the United Kingdom, and other countries such as Hong Kong and Australia, have also been subject to an increasing market orientation as a result of successive government policies, which coexists with, but may at times be in tension with, traditional public service agendas. These conditions affect the funding regimes for both teaching and research, and are characterized by performance assessment of programmes and individuals, as well as an increased emphasis on knowledge exchange activity, the production of employable graduates, and the contribution of higher education to national socio-economic agendas.

Examples of mechanisms reflecting practices drawn from the private sector, and therefore influenced by a market orientation in the institutions in the studies, included the use of short-term or hourly based contracts related to, for instance, recruitment to a specific degree course or programme; increments based on increased responsibility and/or performance, rather than being awarded automatically year-on-year; and reward packages that can be individualized if necessary to attract appropriate and high quality recruits. Such market-oriented approaches tended to use motivation and reward mechanisms aligned to institutional performance against competitors, with an emphasis on being able to respond rapidly to market changes. They therefore rely on staff appreciating the positioning of the institution as a market player, and being willing to contribute on the basis that institutional success is likely to lead to improved benefits for all, creating a transactional relationship. Such a model is more likely to be accepted when an institution is perceived to be successful and staff feel that they have a stake in that success.

One person who had worked on short-term contracts at other institutions, though currently on a permanent contract, contrasted this with the treatment they had received elsewhere, saying that they had felt insecure and even exploited. By contrast they felt that their current institution ‘has invested in me’. However they acknowledged that the earlier posts at prestigious institutions had been instrumental in helping them to obtain the permanent job. Thus, after a trajectory that had been uncertain and difficult, ‘there’s been hard work and everything else, but on the other hand, it’s been fun and ... I still can’t believe I get paid for reading and writing, it doesn’t seem like a proper job, to be perfectly honest’ (early career academic). As a result, short-term posts had, in retrospect, seemed like a necessary rite of passage, which had paid dividends but had required an act of faith. Thus the

impact of the market meant that an element of risk was increasingly likely to be built in at the beginning of an academic career, as opposed to individuals being able to rely on a pre-ordained career ladder.

Institutions have also experimented with outsourcing, shared services, and partnership arrangements. Therefore an increasing consideration for institutional governance has been to incorporate a variety of arm's-length arrangements. These can include the use of private companies for certain non-core activities, so that personnel are employed either by an external contractor, or by a company owned partly or fully by the institution. Not-for-profit companies owned or partly owned by higher education institutions have been established to deliver self-funding programmes including professional and continuing education, master's degrees, higher diplomas, and short courses. Examples of market-oriented approaches also suggest that there may be benefits for students as consumers and for staff themselves, although this could be a delicate balance. An employee partnership model could be a halfway house to outsourcing, as in the following instance where staff had been transferred to a private but university-owned company. It was anticipated that this would offer both cost and service benefits:

one of the things that comes with having your staff directly employed is the loyalty that that engenders ... There's a dividing line between getting something that is competitive and appropriately procured, and the loyalty and ability of the staff to be able to do anything that you care to ask them ... While value for money and cost efficiency [are] part of the mix, they're not the entire story. The other part of the mix is about delivering service levels and key performance indicators that are appropriate to the business. (Estates and facilities manager)

There are also examples of shared services in the sector, and within the concept is the potential for a range of models, described by one respondent as 'a continuum from an institution designing services that others can buy, all the way through to a more integrated delivery model with everyone having an equal stake around it' (head of administration). In practice this model was more likely to be successful in large conurbations between institutions who had similar profiles, quality standards, and business models, for instance in relation to the joint use of IT infrastructure for student records. This type of model also raises questions of how staffing structures might be standardized across institutions in order to facilitate cross-delivery of information:

If you have three different sets of staff in three institutions, if they're delivering a standard service, then you're going to need them to be structured and behave in a very similar way, otherwise that doesn't work. (Head of administration)

There was also a feeling that strong interest groups within institutions could militate against the use of shared services, especially if this was seen as signifying a loss of independence.

Thus, business incubations associated with, say, employee partnership, would be likely to lead to 'a different set of corporate structures, so we won't just have the university, we'll have a whole range of other corporate sub-structures within that, and that will require flexibility in employment practice. And that is where it will creep in, on the periphery' (chair of governing body). The sense was that although boards of governors might not actually be constraining more flexible staffing models, they could perhaps be more imaginative in facilitating them. Furthermore, all these types of market sector models have a potential impact on the nature of the psychological contract with staff, whereby employers are expected, on the one hand, to provide a legal agreement representing an economic exchange in the labour market; and on the other to observe unwritten understandings about expectations and obligations on the part of both employer and employees. Both sets of obligations are likely to be articulated via job specifications and also the day-to-day relationship between line managers and staff. Hands-off relationships with other organizations, whether in formal partnership or not, require careful negotiation and management in ways that both satisfy staff and motivate multiple constituencies and types of employee. At the same time relationships are continually being made, adjusted, and adapted for the purpose in hand. As new contractual approaches are introduced there is an experimental aspect as they are established, tried, and tested.

Approaches to internal governance are illustrated in two case studies from the Future Higher Education Workforce Study, of a pre-1992 campus institution and a pre-1992 multi-faculty institution in the United Kingdom.

## CASE STUDY: PRE-92 CAMPUS

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Pre-92 Campus is a campus university with devolved management structures. A comparatively low turnover contributes to a relatively conservative culture, and there was awareness among the senior management team that they were at times ‘behind the curve’ with some of the changes occurring in the sector, particularly in relation to giving credit for teaching in staff promotion, rewards, and career development: ‘Actually there’s a very good positive spirit about the place but it does mean that sometimes it’s hard to get change embedded as quickly as ... you have to be able to given the speed that the sector is moving at the moment’ (pro-vice-chancellor). Practices were therefore less defined by some of the more market-oriented models described above. Nevertheless, the strong practitioner orientation of academic programmes meant that approximately 9 per cent of staff were on part-time and hourly paid contracts. This arrangement both suited practitioners and enriched the programme for students. However, the institution was aiming to move to annualized contracts as far as possible: ‘I think we do have to face up to the fact that there is the need for a flexible workforce, how big should it be and what is our obligation to that flexible workforce’ (director of human resources).

From a management point of view the extent of devolution was an issue. This could lead to inconsistency, for instance in recruitment decisions: ‘In terms of the workforce the university needs ... Perhaps the tail wags the dog a little on that in terms of ... the role I need might be defined by the person that I know who might go into the role’ (director of human resources). Matters such as workload issues were dealt with locally within schools and departments, and depended on heads of department. Again consistency of practice could be an issue. There could also be difficulties around poor performance, what one person called ‘wilful incompetence’, e.g. in teaching, whereby the responsibility for teaching tended to be passed to good teachers, who then became overloaded, so that it became difficult to find time for research.

Career tracks, currently defined as teaching and research or teaching and scholarship, were under review. Other possible components, such as an orientation towards research, citizenship, leadership, or professional practice, were being considered to ensure that staff making a range of contributions had the same expectations of advancement, including the opportunity to obtain a chair. Furthermore, it was acknowledged that a strategic approach to governance also needed to take account of soft,

morale-raising factors, such as the built environment and the quality of the surrounding estate. Policy intentions were therefore translated, sometimes implicitly and with a light touch, by local practice which could be adjusted in the light of specific conditions and considerations, with local managers such as heads of department acting as mediators.

From the point of view of academic staff there was some frustration with what was seen as institutional bureaucracy, for instance with turnaround times for assessments and inflexibility in workload models. At the same time some individuals tended to find their own way round the structures, sometimes bypassing processes and procedures. Others incorporated interests such as voluntarily running extra-mural classes for students, mentoring colleagues, and professional body activity into their academic lives. Generic job descriptions meant that individuals were able to mould their activity, at least to some extent, according to their own preferences. One said the time allocations between teaching, research, and other activity were based on ‘understandings’ and assumptions of one-third research, one-third teaching, and one-third administration, or at least ‘that’s what I’ve been told but ... one hears different things’ (mid-career academic). Interestingly, another person in the same department quoted 40 per cent research, 40 per cent teaching, and 20 per cent administration. By allowing things to be a little unspecific, however, particularly with respect to workload models, it was possible to allow one activity to compensate for another, both at a particular point in time, and over a period of time, giving implicit flexibility on an individual basis.

## CASE STUDY: PRE-92 MULTI-FACULTY

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Pre-92 Multi-faculty is an inner city institution on multiple, geographically dispersed, sites. Although the senior managers see the market and Research Evaluation Framework as key drivers, a strong teaching and research culture militates against rapid change, for instance in embedding teaching and innovation career pathways. Some individuals with teaching-focused roles were confused about the precise scope and nature of these, especially if they were on professional as opposed to academic contracts. There was also a lack of consistency between roles with similar titles, and there could

be a mismatch between job descriptions and actual roles in that people were asked to undertake tasks not in their job description. This also affected workload allocations, which again did not necessarily reflect reality. Thus, despite an avowed intention to develop a reward system for teaching, and clarify different types of teaching appointment, the institution was still ‘trying to get to grips’ with this. Similarly although leadership development was ‘in the pipeline’ for early and mid-career staff, this was embryonic. It was acknowledged that the perception was that promotion was based on research rather than teaching or innovation, although ‘we’re trying to make a dent in that’, and also that more could be done to ‘divert central resource’ to help with teaching development (pro-vice-chancellor). These were not, however, high profile shifts, and some rank-and-file staff did not seem to be aware of them, so that ‘the culture is still stuck a little bit in the way that it used to be’ (pro-vice-chancellor).

In such a large dispersed institution individuals could be isolated, for instance in a remote laboratory, and did not always receive departmental information, relying on informal networks in order to obtain information. Some were quite proactive about this, joining key committees or working groups in order to hear what was going on. Such geographical factors could exacerbate a sense of isolation among some staff in relation to formal structures, who drew support from informal networks, and often felt a stronger affiliation to their ‘non-hierarchical’ school or department than the ‘hierarchical’ institution (early career academic). A lack of communication between the centre and the periphery about issues such as the value placed on, for instance, innovation, community work, equity, and widening participation, meant that mixed messages could result. It was not unusual for individuals to be encouraged to take on management roles at a relatively early stage as a way of getting on. Sometimes this was sold by a line manager as being good for a career, even though an individual might want more teaching experience. Furthermore, in order to obtain promotion, some individuals spoke of obtaining an offer from elsewhere and then negotiating.

Moreover senior management team thinking was influenced by the impact that changes to terms and conditions, such as the closure of the final salary pension scheme, and assumptions about protected research time, will have on the psychological contract. It was suggested that in future staff were more likely to be interested in ‘cash in hand’ in negotiating salaries,

for instance in relation to relocation and housing expenses. They also wanted greater flexibility in the way they worked to take account of, for instance, dual careers, child and elder care, and their concerns were likely to be more about the here and now than the future. Although there appeared to be more strategic thinking than at Pre-92 Campus about some of the broader, market-oriented frameworks within which the institution was operating, the pace of change in relation to implementation of institutional policies was similar.

## Comparative Summary of Cases

Pre-92 Campus might be described as a village community in which governance was enacted not only through institutional policy making but also through word of mouth, facilitated by relatively short lines of communication on a cohesive campus. The fact that policy intentions were not always explicit, with an element of fluidity, meant that while some factors, such as the value accorded to teaching, could be ambiguous, there was also an element of built-in flexibility so that adjustments could be made relatively easily by line managers, or the individuals themselves, to meet local circumstances. There was therefore an iterative element to governance. A possible drawback to this was that loose understandings could be interpreted in different ways, and people did not always know what the formal position was, for instance in relation to what they had to do to gain promotion. On the other hand, a more *laissez-faire* approach had allowed some individuals to develop their own interests in innovative and fulfilling ways without hindrance, and an element of ambiguity allowed for subtle adjustments at local level.

By contrast, Pre-92 Multi-faculty might be described as a metropolis with long and complex lines of communication, with less of an overall sense of collective community. Senior managers implied that in order to bring together, and possibly control, this sprawling ‘empire’, formal policies needed to be documented, proclaimed, and publicized. These were influenced by market considerations underpinned by a clear bottom line of costs, as well as success in the Research Evaluation Framework and league table positioning. However, although clearly articulated, such policies

covered a wide range of staff with different contractual arrangements, and were not therefore necessarily fit for purpose in relation to specific cases. This could lead to dissonance and strain for individuals. In some cases people felt locked into inappropriate structures from which they could not escape, for instance in teaching-only contracts. There therefore appeared to be less scope for negotiation or adjustment in the emphasis of a role, and less top-down, bottom-up iteration.

Although senior managers in both institutions expressed a clear intention to be more explicit about establishing career pathways and reward structures for excellence in teaching and their activities as opposed to research, and were developing policies to this end, in Pre-92 Campus there was the sense that this was most likely to be achieved by nudging practice as the opportunity arose, whereas in Pre-92 Multi-faculty there was the impression that top-down initiatives, aimed at putting formally documented specifications into practice, could be impeded by long lines of communication.

## CONCLUSION

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As found in other studies (Locke et al. 2016; Whitchurch 2018; Whitchurch and Gordon 2017), these trends are not likely to be restricted to the case institutions described, although they will vary in emphasis in individual institutions. Rank-and-file staff may increasingly seek other avenues to boost their chances of advancement, including for instance community engagement and work with professional bodies. It is also apparent that, despite well-documented promotion policies, people can become lost within governance structures at both early and mid-career level, and one respondent mentioned the need for an ‘exit plan’. Notwithstanding workload models intended to ensure equity, there can also be resentment among peers about poor performers who were seen as ‘stealing’ academic time from others when, for instance, teaching was taken away from poorly performing teachers and others had to do more to compensate.

Furthermore, central institutional claims about what counts for career advancement are not necessarily fulfilled in practice. Some people spend hidden time on projects that might or might not attract funding in due

course. There was often a lack of precision about contracts and how much time should be spent on teaching, research, and other activities, and it was not therefore clear how much effort was being put into them, or how much might be appropriate. Fluidity could be productive but also lead to frustration about how to position oneself for the future. Similarly the academic autonomy of individuals could be seen as a double-edged sword if there was no one with whom to discuss workload, or the future. A critical element of governance, therefore, as translated into day-to-day activity via line managers, is how to take cognizance of existing processes and structures, and avoid people simply working round them (what one respondent called the ‘Maginot line’ approach). In turn this means clearly communicating written policies but allowing scope for negotiation at a local level. This is also likely to involve taking account of issues of size, the extent of devolution, and achieving congruence with staff expectations, as well as the balance between enterprise and accounting cultures, teaching, and other activities. Structural issues may include acknowledging resentment if, for instance, allocation formulae highlight differences between research income across science faculties and the humanities, with a sense that individuals are being played off against each other in an internal market. In practice new forms of governance and management are likely to be required as public and private sector considerations are blended in ways that are optimal for both institutions and their staff. This is, in turn, likely to influence perceptions of institutions as, for instance, safe havens or restrictive bureaucracies.

There is therefore a sense that governance is likely to continue to evolve in response to agendas that reflect the amalgam of psychological contracts referred to by Watson (2009). What might be termed iterative governance is likely to involve a balanced approach:

[it's] the constant balance between, are these processes enabling you to find and appoint and recruit the right people ... are they enabling you to flex around the operational needs of the institution, or are they just creating a burdensome bureaucracy around it that actually can't ... give flexibility back to staff. (Head of administration)

This could include, for instance, tacit recognition of working over and above the workload model requirement, via informal exchange based on mutual understandings of possible future career development. Although implicit acknowledgement of such activity is likely to be appreciated, and

may lead to opportunities being provided, managers again need to be aware of maintaining perceptions of equity. Thus new ways of working are likely to reflect wider employment trends, in that boundaries and artefacts such as job descriptions and positional career structures may no longer be universal. An iterative approach to governance is likely to be needed in managing the tension between considerations of the market and those of public service, accompanying a shift from career trajectories that are relatively secure and predictable to ones that may be more fluid.

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## CHAPTER 8

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# THE COLLEGIAL TRADITION IN ENGLISH HIGHER EDUCATION

*What Is It, What Sustains It, and How Viable  
Is Its Future?*

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TED TAPPER AND DAVID PALFREYMAN

## INTRODUCTION

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In his article, ‘Transforming Universities: National Conditions of Their Varied Organisational Actorhood’, Richard Whitley (2012) constructs a continuum which outlines four different organizational models that define the varying relationships which link national systems of the university to their respective governments/state structures and societies:

- (1) Hollow model
- (2) State-contracted model (since renamed state-guided)
- (3) The state-chartered model
- (4) Private portfolio model (since renamed corporate)

We shall adopt here the amended titles, given that the logic behind the categories remains the same.

The variations between the models are dependent upon what control (ranging from none to high) universities can exercise over the following defining characteristics: (1) the ability to define their goals and identities; (2) academic recruitment; (3) student recruitment, teaching programmes, and certification; and (4) the allocation of resources (Whitley 2012: 498).

Within this framework Whitley equivocates somewhat as to which model the British system of higher education now conforms to, arguing that, while until recently it was a good example of the state-chartered model, more recent developments suggest that it is moving towards the state-guided model (and with the recent passage of the 2017 Higher Education and Research Act, it could be argued that it is about to move further in that direction—at least in England).

While accepting the general thrust of Whitley's article (see our concluding postscript for some refinements), the main purpose of this chapter is to argue that in the United Kingdom there are alternative traditions of higher education—and that one of them, the collegial model of the university as represented by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, can fairly said to be thriving (note their consistently high placement in the *Times Higher Education [THE]* world's university rankings and the world's reputation rankings). Our purpose is to present the characteristics of this model, and account for its presence; and next to analyse what are the current challenges it faces, whether it is likely to survive, and (if so) in what form.

While accepting the idea of system change over time, it is possible to argue that there persist within any one system different models of higher education that will adjust to the pressures for change in varying ways; that there may be a general change of direction but also particular institutional trajectories of change. The questions are: what are the pressures for change, how do they impact upon the different institutional models, what are the outcomes for individual universities, and how is the system as a whole to be described? In his 'From Collegial Academy to the Corporate Enterprise: The Changing Cultures of Universities', McNay has constructed four different models of the university, which he labels 'collegium', 'bureaucracy', 'corporation', and 'enterprise'. The very title of his essay informs us of the direction in which McNay believes the culture of the universities, and the higher education system, is shifting.

# **UNDERSTANDING THE COLLEGIAL TRADITION: WHAT IS IT AND HOW HAS IT BEEN SUSTAINED?**

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McNay argues that these four cultures ‘co-exist in most universities but with different balances among them’. He organizes his definition of the cultures essentially around the dominant values for which they stand. Thus, ‘The key word for the collegium is “freedom”’, which he argues, was interpreted as ‘institutional freedom from external controls’ (1995: 106). While not denying the importance of defining university culture in terms of espoused institutional values, we would place greater stress upon the centrality of structural variables. However, there is clearly an interaction between the two: the structures are manifestations of the values, which they help to reinforce and perpetuate.

As its very descriptive title would suggest the collegial model of the university emerges out of the presence of a number of independent colleges whose purpose is to provide higher education. It is a federal model in which colleges and university interact to fulfil those core functions—teaching and research—pursued by institutions of higher education. It should be noted that the undergraduate colleges of both Oxford and Cambridge are multi-disciplinary institutions, and that most recruit students from across the full range of disciplines offered by their respective universities.

The history of collegiality begins in medieval Europe: ‘Paris must be regarded as the home of the university system in the sense that academic colleges of a kind arose there earlier than anywhere else’ (Cobban 1975: 126). However, ‘at the Revolution the collegiate system as a whole fell with the other institutions of medieval France—never (like so much of the Ancien Régime) to reproduce itself under altered forms in modern times’ (Rashdall 1936: 533). The Napoleonic and Humboldtian models of higher education then evolved to dominate continental Europe. Both models saw a close affinity between the needs of the university and the state with, particularly in France, the university (notably the grandes écoles) closely associated with the training of elites; while, especially in Germany and the United States, we see the Humboldtian tradition giving rise to the research university.

In contrast to the continent the collegial model took root in England, although as higher education expanded in the nineteenth century the model was unable to escape the confines of Oxford and Cambridge and it was the civic model of the university that came to dominate the English system (Whyte 2015); but of course, Scotland had already established its own separate tradition of higher education.

Within this federal model of the collegial university the balance of power has oscillated markedly over time between the colleges and the university. Up until the government-led reforms of the nineteenth century both Oxford and Cambridge universities were in effect little more than the sum of their colleges. Intrinsic to the origins of the federal principle was the separation of teaching from examining with the colleges responsible for the former and the university for the latter (Rothblatt 1997: 233–8). Thanks to the nineteenth-century reforms, and underwritten by the growth in the organized exploration of the natural sciences, the university began to assume a stronger shape. However, it was not until Oxford and Cambridge universities were placed on the University Grant Committee's (UGC's) grant list, following the Report of the Asquith Commission (Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge 1922) that the financial resources of the universities began to match those of their colleges, and for a period of time the endowment income of the colleges was taxed to underwrite the universities financially; a taxation that was later given to the poorer colleges by the 1960s Franks Report (University of Oxford 1966). So, in historical terms, the colleges were the product of society, with the Church playing a strong role, while the universities were more government-created institutions—the manifestation of royal commissions.

Central to the collegial tradition is a model of governance within which institutional authority is placed in the hands of a self-electing and self-perpetuating body of academics or faculty ('dons' in Oxford-speak) who act to preserve the well-being of their institution and perpetuate its established functions. While the colleges have seen the universities expand their functions they have also been required to share their wealth; but critically they remain independent self-governing bodies and they have successfully resisted the pooling of endowment income so that the richer colleges remain the wealthiest higher education institutions in England (Tapper and Salter 1992: 91–110). While there is a measure of inter-collegiality at both universities with the richer colleges being prepared to share some of their

wealth, its boundaries are relatively tightly drawn. While the colleges may be prepared to be taxed, they have no desire to pool their endowment income, and then see it shared out on the basis of an agreed formula. To some extent, the two universities thrive because there is a measure of inter-collegiate competition as well as cooperation. However, collegiality is not about institutional welfare alone, but is also tied up with the performance of key functions in a particular way. The collegial tradition describes a particular form of institutional governance and commitments.

What are the characteristics of the Oxbridge model of the university that have seemingly enabled the collegial tradition to persist within its confines while all but vanishing elsewhere in the United Kingdom? Both Oxford and Cambridge represent federal models of the university in which relatively small colleges cooperate with large universities (that is large within the British context) to secure the collegial tradition. And it is in the colleges, rather than within the two universities, where the collegial tradition continues to have its dominant influence.

The college fellowship (which will often incorporate its prominent officers, such as the estates bursar, as well as its faculty, as members) acts as a donnish body that steers the development of the college—which really does mean that the lunatics are in control of the academic asylum (to quote Palfreyman). In spite of the almost perpetual shift in authority between the universities and the colleges since the nineteenth century, there is a continuous commitment to sustaining collegiality in academic terms, which remains central to defining the collegial tradition. The colleges are still responsible for the admission of undergraduate students most of whom will remain in college residence throughout their undergraduate years. Moreover, college tutors continue to provide a considerable amount of undergraduate teaching for all those students whom they admit, which invariably takes the form of tutorials (in Cambridge supervisions), composed of one college tutor interacting with no more than a very small number of students (usually with two students). This sustenance of a distinctive pedagogy, that is tutorial teaching, is perhaps the most critical continuous aspect of the collegial tradition. It provides the bedrock for sustaining it (Palfreyman 2008).

Oxbridge has been able to sustain this pedagogical mode because most college tutors have seen it as an integral means to maintaining the intellectual viability of their degree programmes—students may need

lectures and/or practical classes but college-based tutorial teaching is perceived as a vital way of installing an intellectual cutting edge in the education of students. It is sustained by the ideological commitment of college fellows to tutorial teaching; it is what has helped for so long to make Oxbridge distinctive as centres of learning. Thus underwritten by their longevity, institutional status, and a measure of independent resources, the colleges have sustained collegiality around the distinctiveness of tutorial teaching. It is seen as the most appropriate pedagogy for a university to espouse for it defines what higher education means in practice for its key membership—faculty and undergraduate students. Tutorials/supervisions are the means through which the students undergo a three-year apprenticeship in critical thinking; the argument is that they are taught by the university while college tutorials enhance learning. This extended close interaction with faculty is a very rare offering in higher education. For it to function effectively there must be a bond of trust between the two elements—teaching and learning—an experience that binds them together while cementing loyalty to the college (for a detailed elaboration of the argument on the importance of tutorial teaching see Tapper and Palfreyman 2000: 96 and 2010:124). For many students college life represented a ‘co-curriculum’ that enhances the quality of student life (Sheldon Rothblatt, personal communication, 10 July 2017).

## WHERE ARE THE UNIVERSITIES IN THE COLLEGIAL MODEL?

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Oxbridge dons wear two hats—a collegial hat and a university hat. Besides being a college fellow, academic staff will also hold a university post, which means being a member of a department with responsibilities for controlling the content of the academic curriculum, for examining and for providing (in many departments) some of the teaching for undergraduates, and for undertaking research. Individuals will vary as to how they divide their commitment between their university and college bases. While university departments may well be governed collegially, it has to be accepted that there is also a formal academic hierarchy which may well impinge upon the distribution of authority within departments so that some

academics, especially the professoriate, are more equal than others. But, nonetheless, the colleges do provide an important academic power base for the individual tutor, and if a department is to survive it needs representation in the colleges because they control undergraduate entry and provide at least some of the teaching—and for many undergraduates securing a good college base will be as (if not more) important to them as being a member of a university department. Until the late-1940s going to Oxford and Cambridge for many undergraduates was as much a cultural and social experience as attempting to obtain a degree. The colleges were central to transmitting the desired messages which for some would be as, if not more, important than the formal academic grind. In parallel fashion some of the colleges were more noted for their links to the wider society (to politics, the arts, the scientific establishment) than to the more narrowly defined academic world of the university. The *Brideshead Revisited* syndrome was present, and may, if only for a few, still persist. Moreover, good social connections remain important for securing access to and advancement in some occupations.

One of the, if not *the*, most significant manifestations of the collegial tradition at Oxbridge is the control that the grassroots membership can exercise over the direction of university policy. As within the colleges, ultimate control over the direction of university policy resides in the collective academic and core administrative membership of the two universities—Congregation at Oxford, and the Regent House at Cambridge. Without the approval of these bodies it is impossible for the respective universities' leadership and management to initiate a new policy direction. For example the major reforms proposed at Oxford by its mid-1960s Franks, and its late-1990s North, commissions of inquiry had to be subsequently discussed and ratified by the collective assembly of dons. However, it has to be said that now the implementation of policy by university officials may have a greater long-term impact upon policy direction than the intermittent intervention of the mass academic membership in the policy-making process, and of course the same may be true at the college level as the officials (most of whom will be college fellows) beaver quietly away to secure policy outcomes that may be more in line with their own sentiments rather than in tune with the bulk of the college fellows. But this is much more unlikely within the close confines of small colleges than it is in the expanding bureaucratic structures of

relatively large universities, particularly given the increasing need to respond to the external pressures of the state and the market.

## **THE COLLEGIAL TRADITION AS THE NATIONAL SYSTEM SHIFTS FROM THE STATE- CHARTERED TOWARDS A STATE-GUIDED MODEL OF HIGHER EDUCATION**

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So, although over time there have been oscillations in the balance of authority at both Oxford and Cambridge universities, with the general trend towards an increase in the power of the university, both institutions remain genuine federal systems. While the collegial model may have been shaken over time, it remains intact, albeit under threat, with the colleges still continuing to perform important academic functions—the admission of undergraduates, the provision of residence for most undergraduates and many postgraduates, and a base that supports some of their teaching—that is tutorial/supervision teaching, which gives for many experiencing higher education at Oxbridge its distinctive edge. Moreover, the colleges remain legally independent entities that control the appointment of their fellows, who collectively are responsible for sustaining good collegial governance—the college as a chartered charitable corporation, while holding a university academic post and assuming a role in shaping the affairs of the university.

In general terms, the British university system has shifted—to use Whitley's recent labels—from the state-chartered towards the state-guided higher education model, a change that unfolded steadily in the 1970s and 1980s, and was most vividly symbolized by the passage in 1988 of the Education Reform Act that replaced the UGC, at one time responsible to the prestigious Treasury with its funding council model of governance. Henceforth policy making was to be formally placed in the hands of the incumbent government with the funding councils consigned essentially to the role of policy implementation. The 1988 Act set up the Universities Funding Council (UFC) and the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC), to be amalgamated in 1992 into the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC), and—thanks to the pressures of devolution—

responsibility for higher education policy making has subsequently been delegated to the four political bodies making up the governance of the United Kingdom. Moreover, the funding council for England (HEFCE) was responsible to the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, with the Treasury long departed.

However, prior to this formal change in the structure of governance, the UGC, which from 1919 to 1988 had been responsible for steering the development of the university system, had adhered to the principle that those institutions on its grants list were responsible for their own development—that there was to be institutional autonomy; and individual universities would determine their own institutional paths within the overall context of UGC policy steering. What changed over time, even before the demise of the UGC, was that the steering of the system became more tightly controlled and increasingly reflected the policy goals, not of the UGC, but of the incumbent government. There was, however, a comparatively short period of time, roughly from 1945 to the years following the 1963 Robbins Report, when institutional autonomy was much more of a reality. During this period the universities' lay-dominated councils appeared to have ceded much of their institutional authority to academically controlled senates. In the words of the Oxford sociologist, A. H. Halsey, 'donnish dominion' seemed to determine policy making in the universities at large (Halsey 1992). Although, as we have argued, the collegial tradition was most powerfully represented by the perpetuation of the federal model of the university as manifest at Oxford and Cambridge, it is possible to claim, however, that at least in terms of the exercise of academic authority there is a clear affinity between the collegial tradition and donnish dominion, with the implication that in the 1960s the collegial model was perhaps about to permeate the English system of higher education more generally. However, Oxbridge remained distinctive because of its federal structure, tutorial/supervision teaching, and its greater ability to resist the forces that have since steadily undermined donnish dominion elsewhere. What are those forces? And how is the resistance of the Oxbridge collegial model to be explained? And, perhaps most significantly, can it be sustained?

## EXTERNAL PRESSURES AND INTERNAL RESPONSES

Even before the implementation of the funding council model of governance, the intrusion of state and government into the affairs of the university system increased considerably. This took several different forms: targeted cuts in public funding—seen most notably in the UGC’s highly selective cutting of its annual grant to the universities in the early 1980s; the distribution of core research income on the basis of a competitive, evolving model of research assessment (the Research Assessment Exercise—RAE, now Research Excellence Funding—REF); the periodic evaluation of pedagogy with at one time a quantitative measurement of its quality (and then from June 2017 the Teaching Excellence Framework—TEF); and to cap it all the introduction of tuition fees to cover the costs of most higher education teaching. Inevitably, such pressures have had an impact upon institutional behaviour and universities have become more tightly managed institutions (the spread of ‘managerialism’), and with policy direction more under the control of an appointed leadership cadre, the ‘management team’. Both developments are institutional responses to state pressures, a means of attempting to respond positively to a tightening externally imposed straitjacket.

Thus donnish dominion has been in decline and academic senates rarely exercise the same authority as they did in the recent past, although it had earlier shown signs of penetrating the wider British university system. More recently donnish dominion has been in retreat, and Halsey could chart its decline, even its demise. Moreover, as Karran et al. have argued, ‘However, without shared governance, institutional autonomy may easily lead to managerial tyranny’ (Karran et al. 2017: 215). Thus institutional autonomy may not automatically promote academic freedom, for it is possible for the institution to save itself at one level but in the process deny academic freedom at another level (Jameson 2019). If the donnish dominion were now to be sought in England, then it is located almost exclusively in the Oxbridge collegial model of the university.

With respect to the pressures for change emanating from government and the state, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have remained in a relatively sheltered position, although they have not been immune. The collegial model persists, and it could be said that it has responded positively to these pressures: in particular by demonstrating the continuing dominance

of the two universities in the research assessment exercises. Moreover their overall status, coupled with their reputations for high quality teaching (confirmed by their general high status and good standing, with both universities judged to be of ‘gold standard’ in the first Teaching Excellence Framework instigated by the 2017 Higher Education and Research Act), ensures continuing high student demand for entry, which can be used to justify high fee levels. But, nonetheless, it does mean, particularly within the two universities if not in their colleges, that governance by the dons as a collective body is under pressure. Responses to the demands of the component parts of the state apparatus have to be organized, and this inevitably takes some authority out of the hands of frontline academics. What should be done and how it should be accomplished, are matters that fall more squarely under the remit of the university rather than the colleges. It is possible, therefore, that over time institutional power has become more centralized and regulated as the collective, grassroots authority of the assembled dons gives ground to directive leadership and more invasive management strategies. In McNay’s terms there was a shift from the model of the ‘collegium’ to the ‘bureaucracy’ model (1995: 108).

Thus the expansion of state power, and in particular its impact upon institutional governance, has posed the most visible, and certainly the most analysed, challenge to the collegial model of the university, as well as to donnish dominion in the wider higher education system. But, it is undoubtedly changes to the academic mission itself that represent the most serious threat to collegiality. We have argued that the sustenance of tutorial teaching is central to maintaining the collegial model. However, a critical change in the academic mission is the steady increase in emphasis on the enhancement of research output, both its quality and quantity. It is virtually impossible to secure either a first appointment or promotion without demonstrating a healthy research record. Moreover, the status and financial security of universities in England, at least up to the introduction of the student fees regime, was increasingly tied up with obtaining research grants and high rankings in the research assessment exercises. In fact the emphasis on research output has also changed the career structure for some academics so they come to value more their status in their discipline rather than the status of their university base. Their own personal career advancement is in fact increasingly dependent upon their research output and for some their disciplinary status may well be more important to them than their university

base. In this context the significance of undergraduate teaching in shaping an academic career is almost inevitably downgraded, and commitment to sustaining potentially time-consuming undergraduate tutorial teaching severely threatened. If, as we have argued, tutorial teaching is one of the foundations on which the collegial tradition is constructed, then we have to ask what happens to it if the commitment to undertake it simply evaporates?

However, albeit in a different form, this is a challenge that the collegial tradition has faced previously and resolved in a manner that enabled it to survive, to arrive at its present shape. The major tension in the past was generated by the different disciplinary pedagogies required to ensure the successful acquisition of a knowledge base, so that for the transmission of some academic disciplines, lectures and seminars were deemed appropriate, while in others exposure to laboratory work was vital. College tutorials could centre upon problem-solving exercises. Now the issue is different, with the tension rising between undergraduate teaching on the one hand, and research output coupled with graduate supervision on the other. Increasingly the departments, particularly the science departments, focus on research output and postgraduate training, often combining the two; while the provision of college tutorials by their faculty becomes more problematic. The commitment to providing high quality undergraduate education may remain, although its provision could be increasingly departmentally based with the risk of colleges then making merely a marginal input to degree programmes.

These are, of course, challenges faced by all universities, but at Oxbridge they pose a particular threat, because they question its core collegial values. One reaction is to view it as an inevitable trend, as something that is occurring in higher education universally; that it will inevitably reshape our understanding of the collegial tradition; in other words what it means in practice for those (students, faculty, and officials) involved in its interpreting that tradition now. Perhaps it will mean a further shift in the balance of authority within the federal model with the colleges no longer providing tutorial teaching. However, there are possible counterweights. There are likely to be comparatively few departmental members who have so much standing in their fields that they can simply ignore the status that goes with being a fellow of an internationally renowned college. And the colleges may continue to require that committing themselves to a stint of tutorial teaching is the price they have

to pay if they wish to retain their fellowships (and for which they secure extra remuneration and the wider perks of college life). The conundrum opens up a range of possibilities with the likelihood of varying deals being struck! Another counterweight is that undergraduate students are recruited via the colleges so it is critical for the departments to have links to colleges. While research, coupled with promoting postgraduate study, may be the path that many faculty members want to take, the financial security of their departments is likely to continue to be dependent for the foreseeable future, in most cases, on their ability to recruit a sufficient number of undergraduates. For a typical researcher it is a more financially precarious prospect to rely upon securing consistently competitive research funding and/or grants for the postgraduates to work on departmentally based research projects. It is possible that some departments decide to go down this route and become more focused on research and graduate students. It is also possible to conceive of a situation in which students are admitted to the universities via the departments and that the admissions process by-passes the colleges. However, this would require a further considerable restructuring of the federal model, which would be very contentious within both universities, and raise issues in the wider society, given that many prospective students still apply to the two universities because they want to secure a college residence and all that goes with that. It would potentially lessen the appeal for many prospective students of applying to study at either Oxford or Cambridge. Most heads of departments are, therefore, likely to see pragmatic reasons for sustaining long-term positive relations with the colleges. Both Oxford and Cambridge have good records in securing high quality undergraduate applicants, and this has much to do with the quality of student life in their colleges, including their close interaction with faculty during tutorial teaching. Therefore, there is little point in university departments jeopardizing this; especially as demographic trends suggest that the recruitment of undergraduates is on the verge of becoming much more difficult for many higher education institutions, although not necessarily for Oxbridge.

The challenge for collegiality is how it can demonstrate its continuing vitality and utility in an academic environment that is located both more in the market, and becomes more managerial. Can Oxbridge's collegiality continue to be an asset and an exceptional ideal or will it prove to be an anachronism that is soon to fade away?

## CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

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In part the answer to the question that we have just posed depends very much upon what you believe are the central components of the collegial model of the university. There are undoubtedly a number of characteristics to the two collegiate universities that have ensured their efficient functioning in the past, and have enabled them to respond effectively to contemporary challenges: for example, along with the assistance of other elite British universities, they have successfully resisted some of the manifestations of state intervention. Under the leadership of the Russell Group, they have been part of a network of universities that successfully persuaded the government to restructure the operations of the Quality Assurance Agency (Tapper 2007: 180–6), and they benefited from a reshaping of the RAE following the Roberts Review (Palfreyman and Tapper 2014: 150–71).

Thus the collegial model of the university has demonstrated its ability to respond positively to the exercise of state power. But undoubtedly the initiative for change lies in the hands of the governing bodies of the state rather than in the universities, which frequently come across as passive followers in the change process rather than as initiators in control of what is taking place. Undoubtedly the introduction of student tuition fees has benefited the financial position of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, thanks in part to their reputations for offering high quality tutorial teaching, but it is the government that determines the fee levels and the universities are dancing to a tune orchestrated by the state. However, that may change in the wake of the 2017 general election, which even if it did not result in the return of a Labour government committed to abolishing fees, has given further credence to the possibility of funding higher education through the imposition of a graduate tax (see the leading article in *The Times*, 3 July 2017, which refers to the issue as also discussed on pages 4–5 of the same edition). At the very least a major review of the current fees/loans system is in process, with mooted fee reductions.

If the collegial model of the university is defined in part by the control that the collective body of academics exercises over its own affairs then in recent decades that autonomy has been at least threatened, if not yet severely curtailed, by the external change drivers. While up to now it has

been able to challenge and modify these drivers, and even in some cases benefit from them, there is no guarantee that this will continue. We are about to enter a period in which the expansion to date of higher education may be negated by demographic trends. While, given their favourable market positions, this is likely to have less of an impact upon the collegiate universities, it raises the possibility of their having to undertake some academic restructuring. The issue is how this would be driven? Will the collective body of dons be in a position to determine this? Or will it be determined by a combination of state and market pressures? Will the state continue to sustain its commitment to subsidize the fees of prospective students in the so-call ‘STEM’ disciplines; while the market shows that there is simply no, or very low, demand to study certain disciplines? Will faculty bonds be sufficiently strong to support some disciplines (for example, the study of foreign languages) if student demand for such courses continues to fade?

Within such a context one can see academic development as driven by a state-regulated market (Palfreyman and Tapper 2014: 212–34), and although the institutional behaviour may be formally determined collegially by academic decisions (perhaps through, for example, the possible creation of benchmarks to guide decision making on academic development), it will be market pressure and state decision making that are the real harbingers of change. Collegial decision making will be on a par with the policy *implementation* ethos of the funding councils, while policy *making* power will have moved elsewhere. In that context the collegial models will be able to survive only if they succeed in securing sufficient endowments and/or fee income to support self-funding institutions. The more likely, if frightening, longer-term alternative is that, in Whitley’s terms, all universities, even Oxford and Cambridge, become hollow institutions which negotiate varying deals with the state and the market that suit the interests of their current incumbent members. While one may be justified in pointing the finger at the policies of successive governments and the machinations of the state apparatus should such a tragedy occur, one should also remember the part played in this process by the developments within the academic profession as the promotion of personal research interests assumed much greater importance than the desire to sustain a commitment to a rounded intellectual heritage. It is somewhat ironic that perhaps the most potent foe

of collegiality is not the state-regulated market but the evolving interpretation of what constitutes a desirable academic career!

## POSTSCRIPT

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First and foremost, this chapter has presented an overview of the collegial model of the university but in the process of reaching that goal it has explored both the process of change in university systems and, with particular reference to Whitley (2012), how to define the varying models of the university. For Whitley the models of the university system are dependent upon the control that institutions can exercise over those variables that enable them to fulfil their functions of transmitting and enhancing knowledge (teaching and research) of which ‘the ability to define their goals and identities’ is the most all-embracing. We commenced by claiming that central to the collegial tradition was the federal structure of the university in which colleges and university interacted to define those goals and identities with the balance of power shifting over time. McNay drew our attention to the importance of values in defining the university, claiming that ‘the key word for the collegium is “freedom”—originally from the Church, and now from government and state. Within our collegial model it is the assembly of fellows, in colleges and university, who have ultimate policy control, the freedom to determine the key functions of the collegiate university and how these are performed. In our examination of the threats to the collegial tradition, we maintained that its well-being was not only about institutional survival because that could perhaps most easily be secured for universities if they embraced the ethos of managerialism and accepted that institutional policy should be determined by a leadership cadre. The collegial tradition, however, in the interests of academic freedom and all that it entails, was based on a foundation of grassroots academic control (Jameson 2019). It was the assembled dons who determined policy direction. However, intrinsic to that policy control had to be an acceptance that within the federal structure of the university the key function of teaching had to be shared by the university departments and the colleges; that college-based tutorial teaching was vital to the sustenance of the collegiate model. It also became crucial to the global reputations of the two

universities themselves. The current threat to the collegiate model of the university comes as much from within the academic profession as from the state and the market. Obviously both the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford would survive, perhaps even in certain ways prosper, if the current functions exercised by their colleges were to disappear, but it then would be virtually impossible to interpret them as collegiate universities, and their reputational standing might well be harder to maintain.

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## CHAPTER 9

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# MANAGING A UNIVERSITY IN TURBULENT TIMES

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GORDON REDDING

REVIEWS are presented in [Chapters 10](#) and [11](#) of how the world of higher education (HE) is changing rapidly, as globalization brings realignment of many factors in societies, and as the revolution in information technology (IT) accelerates such changes. It is also noted there that such changes bring consistent managerial challenges that put many universities under stress. Examples are: the costs of meeting surging demand based on rising expectations about access to HE; changes of organizational culture carried into universities by the market-driven logics of new kinds of competition; changes in relations with faculty as their traditional autonomies are threatened; opening up of much wider university horizons entailing the complexities of global commitments; political pressures in some societies as traditional freedoms to study society itself are seen as threats to political order; and pressures from new forms of industry to provide workforce capabilities such as critical thinking that do not necessarily conform with cost-driven modes of learning.

Given the widespread and consistent nature of such challenges, a question arises as to how universities may respond adequately, and whether their most senior executive groups have acquired know-how of the kind that allows them to navigate their organizations through a period of such deep and fast-moving change. Universities belong to a very distinct organizational type, and cannot simply replicate the logics of other

organizational types. There is also within organization theory a quite clear understanding of that university type. Evolving variations within it are explained in [Chapter 4](#). This chapter then is concerned with the craft of *management* as it applies to all organizations of this type, suffering stresses of this kind, in historically distinct surrounding conditions.

## THE DISTINCT NATURE OF UNIVERSITIES AS ORGANIZATIONS

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Universities have their own distinct character as organizations, being members of a type defined in organization theory as the federated meritocratic professional bureaucracy. It is worth taking apart this definition ([Mintzberg 1983](#)) so as to understand the questions of direction and control that the definition illuminates and the variety of academic sub-cultures it is designed to embrace ([Whitley 2000](#)). Such organizations contain two main components. One of these is an administrative support structure, essentially a rational bureaucracy without direct ‘line’ responsibility for the behaviours that deliver ‘purpose’. The other, the ‘line’, or operating core, in the case of a university is the set of departments that organize the research and teaching and that supply interface roles to link with the administrative bureaucracy. This academic component has traditionally dominated a university because of its monopoly over the delivering of the core mission. In this part of the organization *federated* means that the basic structure is of separate units each responsible for its own field of action. *Meritocratic* means that authority here is allocated on the basis of performance defined as legitimate within the individual units and accepted across the total operating core. This performance is expressed mainly in scholarly reputation, determined by the standards of the separate disciplines externally and usually globally.

As Burton Clark ([1983](#)) has observed, universities are culturally loaded organizations, and the culture is that of scholarship. It shapes much of the most crucial behaviour, as explained by Bartlett in [Chapter 18](#). *Professional* means that the standards of work set within the wider profession of an academic field induce certain standards of comportment in research and teaching. These standards are then a form of behaviour control and predictability. As they are external they relieve the university hierarchy

itself of much supervising of conduct, and so eliminate much of the ‘management’ found in more hierarchical organizations. There is, however, a natural control overlap with the organization’s administration due to the latter’s responsibility for employment contracts, conditions, support services to students, and the general behaviour of staff. This control overlap has become a zone of tension as two different logics of managing academic behaviour contend for priority, and as the recent growth in many education systems has led to the number of employees in the administrative function growing at the cost of the academic, for example across the United States leading to a 40 per cent change in the ratio of admin to faculty between 1990 and 2012 (Desrochers and Kirshstein 2014). *Bureaucracy* means that most processes both within the academic arena and elsewhere in the system are conducted—in an ideal system—on the basis of rationality, objectivity, openness, and empowered debate.

In these circumstances control of a straight ‘corporate’ kind would be superfluous because the academics largely control their own work by the professional standards of their discipline, and heads of departments are normally appointed for their ability to encourage this. Pressures to seek reputation for scholarship, by being internally motivated within individuals, can be very strong. An important outcome of such a control structure that at first glance might appear loose, is that it leads to the high levels of individual professional autonomy necessary for the exercise of academic freedom, that freedom being nevertheless within clear and motivating limits. It is that freedom that can allow a university’s governance system to meet Rosovsky’s (1990) criterion for university governance: prioritizing good teaching and research. Evidence from higher educational systems that operate without that freedom, and are thus ‘hollow’ (see Chapter 4) suggests that scholarly quality suffers from the related limiting of intellectual creativity (Karran 2009). There is also a wider concern, as expressed in Chapter 2, that HE has a crucial role to play in fostering and maintaining a society’s capacity to remain adaptive to changing forces that might destabilize it. This requires the catalyst of intellectual autonomy if societal openness to such adjustment is to be maintained.

# The Still Obscure Essence of the Managerial Challenge

In a review of research on managerial practice in universities Denton and Brown (2010: 303) concluded that university leadership is ‘one of the most complex, yet under-researched areas of university management’. Shattock (2003: 67) in a similar review judged that ‘there is little modern research into academic organization which can be said to offer clear pointers to a transferable successful model’. Within the recent general literature on university leadership in an age of radical change, definitions of managerial challenges recur. These tend to be concerned with the *process*, i.e. the implementation (as opposed to the planned structure), of change. Within this dilemma is the significance for performance of the attached social psychology among those affected.

Dill (2012) revisited his 1982 study of the management of academic culture, and referred to Clark’s (1972) defining of the three cultures involved: those of the discipline, the enterprise, and the academic profession. He restated his earlier view that the management of social integration was key and depended on the managing of what need to become shared meanings (Dill 1982: 303), these latter being heavily influenced by professional norms socialized within a discipline. He suggests more recently (2012: 230) that ‘the need to develop collective processes for managing academic culture ... has likely become even more significant’.

Based on studies of the Dutch HE system, de Boer (2002) attributes the managerial challenge to a problem of mistrust. He states ‘It is patently obvious that one of the main problems in contemporary university governance is the lack of involvement and commitment of many constituencies at nearly all levels within the universities’ (de Boer 2002: 54). He suggests that this affects the perceived trustworthiness of executives. This in turn threatens the acceptance by faculty both of executive decisions and of their obligation to implement new rules (de Boer 2002: 48).

From studies of the French response Musselin and Mignot-Gerard (2002: 74) describe university evolutions that are ‘largely supported by the President’s team and the administrators but are not viewed as legitimate by many other actors’. They describe a scene with three commonly found

dysfunctions: high individual faculty resistance through circumvention and inertia; lack of executive attention to implementation; and tension between a dominant coalition and a set of unconsulted deans.

Similar findings have emerged from wide studies. Several such were reported in [Chapter 2](#) and will not be restated here. But three large-scale and pessimistic statements, of relevance to the HE mission and so university strategies, are noteworthy. Caplan (2018: 1) expressing despair from US experience states that due to ‘human capital purism’ HE has become swollen in size because of a societal signalling effect whereby ‘studying irrelevancies still raises income by impressing employers’. The context is one where ‘humanist fans of education grasp profundities typical economists dismiss’ (2018: 239) so that ‘stimulating education is the exception that proves the rule’. The result is that ‘eager students, passionate educators, and wise deciders are hopelessly outnumbered’ (2018: 259).

A parallel view is expressed in Loughead’s (2015: 79) critique of the betrayal of the essential university mission: that of engendering critical thinking, so as to objectify perceptions. He sees a disjunction between university mission statements and what is actually taught. As he puts it ‘We want to “have the cake” of a public-focussed educational mission, but we want to “eat the cake” of business-driven, market-based decisions and bankrolls. It is clear that modern academia is guilty of institutional hypocrisy.’ This was similarly but somewhat more judiciously expressed by Vice-Chancellor Stephen Toope (2018) of Cambridge University writing: ‘Reducing students to mere consumers makes sense only if the value of universities is simply economic. That would be a fundamental error ... the focus should be on what values our society expects to see reflected in our universities, not only value for money ... Universities are not the problem, but part of the solution.’

## **What Lessons Can Be Brought from General Management Theory?**

The form of management we are concerned to analyse here is that operating at the apex of the university, essentially the work of a vice-chancellor, president, or equivalent, plus the small group of senior managers making up

the ‘Executive’ of the organization, perhaps a dozen people, often less. There is likely also to be influence from a wider power structure such as a Council or Board of Regents representing societal oversight, but its role is usually advisory rather than executive. This latter is counterbalanced by an academic senate, but the work of the internal academic and the external advisory bodies is normally separated, and coordinated only via the top structure.

A university’s main Executive body, working as a relatively small committee or board, formulates, defines, and then promotes the organization’s strategy, in effect attempting to manage its foreseeable future. For that, the surrounding futures of shifting forces in the environment need to be judged very carefully for their implications, and completely for their possible relevance. The environments of higher education have in recent years become more complex, more challenging, and so more demanding of such careful reading.

From the standpoint of strategic management, universities take on different forms, largely depending on the societal histories in which they emerged, but it is possible to categorize them into four main types, as explained by Richard Whitley in [Chapter 4](#). These vary according to the degree of freedom with which they carry out their work. Across the four types there are certain universal managerial essentials, but how these are interpreted on the ground may well vary with the types along with the key influence on their management—namely their level of autonomy from state control.

This chapter is written with reference principally to the most commonly found type of university organization—the state-chartered form. (Implications for other types may be deduced from the descriptions in [Chapter 4](#) and from the discussions of types in [Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8](#).) Typical of the most common type, and influential in other categories in different ways and degrees, is the sponsorship of the university by the state. This implicitly acknowledges the central role of knowledge in promoting a society’s progress. It also acknowledges the power of the global academic professions to influence the work of all university departments within that profession. The form of that knowledge may vary substantially, but in most universities, although not all, discretion over choices in creating and spreading knowledge has so far largely been left to the subject specialists in the faculty of the university. This in broad terms is now changing as costs

rise, and as various forms of external guidance often accompany the flow of funding.

Two generic problems are commonly observed with the practice of *strategic* management in any large organization, commercial, governmental, or professional. The first stems from the unique nature of the senior executive function compared to the other forms of management. In being *strategic* it relies on others to get things done in the organization. These other forms of management are the *coordinative* and the *operating*. The coordinative arranges connection vertically between the strategic and the operational, and also manages links horizontally across the parts of organization. It is seen in roles that pull together units of the organization across functions and it also brings controls between levels. General managers, controllers, and country managers do this in industry; deans, department heads, and chairs of committees do this in universities. We will note later in this chapter Whitchurch's description of these coordination functions as an increasingly significant 'third space' in universities.

*Operating* management gets the basic work done and is normally overseen by coordinators such as academic department heads. The operating function in a university is the work of the academics in creating and disseminating knowledge, teaching, and examining. As earlier noted, it is largely self-controlled. Because faculty are both the principal cost, and the principal *raison d'être* of the system, operating management in the form of scholarly practice in universities logically has much higher relative weight within the total decision system than does industrial production or consumer servicing in most industry. But work skills needed to excel at the operating level are not necessarily suitable to the coordinative level, and at the top of the pyramid great operators/coordinators sometimes fail to be great strategists, because the strategic capabilities may take time to evolve.

In such conditions new appointments to the top may not always have had the right level and type of grounding in strategy work, after earlier carrying out dutifully their operating and coordinative roles. And few advisers specialize in fostering the relevant capabilities needed by board members in HE. So two core problems attached to strategy work in universities are that the role is unfamiliar to many incumbents, and there may be little 'apprenticeship' or guidance for learning its complexity. This challenge is heightened by the temporary nature of many leader appointments that normally entail a learning period and a fixed term

responsibility, although these disadvantages are countered by the legitimacy of scholarly headship. Top management is also constrained by having to operate within a system where the achievement of the university mission rests heavily on the decentralization of authority. This in turn tends to leave university leaders dependent on closeness of identity with those key players below whose cooperation is crucial.

### *The Functions of the Executive*

The above sub-heading pays tribute to a foundational analysis by Chester Barnard ([1938](#)) of how an Executive group should function, a constantly reprinted classic book with perhaps the greatest staying power in management theory, and written by a successful chief executive with a strong interest in the theory of organization. As Kenneth Andrews wrote in his Introduction to Harvard's thirtieth anniversary edition, the Executive must make decisions that add quality and morality to both the coordination process and the formulation of purposes. By addressing these issues it is 'the most thought-provoking book on organization and management ever written by a practitioner' (xxi). Its advice is condensed here as being constantly relevant to the work of a senior executive group in a complex organization of whatever kind. Continued respect by organization theorists for its grounded insights has been recently reconfirmed by du Gay and Vikkelsø ([2016](#)).

Barnard identified four key components in the collective role of the Executive group:

- (1) Monitoring the changing environment.
- (2) The formulation and definition of the organization's purposes.
- (3) The dissemination of those purposes into the component parts of the organization along with the control of their being achieved.
- (4) The generation throughout of a spirit of willing cooperation.

In describing the nature of the authority that would most effectively allow these processes to work, Barnard argued that real authority flows upwards, given by willing cooperators, when deserved on grounds of both respected character and performance-based merit. If authority is simply

claimed and imposed from the top it risks becoming a weak form, especially in the professional organization, except in a crisis.

A very large literature on ‘leadership’, and an efflorescence of teaching and consulting on the subject, have not altered or added to these early-stated fundamentals. When fully applied they are deep and challenging enough to remain crucial in a much more connected and faster world. Nor have the endlessly reinvented managerial ‘fads’ been able to supplant them. ‘Leadership’, Emotional Intelligence, Six Sigma, Management by Walking Around, Core Competencies, MbO, TQM, KPRs, Business Process Re-Engineering, etc. etc. remain abandoned in the files of many organizations. These do not last because they do not deal adequately enough with certain deep and subtle features that define the work of any successful Executive group. Such work faces three large challenges; (1) managing at this level requires the addressing of high and widespread complexity and this cannot be dealt with using ‘magic keys’; (2) systems of organizing complex processes go through cycles of change as the worlds with which they connect also change; and (3) (today most crucially in HE) changes of organizational structure and process need to be coordinated with adaptations in organizational culture. This latter element works largely invisibly and attempts to measure it are often incomplete; but it sits at the heart of Barnard’s ultimate and perhaps most testing requirement—the generation of a spirit of willing cooperation.

Cooperation is a social-psychological aspect of the total complex, and inside an organization it reflects forces in the environment that may not be wished for but can become limiting factors affecting the willingness to cooperate. Examples of such forces currently affecting HE would be rising costs of the learning process, New Public Management, changing technologies for teaching, changing student expectations, drives towards competition between institutions. These are all changing the social psychology of cooperation in universities.

Organizational culture is always key among things being managed and—because of the many effects that flow from it—it may often prove to be the most crucial source of organizational quality and reputation. It is notoriously elusive, and even more notoriously subject to the oversimplifying of its nature in 5-point scales, although such may be at least better than not asking. The negative effects of mis-managing this difficult challenge are visible in the widespread resentment and concern expressed

by academics at the handling of current changes, as reported in [Chapter 2](#). Seen societally by Beck and Grande ([2010](#)) the managerial challenge in HE is an outcome of ‘Modernization 2’ in which most industry—under the pressures of globalization, new technology, and more intense competition—loses the ability to guarantee long-term stable careers to staff. This leads to the individualization of risk; hence the personal frustrations of partial employment. Cooperativeness is now both more difficult than it used to be, while having become more crucial a component in achieving university reputation.

When an organization has achieved a high level of cooperativeness, that achievement will persist as long as there is an accompanying delivery of success in two different tests of organizational viability. These are *effectiveness* and *efficiency*. Effectiveness is the achievement of the cooperative purpose; it is social and non-personal in character and attaches to the organization as a whole. It is essentially reflected in the organization’s reputation in its environment, and so it reflects what values society currently has. Efficiency is a connected feature but operates at the personal level among members; it stems from the satisfaction of individual motives and represents motivation to work, in another word, morale. The effective and the efficient processes are reciprocally intertwined. An organization with dissatisfied members (so not efficient) is unlikely to become reputable (so not effective), and vice versa. The fusing of these two elements becomes the ultimate test of the Executive and of its ability to engage with key contributors. It is a severe and complex test.

In handling such issues we do not here suggest a total ban on using management techniques that may come to be seen as fads. We suggest instead that they be seen as parts of a more complete general toolkit, each for a distinct purpose over a set time, and not seen as alternatives to grappling with the wider complexities that lie within the formulating of fully thought-through strategy.

For Barnard ([1938](#): 60) encouraging cooperativeness rests on two considerations: The processes of cooperation ‘must be discovered or invented’, in other words the bases on which people become willing to cooperate with the purposes of the organization must be matters of conscious attention by the Executive. Morale affects performance directly. It is built under certain conditions, and evolves through certain processes, and is not accidental. Such processes may need to be orchestrated. Second,

cooperativeness will adjust as external changes press upon it. If surrounding changes break down this positive force, there is an Executive duty to find a means of restoring it for the good of the organization.

As distilled experience related to Executive mentality, we give now the principles of university governance proposed by Henry Rosovsky from long experience as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard (Rosovsky 1990: ch. 15), and written after a period of serious student turbulence.

- (1) Not everything is improved by making it more democratic.
- (2) There are basic differences between the rights of citizenship in a nation and the rights that are attained by joining a voluntary organization.
- (3) Rights and responsibilities in universities should reflect the length of commitment to the institution.
- (4) In a university those with the knowledge are entitled to a greater say.
- (5) In universities, the quality of decisions is improved by consciously preventing conflict of interest.
- (6) University governance should improve the capacity for teaching and research.
- (7) To function well any hierarchical system of governance requires explicit mechanisms of consultation and accountability.

Rosovsky also remarks on certain built-in sources of tension in many universities: the nature of power is complicated and contentious; the requirements of schooling and adulthood can be difficult to reconcile; with universities as agents of social change, initiated by academics who may be seen as privileged, external interest groups may seek influence; universities are capable of becoming rich in assets and in people, and their foundations and enterprises can attract wide and legitimate societal scrutiny; taking money from public funds means attracting interest in how authority is exercised.

Accepting or not such advice, and having to live with the inevitable constraints, the essential Executive challenge begins with monitoring change to identify what might be significant. This is a test of an Executive

group's range and depth of vision, and its complexity can be daunting. So how may it and other functions be managed? I now metaphorically open Barnard's four boxes.

#### MONITORING THE ENVIRONMENT

Universities have complex environments and are usually designed to deal with the most obvious of them using a habitual set of responses, such as Executive members dealing with one each, reporting on it to the group, and then joining in the forging of policy consensus. Overwhelmingly the most important influence in HE is the surrounding world of scholarship and knowledge dissemination. This for most subjects is global and for most aspects is dealt with by the faculty acting professionally within their subject fields. It may be taken then that the monitoring function for the academic subject world is well entrenched. This leaves the other sources of influence on universities: political, financial, societal, technical, each with further subdivisions.

It is not the aim of this chapter to discuss the coordinative and operational functions of managing a university's relation with the specifics in these several fields, as that is the remit of the handbook overall, out of respect for the detail and range of responses available. Instead I focus now on the managerial principles underlying the university's *strategic* function on the understanding that they are likely to remain influential across many more specific responses.

What needs to be monitored within the process of strategy-making? Put in abstract terms it is anything that will change the university's ability to achieve high levels of externally-related effectiveness (the accomplishment of agreed purpose) and internally-related efficiency (the productivity from willingness to cooperate). It is useful to conceive of what needs to be watched—for opportunity or threat—as either *facilitating* or *limiting factors*. In other words forces that affect the links between the activities of organization members, and the achieving of agreed purposes.

The real tests of strategic effectiveness in dealing with such factors are that (a) the understanding of them is complete in its coverage and (b) their implications for the behaviour of the organization are fully thought through. Surprises such as loss of institutional reputation, desertion of good faculty, student revolt, financial stress, are a sign of inadequate or too late response to a changing world. It is also common to find that the short-term and

urgent issues drive out the long-term and important issues. This tyranny of the urgent can mean that organized deliberation of the longer term and the nebulous is not always framed within a fully informed set of briefings with time allocated for debate.

To counteract such administrative risks a comprehensive set of fields of enquiry needs to be built into Executive processes. Information needs to be gathered and analysed by someone responsible for reporting regularly to the Executive on what is happening in a field of concern, and what its implications are likely to be. There are normal responses to this need in the obvious areas such as finance, academic performance, physical infrastructure, student relations, etc. Individual members of the Executive are likely to be responsible for reporting on these clearly defined fields. There may also be specific issues that need monitoring, as now in many UK universities trying to forecast the impact of Brexit, in the United States the overhang of student loans, in Hong Kong new HE policies arriving from China. But there remain other less clear fields where it is harder to assess significant change. It is in these fields that new forces may emerge and remain puzzling but significant for strategy. Some examples are:

- (1) The impact of lower faculty morale on quality and quantity of professional work.
- (2) The impact of rising student expectations—stemming from market competition—on adequacy of facilities.
- (3) The impact of new information technologies on modes of teaching and learning, and consequently of educational experience and quality.
- (4) The impact of new technology on industrial roles and what capabilities are needed in response, e.g. currently led by ‘critical thinking’ (World Economic Forum 2016).
- (5) The impact of New Public Management on the traditional structures of authority/identity/motivation within disciplines.
- (6) The impact of globalized markets and new criteria for student choice, on the supply of students, and so of revenues.
- (7) The impact of rankings on the tendency of universities to copy a seemingly successful formula, so weakening their ability to be distinct.

- (8) The impact of new sources of external influence, often political or religious in origin, on academic freedom and so on critical thinking, and eventually institutional reputation.
- (9) Changes in government policy and of social ideals affecting universities.

To understand such issues and their implications often requires the reconciling and fusing of different perspectives, the tracing of potential side effects to avoid unintended consequences, discussion of the more obscure issues such as morality, motivation, impact on community, and societal contribution. Such thinking may need a team approach, and the use of specialist advice, especially that of those affected. There is a danger of such high level thinking being displaced, especially when another issue is seemingly urgent and is represented in apparently concrete numbers. Strategic thinking is rarely straightforward and Barnard (1938: 286) defines four principal errors found in this aspect of Executive work:

- (1) An *over-simplification* of the economy of organizational life, in other words an ignoring of the detail of the various ‘economies’ involved, each with its ‘factors’ (contributing influences) and ‘utilities’ (ways of satisfying human needs or wants), many of them not comparable with the others quantitatively. These ‘economies’ include (a) the material, such as the facilities that affect the quality of HE experience, (b) the social, such as the forms adopted to create senses of belonging and support, (c) the individual, as with the encouragement of personal scholarly ideals and behaviour, and (d) the organizational, such as the quality of communications and the inspiring of contribution.
- (2) A disregard of the fact, and the necessity, of *informal organization*. Herein lies the mistaken temptation to think that redrawing the organization chart has solved the problem.
- (3) An ‘inversion of emphasis’ upon the objective and the subjective aspects of authority; thus the seduction of simplistic data. This can lead to ‘*false emphases* upon matters concerning which there is already much knowledge and appropriate language ... like in accounting and financial practice, in certain aspects of personnel work and measures’ (Barnard 1938: 286). Often missing is

consideration of ‘the economy of incentives’ and the subjective aspects of authority in terms of its leadership legitimacy and effectiveness.

- (4) A confusion of morality with responsibility, since—although the two may overlap—they are worth considering separately. Those in Executive roles, who normally work in a context of both complex morality, such as ideals of market logic versus scholarship, and high responsibility, may be assumed to express a moral assumption built into their technical functioning. Their executive behaviour would ideally be seen as both appropriate and fundamentally ‘decent’. But the matter of organizational morale does not end there. The Executive role carries with it the burden of *creating* moral codes for others. This may entail aligning the ideals of workers with the laws of the society, with the operating principles of the organization, with the notion of the good of the organization as a whole, and the acceptance of general ethical standards. The managing of these invisible forces is a great test of strategic competence. As Barnard suggests: ‘Organizations endure in proportion to the *breadth of the morality by which they are governed*. This is only to say that foresight, long purposes, high ideals, are the basis for the persistence of cooperation’ (1938: 282).

So the monitoring of the environment needs to be complete in its range, and deep enough to pick up the less obvious matters of potential significance. It then needs to be folded into the Executive process as a set of forces that will interact in complex ways as they force change. This complexity needs to be brain-stormed, ruminated upon, scenario’d, and fully debated. As options about what to do evolve from this process, the choosing of priorities should be guided by two principles: an inspirational set of moral ideals that exist within the defined purposes that evolve; and the related and orchestrated protection and enhancement of a spirit of willing cooperation by the members of the organization.

Barnard’s pioneering advice is today echoed and reinforced in a study of failures in organizational change across large organizations in general, based on twenty years of consulting experience (Garden 2017). As Bartunek (2018: 144), a past President of the Academy of Management, commented in a review of Garden’s book, ‘there is considerable informal

agreement that most organizational change efforts fail', a position echoed by the Brightline consultancy coalition's claim that 'only 1 in 10 strategic initiatives is completed successfully' (*The Economist*, 20 January 2018, 1). Garden's study, written from a position of being haunted by consultants' incompetence as well as cruelty, specifies their eight deadly sins as follows: self-deception, i.e. not understanding what they are doing; destruction of the organization's identity; destruction of the organization's cohesion; cult-like jargon reflecting a covert agenda; ignoring behaviour change connected with strategy; creating new and different, but not necessarily better action; a distorted view of resistance to change; and inadequate acknowledgement of the deep trauma of redundancy.

#### THE FORMULATION AND DEFINITION OF THE ORGANIZATION'S PURPOSES

From an understanding of surrounding change, a next step is to review, in the light of that, what the organization should now be for? This may mean reaffirming what it always was for, but either response carries major implications.

Cooperation requires that there is something to be done together, the more meaningful the better. At the base is a set of scholars, each of whom finds an identity that either provides self-respect based on the perceived respect of society, or does not. As noted, foresight, long-term purposes, and high ideals, foster the cooperation that normally accompanies organizational efficiency and effectiveness. But formulating such purposes can be trapped in high-flown language, and we are reminded by Barnard (1938: 92) that a valid purpose can only be achieved via a series of concrete acts and—in more recent jargon—'deliverables'. The value of seeing purpose in these more grounded terms is that it can be more easily related to by those doing the delivery. Also over time, as the specific delivery processes adjust to external change, the overall purpose itself may adjust, starting at the edges. By being open to adjustment, the central mission can remain relevant and inspiring. All of which is to say that thinking about and communicating purpose should not rest entirely on high abstract ideals, but should remain grounded in references to action.

Even so, common purpose and individual motive are not the same thing. Bridges need to be built between them. Purpose belongs within the organization/environment relation. It is externally focused, objective, impersonal, although it may be interpreted subjectively. Motive by contrast

is internal and subjective. But the university world has within it an unusual and distinct feature, namely an organizational purpose that, more than in many fields, can be at the same time a source of personal motive. This unifying ideal is scholarship, a central norm in HE elaborated on by Ronald Barnett in [Chapter 18](#). By defining this as the key criterion for respect, and then acting it out, it becomes the glue that holds together much of the cooperation in universities. Threats to this ideal are thus strategic issues ([Neave 2015](#)), and they abound in the new conditions as they induce a separation between (in an extreme view) two classes: a ‘plutonomy’ of managers; and a ‘precariat’ of scholars ([Chomsky 2014](#)).

The formulation and definition of purpose in a professional bureaucracy is not then a monopoly of the Executive, despite the latter’s responsibility for its being formally crafted. Instead in most organizations there is a pyramid descending from the more abstract, longer-term conception of it to the more immediate and tangible versions spread throughout an organization’s different parts. As Barnard ([1938](#): 233) notes: ‘In this fact lies the most important inherent difficulty in the operation of cooperative systems—the necessity for indoctrinating those at the lower levels with general purposes.’ Without constant up-and-down coordination between the Executive and the ultimate contributors there is always the danger of Executive isolation, and of layers of misunderstanding separating them from reality. Necessary skills at the top include interpretation and imagination alongside the rational delegation.

Ground-rules in downwards communication are then (a) that it has meaning for the recipient, (b) that it is consistent with the purposes of the organization, (c) that it is compatible with the recipient’s interests, and (d) it can be realistically complied with. All this in the university world takes place in circumstances where individual scholars look not to the university to establish their respectability as scholars, but to their global disciplines. For teaching and administration, internal judgement is usually more relevant. But because performance criteria attached to the university itself now tend to include research output, the clash of identity for scholars becomes more serious, as their discipline criteria may contend with those of their employer. For both the scholars and the Executive this becomes a complex web of choices and trade-offs in the negotiating of purposes, assuming there is negotiating.

## DISSEMINATING PURPOSES AND CONTROLLING ACTION

In the context just outlined, handling the issue of control requires careful attention to context. In this form of organization much initiative and creativity can be assumed to occur independently of direct ‘managerial’ control. This assumes the availability of appropriately skilled and motivating heads of department. I acknowledge here the significance of growing ‘corporatization’ in affecting both the definition and dissemination of purposes, and the channels of control. But due to the great variety of ways in which these tensions are playing out, I can only point to certain key lessons which will be folded into the concluding topic on cooperation: the acid test of the Executive role.

## GENERATING A SPIRIT OF WILLING COOPERATION

The threats to cooperativeness in HE are now such that it has become more than ever a source of tension in universities globally as they deal with universal stresses from the IT revolution, social change, and globalization. A glance at recent policy literature in HE indicates the agenda in book titles: *The Changing Face of Academic Life*, *Reconstructing Relationships in HE*, *Managing Reform in Universities*, *Education—an Impossible Profession?*, *Why the Education System is a Waste of Time and Money*, *Reconfiguring Knowledge Production*, *Reshaping the University*, to name but a few. Running through such commentary is the central concern with reconstructing relationships so as to retain cooperativeness, i.e. the commitment of faculty, in changed conditions.

To illustrate the management challenge of that core dilemma, findings from a series of UK studies are presented by Celia Whitchurch in [Chapter 7](#). A brief summary of this research programme’s findings (Whitchurch and Gordon [2017](#)) is that retaining relationships so as to realize institutional strategy rests on building new middle management capacity—a third space—able to provide a buffer to absorb academic anxieties and career uncertainties. This reconstructing of roles and relationships includes some blurring of the traditional academic/admin divide, a tension that can be eased by the greater use of collaborating groups working across the boundary. Managerial responses of this nature illuminate Barnard’s central point about the ultimate Executive responsibility for retaining cooperation; so too the carrying of an organization intact through environmental turbulence.

More speculatively there may be emerging from such inducted blending new identities based on innovative linking across professions, disciplines, and institutions. An unintended possible consequence of this is the institutional favouring of disciplines such as business studies, engineering, and bio-science that can easily connect with industry. Unlike the humanities they may be ‘safer bets’ in an age of financial stringency. More issues that can foster linkages include graduate employability, new modes of IT-based learning, and community relations. Such networking is also clearly predictable across borders as globalization brings with it new alliances, partnering, collaboration schemes, and exchanges.

As a concluding and integrating theme in Whitchurch and Gordon’s study, there is an echo of Barnard’s central lesson about Executive responsibility in managing complex organizations. For their informants involved in organizational change, the recurring central theme is willing cooperation.

While institutions have taken steps at a structural level to achieve greater flexibility, designing a new system or adapting an old one to deal with emergent needs or problems is only half the story. It is also likely to require a discursive approach that is responsive to the aspirations and initiatives of individuals and builds on these. An emphasis on the importance of relationships in developing positive cultures and constructive attitudes was pervasive. (Whitchurch and Gordon 2017: 159)

## CONCLUSION

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All universities will have their own particular environments, reputations, and histories. Each will set a strategy on its own terms. Because of that uniqueness, this chapter could not be about specifics. It has instead looked at Executive work in general, seeing it as a high craft, with onerous duties, but with well-tried and tested principles underlying its successful practice.

To conclude I reprise certain basic guidelines for the Executive work of managing the opaque but powerful influences under discussion.

- (1) Read the changing environment sensitively and fully, both internally and externally.
- (2) Ensure that the crafting of a mission takes account of the views of all parties with an interest, but especially those committed to its

being practically discharged and whose livelihoods depend directly on its success.

- (3) Ensure that the purposes when expressed are meaningful to their key academic interpreters, and unifying as ideals across the body of the university staff.
- (4) Ensure that the purposes are in tune with societal expectations of the role of universities.
- (5) Do not rely on measurable criteria for results to the exclusion of non-measurable interpretations. And do not allow the pragmatic use of numbers to destroy pluralist cross-fertilization of ideas.
- (6) Define the purposes in grounded and well as abstract terms.
- (7) Ensure that understanding of the purposes penetrates all corners of the university and its related external institutions.
- (8) Live them out in such a way as to provide example, especially moral.
- (9) Report regularly and widely on strategic progress.
- (10) Communicate constantly and encourage feedback.

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## CHAPTER 10

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# **CRITICAL FACTORS AND FORCES INFLUENCING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY**

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**ANTONY DREW, GORDON REDDING, AND TREVOR  
HARLEY**

## **INTRODUCTION**

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THE purpose of this chapter is to provide policy makers, government officials, leaders and managers in universities, industry and civic society with an overview of the critical factors and forces pressing upon higher education (HE) now and into the foreseeable future. The issues discussed here are further examined in the following chapters by scholars from a range of different disciplinary perspectives.

We identify what factors and forces heads of universities need to take into account as they adapt their organizations to surrounding change. In a fast-evolving world this requires knowing what is changing that is significant, and being able to work out how to react to it to preserve the long-term viability of a university. We have sought to identify the most important elements in the environment of HE, and to note how they are

changing. We also present questions on how they are likely to influence university strategy-making and HE policy -making now and into the foreseeable future.

The factors and forces are broken down into two arenas, the *macro* or external environment and the *meso* or more immediate environment. The macro environment contains influences over which governments and policy makers may have some level of power but over which universities, industry, civic society, and individuals have little or no power, for example the IT revolution, socio-cultural trends, and matters of the political economy. We begin with these wider issues and then move the focus to the more immediate. These latter are forces over which universities, industry, and members of society have some influence such as relations between universities, industry, the citizenry, and government.

It is taken as read that the monitoring of changing external factors is a prime responsibility of strategy makers seeking to adjust their organizations for continued viability. In strategic management a balancing is sought between the internal and external realities. Formats such as SWOT analysis are widely used to identify internal organizational strengths and weaknesses and external opportunities and threats. Both the macro and meso environments are arenas in which such opportunities and threats may be identified. By understanding the opportunities and threats (in combination with the organization's internal capabilities, resources, strengths, and weaknesses), organizational decision makers are better placed to adjust their strategies in order to achieve their vision, mission, and goals. In times of transformational change, this may entail them redefining their missions in order to survive and prosper in a new context.

We assume that in strategy-making a university executive body would see the organization as a complete socio-technical system. As discussed in [Chapter 9](#), changes within this would need to be thought through for their effects on all other parts of the same organizational system. Thinking about these reciprocities and the balancing needed to keep the total functioning is the standard part of strategic analysis that deals with implementation. Such work would include awareness of desirable organizational capabilities, and is likely to be framed in such a way that the effects of change can be forecast. Such work normally benefits from a holistic framework. For example Kotter ([1978](#)) explaining organizational dynamics suggests that the

effectiveness of an organization is sought by the balancing of forces between:

- (a) the dominant coalition and its rationale
- (b) the formal organizational arrangements
- (c) employees and other tangible assets
- (d) the social system and organizational culture
- (e) the technologies used
- (f) the current external environment, both for the task and wider
- (g) the future external environment.

Each university is of course unique in its relations to its context, but they will nevertheless share many external influences.

## **POLITICAL, LEGAL, AND REGULATORY IMPLICATIONS**

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The term *political economy* has been used since the eighteenth century to describe the interrelationships between the political system, the legal system, and the economy of a given society and it is a valuable lens through which to envision societal change. While the main factors are interrelated, it is ultimately the political ideology held by those in power that tends to underpin the resultant political system, policy directions, legal and regulatory system, and the functioning of the economy. In [Chapter 4](#) Richard Whitley discusses how university systems in various societies have evolved over time, and the ideological, institutional, and political forces that have resulted in different types of university: *hollow*, *state-chartered*, *state-guided*, and *corporate*. The key here is that in a world experiencing increasing globalization—including revolutionary changes in communications technologies, and changing societal and industry demands—government ideologies, policies, and legal and regulatory frameworks are likely to continue changing also, in order to facilitate societal survival and growth. In terms of potential changes in political ideology and policy

development, the following are questions senior HE leaders and managers might be thinking about as they develop strategies for moving forward.

How does *performativity*, that is funding in exchange for performance by sponsors'—usually government—metrics (Barnett 2000), affect HE operations across countries? How are such metrics changing? What are the potential implications of being bound by them? And perhaps more importantly, are they the right metrics? Are governments measuring the right things, for instance the encouragement of critical thinking?

Is New Public Management (NPM) (i.e. the ideological belief by governments and supranational bodies in investing in education, and managing it within a corporate paradigm) a really suitable model for HE and is it feasible for NPM to be replaced by alternative model(s) in the future? To what extent is organizational autonomy under threat from various models of NPM, now and into the future—over goals, principles, activities, fields of action and resource acquisition, faculty recruitment, organizational components, what is taught, and how it is assessed?

Is it possible that state-chartered and corporate universities will become increasingly dependent on governments for funding as a consequence of changes in government policies? For example, the tightening of student loan policies may result in more students dropping out of, or not going to universities at all, thereby reducing tuition fee income, a key source of revenue for all state-guided and corporate universities. As a consequence, what is the potential for these types of universities to become more like state-guided or even hollow universities?

Is government-driven marketization of HE a viable option? The example from the United Kingdom after the Browne Report (Browne 2010) would suggest not. The report recommended universities charge tuition fees across a spectrum from £3,000 to £9,000, assuming market forces would result in different universities charging different fees. Instead they all opted for the highest level. In addition to income maximization by HE providers, other implications we might expect from the marketization of HE include increasing defaults on student loans; students expecting increasing education quality and job outcomes (students as customers); and universities having to improve student (customer) satisfaction through putting more resources into facilities and teaching, at a time when government funding models are based more on research outcomes than student satisfaction.

There is also significant influence on any complex social system from the ideologies that underlie it. In simple terms the ideology of the world of business is built around norms of essential self-interest moderated in varying degrees by counterbalancing ideals of duty to improve the overall life of citizens. So an active bourgeoisie might be a crucial force in driving innovativeness as a competitive weapon, but can also become legitimate in a society to the extent that its key members behave with public interest and prosperity is shared. In the world of HE a parallel but different structure of ideals evolved along with the values of scholarship, openness, rationality, and enquiry—all in the public interest—that brought great respect for universities acting as the sources of awareness of a society’s own evolution and betterment, the influential European case being the Enlightenment dream. Ideals of this nature would always be in reciprocal fusion with the worlds of politics, religion, finance, and technology, as well as social conduct generally. The reason for noting this is that trying to blend sectors (e.g. HE and Business) that have evolved out of different ideologies cannot be achieved by surface treatments. The depths of their rationales have also to be plumbed.

## ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

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As noted above, economic and financial factors are influenced by political ideology and policy developments, and changes in policy often result in changes in economic and financial conditions. This section therefore discusses potential economic and financial factors and issues that senior HE leaders should be thinking about in terms of future institutional strategies, more detailed analysis of which is covered in [Chapter 19](#).

What is the real cost of education to the state, students, and parents? The provision of loans is not sustainable if students do not pay the loans back because they don’t earn enough, but studies of student loan default reveal many possible causes (Hillman 2014). The cost to a government will vary greatly between societies but its consistent pattern is of growth. The viability of such loan systems is affected by the quality of information and advice surrounding them (Scott-Clayton 2012) and in the United States by the large number of for-profit colleges with relatively high drop-out rates

(Kutz 2010). Often loans are made on the basis of increases in income over a career but this may not be viable in a national or global economy experiencing slow growth and forms of financial crisis.

What are the conflicts involved in trying to run an organization where the cost of the key resource (student contact with teachers) cannot easily be economized via new technology; while student expectations of value are rising as their tuition fees continue to increase?

Globalization of demand and supply in terms of students is changing typical student recruitment practices. There is now a much stronger focus on recruiting full fee-paying international students to generate additional income to counter reductions in government funding in many countries, especially those dominated by corporate, state-chartered and state-guided universities.

Markets are based on scarcity, but information (one of the principal outputs of universities) is abundant in the twenty-first century, with more modes of instant transmission becoming available. In the knowledge economy we are now seeing a mismatch developing between market logics based on scarcity and a post-capitalist economy based on information (but not knowledge) abundance.

Post-capitalist change is spontaneous, fast, and transformational rather than slow and evolutionary. Such change dissolves markets, destroys ownership, breaks the link between work and earnings, and invites spontaneous collaboration, as with, for example, parallel currencies (bitcoin), free phone services (e.g. WeChat, Skype), and the hyper-connected person. Economics theory has been slow in accounting for the sharing informed economy. For education, the new change agent emerging is the educated connected person. What are new in the current era are free abundant goods in the form of information, and networks. What is old and gone are bounded units of ownership and hierarchies. Today, we still carry forward policies set in the nineteenth century, when investment in universal education was seen as crucial if the empowerment of people via universal suffrage was to work. Today we should be asking how to cope with empowerment via mass information? And a corollary is the role, and indeed relevance, of HE in providing information.

Under competitive federalism for universities—referred to as *coopetition*—we are seeing an increase in universities cooperating with each other as well as competing, both domestically and internationally. So

what implications might flow from that? The current advice from McKinsey (Atluri et al. 2017) is that the evolution of socio-economies will see the emergence in the next decade of a set of massive *sectoral ecosystems*, including, along with the industrial forms, one for health and one for education. These will be networks of complex cooperation structures and are forecast to grow to account for a third of global GDP.

In the previous section we touched on performativity in terms of what governments expect and measure but it is becoming even more of an issue in times of increasing credentialling by a broader range of stakeholders. These include: industry (e.g. accounting, pharmaceuticals, law); HE school accrediting bodies (e.g. AACSB, EQUIS, AMBA); and government HE compliance bodies (e.g. TEQSA in Australia, QAA in the United Kingdom, and the OECD's AHELO project). Whilst credentialling may contribute to quality assurance, the key issues here are how much control over curriculum is being ceded to the industry and accrediting bodies, and to what extent is the focus being taken away from teaching skills in critical thinking, critical analysis, lifelong learning, and a quest for knowledge, and being replaced with a more vocationalized education that provides entry level workplace skills and knowledge but without the key elements of scholarship? A recent attack by Caplan (2018) argues that the rise within universities of offering what the employment market pragmatically wants, results in education being used to deliver credentials that signal specific individual capability, but at the cost of HE's morality- and aesthetics-based duties to prepare citizens to make a good society.

One of the outcomes of growing demand for education, and especially for marketable qualifications, has been the rise of private education. Although much of this is essentially benevolent there has recently been a tendency for increasing speculation by operators interested in making money. In countries where student loans are covered by government, and where regulations over registering educational institutions are not strong, many students have registered for degrees and diplomas but have neither completed the course, nor paid back the loan. In essence the money has flowed from the government to the teaching institutions via the mobile students (Hunt et al. 2018). In the United States a government study showed a large growth in this sector, a tendency for profiteering by many institutions, higher costs to students than in government colleges, and high drop-out rates (US Government Accountability Office 2010); the

accumulated debt from that source had reached \$1.4 billion at the time of the report and became the focus for a Senate enquiry.

One of the side effects of changes to HE in most environments has been the predictable rise of complexity and pressure in the role of university headship, as discussed in [Chapter 9](#). Never an easy role at the best of times, given the tendency to factional in-fighting in a structure of competing departments, each with duty to its own professional norms, the new pressures of maintaining financial viability, meeting the expressed needs of industry, dealing with the rising expectations of fee-paying students in an age of growing empowerment, and still serving society's needs for relevant knowledge, make the role burdensome. They are also likely to make it unattractive to many potential appointees.

A consequence of its unattractiveness is that pay for doing it rises. This may then become a target for interest groups with grudges about inadequate institutional support. In industry, resentments about high executive pay can be deflected by arguments about measurable worth attached to individual leaders. But university *performance* has only loose and debatable measures. So even though the individual's work might well justify the reward if such measures were conceivable, judgement of it remains largely a matter of opinion rather than data. Perhaps the reward itself takes account of the carrying of such a burden for a limited period of intense duty.

## SOCIO-CULTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

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The advent of the twenty-first century has seen immense changes to the HE environment in terms of socio-cultural effects and demographics driven especially by globalization and policy changes, a prime example being NPM. The drivers in question are 'the world wide reduction of barriers to trade and investment; the spread of industrialization, economic development, and modernization; market liberalization and adoption of free markets; and advances in technology—particularly the internet and the development of online teaching and learning platforms' ([Drew 2014](#): 185). Concomitantly there has been an increase in non-traditional student numbers, e.g. those who either: do not enrol in university upon completion

of high school; work part-time for at least part of the academic year; are financially independent in terms of being eligible for financial aid; are single parents; or did not finish high school (National Center for Education Statistics 2002). We are also seeing more female students enrolling in HE programmes of study and the equity and participation outcomes this raises are exacerbated by increasing access by students from lower socio-economic backgrounds (see Chapters 14 and 26 for more detail).

In addition, many universities in developed economies have seen growing numbers of international students enrolling in both postgraduate and, increasingly, undergraduate programmes. There were approximately 800,000 international students worldwide in 1975, increasing to 2.1 million by 2000, 3 million by 2005, and 4.1 million by 2010 (Project Atlas 2012). We also saw an eight-fold increase in the number of universities from developed economies opening international branch campuses in host countries between 2002 and 2009 (Robertson 2010). Becker (2009) argues that the increase in branch campuses of universities from countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom was driven by reduced government funding in the home country and the need to generate additional revenues elsewhere. In more recent years, universities from developing countries such as China and India have opened branch campuses in developed countries such as the United States and Australia, as they seek stronger connections for research and faculty exchange, as well as the appeal of foreign experience to their home students.

There are predictions based on UN data of a total global increase in post-secondary enrolments from approximately 0.5 billion in 2020 to approximately 2.5 billion by 2060 (Roser and Nagdy 2018). If correct, we should be seriously examining the potential cost implications for societies of funding such growth. In accounting, there is a construct known as the cash cycle which refers to the time between investing in inventory to receiving payment for the final goods. The upshot is: grow too quickly, incurring costs in doing so, and you cannot pay for your inbound inventory so you go out the door backwards. Consequently governments need to determine what such a cost blowout might be, and its implications for the sustainability for universities into the future. The US Senate concern (noted above) with the unpaid student loan debt is illustrative of this cash cycle dilemma.

Advances in information and communications technology (ICT) have also provided the opportunity for increasing numbers of online students (see [Chapter 11](#) for more detail on the impact of ICT on HE). Universities are not only adopting online learning management systems such as Blackboard (Blackboard Inc., Washington, DC, USA) and Moodle (Moodle Pty Ltd, Perth, Australia) for managing content and its delivery, but they are increasingly integrating third party online services such as YouTube (Open University [2013](#)) and Facebook. In the United States alone, the number of students taking at least one course online as part of their HE programme of study rose from 1.6 million in 2002 to 6.7 million in 2011, while the number of HE institutions offering complete online programmes rose from 34.5 per cent in 2002 to 62.3 per cent in 2012 (Allen and Seaman [2013](#)).

Under the influences of hyper-modernization (for a balanced discussion of which see [Donovan 2013](#)) we are seeing increasing cross-institutional research, more teaching collaboration, and higher numbers of high end research hubs/clusters (e.g. Oxford–Cambridge–London in medical research and University of Newcastle, University of Wollongong, and the University of New South Wales in Australian regional innovation research). To what extent is hyper-modernization likely to develop in relation to research? How might it affect the way universities typically fund their research activities? And to what extent might this contribute to universities needing to revise and even reconfigure their vision, mission, and research strategies?

Another critical socio-cultural change currently facing universities is *academic nomadism*: that is to say academics induced to teach and research for more than one institution. Examples of contributing factors include changes to the tenure system. Already common in some countries, as with the nine-month contracts in the United States leaving three months in which academics need to find other income, this may spread. So too is there an increasing reliance on casual academic contracts in Australia; and a growing reliance on casual teaching online rather than face-to-face (see [Chapter 11](#) for more in this topic). The issue of academic nomadism raises the following types of question in relation to university structure, culture, strategy, and leadership. How do you administer the university if your best academics are not there? How do you service your students if their teachers are not there? If academic salaries continue to fall in relation to real costs, to what extent might academics need to seek additional work in order to

maintain their standard of living? To what extent might we see the emergence of a precariat of academics under the influences of NPM systems and a more corporate style of university management? How might such changes affect the citizenship, loyalty, community spirit, and intellectual contribution of academics to a single university's reputation?

While the drivers of globalization have brought many positive benefits, they have also contributed to what Beck and Grande (2010) describe as Modernization 2, which essentially describes the creeping individualization of risk, and the increasing career volatility in industries and occupations undergoing creative destruction. Such conditions require students to be additionally inculcated with both higher level critical thinking abilities and a proclivity for lifelong learning (Gray 2016, reporting for the World Economic Forum). Yet as discussed above, NPM style policies, credentialling, and corporatizing universities are potentially creating environments where the cultivation of such capabilities in students is often starved of attention. This is somewhat ironic as one of the key drivers of the first industrial revolution over the nineteenth century was the driving belief that HE and scholarship beget a more informed and civil society and that all should be given access to such an experience. The underlying assumptions then were: (a) the nation-state as focus of identity; (b) individuals became more specifically qualified than they had been previously—i.e. hyper-specialization; (c) gainful work and employment; and (d) scientific rationality and functional differentiation. These assumptions are under threat in Modernization 2 and the seemingly natural ascent of industrial capitalism widely envisaged in the early 1990s is now in question.

It is argued (Beck and Grande 2010) that Modernization 2 results in new forms of fragility: that is, a wider variety of alternative meaning structures and so a difficulty for different individuals, groups, and societies to find common ground. As Fukuyama (2018: 3) contends, ‘Sometime in the middle of the second decade of the twenty-first century, world politics changed dramatically.’ The change was a rise in the demands of identity bringing new forms of populism. This can cause a polarization of opinions that undermines and challenges the existing institutional structure; creates institutional fragility as a result; and undermines stable institutional transition. Campuses have recently witnessed an upsurge in varied expressions of entitlement that go with this momentum.

Modernization 2 also sees the globalization of capital and risk. National institutions alone cannot control trends, as many sources of funding are external, as are sources of cultural influence. Other new forms of instability can have side effects on domination—i.e. as societies diffract, they are at risk from new or returned forms of dominance, as with states that experience periods of totalitarian control. Turkey, Hungary, China, and Venezuela are all seeing the influence of new controls imposed on the HE sector by new elites. Under Modernization 2 more positively it is equally feasible for transformation to bring a new cosmopolitan modernity. In such cases as Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, change agents have been the well-networked, well-educated technocrats and administrators working in combination with those in power, perhaps made easier in societies of relatively small scale and so able to repeat the kinds of fusion behind the first modernization in the 1800s.

## TECHNOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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One of the most powerful drivers of change in HE in the twenty-first century and underpinning the transition from the information economy to the knowledge economy, has been the rapid development in ICT and new learning modes enabled by teaching communications technology (TCT). The knowledge economy is making new demands and raises many questions for HE teaching and research strategies into the future. As discussed in [Chapter 11](#), formats such as massive open online courses (MOOCs), and the massification of education via ICT and TCT, but also more traditional online education and blended learning, are just the tip of an iceberg.

Artificial intelligence (AI), now and into the future, is likely to sponsor ongoing changes to HE. In the short term, technology will lead to a different sort of teaching, with more emphasis on virtual learning environments (VLEs). In the mid-term, the development of AI and sophisticated online learning environments will question the need for traditional university formats and processes, as students can get all of their learning at home. Universities will therefore have to adapt to survive. In the long term (which might be as little as thirty years), AI and robot technology

combined may lead to mass societal change, possibly leading to a great lessening of human-occupied work. Whether this leads to mass unemployment or increased leisure time depends on how it is managed (see [Chapter 24](#) for further discussion of this topic). Given the new technologies involved in making a living the very nature of what universities teach is likely to change, with a shift from the emphasis on domain-specific knowledge to ways of learning and placing domain-specific knowledge in context.

## ENVIRONMENTAL IMPLICATIONS

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Historically, research conducted in universities has informed government policy, and in many cases underpinned societal change. Assuming this role continues into the future (and as a theme throughout this handbook, this is advocated but not confidently predicted), we would hope to see universities leading the way in promoting environmental sustainability through syllabus development, so as to incorporate civic consciousness and common goods idealism in disciplines ranging from law, commerce, and management to engineering, architecture, and the physical sciences. In a similar vein (and this is already happening within many universities), the design of campus facilities and campus interaction with the external environment will become more proactively environment conscious.

## IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBALIZATION

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What are the implications of the rise of global forces in HE, e.g. curriculum redesign (or not), styles of teaching, research collaboration, transnational education, offshore satellite campuses, global rankings, global competition, and financial dependence on foreign student fee income by universities and governments (i.e. HE as an export industry)? On such an open-ended topic we restrict ourselves to noting two informed and complementary views. The late Sir David Watson ([2014](#)) in his address at the SKOPE conference on the future of HE in Oxford said: ‘If HE is going to prosper in the contemporary world it is going to have to become messier, less precious,

more flexible, and significantly more cooperative.’ On the same theme, and earlier noted in [Chapter 1](#), Simon Marginson ([2018](#)) predicts an HE future in which new large ‘flat’ structures of university collaboration would emerge globally resting on novel kinds of ‘cooperative competence’.

Returning to the theme of autonomy we ask: to what extent, when (if ever), and where, might a university be able to set its own foreign policy (e.g. to set up a branch campus in a host country), without the need for either home country or host country government approval?

The following sections turn to the meso environment and discuss the strategic issues for universities that flow from the macro environmental changes described above.

## FACULTY AS ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENS

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Rewarding teaching as well as research remains a long-standing point of debate. Maintaining the willingness of faculty to cooperate with the university mission gets more difficult under the pressure of rising costs. Such challenges become increasingly visible as a literature of faculty revolt emerges and universities become sources of faculty anxiety (Espeland and Sauder [2007](#)); homes of two cultures—*the precariat* and the *plutonomy* (Chomsky [2014](#)); as organizations compromised by having to serve the worlds of the both scholarship and the market (Ginsberg [2011](#)); as delivering ‘generations of useful machines rather than citizens who can think for themselves’ (Nussbaum [2010](#): 2); having ‘the air sucked out of them’ (Barnett [2014](#): 11); or causing the death of human capital (Brown [2017](#)). The challenge of maintaining a positive organizational culture and organizational capability based on human interaction in an age of AI, no-cost communications, and almost total connectivity, is perhaps the most serious frontier for university management.

## SOCIETAL LEGITIMACY

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Universities are in increasing need of ways to justify their role in society as their costs rise. They have both the right and the duty to state their case in

ways that persuade citizens to see them as not just legitimate, but valuable to societal progress. In addressing this need, certain issues seem natural elements on the agenda for crafting convincing statements of mission. These include: building a new financial model taking into account the direct and indirect contributions of HE to national GDP, especially in societies that have high international student populations; and re-articulating a university mission to better place it as a contributor to society in a world of increasing societal participation in universities (e.g. increasing the percentage of population at university, increasing industry links, increasing research with impact). This in other words challenges universities to show their high value to society, and to show that ivory towers can house thinking of great societal significance. Issues proliferate here. How does a university show awareness of, and address, inequality and social justice issues in society and their implications for equitable access to HE based on merit? To what extent does a university exercise its civic duty in contributing to societal development? To what extent is the university taking into account the multiplicity of internal and external stakeholders?

In a world changing in so many aspects there are two overriding dilemmas facing university management: responding appropriately to the new; and keeping universities cohesive as organizations. Within the broad thinking about those dilemmas are the specifics of the following questions.

## **CONTRIBUTING TO SOCIETAL INNOVATIVENESS AND PROGRESS**

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Historically, universities in many societies have been the engines of societal innovativeness and progress. Their historic role in fostering independent thinking, invention, and scholarship have given rise to the discovery of many new benefits to humanity, even though the benefits may not have become apparent for decades (penicillin for example). However, now that we are witnessing the forces of NPM, credentialling, academic nomadism, and the vocationalization of HE, it is necessary to ask: To what extent do universities of different ideal types foster free expression and independent thinking, critical thinking and lifelong learning? What does this bring to a society? To what extent are universities broadening the focus of their work:

e.g. commercializing their research base (i.e. research with impact as opposed to scholarship) and does this happen proactively or reactively to changes in government policy? How do they display good citizenship?

## CULTURE CHANGE

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To what extent are HE leaders and managers scanning societal trends, developments, and changes and incorporating them into their remit of transmitting and evolving societal and external values, norms, and institutions? What sort of graduates should HE be producing and with what graduate attributes, in order to meet the changing needs of society and industry in the short, medium, and long-term future? That is to say, to what extent should HE contribute to civic virtue and societal development into the future and how? This was very much the role of universities during the first modernization, but with the changing of paradigms in societies experiencing factors such as Modernization 2, credentialling, NPM, academic nomadism, and the massification of HE, is such a contribution even possible? Palfreyman and Tapper ([Chapter 8](#) of this handbook) provide a compelling and thought-provoking discussion along these lines via an examination of the evolution of the collegial model of HE in the United Kingdom and the evolution of HE there more broadly.

As HE continues to become an increasingly global industry, with increasing flows of students and academics from their home country to host countries with very different socio-cultural values, mores, and customs we might ask to what extent do universities need to be responsible for the risks of introducing theories, models, and frameworks from one socio-cultural perspective to students from countries with different ones, especially in the social sciences? An example is advocating *structural adjustment* in African countries via the World Bank's embracing of the Washington Consensus, and the subsequent negative impact on those African countries. With increasingly diverse student bodies, to what extent should HE providers in one society be acculturating foreign students into the home country's paradigms and institutions? And in light of globalization and increasingly diverse student bodies, how do universities go about developing a multi-

cultural climate that welcomes diversity and alternative paradigms in both staff and students?

## **ORGANIZATIONAL EFFICIENCY WITHIN CULTURE CHANGE**

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To what extent is HE developing new learning regimes and modes of delivery to meet changing macro-environmental forces—that is to say—enacting globalization? For example, in deciding how to enact globalization, you can't turn the clock back on the new efficiencies of the global supply chain, but you can seek win-win partnerships, including with students who potentially become lifelong contributors to the university, first as students, then as contributing alumni, and finally as the producers of the next generation of students.

## **Finance**

Who pays for growth (e.g. in student numbers, in research facilities, etc.): government, industry, the wider society via higher taxes; students via higher tuition fees or some type of combination? Patterns have changed. For example, industry in the United States was funding around 70 per cent of basic research over the 1960s and 1970s, but that percentage had dropped to 44 per cent by 2015. Over the same period the contribution of the combined corporate and philanthropy sources rose to 35 per cent (Mervis 2017). Overall research funding (as opposed to that for basic science) by the US government has remained at a much lower level, and stands currently at around 6 per cent (Atkinson 2018). What would be the future impact on access to funding for HE (research funding, international student fees, etc.) if nationalism continues to grow in response to globalism? And how might this affect research collaboration and the knowledge economy (and by default, the societal legitimacy of universities)? For a comprehensive analysis and discussion of university funding issues, see Chapter 19 of this handbook.

## **Marketization and Growth**

How do universities grow in the host country via branch campuses and other forms of transnational education in countries where the governments may have differing ideologies and management strategies to that of the home country? This was a question faced by the medical research arm of Johns Hopkins University in Singapore in 2006 when the Singaporean government unilaterally shut it down for apparently not meeting government targets ([Fuyuno 2006](#)). Do universities consider this at all? To what extent do universities and/or governments in developing and transition host countries want the knowledge and technology of universities from more developed countries and invite them to set up branch campuses, only to later close them down once they have grafted on sufficient knowledge and technology? How do we manage the potential trade-offs, over time, between cash flows and the loss of legitimacy and autonomy when the rules of the game change, perhaps under a new political regime, as now with the Central European University in Budapest now in transit to Vienna ([Ignatieff 2018](#))?

How do long-established universities cope with the growth of both domestic private providers and the branch campuses of foreign universities in their home and overseas markets? How do they cope with newer universities in former developing countries improving to such an extent that they are now more attractive to students from those countries (and other developing countries) than they once were?

How do rankings and other forms of scrutiny (e.g. public student feedback mechanisms) influence the brand and potentially the viability of the university? How do/should universities differentiate themselves? Or are they being tempted into copying the formula that gets some of them to the top of rankings, a ‘copying’ phenomenon studied by organization theorists as ‘mimetic isomorphism’, and visibly on the increase, as rankings affect student choice? And finally, are private universities simply a vehicle for profit and if so, what stance should be taken in relating to them?

## **Organizational Structure**

In terms of organizational structure, questions facing university leaders and managers include: To what extent and how does a university need to change its organizational structure and processes in light of the IT revolution and globalization? How can universities maintain a sense of unity and purpose in a time of increasing specialization and diffraction under performativity? What is an effective form of control and motivation for faculty professionals? How do universities improve interdisciplinarity, a regular recommendation in a postmodern era, under the influence of forces for globalization?

## CONCLUSION

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As was said at the outset, this chapter acts as a bridge between two themes. Before it are chapters that deal with the large questions of varied societal evolutions, and the role of academic freedom in fostering a society's capacity to effectively address societal adjustments to change. After this chapter there are more closely focused accounts of how HE is responding to those forces of change.

In constructing such a bridge certain core ideas have guided our thinking about how such complex adaptive systems work in the context of HE. We reiterate those ideas now.

- (a) Any system of HE will be shaped by the mores and ideals of the society that hosts it, although cross-fertilization between systems can also flourish.
- (b) When an HE system makes a positive contribution to the progress of a society through change, it normally does so in an atmosphere of scholarly freedom of thought and expression, across both the humanities and the sciences. It may also act as catalyst in wider societal debate.
- (c) Three forces lead in disturbing the necessary balance that may be achieved: global expectations of access to HE result in fast-rising demand; information technology opens up new ways of meeting that demand; and costs to society of satisfying that need will rise.

- (d) Many changes to university operations will be driven by the forces in (c), at the expense of the principles in (b).
- (e) So university leaders face choices between a long-term duty to society that is only rarely articulated, and a short-term set of solutions driven by more vocal demands, including those from government.
- (f) The responses adopted need to cover both these rationales. There is a risk that they may not, and that many universities will give up the role of being part of a society's brain fostering the evolution of its form of civilization, in exchange for being its training school. The retention of both is not just possible, it is crucial. But in a world of such threats and changes no one can suggest it will be easy.

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## CHAPTER 11

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# A NEW WORLD OF COMMUNICATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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## INTRODUCTION

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THIS chapter is about rapid, seemingly continuous change in information and communications technologies (ICTs), and the implications of that change for higher education (HE) institutions and systems. ICTs are ubiquitous through HE institutions and in this chapter we focus on implications for universities' (i) education missions, while also noting implications that extend out across (ii) research missions. Our emphasis is on ICT-related changes that intersect with other major changes impacting higher education internationally, including the introduction of widening participation agendas in some countries (Devlin and Samarawickrema 2010), increasing casualization and outsourcing, and the rise in influence of public accountability systems (Ryan et al. 2017). This is a context of considerable complexity. As such, we begin with a brief note on established debates on technology and society. The review that follows is structured around a small number of thematic areas in order to tease out the key issues in play.

## THEORETICAL GUIDEPOSTS

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Charting a course through a review of ICTs, or technologies more generally, calls for some awareness of certain well-rehearsed perspectives on technology, and the relationship between technologies and societies. Awareness of long-standing debates helps in engaging critically with current changes in ICTs and the implications of those changes for higher education. Two key debates stand out.

The first is the question of technological and social determinism (Marx and Smith 1994). That is, do technologies shape societies, or do societies shape technologies? The second is the question of technological optimism and pessimism. In other words, is technological change *good* or *bad*? The complexity affecting both debates is that, most of the time, various things can be happening simultaneously. First, it's fairly uncontroversial to conclude that both technology and culture influence each other, and as such embody each other (Marx and Smith 1994). Some argue that technology, in effect, has agency (Marx and Smith 1994). One example would be the way some technologies support so strongly the concerns of currently fashionable neo-liberal ideology, such as prioritizing efficiency gains while exploiting human 'capital'. For this chapter, the key implication of this conclusion is that technology is not neutral. Bogost (2017) provides an illustrative contemporary ICT example: software used ubiquitously in modern societies reflecting the values of developers who, as a cohort, are largely male and white. In Bogost's (2017) words, '[t]he kind of computing systems that get made and used by people outside the industry, and with serious consequences, are a direct by-product of the gross machismo of computing writ large'.

Second, setting up technological optimism and pessimism in opposition likely leads to an over-simplified explanation of technological change. As technologies change, challenges—such as achieving education that is equitable, accessible, affordable, appropriate for societal need, etc.—also evolve. *Wicked* problems (APSC 2012; Rittel and Webber 1973) describe problems that resist resolution, and instead evolve as they are addressed. Wicked problems, in fact, typically resist even agreed definition. They are usually high stakes problems, with little time available for resolution, and with implications for their many and varied stakeholders whose interests

likely conflict. An example of a wicked problem from higher education would be achieving equitable access to higher education (see [Chapters 14](#) and [26](#) for detailed discussion on this topic). As discussed below, this is a problem which has attracted technological (and other) responses, and while technological responses can be expected to have some positive effect, such changes, inevitably, also contribute to the creation of new problems.

## **ICTs AND HIGHER EDUCATION: KEY QUESTIONS OVERLAP AND INTERSECT**

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ICTs have long been woven into higher education institutions, and are increasingly prominent across education, research, and administration support. Because ICTs are so deeply embedded, neatly teasing out discrete questions around the implications of change in ICTs for higher education is nigh on impossible. Instead, in this section, we centre our thinking around some carefully considered questions or focal points that, inevitably, are interlinked, and therefore overlap and intersect in various ways. Our intention is that the multiple focus areas discussed here constitute, in aggregate, a well-rounded perspective on ICTs and higher education.

### **Online or Open? Educational Access and Equity**

Online education has been described as a *disruptive innovation* (Christensen and Eyring [2011](#)) in the higher education sector: an innovation that is significantly changing the sector, and therefore a change that entails challenges to traditional institutions and practices. Online education is attractive to both students and institutions for several reasons, and considering online postgraduate coursework programmes (masters by coursework, graduate certificates and graduate diplomas) provides a helpful illustration. For students, a key attraction is temporal and spatial flexibility: as recognized in many institutions' promotional materials, online study allows students to fit postgraduate study in with existing family, carer, and work responsibilities, free of obligations to attend classes on campus at

specific times. For institutions, particularly in competitive markets, online study provides a way to attract postgraduate coursework students who might not otherwise engage in further study.

Online education, in this sense, is a continuation of long-standing distance education programmes. However, the shift from traditional distance to online learning is not necessarily a straightforward matter. Marketization of education is one notable dimension of this shift. The contributions of academic publishers to individual student learning in higher education have, until recently, been stable, through the publication of print-based texts and related materials. But online education has been far from immune to the forces of Silicon Valley, and the drive to commercialize new digital technologies is facilitating increased marketization of higher education. Increased digital intervention in higher education by for-profit academic publishers and software developers has blurred the lines between those who control education provision. Digital textbooks can now be augmented with proprietary online learning activities and assessment tasks. Learning management systems (LMSs) are also typically proprietary, and other proprietary, learning task-specific software is available to *plug in* to LMSs. In short, digitalization of education has facilitated the expansion of markets in higher education.

The burgeoning prevalence of online education has also somewhat blurred or fudged the distinction between online and open, and the key difference is politics. Open education is a distinct approach to education provision, grounded strongly in a commitment to access and equity. In contrast to open education, distance education including online programmes may or may not be grounded in a commitment to access and equity. The online postgraduate coursework programmes noted above are typically offered for substantial fees, and exemplify distance education structured around a for-profit business model. Nevertheless, the evolution and adoption of online education has facilitated open education initiatives. One example is open universities, some of which predate the advent of the internet, such as the Open University in the United Kingdom. Established in the late 1960s, it has, unsurprisingly, long been offering undergraduate and postgraduate programmes online.

Open education is also offered online for enabling programmes, specifically designed to support *non-traditional* students to access higher education. In Australia, the University of Newcastle offers the largest

enabling programmes, across three streams tailored for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, recent school-leaver, and mature age students. The programme for mature age students is offered online, as well as face-to-face, and is accompanied by intensive support including the online *Week Zero* programme: a week-long orientation designed for students coming to tertiary study without, for various reasons, the benefit of a long history of academic success (Goode 2013). As for the enabling programmes, *Week Zero* comprises an online element as well as intensive phone and other support, including academic, counselling, and language and literacies as required.

The advent and evolution of online education provides new opportunities, some of which align with the longer development of distance education, and some of which align with the open education tradition. The politics, i.e. the motivating rationale, of education is as important as it ever was, and increasingly so as educational technologies evolve.

## Autopedagogy: Opportunities and Limitations

The opportunities and risks of open online education are still in flux. For example, there is considerable uncertainty as to what will constitute viable business models for tertiary institutions as open online education evolves. One direction that has received substantial attention internationally over a number of years is the advent of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). MOOCs have garnered significant media interest over the past five years particularly, perhaps principally, because prestigious universities in the United States (e.g. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford, and Harvard) have established MOOC offerings. Other institutions internationally have followed, and online platforms have been developed to provide single access points to the offerings of multiple institutions. MOOCs are generally short courses (e.g. six weeks' duration), not offered for credit, and with wholly computerized assessment.

A typical MOOC will address a specific topic, narrower than the content of a single university course. It will have tens of thousands of students enrolled in a single offering, of whom perhaps 5–10 per cent (Daniel 2012) will complete the course. All assessment is submitted and marked by an

appropriate online system. As with all automated assessment, there are aspects of the students' work that cannot be assessed in this manner, but the MOOC providers are willing to limit their assessment to the aspects that can be assessed automatically.

MOOCs have been reported in breathless terms. They have also been criticized for being more effective as marketing strategies for individual institutions than as effective vehicles for engaged student learning (Daniel 2012). However, the advent of MOOCs raises important pedagogical questions that can sometimes be missed—questions that extend beyond the specific opportunities and constraints of diverse learning modes noted above. These centre largely on questions of auto-didacticism, i.e. the potential for students to teach themselves. We note, for example, that even where enabling programmes are offered online, long experience demonstrates that intensive support is essential for success. Completion rates of 5–10 per cent may be acceptable in MOOCs where students may well be participating (and withdrawing) recreationally. However, where students may be looking to education as a way to change their life circumstances, completion rates at those levels begin to look like institutional failure. With that in mind, we pose here for consideration, the following questions:

- Is teaching necessary for learning, or is it simply helpful? And if teaching expertise is necessary for learning, can it be wholly designed into learning materials, which are then available for wholly auto-didactic learners to use as they will?
- Does the proliferation of online learning opportunities, as currently offered, inspire or require (or both? or neither?) a shift in societal conceptualizations of learners from didactic to auto-didactic participants?
- If newly proliferating online learning opportunities are related in some way to a change in societal understandings of what it means to be a learner, how might this shift connect to longer-evolving understandings of lifelong learning (e.g. Boud 2000)?
- If online learning opportunities do offer a radical broadening of access to postsecondary education, what roles might we—those of us already in the academy and engaged in open and/or distance education—play in supporting that broadening of access? Do we see

ourselves as materials producers? As voluntary academic tutors? As assessors and examiners of work produced by self-taught students? What role—if any—might we play in supporting informal students (citizens?) to become effective auto-didacts (adapted from Phelan 2012: 282)?

- To what extent will developments in artificial intelligence (AI) change the relevance or even the necessity for human HE teachers and researchers in the future? (See Chapters 10 and 24 for further discussion on this topic.)

With those questions in mind, the Open Education Resources Universitas (OERu) provides a noteworthy counterpoint to MOOCs, and serves as an example of an online education initiative that is genuinely open. The OERu is a partnership of around thirty universities, philanthropic foundations, and other institutions, offering Enabling Education Around the Globe (OERu 2017). The ‘OERu connects learners around the world with defined pathways to education, created by recognised educators and assessed by renowned global institutions. The learning is free and credentialing is very affordable’ (OERu 2017). The OERu name refers to *open education resources*, and the courses offered through the OERu use learning materials available freely, for example through Creative Commons (Mackintosh 2017) licences. The only costs to students are for having assessment tasks assessed; a student might choose this if seeking to earn credit which can then be allocated to traditional programmes at OERu partner universities. The education provided through the OERu is therefore not free, but it is available at a much reduced cost when compared to traditional HE institutions.

As noted above, the risks and opportunities of online education are still to settle. Changes in educational technologies simultaneously open new opportunities and create new challenges for institutions and systems committed to the societal benefits associated with nurturing an educated and engaged citizenry, a function the editors of this handbook identify as critical to societal progress.

# Intertwined Technical, Pedagogical, and Industrial Matters

The prevalence of ICTs complicates teaching technically, pedagogically, and industrially in various ways. In brief, the *sage on the stage* approach, relied on since the Middle Ages, is no longer the only mode available for teaching. Most fundamentally, the *sage* no longer has privileged access to information—students can also access information, although important practices in making judgements about information quality are more important than ever and remain to be mastered by students. As a corollary, such changes are also apparent in industry, where companies no longer train staff; rather they expect employees to take responsibility for updating their own skills.

Technically, the prevalence of ICTs means that multiple learning modes, and combinations of modes, are now available. The practical dimensions of teaching have become more complicated, and this has led to the creation of new para-teaching roles that sit between traditional academic and professional staff roles (Irwin 2018; Whitchurch 2013). This is significant because it rubs up against long-established hierarchies in universities. The first is academic staff having primacy over professional staff, evidenced by senior roles in universities almost always being occupied by academic staff. These new roles make explicit the contribution of professional staff to teaching that can otherwise be more easily obscured. The second is research having primacy over teaching, evidenced by university rankings being based largely on institutional research performance; with teaching becoming more complicated, yet still undervalued.

Technical complication means contemporary teaching often calls for colleagues bringing together disciplinary and ICT expertise. For all the additional complication there are benefits to this approach, which aligns with contemporary interest in professionalizing tertiary teaching. Our view is that the integration of ICTs into teaching brings focus to teaching practice, and that surely benefits students' learning experiences. As Carbone et al. (2015: 167) note, 'there is a role for teaching in learning ... good teaching is worth investing in'.

Technical complications have pedagogical implications, and there is a great deal more exploring to do, to understand fully the impacts for learning

that are embodied in varied ICTs. We note above that the explosion of learning resources now available wholly online raises questions around the potential for auto-didacticism. Meanwhile, back on campuses, *flipping the classroom* is one high-profile example of technological change with pedagogical implications: ubiquitous access to information means students can be tasked with accessing information in their own time, at home, and can use class time to focus on working through the material together. In some respects, this isn't so different from the old days when students were required to read set texts and otherwise prepare for class; perhaps this change is more a question of the extent to which students can access newly available information, such as lecture recordings, that would previously have only been available in class.

For the HE sector as a whole the potential impacts of the evolving ICTs in higher education are especially stark in the context of increasing precarity in academic work (Courtois and O'Keefe 2015). Increasing precarity is at the intersection of technological change and other factors such as resource constraints and the hegemony of neo-liberalism: evolving ICTs are part of a larger context. The education sector is already highly casualized—more casualized, for example, than the retail sector. In Australia in 2011, 25 per cent of teaching only and teaching and research academics were employed on a casual basis (Ryan et al. 2013), compared with a casualization rate in the retail sector of 19 per cent (Australia Institute 2012). Precarity is a significant issue, and is broadly understood to refer particularly to short-term contracts for teaching only, or even marking only. One way to understand precarity is as a shift of financial risk from institutions onto individuals: short-term contracts, rather than ongoing employment, offer institutions the opportunity to minimize their responsibility for long-term planning. However, the impacts for individuals can be catastrophic (see Morgan 2016).

There are other dimensions of precarity, and the increased prevalence of ICTs in higher education aligns with and facilitates these dimensions in varied ways. Examples include working remotely some, much, or all of the time, not having a real presence on campus, and with time on campus being characterized by impermanence—*homeless* on campus, with no dedicated—and professionally legitimizing—office. In practice, institutions commonly conceptualize online education as cheaper than face-to-face teaching, and can engage with online education largely as an opportunity to

cut costs. Some perceive cost-cutting opportunities related to physical infrastructure such as offices and computers, recognizing that teaching staff who are only loosely connected to the institution as adjunct staff or similar will likely use their own equipment and mostly or wholly work away from campus.

## Surveillance, Support, Safety, and ... Pedagogy

The evolution of ICTs in higher education raises issues of surveillance, support, and safety, which we touch on briefly here. As to be expected, the process of technological change addresses some existing challenges and problems while creating new ones. In relation to surveillance, comprehensive use of LMSs to provide secure online learning environments for students gives institutions unprecedented capacity to observe students' learning behaviour. This is not new in principle: good teaching has always called for teachers to seek to understand how students are learning. But LMSs can provide substantial detail and make that accessible in real time. For example, institutions can use LMS data to identify *at risk* students who may be likely to withdraw—a risk indicator could be infrequent or minimal engagement with online learning materials.

However, critics argue that the benefits of data-intensive surveillance of student learning are greatly overstated (e.g. Selwyn 2015). While studies consistently show a correlation between students' LMS activity and academic performance (Agudo-Peregrina et al. 2014), machine-made representations of learning offer limited pedagogical insights for teachers seeking to make sense of the complex social and cognitive factors influencing their students' behaviours (Lodge and Lewis 2012).

Building on the surveillance capabilities of LMS, institutions can use ICTs to provide online support services that traditionally would only have been available on campus. Examples include library access, learning support, and online consultation times with academic staff. Yet as the seductive *efficiencies* of computational resources such as algorithms and surveillance data-infrastructures influence practices in higher education, careful attention should also be paid to the ways these systems can occlude major shifts in the nature of academic labour (Watters 2018). In particular

the loss of face-time interaction with teachers is likely to reduce opportunities to engage in processes of critical thinking, unless specific attention is paid to counterbalancing that risk. In the larger context of HE's role this risk is serious for wider societal benefits, as suggested in [Chapter 2](#).

Student safety is also an area of higher education in which ICTs have impact. Social media is a large part of the digital world, and an area that offers significant benefits and risks. Institutions' responses to social media have been diverse, but typically follow two paths. The first, usually driven by individual academics, is a generative approach incorporating social media training and usage into courses. The second, usually driven centrally, is to formulate social media policies governing use of social media, with the intention to protect the institution, staff, and students now and in the future, given that digital footprints can entail long-term risks.

## **Open Access to Scholarship: Research and Data**

The commitment to open access discussed above in relation to education also extends to universities' research missions, across scholarship and data collection. The open access (OA) movement is concerned with the immediate, free-of-charge, unrestricted online access to research and scholarly outputs.

Achieving open access draws on two key strategies: self-archiving and OA journals. Self-archiving supports authors to deposit copies of their peer-reviewed articles into an electronic archive that conforms to standards developed by the Open Archives Initiative (OAI n.d.). Self-archiving requires corresponding infrastructure, in the form of institutional and subject or discipline-based repositories to manage, store, and disseminate digital e-print archives. In the years following the 2002 Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) declaration (BOAI n.d.), there has been exponential development and growth of OA repositories, evidenced by the Registry of Open Access Repository (ROAR n.d.) and OpenDOAR, the Directory of Open Access Repositories (OpenDOAR 2006–11). The charge has been led largely by universities' and research organizations' libraries.

Open access journals make their content freely available, using a copyright model whereby copyright generally remains with the author and material is published under an open licence (e.g. Creative Commons). That is, the author assigning copyright exclusively to the journal is not a condition of publication. This is in marked contrast to the practice of most subscription-based scholarly journals historically and currently. Peer-reviewed OA journals follow the same rigorous review processes and models as used for traditional scholarly publication. The Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ 2013) demonstrates the growth of OA journals in the scientific and scholarly publishing arena.

OA presents significant benefits for both public and private aspects of higher education (Bloom et al. 2006). Public benefits are enjoyed by society overall, consistent with the notion of the sum of human knowledge being part of the commons (Fuster Morrell 2010). Private benefits are enjoyed by the individual researchers and their institutions engaged in scholarship and data management, publication, and reuse (Bloom et al. 2006).

In the context of scholarly publishing, OA represents a radical challenge to the status quo of the for-profit business model. This challenge is more than timely, with the *ruthless* and *monopolistic* (Monbiot 2011) conduct of academic publishing houses increasingly coming under fire (see also The Cost of Knowledge 2013). The OA movement ‘constitute[s] a radical non-propertarian alternative to traditional methods of text production and distribution. This alternative non-proprietary method of cultural exchange threatens traditional [business] models’ (Peters and Roberts 2012: 2). The OA movement is a coherent, counter-hegemonic (Gramsci 1991) movement, and one with origins in the *grassroots* rather than amongst the ranks of already comparatively powerful actors, such as established academic publishing houses. The evolution of institutional OA policies evidences contest between an alternative vision of how the world could be and the (increasingly questioned) status quo.

In contrast to OA, open data initiatives are less mature (Picasso and Phelan 2014). In the context of research practice, open data implies profound changes in the way researchers think about their research data, as well as in their data collection, management, discovery, citation, and reuse practices. Open data also raises questions about what is and is not common about research data across disciplines and research methodologies. The classic dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative data is one example:

it may be that quantitative data lend themselves more easily to sharing for multiple diverse uses in ways that many qualitative data do not. Other questions relate to privacy considerations where human subjects are involved. Further, in the context of potential competition rather than collaboration between researchers, questions arise as to what period, if any, might constitute a reasonable period of sole access for the researchers who actually collected the data. Practicable accessibility is also a consideration: informative meta-data, i.e. descriptive information about data, are needed, similarly to the way individual resources in a library (books, journals, etc.) are described in library catalogues (Picasso and Phelan 2014).

Researchers can be more or less supportive of open data initiatives. Our expectation is that research cultures will change as incentive and reward structures begin to reflect the value of sharing data. In that vein, some new journals have begun appearing which may herald a viable melding of open data with traditional academic reward structures, by ascribing a value to data similar to that bestowed upon research articles. For example, *Scientific Data* is an ‘open-access, online-only publication for descriptions of scientifically valuable datasets. It introduces a new type of content called the Data Descriptor designed to make your data more discoverable, interpretable and reusable’ (NPG 2013).

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

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Higher education is complex, and presents wicked problems, such as achieving accessible and equitable education. Continuous technological change in higher education goes some way to resolving some of the complex challenges in higher education, but inevitably also creates new challenges as complex problems evolve even as they are addressed. This is perhaps most clear where changes in ICTs interact with other primary drivers of change in contemporary higher education institutions and systems, such as the introduction of widening participation agendas, increasing precarity of academic work, and the rise of public accountability systems. Above all these forces lies the increasingly pressing issue of cost.

The focus areas discussed earlier provide several insights. First, ICTs are deeply interwoven into higher education institutions’ dual missions, and

increasingly so, and with justifiable reason: ICTs greatly facilitate institutions' education and research missions. However, the increased prevalence of ICTs also brings significant technical, pedagogical, and industrial implications. Some challenges manifest at small (but important) scale, such as rethinking the learning modes used for teaching. Others manifest at larger scales, such as the ambition of the open access movement to achieve free and unrestricted access to research. Others again raise questions about the ongoing financial viability of universities.

It can be tempting to view the prevalence of ICTs in higher education as radically changing universities' long-standing education and research practices; as illustrated above, ICTs do entail significant changes. On the other hand, universities' dual education and research missions remain as important as ever. In that sense, ICTs' impact has been to facilitate those two missions. Our expectation is that ICTs will serve to continue those dual missions through change processes that are both continuous and contested.

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## CHAPTER 12

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# LEADING IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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MAURITS VAN ROOIJEN

## INTRODUCTION

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MANY details and complexities of higher education have been and continue to be considered by scholars, but like a politician, a leader in higher education foremost has to be able to capture high-level complexity in straightforward simplicity. The crux of any effective leadership is simplification of complexities to ensure a gripping narrative, which goes beyond rational analysis, and triggering the much more emotion-driven actions and enthusiastic attitudes of the university's communities/stakeholders. The latter is more essential than anything to achieve real progress and to manage in an efficient manner the risks and opportunities of modern times. Critics may then suggest oversimplification, but whilst never deaf to alternative views, a leader also knows that an insecure leader tends also to be an ineffective one. It is in the same spirit of seeking simplicity in complexity that this chapter discusses the very practical element of leadership in the context of modern tertiary education in a rapidly changing environment. It relates at the level of practice to what is discussed in [Chapter 7](#) at the level of theory. With higher education subject to mega trends as well as changing day-to-day-realities, leadership needs to be capable of being effective in terms of the imperative

for continuous transformation, but to do so in accordance with the mission and values of individual institutions and in a way appropriate for a specific phase of an institution's development.

## THE TRANSFORMATION IMPERATIVE

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It is a curious paradox that a sector that seeks to shape the future and that is so intertwined through intense interaction with all facets of a changing society—demographically, technically, socially, culturally, economically—tends to be so inherently conservative. The rituals in education give comfort, change is often adopted with reluctance, and particularly green field or campus-based institutions seem to be strikingly autistic in behaviour and attitude. Although this is a sweeping generalization and of course one can quote many exceptions, the simplicity of this generalization is still useful in order to highlight the biggest challenge for university leadership: to be an effective change agent. Transformation towards a defined point on the horizon is the only way to avoid decline, it can be argued. Seeking the status quo tends to end up in steady decline, as many institutions have learned the hard way.

Given that the value of education and the educational institution is primarily based on reputation, rightly academic communities are sceptical when it comes to *fads*. Academic communities consist—or should consist—of critical, autonomous, and independent thinkers rather than dedicated followers of fashion. But mega trends in society are far from fads and are set to affect education. Ignore them at your peril, one could say. In fact education should embrace these trends in an attempt to have an influence on those mega trends that shape society, as a force for good.

Mega trends are not scientific facts but are forecasts and, of course, forecasts can be wrong. With that caveat in mind, the three mega trends highlighted below are particularly relevant for education providers. Although just opinion, they are not particularly speculative.

First, and unsurprisingly, higher education is not immune nor should it wish to be immune from *globalization*. Second, higher education is not invulnerable to *digitalization*, and should not strive to be exempt from its impact and potential. Third, with economies becoming much more

*knowledge-based*, education needs to be fit for advanced knowledge economies rather than just the trade, agriculture, and manufacturing economies in which most of today's universities have their roots.

The first mega trend—globalization—is well known and established. Rejected by populist politicians, hated by right-wing nationalists and by left-wing socialists alike, no one will be able to stop this process. Despite political efforts to slow globalization down, this mega trend will not be reversed. In fact, if managed properly globalization could be turned into a force for good in the world. In defence of universities, most if not all leading educational institutions are very open to the need to be global operators, trying to attract the best staff and students from across the world, engaging in international research networks, offering their programmes abroad, and even operating campuses in various countries. In *The Multinational University* (van Rooijen et al. 2003), the prospect of universities with global, not just national, footprints was introduced. Two decades later, that concept is far from provocative. In fairness many universities do feel a sense of urgency when it comes to globalization, not least because their graduates' success depends on that. But when it comes to education many governments still have a *mercantile* attitude that seeks to protect, for a variety of reasons, their own mostly publicly funded institutions against foreign competition. Universities should be the most acceptable face of globalization with governments opening up borders to students, teachers, and even foreign institutions. Oddly, the reality is different, with education providers having to sometimes jump impossibly high hurdles or through very narrow hoops in order to be a driving *global force for good* in education.

The second trend—digitalization—is equally obvious but this is where many universities tend to be reluctant to embrace the opportunities fully. Many universities approach this in an amateurish and sometimes even counterproductive manner, by putting a few traditional *classroom* courses online or encouraging individual professors to engage in a MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) ego trip as part of a soft PR exercise. Understanding how online teaching enables a completely new approach to learner-focused, personalized, international, interactive education, still proves to be beyond most conventional universities' comprehension. It could be argued that digitalization can have as much positive impact on the quality of large-scale learning as the introduction of the book press. But

equally important is the digitalization of student support systems. These can enable a university that is serving a *mass* population to give each student the individual attention he or she deserves. The overall lack of excitement at universities for the various aspects of digitalization means that the speed of developments in this domain is still by-passing most educational institutions and that is a worrying disservice for their students.

The third trend is the shift from traditional agriculture, manufacturing, and trading economies to advanced level knowledge-based economies. This requires a very different approach to tertiary learning. The concept of a seventeen- or eighteen-year-old going to college for three or four years and accumulating enough knowledge to last a lifetime is—to put it mildly—archaic. In an advanced knowledge-based economy accumulation of knowledge needs to be much more fluid. There will still be some demand for broad character-building campus education, but that will suit only a small minority. Most will need professional education which is available *just in time* during a lifetime of operating in a quickly changing knowledge-based economy. Much more effective than conventional education, much more affordable, and likely one day a much more common form of professional education, is a progression from Work Integrated Learning to Learning Integrated Work. Initially a young person might spend more time studying and more time accumulating knowledge and skills, and gradually the balance will shift, but upskilling, upgrading, and broadening of knowledge will never cease. Being a student is not a time-constrained element of life, it is a requirement for success, to progress in a career and remain professionally relevant, and just as important to trigger career changes, as few will want to stick to one profession for their entire life. Most universities are ill-positioned to serve the needs of the modern economy and deep down they know the current approach to education is moribund, but the incentives to change are few. Most government funding is still deeply rooted in an outdated approach to what the economy really needs. Equally, very few employers are enlightened enough to fully comprehend modern economic needs, and happily regard education as a matter for taxpayers and fee payers. And many other external pressures (regulators, peer groups, popular rankings) all are heavily backward-looking rather than driving the required transformation.

It is clear that the mega trends in society do not just pose a big opportunity but also should drive a real sense of urgency for universities to

reinvent their education provision. The education revolution will not happen over the next twelve months but it only takes a few trend-setting universities to decide to embrace fully the mega trends in society, taking a proactive role rather than resisting change, and many more will follow suit.

## LEADERSHIP AS PROJECT MANAGEMENT

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One of the striking features of most universities is that they seem to operate in their own time dimension which seems to be wholly unconnected to the outside world and is deprived of any sense of urgency. It takes at least a year to develop and approve a new programme through internal processes. It takes another year of marketing to get the first intake, with typically only the second and third intake getting closer to the target but with real reputation only developing once students graduate and take up attractive positions. Whether the degree is three or four years in length, the entire impact process easily takes most of a decade. Cultivating future alumni donations of significance typically requires decades of patience with no guaranteed outcomes. In that perspective, building a university is a process more akin with building a medieval cathedral than setting up a company.

When it comes to change management in universities there are three basic gears: evolution, rapid evolution, revolution. The first gear is the most common setting. It has triggered a range of jokes: change management at universities is very much like shifting graveyards, in which the president faces stiff opposition and those on the outside are trying to work out what he or she is trying to achieve. Or many variations thereof.

The second gear is not uncommon: rapid evolution. The president and team are clearly driven to address the most pressing issues and do so relentlessly and steadily. The downside is that as soon as the pressure weakens, the institution quickly goes to the default mode of regression.

Revolution will only happen in case of an existential crisis. *Never waste a good crisis* is a common phrase amongst university presidents with good reason. Crisis leadership offers a big window of opportunity and inevitably that window never lasts for more than a few years at the very most. It is during this period that radical changes can be implemented because it is the last opportunity for an institution to get its act together. If managed properly

the stark choice is between perishing or leapfrogging forwards. Allowing an institution to hit crisis point and then engineering a dramatic turnaround is a radical but potentially very effective form of change management to ensure transformation and sustainable momentum towards real progress.

A classic example of counterproductive leadership is where leadership becomes an aim in itself. Risks that could jeopardize leadership positions are controlled by taking as little action as possible, ensuring non-threatening second ties management, i.e. divide to rule. Though institutions might benefit from levels of stability, long lasting and unchanging leadership is not necessarily in a university's best interest. Nor is a high turnover of leadership. Institutions which are highly unstable at the top in most cases will suffer from weak governance and/or a dysfunctional relationship between governors and managers.

Basing this observation on experience in the sector, effective leadership should see its work very much as a time-constrained project which requires a paced and pragmatic project management approach. The leadership has a clear and agreed strategic vision on the journey ahead in order to reach a set point and executes it in an accountable way. Admittedly, as higher education is highly susceptible to day-to-day political, social, and economic challenges, any plan in this sector requires a good level of pragmatism and flexibility, but ultimately it is the role of the leadership and in particular the leader to keep an eye on reaching the goals and to avoid getting too distracted by immediate issues. Naturally, having achieved all or most of the set goals, there might be a strong argument for governors and management to agree mutually on more ambitious goals, but there is a good reason why leadership terms are often restricted to four or five years and why some systems set two terms as a maximum.

Keeping the momentum of change is one of the key challenges leadership has to embrace in order to reach the agreed goals and implement the vision. In one sense universities are not dramatically different from other professional organizations: the battlefield is always at the centre.

This is not the place to discuss change management in any detail (an account of which is in [Chapter 7](#) by Celia Whitchurch), but it is useful to consider the basics: a minority—let's assume optimistically roughly a fifth—might give outright support to pursuing a certain vision and the organizational transformation associated with that; while another minority—let's assume pessimistically another fifth—are dead against it.

Inexperienced leaders tend to waste their energy on fighting the opposition; or worse, retreat amongst those already committed as champions of the cause. Experienced leaders know that neither of those two groups is particularly relevant to the transformation. They dedicate their attention to the majority that is neither in favour nor against but could be persuaded if the vision is sufficiently appealing and exciting.

One of the reasons any management is so challenged in universities is that like other professional organizations, universities have a higher number of *cats* than *dogs*. Where dogs respond well to clear direction and may even become demotivated without receiving clear instructions, cats tend not to respond at all to instructions. The only way to get cats to move in a specific direction is through nice words, saucers of milk, and juicy treats. Those who join a university in a leadership position without having extensive experience of management in a high-level professional environment (besides universities, hospitals and prestigious media for instance) easily get extremely frustrated by unresponsiveness, disrespect, and disloyalty of especially the academic staff. External governors from the corporate world also can be baffled by what they see as a rather cumbersome, ineffective style of university management, insisting on a more directive style in order to accelerate the pace of change, which however risks having the opposite effect by creating higher levels of internal resistance.

## DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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So far reference has been made to *the* university, college, or higher education institution as if leadership comes in one size that fits all. The reality is a wide range of diversity. It can even be argued that at the macro level, maintaining and even enhancing the diversity is to be recognized as a major sectoral health indicator.

In order to keep a complex analysis simple, three ultra-prototypes can be identified.

### Knowledge for the Sake of Knowledge

One strand of tertiary education—the oldest—is what one can refer to as *knowledge for the sake of knowledge*. It does not need any justification, it does not need any evident relevance (though relevance might be in some cases an unintended result), and it does not need to serve a purpose. Knowledge is worth pursuing in its own right. Research can be blue sky, purely curiosity driven. Teaching is small-scale interaction with the brightest and most talented youngsters of society. The aim of teaching is to stimulate the sense of curiosity and sharpen an inquisitive mind. Interference by society is a threat to autonomy. Funding is a matter of patronage with no strings attached. Management is a scholarly peer group.

## **Utilitarian and Accountable**

A second perspective regards higher education as a public good with a utilitarian and accountable mission: to serve society, to contribute to progress and prosperity, to demonstrate value. Research has to prove impact. Teaching quality is to be evident in employability. Funding is typically heavily the result of taxpayers' contributions and/or employers' contributions. The results produced in return for this funding are defined in hard, measurable targets. Value for money is imperative. In extreme cases, staff are civil servants or at least regarded as quasi civil servants. Civic pride expects performance in terms of rankings, Nobel Prize winners, and similar academic trophies. Management is linked to the public sector ethos.

## **A Sustainable Enterprise**

The third strand is rapidly becoming more prominent in the sector. The starting point is that education is tuition driven: education costs money, and students (and their sponsors, typically parents) expect value for money. The enterprise is by definition highly sensitive to demand and market opportunities, typically on a global scale where revenue opportunities are significant. It will have a focus on professional education as students/parents expect a return on investment in the form of a well-paid

career. This institution is typically very close to employers as crucial stakeholders. In order to be successful the managerial mind-set has to be in essence business-like, the leader a *proper* competitively rewarded chief executive.

These are not descriptions of historic caricatures. The simplification of reality outlined here is that each of the 35,000 or so tertiary education institutions in the world reflects a quite unique blend of these three basic DNA elements. So even though an institution might look remarkably like an *ivory tower*, it might still have a significant element of *enterprise* in its DNA, with a keen eye on obtaining revenues from other means such as car parking, farming, spin-off companies, and tourism. And when it can clearly only survive through generous donations, in order to secure these, it has to demonstrate to potential donors that it is an efficient, well-run institution that will not shy away from reasonable accountability. It also will not reject public funding and the various strings which come with it. At the same time, a for-profit institution has a keen self-interest in showing that it respects academic autonomy and tradition; in accepting the various frameworks imposed by the regulators on behalf of governments; and equally would accept direct or indirect (e.g. state underwritten study loans) funding with all its criteria.

To summarize, the three dominant strands produce a wide range of totally different mixtures with unique flavours for each institution. Though this gives each institution its own blend of characteristics, there is considerable overlap, with variations on the same theme. As a result, the difference between one institution and another is not a contrast between black and white but between light dark grey and dark light grey. Yet subtle differences significantly affect institutional cultures. All tertiary education institutions have more in common than what separates them, just as it is claimed that humans and mice share over 99 per cent DNA.

Note that this approach is at variance with the classic typology of higher education which seeks to label institutions and their missions. The reason for doing this differently is because there is—or at least there should be—a direct correlation between the institution's specific blended features and a leadership fit for that institution. A leadership that would for instance match perfectly an institution heavily focused on peer group based scholars would be a disaster in an enterprise, and vice versa.

If it is accepted that all tertiary educational institutions incorporate all three strands, it also needs to be accepted that educational leadership needs to cover the following three bases:

- (1) Credibility as a scholar. It will be very difficult to get the respect of academic and student communities without evidence of the leadership's comprehending what is still perceived as the core mission of any educational institution.
- (2) Credibility as a manager. Large amounts of money are being allocated and the spending needs to be done in an effective and efficient manner. Results need to be measured and defended, and in public.
- (3) Credibility as an entrepreneur. This is clearly a much more recent element and in some institutions still quite marginal, but revenues need to be obtained, whether from smart portfolio development, shrewd investments, or significant donations. The bottom line counts, including hitting surplus targets and effective commercial risk diversification.

There is a difference between leader and leadership. It is possible that an institution has a well-known professor as leader who is otherwise totally incompetent but the actual leadership team is effective in covering all the required bases with the president in a heavily formal/ceremonial role. When in the 1980s I worked in a public university and had a civil servant status, my view on the selection of the new Rector Magnificus and the appointment of the new Executive Chairman was: it is the role of the civil service to ensure effective management, so if either happen to be strong leaders, great, but if they select dummies it should not negatively affect the institution. In many countries the president and his or her senior team are elected and like elected ministers might have more eyes for votes than relevant skills to bring to the executive table. But in those institutions typically there will be a strong layer of professional management dealing with all operational aspects.

When it comes to leadership, the main question is whether it covers all bases. It is also likely that the pivotal role—whether chief executive, *primus inter pares*, or winner of elections—will reflect in an almost symbolic way the main elements of its DNA. Of course the other element is how coherent

the leadership is in working and coordinating the work of others. Roles can be defined in very different ways. Not uncommon is the model whereby the president is very much focused on external roles, including heavy involvement in fundraising and interaction with trustees, leaving the day-to-day management to the provost and team. One should not be surprised that in *being the president* (with ceremonial functions), interaction with a wide range of internal and external stakeholders, communicating, influencing, and persuading, fills up over 90 per cent of time, with the remainder taken up with keeping oversight and direction, mediating, and making a contribution to ‘fire-fighting’. In other words, contrary to popular belief, much of the presidential role tends to get swallowed up by *being* rather than *doing*. In the words of former University of Bristol president Sir Thomas Driscoll, ‘It is advisable for the university president to stay well clear of university management.’ Much more important than the leader is therefore the composition of the university’s leadership team.

The blend of the main features is typically the result of the institutional history—in some cases of many centuries, in others just a few years—and it is also subject to external pressures, both formal (regulations, funding, legal) and informal (peer group pressures, media rankings, alumni). It is the variation in blends that cultivates the diversity of the higher education landscape and a point made many times is that the richness of that landscape is precisely its diversity. Landscapes that get dominated by institutions typically inclined to a dominant feature (e.g. research-led) will be impoverished. Whilst artificially retaining the status quo by restricting further diversification, in the longer run it will backfire. Importantly, the blend mentioned before is not fixed; it is subject to continuous change. There is no inherent stability, it is either regressing or progressing. This is different from mission drift. But a mission will need to evolve over time. Strategy is about how an institution is capable of responding to the big and more immediate societal changes in order to stay relevant and viable.

## THE ABC OF LEADERSHIP IN HIGHER EDUCATION TODAY

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It would be incorrect to deny the existence of a *vanity* factor, but leadership should never be an ego trip, and although one needs to believe passionately in a vision in order to be credible, that vision does need to be fit for purpose. My *ABC* spells out the purpose of leadership in academe in the simplest terms.

First of all, *A* stands for *academic aspiration*.

Where and when most universities received all their funding from government, what the leader of an institution really needed was the academic *top dog* who had enough support from within the professoriate to keep the peace among the vying deans and raise the standing of an institution among other universities.

But at all universities, not just the classic ivory towers or research-led institutions, academic aspiration tends to be at the heart of the institutional strategy. Academic success is very much about building up reputation—at individual, departmental, discipline, and institutional levels. It is about peer group assessments, admiration, accreditation, quality assurance, rankings and image.

Of course, academic success and reputation are immediately linked to level of revenue, so the ability of a leader to generate funds has gradually become an ever more in-demand attribute, often pushing academic leadership to a slightly less prominent role, such as that of provosts or deans.

The latter observation brings us to *B*, which stands for *business*.

In the modern day and age, most academic institutions are also academic businesses, albeit in many cases not-for-profit (but this is not a universal condition) and still government subsidized—although this is decreasing as a percentage of revenue in most countries.

For those who believe academia and commerce do not mix, *B* is like cursing in a church, but the reality is that academic success and reputation (*A*) very much depends on the success of *B*, recognizing a university as an enterprise that no longer can depend purely on an effective lobby to increase public funding.

A leader who needs money to pursue a vision and ensure success in *A* needs to be able to generate funds. An institution that is too single-mindedly focused on either *A* or on *B*, is likely to run into severe problems in the longer term.

But the most important letter in the *ABC* of academic leadership is the last one: *C*.

That *C* stands for *communities*. The members of university communities are not just staff and students. The definition of membership of the community is anyone who has an emotional link to the institution. So in this definition not every employee will be a proper member of the community. Some will quite simply work their hours for payment. The same applies to students: some will just study at a place to get a degree without any specific emotional attachment to the institution they enrolled with. It certainly also applies to alumni. And it applies to the neighbouring communities. Only staff, students, alumni, neighbours that feel a strong emotional link with the university are real members of the community.

This even applies to companies who support research, sponsor chairs, or have training contracts: is it a mere business relationship or can the leader create an emotional relationship adding a sense of responsibility and of being concerned about the well-being of the institution? Only those employees or students with emotional involvement are proper members of a community. By way of example, when I was in charge of the Nyenrode Business University in the Netherlands, I liked to pose this question to the companies we worked with: Would it make any difference to you if this university suddenly ceased to exist? If an institution is no longer there, would that just be an inconvenience, or a real loss? If you have an emotional tie, such a loss would make you sad; or, in reverse, its success would make you feel cheerful and would be worth celebrating.

So what an effective leader of today will seek to do most of all, and what probably will consume most time, is to create a coherent, strong community, to introduce and strengthen the emotional ties and crucially to widen, diversify, and, as appropriate, rally that community. That is why experience shows that fundraising can actually be a useful tool in enhancing the community spirit.

In order to be successful in a process of transformation, a leader needs to be effective in at least aligning the *A*, *B*, and *C*. If one is able to make sure that *A*, *B*, and *C* work towards the same objectives, mountains can be moved. *A* benefits from *B* and *B* will be easier when an institution has a strong reputation, but *A* and *B* can only be truly successful if carried by a large and truly committed *C*, since only *C* can deliver sustainable progression.

The conclusion: the real challenge for university leadership is not only to align the *ABC* but also to create, broaden, strengthen, and truly involve *C*.

Clarity of vision and the ability to convey a message are obviously necessary, but this is where some leaders are hampered by their education. Academics analyse, reason, rationalize, and present a truly convincing argument. The same applies to the business case: hard numbers, sensible risk assessments, and structured analysis. Yet when it comes to *C* it is, above all, about emotion. Generating emotion is more than rhetoric. The most effective way to align *A*, *B*, and *C* and create shared emotion is to focus much more on shared values than on the big vision. Of course, values and vision should be closely linked, otherwise the vision will not be fit for purpose but values tend to be much more about emotion and even passion than vision.

## FUNDING

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Finally, whatever the big goals, whatever the mega trends, whatever the vision, mission, and values, ultimately—as every leader will confirm—funding is at the core of it all. Ignore that and an institution will go into regression. The ability to generate funding is directly related to much of what has been discussed in this chapter.

To continue the point just made about *ABC*, fundraising is already very important to some universities and is becoming more important for many others. As a rule of thumb, for example among North American colleges, there is often a direct link between financial health and the size of the endowment fund. For institutions in Europe, which have had predominantly taxpayer funding, there is understandably less of a tradition, whilst the tax incentives to donors also tend to be more modest. However, besides the financial benefits, as just argued, fundraising amongst friends and alumni is a nice concrete tool to get strategic alignment for visions and values.

The growing numbers of international students have an interesting side effect on fundraising, as culturally international students, or even domestic students living abroad, tend to be more inclined to donate than domestic students who often feel they already contribute enough through taxes and

repayment of loans. But there is clearly a growing acceptance, also within universities, to name professorial chairs, buildings, and so on after high-level donors. This applies not just to individuals but also to the corporate world though in many cases corporate contacts and alumni are the same. Where in the past, especially commercial donations were considered a threat to academic independence, there is a growing acceptance that a donation often has fewer strings attached than government funding. Of course, sometimes donations do come with too many or unacceptable strings attached, and they might come from undesirable sources or fail to be aligned to the aforementioned *ABC*. In these cases, an institution should be in a position to reject the offer. In fact, this might suggest the definition of independence: the ability to say *no*. This actually applies to charitable, private, and public funding, though in fairness in regard to the latter, the state funded sector is less autonomous than it believes itself to be.

What fundraising will not achieve is filling holes in budgets. Funds tend to flow to rich institutions, not those that need money most. Begging is the most counterproductive way of raising any form of funds. This is the fundraising paradox: those institutions that need the money most might struggle the hardest to raise extra cash. Success in fundraising is to a large extent determined by reputation, as donors tend to be particularly keen to be associated with prestigious institutions that are well managed and wealthy. It is the latter category that, together with religious organizations, can ensure large donors' *eternal return on investment* as their name (or cause) might be remembered, gratefully, forever. The other aspect is that alumni of prestigious universities are more likely to be able to make substantial donations. Fundraising revenue is unlikely to level the academic playing field.

Funding pressure, especially for public-funded institutions, is a harsh reality in many parts of the modern world. Although there are exceptions, diminishing public funding for teaching and research is becoming a universal reality, either because of external factors like unfavourable demographics, or as politically imposed 'efficiency' gains (the euphemism to make budget cuts look painless) or due to economic and social-political pressure to increase the rate of participation without burden to the public purse. Of course, in some systems this can be turned into a game of blackjack by shifting funding pain to the students, causing increased student debt. Or alternatively, as is not uncommon, one can reach for funding from

the market, e.g. through issuing bonds, as a way to buy oneself out of a financially tight corner.<sup>1</sup> A golden rule applies: never use loans to cover budgetary deficits or for significant risk-carrying operations. Of course, by contrast loans on capital investment and bricks and mortar expenditure are common practice, for good reason.

Growing in popularity are public–private partnerships. These are already common, for example for student accommodation, and they have also become quite standard, due to the work of companies like INTO and Navitas, for Pathway programmes and similar operations on the academic fringe—though in some cases a rather broad fringe—of universities. The attractiveness of a private partner is first of all the ability to raise capital, the ability to take and manage commercial risks (not something that is or in fact should be part of public sector education), and often the ability to gain economies of scale through scaling and/or specialization.

Another interesting option to make limited funds go further are cooperative partnerships. Sharing procurement, services, and facilities by setting up consortia is an obvious way to save on expenditure. This in fact can become a strong survival strategy for smaller *boutique* universities (van Rooijen 2015).

## **BIG IS BEAUTIFUL VS. BOUTIQUE UNIVERSITIES**

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Studying at a place where everybody still knows you by name rather than registration number, at an institution that recognizes individual requirements, clearly fulfils a niche in the higher education market. Yet for the sake of efficiency and possibly also in order to achieve high positions in various rankings, universities have been growing ever bigger in size. Large is rapidly becoming the norm in higher education across the globe. But mass education clearly also has a downside.

The real problem is that boutique universities are not financially viable. It is not that every university needs tens of thousands of students in order to survive, but experience in higher education has shown that it is hard—even impossible—for a university to survive with fewer than 1,000 to 1,500 students, though strictly speaking the issue is not so much the number of

students but the size of budget. By and large these are closely related but obviously a university with a huge endowment fund or substantial revenue from research or non-academic sources will be much less dependent on tuition fees.

Given the pressures to achieve scale one therefore might assume that boutique universities will be either on the way up, expanding into a full-blown university, or on the way down, being swallowed up by a larger institution, or simply destined for a shut-down. And that would be regrettable because this means adversely affecting the diversity of the sector. There may also still be a role for such boutique universities, given that not all students will prosper in mass education.

The main reason it is difficult for a boutique university to survive is the almost fixed burden of central costs. Marginal costs, such as buildings, teaching hours, and support staff, are easy to manage. The real problem is those costs that are non-marginal and represent a big overhead. Therefore many boutique universities seek shelter with a larger institution, offloading much of the burden of overheads. It can be argued that an alternative could be to join a group, which can operate like a co-operative when it comes to sharing the expenditure of (international) marketing, information technology, essential expertise, and some other central services that are sensitive to economies of scale. This is not a theory. In many respects my own organization, Global University Systems, established in 2012, is very much based on these principles (Global University Systems 2014).

Interestingly Global University Systems operates in the private, not public sector. This is a reflection of ever more blurred lines between private, public, charitable, and other funding sources. For-profit institutions reinvest most if not all surplus in expansion and in many respects operate like not-for-profit companies; whilst universities with charitable status sometimes have substantial surpluses in their reserve, operating in a remarkably similar way to private sector organizations. In more and more countries, governments are recognizing value for money in privately run education, making the public funding playing field gradually more level, with the difference between private and public education being more an issue of principle than practicality. In the United Kingdom, during 2017 the two universities with a top ranking in the official National Student Survey are both private—the not-for-profit Buckingham University and the for-profit University for Law. The much-repeated argument, inspired by the

negative experience in the United States, that only public universities offer a high-level study experience became a myth. That is not entirely surprising. First of all, unlike the United States, the United Kingdom's higher education system is neither an American highly liberal market nor an old-fashioned system with ministerial central planning, but a synergistic system combining strict quality regulation, and financial incentives aligned with government policies within stimulating market conditions. The other reason—one may hope at least!—is that the *ABC* principles I mentioned above apply equally to public, charitable, not-for-profit, and for-profit education organizations. And the final reason might be that ultimately universities share the same basics: *knowledge for the sake of knowledge, utilitarian, serving the public good, and a sustainable enterprise*.

In the end it all comes down to the basic argument of this chapter: that the higher education landscape can only thrive if diversity is carefully cultivated. But also, that this diversity is actually more subtle than one might believe at first sight. And that it has to adjust continuously to *mega* changes in society, in a proactive rather than just reactive manner. The higher education landscape is a sophisticated ecosystem and it is the prime role of the relevant leadership to deal with this—and to make that task look simple and easy.

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<sup>1</sup> Especially in the United States, colleges have tried to follow—mostly without success—this escape route, investing borrowed funds in for instance more attractive sports facilities, dormitories, etc. (to fight declining enrolments) or simply move the burden to the next university executive team.

## CHAPTER 13

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# POLICY AND PRACTICE IN UNIVERSITY–BUSINESS RELATIONS

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EWART KEEP

## INTRODUCTION

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A central role of the contemporary university is making students employable in order for them to become the workers that businesses need. Expectations around higher education's (HE) role in fostering employability are high. For instance, the Top Universities website runs a global Graduate Employability Rankings, so that prospective students can see if the institution that they are contemplating studying at makes the top 300 in terms of the excellence of its engagement with employers, and if it does, where it stands in this league table.

At a deeper level, belief that only universities can create the higher level skills, knowledge, and competences that a knowledge-driven economy is assumed to require has been one of the key drivers for the move to mass or universal HE across the developed and developing world (Brown et al. 2011; Liu and Finegold 2017). Thus the UK government approvingly quotes research which it claims shows that, 'doubling the number of universities per capita is associated with over 4% higher future GDP per

capita' (DBIS 2016: 9). For a broader overview of this model of human capital-led growth see Holland et al. (2013).

Following this model, governments, firms, and prospective students and their families have all subscribed (sometimes unconsciously) to a relatively simple reading of human capital theory and have seen HE as a vehicle for delivering greater competitiveness, productivity, and economic success as well as employability for individuals and corresponding access for them to what has assumed to be a burgeoning number of 'good jobs' (Brown et al. 2011; Keep and Mayhew 2004; Lauder et al. 2017). Grubb and Lazerson (2006) dub this the gospel of vocationalism. These beliefs have sometimes tended to crowd out consideration and appreciation of the wider benefits of learning and the broader roles of universities.

However, the concept of education meeting businesses' skill needs sounds simple, but in reality often turns out to be considerably more complex and problematic than might at first be assumed (Keep 2012). The following quote from the former head of the United Kingdom Commission for Employment and Skills (UKCES), which acted as the main conduit between employers and the education system, illustrates the problem:

Skills policy has for too long laboured under the false paradigm that education providers are responsible for providing oven-ready skilled labour to the workplace, that qualifications are a proxy for skills, and that the role of business is to submit timely requisition forms to get employees with the skills they need. This simplistic yet compelling narrative sets impossible expectations for everyone. Employers can be blamed for not clearly articulating the skills they need in a timely manner, awarding bodies and those responsible for setting standards for failing to properly translate skill needs into standards and qualifications, and 'providers' (a term I find particularly unhelpful) for a failure to follow the 'recipe' given them by the qualifications and/or a failure to deliver the skills needed. (Davis 2015: 67–8)

As a result of these problems, how and how well universities and business communicate and work with one another and structure their interactions is a matter of considerable interest and importance to HE policy and practice.

From the point of view of universities, the choices made by employers are of great importance because they impact on the size and structure of demand for skills from universities and from the education and training (E&T) system more generally (Keep 2012; Green and Hogarth 2016). Firms, through their competitive strategy and product market strategy, product/service quality/specification, people management systems and

strategies, and production technologies, work organization, and job design determine the shape and level of demand for skills in the labour market, as well as ultimately controlling how effectively skill is utilized within the productive process. Thus, the ability of a national or regional HE system and individual higher education institutions (HEIs) to deliver the desired employment outcomes will often be dictated, not by policy choices inside the E&T system, but by forces within the economy and the employment relationship.

To put it another way, universities represent the supply side. The demand side comprises employers whose choices and preferences shape the labour market, which in turn generates the economic incentives and signals that drive, at least in part, the scale and nature of supply-side provision and individual learner choices concerning participation in that provision.

This chapter will explore the various dimensions of this interrelationship, using the United Kingdom, and particularly England and Scotland therein, as the central geographical focus. One of the advantages of this choice is that there is a substantial body of recent evidence from UK official inquiries, for example the Wakeham Review (2016) of STEM provision and the Shadbolt Review (2016) of computer science employability, and from academic research that provides a rich understanding of the dynamics and challenges involved in making university–business relationships function effectively. Moreover, England and Scotland provide an illuminating contrast of fundamentally different policy approaches to a common set of issues.

Plainly, universities and businesses have many different activities around which to interact and collaborate, not least research, consultancy, intellectual property, knowledge exchange and spin-offs, but in a chapter of this length, discussion focuses on the most politically salient aspect, which concerns university students as a supply of highly qualified human resources for the economy and how universities and business interact in pursuit of this goal. For an overview of the scale of and motivations for relationships between academics and outside bodies, see NCUB (2016). For research-oriented foci for university–business interaction and collaboration and their potential impacts, see Perkmann et al. (2013), Etzkowitz et al. (2000), and Pillay (2011); and for some of the tensions that these can create see Philpott et al. (2011) and Mendoza (2016). It is also the case that other levels and types of education face similar issues on employability and

working with business, and there is now a very large international research literature on this relating to schools, vocational colleges, and non-university tertiary provision (see, for example, Mann et al. 2018; Vroonhof et al. 2017).

A recurring theme in what follows is that the nature and efficacy of the relationship between business and universities is bound up with two sets of choices—between markets and systems and non-market-based relationships; and between a one-way street where universities respond to employer demands, or a two-way street where there is a mutual interchange of ideas, and shared responsibilities or even co-production (Samuel et al. 2018). These two choices are to some extent linked. A market-based customer/provider model is more liable to help foster a one-way street approach to communication and interchange than is a partnership. At the same time, while much of the focus within public policy debates has traditionally been on the supply side and what universities are delivering, the evidence increasingly points to the fact that there are significant issues about the levels of demand for graduate skill in the economy and with how well those skills are being utilized in many workplaces.

## MECHANISMS FOR INTERCHANGE

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### Employers as a Category?

Although the policy rhetoric often talks in a generalized way about business–university collaboration, it is important to recognize that neither actor in this relationship represents a single, simple grouping. Universities are varied in nature, size, subject spread, and mission and the relatively sectorally and occupationally-focused relations that a specialist institution such as the Royal Agricultural University will have with employers will be very different from the much more diffuse set of relationships that a large, non-elite, multi-faculty, multi-subject university like Leeds Beckett will be required to maintain. Moreover, practice will also vary within institutions as different faculties, divisions, departments, research groups, and individual

academics evolve their own approaches to creating and sustaining relationships with business.

In just the same way, business and/or employers do not represent a homogeneous category. Firms' skill needs, and their recruitment and selection expectations and policies will vary by, for example, size, sector, production technology, ownership structure, country of origin, and competitive strategy. Moreover, different people within the same firm may have widely divergent views about skill requirements and what they mean. Thus, the human resource managers' conceptualization of skill needs may not match those of the CEO, or individual members of the senior management team, or those of the line managers into whose function/workplace new graduates will be entering (Gleeson and Keep 2004). As a result, obtaining and then acting upon the views and needs of industry is not as straightforward a task as some imagine (Gleeson and Keep 2004; Keep 2012).

This point is borne out by two relatively recent government reviews of HE provision—the Wakeham Review of STEM (2016) and the Shadbolt Review of Computer Sciences (2016). The Shadbolt Review noted that:

a clear challenge is that employers are often divided on where the problem lies ... we found that employers disagree on what technical skills Computer Sciences students should be taught, although the balance of evidence points to support for HE providers teaching the fundamental principles of Computer Science, and encouraging and enabling students to learn and adapt to new technologies over their careers. This runs counter to an opposing school of thought that has been evident from some employers, that suggests that they want graduates with the skills that reflect the most up to date technological trends. (Shadbolt 2016: 5)

The Review went on to observe that, 'in addition to variations across industrial sectors and types of role, the needs of start-ups and SMEs should be taken into account as much as the requirements of large organisations' (Shadbolt 2016: 6).

## Organizing Employers

The capacity of employers to form effective representative groupings and to act collectively has a fundamental impact on the ways in which the state and educational institutions can interact with business and on how the E&T

system can function (Martin 2017; Martin and Swank 2012). Disorganized employers make effective and efficient communication and interchange much harder to organize and deliver, or as the Shadbolt Review put it in relation to the focus of their inquiry, ‘developing a clearer view of the skills that employers actually want is crucial, and there is a current lack of a coherent employer voice on what makes an employable Computer Science graduate’ (Shadbolt 2016: 6). National policy makers are faced with a choice of whether to try to create or encourage structural frameworks within which interaction between universities and industry can take place.

## The English Approach

In England, although the government funds a National Centre for Universities and Business (NCUB), the main policy development of late has been to abandon state funding for employer sectoral bodies to do with skills (Sector Skills Councils) and to place an increasing emphasis on one-off informal employer groupings (sometimes termed ‘Trailblazer Groups’) to address specific issues, such as the reform of vocational qualifications. This has been coupled with an increased faith in the efficacy of market forces to incentivize students to choose their course and institution with due regard to labour market outcomes, and also to motivate universities to find out and then offer exactly what employers want. Thus, the UK government’s 2016 green paper on HE, having outlined an apparent set of problems with the current interface between universities and employers and the labour market, announced that ‘at the heart of this lies insufficient competition and a lack of informed choice’ (DBIS 2016: 8). These developments mirror moves towards the more general marketization of different types and levels of educational provision in England (Ball 2013; Keep 2017).

## Scotland

In Scotland, by contrast, the government’s approach has been very different (see Keep 2014, 2017 for discussion of this divergence and its causes).

Scottish policy has focused upon a systems approach whereby block grant funding to HEIs is tied to their responsiveness to employers' forecasts of future skill need at regional and sectoral levels (Keep 2014, 2017). This is demonstrated via the contents of Outcome Agreements negotiated between HEIs and the Scottish Funding Council (SFC). The agreements are intended to make clear how the institution is meeting the priorities of the SFC and the government and also to embed the government's overarching objectives for education, which include 'right learning in the right place', and contributing to 'a developed workforce'.

Considerable effort has been invested in creating new sectoral employer groupings—Industry Leadership Groups (ILGs)—in sectors covered by the government's economic strategy. Many of the ILGs have a Skills Group that is responsible for analysing employers' demand for skills and for creating a sectoral Skills Investment Plan (SIP). Employer support is critical because each SIP, having identified a set of skill needs has to also allocate responsibility for tackling these in ways that demonstrate that employers will be playing their part and paying for some of what is required. In other words, the SIP is not just a 'shopping list' from a sector's employers to government to be funded wholly by taxpayers' money (Keep 2014, 2017). In some sectors, such as energy, these forecasts are in turn linked to major investment plans (for example, for new offshore wind turbine sites and the construction and maintenance workforce needs these will generate).

The Scottish model does not aim for perfect matching of supply and demand. It is there to deliver an element of indicative planning based on a common database of labour market information, and to encourage providers to evidence how they have reflected on this and how these reflections have been translated into decisions about the future pattern of skills provision. As such, it provides a steering mechanism intended to incrementally shape institutions' priorities for student number allocations between levels, courses, and subject areas, rather than as a direct form of 'command and control'. In overall terms, Scotland has chosen to try to construct an institutional framework and a set of incentives around SIPs that help create a system and a two-way street approach.

## **MEETING EMPLOYER DEMAND FOR SKILLED LABOUR**

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## Matching Supply with Demand

A perennial tension (see the Finniston report on engineering from 1980) between some employers and HE centres on a belief by firms that too many students are not choosing the ‘right’ subjects to study and that this leads to skill shortages in some occupations, particularly in relation to the ability of manufacturing employers to recruit enough Science, Engineering, Technology, and Maths (STEM) graduates. There is a linked and corresponding belief that too many students are studying the ‘wrong’ subjects, though plainly one employment sector’s wrong choice is another sector’s gain in terms of potential recruits (Keep [2012](#): 365), a point returned to below. The UK government’s green paper on HE reform (DBIS [2016](#)) rehearses these arguments, and the Wakeham Review ([2016](#)) expended considerable effort in trying to probe the validity of such claims. The answer is usually seen by policy makers as being a closer matching of supply with demand (Keep [2002, 2012](#)).

However, there are a number of reasons why attempts to secure a close matching are liable to end in disappointment. Only a few of the most important can be touched upon here.

First, employers have a massive incentive to over-bid in order to achieve a surplus in supply as this will enhance their ability to choose between job candidates and will tend to drive down wages (Gleeson and Keep [2004](#); Keep [2012](#)). This incentive is all the greater if the cost of creating the skills that are required can be transferred from the firm to the individual or to the state (directly or via student loans). Employer forecasts of skill shortages and future demand, particularly when these are not being created in close collaboration with universities, can therefore sometimes more accurately be regarded as forming ‘bids’ in competition with other employers and sectors rather than as exact specifications of actual current and future need. For a discussion of this problem in the UK context, see Keep ([2012, 2014](#)); and for the US context, see Cappelli ([2015](#)).

Second, because employer demand for skills from individual firms is often focused on their own, very particular needs, information at a relatively

detailed level is required to enable HEIs and other providers to react to this (Green and Hogarth 2016; Green et al. 2017). In some instances, the volume of this demand in terms of student numbers will be too small and specialized (and hence expensive to deliver) for anyone to be willing to meet it, whether through undergraduate, masters, research degree, or continuing professional development (CPD) provision.

Third, matching models often assume that there is a direct line of sight between choice of subject chosen at university and a relatively well-defined set of job openings that can be accessed as a result of study. As both the Wakeham and Shadbolt Reviews noted, the reality of modern-day labour markets, in part being shaped by extremely rapid technological change, is one of occupational fluidity, complexity, and often very fragmented career pathways and choices. Thus, simple linear pathways from a particular academic discipline (the example of physics is used by Wakeham 2016) to specific categories of employment are often absent.

Fourth, because many firms have weak or non-existent forward planning of human resource and skill requirements, forecasts of need are imperfect (Green et al. 2017; Wakeham Review 2016: 4–5). Thus, the majority of future projections of skill and qualification need in the United Kingdom are derived not from forecasts by employers, but from a set of complex economic and occupational growth models developed by specialist forecasting agencies. One of the best known of these is the Working Futures model, which is managed by the Institute of Employment Research at Warwick University. As a result of the weakness of firms' internal human resource planning capacity, employers often struggle to specify exactly what they want not only in terms of numbers but also in relation to exactly what level and mix of skills are needed (Shadbolt 2016), and they sometimes desire a near instantaneous response from universities. This runs up against the reality that the lead times required to create new provision, particularly at higher skill levels, are necessarily lengthy. A new degree course will probably take a year to plan and design, students must then be recruited, and then there are three years needed to teach it to completion—so, in all probability, a five-year lead time will be required.

Finally, in countries that do not possess a strong conceptualization of occupation and associated occupational skills sets (see Brockmann et al. 2011; Fuller and Unwin 2013), studying for a qualification associated with a particular occupation does not mean that this will necessarily be the

occupation that the individual actually enters, or if they enter, stays within. For example, research undertaken by the Centre on Skills, Knowledge and Organisational Performance (SKOPE) demonstrates that in the United Kingdom there is a significant ‘leakage’ of engineering graduates and even those who studied for specialist masters in particular strands of engineering. Less than half of all graduates from particular engineering sub-disciplines (e.g. marine, automotive) go into the apparently corresponding industry and the figures are not much better at master’s level (Dixon 2015, 2017). Generally less than 50 per cent go into any kind of manufacturing. Similarly, in law and legal studies, many universities see as few as 20–30 per cent of their students actually enter employment in the legal sector (Grey 2018).

Work by the OECD (Montt 2015) and by Arnold et al. (2018), demonstrates that in labour markets like the United Kingdom or Canada, which lack extensive Licence to Practice (LtP) regulation, and where the hold that qualifications have on employers’ recruitment and selection decisions is at best ‘fuzzy’, matching is a deeply problematic concept and expectation. Interestingly, Montt argues that trying to match student subject choice to subsequent employment is not worth pursuing; in part because it causes problems for student career changes that have significant social and economic costs (Montt 2015). It is also worth remembering that in 2016, 82 per cent of the graduate training schemes advertised by members of the Institute of Student Employers (the grouping that represents larger, UK blue chip graduate recruiters) were open to students from any discipline (Grey 2018).

## The Zero-Sum Game of a ‘War for Talent’

As Brown et al. (2011) recount, a remarkable feature of the last two decades of massification in HE has been the counter-intuitive emergence of a discourse centred on a ‘war’ for scarce talent between firms—a war set against a backdrop of an apparently unprecedented abundance or super-abundance of graduates. This discourse was originally promoted by the global consultancy firm McKinsey (Michaels et al. 2001), and is predicated on a belief that there exists a finite pool of extremely able individuals

(within countries and globally), that their skills are critical to competitive success, and that firms that fail in a zero-sum game contest to acquire this ‘talent’ will suffer. Talent is generally defined as being identifiable through attendance at one of a small number of global elite HEIs (Brown et al. 2011).

At any given moment a range of sectors, occupations, and employers are thus in competition for what they perceive to be a finite pool of top graduates. If demand exceeds supply this then produces firms and sectors that will see themselves as relative losers, as the ‘best’ graduates head towards the most attractive job openings (Purcell et al. 2017). Some firms acknowledge that trying to recruit only from elite HEIs is a flawed strategy, but many of them persist in doing this (Brown and Hesketh 2004; Brown et al. 2011; Purcell et al. 2017). The end result is that employers who lose out complain that HE is not providing them with what they want, which is true but also simply reflects the workings of a marketplace where restrictive definitions of talent mean that demand will often inevitably outstrip supply.

## **Employability and its Problematic Framing within a Discourse of Skills ‘Crisis’**

A key focus for university/business activity has been to foster the employability of graduates. Employability, as Shadbolt (2016: 11) observes, ‘is a fluid, complex and contentious concept’, but for the purposes of this discussion it revolves around attempts to equip students with the skills (cognitive and social), knowledge, experiences, and attitudes and dispositions that will make it more likely that they will be able to gain employment. For lucid discussions of the concept and its consequences, see Grey (2018) and Rich (2016). Rich (2016) makes the important point that employability should be about enabling students to achieve a rewarding and fulfilling career rather than just finding any kind of employment.

Debates about employability have been contentious because they take place within a wider UK policy discourse that for the last three and a half decades has tended to focus on a skills (supply) crisis (Gleeson and Keep 2004; Keep et al. 2006; Keep 2012). The problem is that, often in the teeth of the evidence, some employers and other commentators endlessly try to

re-boot discussions about the failings of the education system without acknowledging what progress has been made, and their own responsibilities in helping foster skills, a situation that can be termed ‘voice without accountability’ (Gleeson and Keep 2004: 50). Cappelli (2015) argues that the same problem applies in the United States.

For example, the evidence from successive official large-scale surveys of UK businesses (Winterbotham et al. 2014) is that employers are generally happy with what is being delivered. In the 2013 UKCES Employers Skill Survey, 83 per cent of employers in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland thought that the graduates they had recruited were either well or very well prepared to enter the world of work, and in Scotland the figure was 85 per cent (Winterbotham et al. 2014: 85). However, drawing on data from much smaller surveys, with uncertain response rates and sample frames, some commentators and employer bodies continue to send a message about employer dissatisfaction with graduate skills (Newton et al. 2017). For a discussion of the drawbacks inherent in some of the survey data being used see Keep (2012). A wider issue is that some of the skills that employers say are lacking tend to be ones that are to some extent specific to individual sectors and firms (e.g. business and customer awareness), and others are best obtained, at least in part, in and through experience in the workplace (Gleeson and Keep 2004; Keep 2012).

A key finding from both research and practice is the importance of work experience or work placements in fostering employability (Samuel et al. 2018; Shadbolt 2016; Wakeham 2016). The dimensions of good quality work experience are now well known, and examples of good practice abound (Newton et al. 2017; Samuel et al. 2018; Wilson 2016).

However, as the Shadbolt Review noted, employers are not always willing to provide what is required. Thus, ‘based on the review’s survey data, employers who believe work experience to be “critical” were only slightly more likely to offer work placements than employers who did not value it all’ (2016: 5). This echoes work by the UK Commission for Employment and Skills that found that while employers greatly valued work experience in candidates applying to them, many did not offer work experience, thereby creating an ‘experience trap’ (UKCES 2011).

## UNDERLYING QUESTIONS AND ISSUES

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## **Employer Funding: A Dog That Failed to Bark Very Loud?**

In large measure the growth of UK HE and post-compulsory education more widely over the last three decades has stemmed from a belief by government that employers would never be willing or able to create a viable, mass, high quality work-based apprenticeship route and that the only means of securing an increase in the stock of such skills was to massify further and higher education, first at public expense and more latterly in England via student fees (see Keep and Mayhew 2004; Soskice 1993). In other words, HE has been used to fill a skills supply gap that to some extent at least is filled in other countries (such as Germany, Switzerland, and Denmark) by employer-led apprenticeships.

Given this history, the issue of securing greater financial contributions from employers to support an expanded HE system has surfaced from time to time (HEPI 2008). For example, an oft-forgotten feature of the landmark Dearing Review of HE (1997) was that it recommended the development of a compact, whereby the state, individuals, and employers agreed how best to share the financial costs associated with sustaining a world-class HE system. At the time, the government ignored this recommendation, and chose to shift a greater proportion of the cost onto individual students. The idea of additional employer contributions was swiftly lost. When HE funding was reviewed again by Lord Browne (2010) any notion of direct employer contributions was dismissed out of hand in just half a thinly-argued page (Browne 2010: 54).

## **The Collapse of the Degree = Good Job ‘Deal’?**

Trow (1972) and those who followed him assumed that demand for HE would continue to rise as an increasing proportion of the age cohort in any country developed an expectation and desire to attend university (or some other form of tertiary provision), and also as ‘the demands of the

occupational structure for more educated people, the growth of the new and semi-professions linked to the expansion of governmental services, the lack of job opportunities for youngsters of college age' (Trow 1972: 62) continued to develop. Belief in these trends and the benefits that they were assumed to deliver have, as suggested at the start of this chapter, underpinned the societal and economic legitimacy of the global expansion of HE. The growth of HE has thus been based upon an implicit deal between universities, the state, firms, and prospective students, their families, and wider society, whereby the expansion of HE was sold on the back of promises of the arrival of a knowledge-driven economy (Lauder et al. 2017). This, it was assumed, would mean that there was a strong likelihood of 'good' jobs, represented by satisfying and fulfilling work and relatively high wages, for the vast majority of those who graduated.

The problem is that for the last decade or more global expansion of HE provision has, in some countries at least, outpaced the rate of structural change in the labour market that might be driving a higher demand for graduate labour. As a result, demand from governments and from prospective students has outstripped the demand from employers, and firms have been increasingly unable to fully keep their end of the bargain. Some graduates will be offered employment that provides relatively high pay, opportunities for development and progression, and work that makes use of the skills and knowledge they have acquired through education. For an increasing proportion of the graduate population, however, the employment available will not require a degree and will offer work that does not provide a graduate salary premium and which was previously done by entrants with far lower qualifications (Brown et al. 2011; Holmes and Mayhew 2015).

In the United Kingdom, the scale of the problem is considerable. Evidence suggests that in general UK employers' demand for skills is sometimes more limited (in terms of overall volume and qualification levels required) than official policy presumes (Holmes and Mayhew 2015, 2016; Keep 2015; Keep et al. 2006; Keep and Mayhew 2010). For example, the OECD's 2013 PIAAC adult skills survey demonstrated that the United Kingdom had the second lowest (after Spain) demand from employers for workers educated beyond compulsory schooling out of the twenty-two nations covered in the first wave of PIAAC (OECD 2013). The survey also indicated the United Kingdom has the second highest levels (after Japan) of workers over-qualified for their jobs (30 per cent).

Office for National Statistics (ONS) data (2017) show that on a relatively loose definition of graduate (someone who has left education with qualifications above upper secondary schooling and has a degree or sub-degree tertiary qualification), 42 per cent of those aged 21 to 64 now possess a degree. This is a relatively high proportion by OECD standards. The corollary is that ONS calculate that 49 per cent of all UK graduates are now employed in work that does not normally require the skills and knowledge developed through university to perform their work tasks in a competent manner (ONS 2017: 17), and that this reflects much wider difficulties that many UK organizations have in fully utilizing the skills of all their employees (Keep 2016).

This mismatch has fed through to graduate earnings. Although the average wage premium to a degree in the United Kingdom has largely held up, this figure is now deeply misleading (Green and Henke 2016, 2017) and dispersion around the mean is growing. Data from the Longitudinal Educational Outcomes (LEO) project indicates that no less than 25 per cent of all UK graduates, a decade after graduating, are still not earning £20,000 per annum, at a time when the median wage is about £28,000 and the earnings threshold to start repaying student loans is now at £25,000 (DfE 2016). This situation has unpleasant implications for the large number of graduates who seem to be becoming trapped in low paid work. In turn, it spells very serious trouble for the student loan system.

The overall reality is thus one where structural mismatch and over-education is occurring, and this is starting to undermine the economic foundations of the HE expansion ‘deal’ and also governments’, parents’, and students’ belief in what has been sold to them. These problems are now widespread across the developed and developing world, although the extent of the problem varies considerably from country to country (see Green and Henke 2016, 2017; Mok and Jiang 2016). The political and financial fallout from this trend is potentially massive, and it will pose a major policy challenge for the foreseeable future. (See Chapter 19 on HE financing.) In England, the current response is to review the HE system yet again; to contemplate a shift from full-honours provision to cheaper sub-degree provision, perhaps in tertiary institutions other than universities (see Wolf 2016); and to explore expansion of degree level apprenticeships.

# Rediscovering the Wider Benefits of HE

The crumbling of the existing policy narrative is a consequence of the fact that in many countries discussions about mass HE have been framed in terms of simplistic models of human capital theory; even more simplistic beliefs about the existence of simple, straight line causal relationships between skills and economic performance at every level (individual, workplace, firm, sector, region, and nation-state) and remarkably little else. Many of the more complex benefits of university education, and of the role of education in creating effective and engaged citizens and in reproducing and developing culture and thinking, with which this volume (see [Chapter 2](#)) and other more reflective thinking on universities is concerned (Willetts [2017](#)), have sometimes been side-lined or regarded as being of marginal importance in a dash towards an assumed economic prize. In this, many university managers have conspired with policy makers to adopt a deeply utilitarian focus for their thinking and actions. As some have argued ([Lauder et al. 2017](#)), this may have been a Faustian deal, the darker side of which is becoming manifest.

Green and Henke ([2016](#)) suggest that we now need to rediscover the wider social returns and benefits of HE in order to redefine the covenant between HE and other stakeholders. This perspective on a broader portfolio of benefits generated by HE is neatly encapsulated by the Shadbolt Review, when it states, ‘higher education is not and should not be exclusively concerned with short term economic benefit. Universities enrich the intellectual well-being of the country by educating individuals in the life of the mind as well as preparing them for the world of work’ ([2016: 1](#)).

This viewpoint is one that many contributors to this volume and elsewhere within HE will find deeply appealing, but it is an open question whether it will provide a sufficiently powerful narrative to support current levels of state and individual investment, particularly in an era of slower and more uncertain economic growth. HE will be by no means the only supplicant for scarce resources in the coming years. There are multiple competing demands on both public and private investment, for example in the UK context health and social care, pensions, and housing will all be looming large.

# Structuring the Relationship with Employers and the Labour Market

The final issue that needs to be addressed is an overarching one. If universities and businesses need to work together, how best is this relationship to be constructed and managed?

As previously noted, two arguably incommensurable models appear to be on the table. In the first, the employer is viewed as a customer (more or less demanding, but detached from the actual process of skill production) within a one-way street, marketized relationship with a range of suppliers. This approach partially underpins current English policy. Although plainly potentially convenient to employers, this is problematic because as has been previously noted, outside of a limited amount of student sponsorship, UK employers contribute relatively little to the direct costs of university teaching. The customer, if by that we mean the person who pays, is generally either the individual student or the taxpayer (HEPI 2008).

In the second model, the employer is seen as an integral partner or co-producer within the skill formation process or system (Samuel et al. 2018), and works alongside the university to help develop some of the skills it needs from university students (not least through high quality work experience). The Wakeham Review makes this point very clearly: ‘greater collaboration between business and HE is vital to ensuring appropriately educated and skilled graduates. The implied partnership endows each partner with responsibilities that should be explicitly accepted. The importance of this partnership is not a new revelation’ (2016: 1).

At present, both models coexist alongside one another in English policy pronouncements. For example, a speech by the then-Secretary of State for Education in December 2017 contains the following mixture of market and partnership thinking:

we want employers to become more demanding customers in the training market ... So that is why we are putting you, the employers, at the heart of the reform. To be frank, everything I've set out today ... lives or dies on the strength of your involvement and commitment, to work in partnership ... Join a skills partnership to create the workforce this country needs. (Greening 2017)

In reality, in England many employers appear content with the market model and with acting as passive customers who can complain when they are not provided with what they desire (Keep 2015). There is a reluctance bordering on outright refusal by some employers and policy makers to accept that firms are often not deploying graduates' skills effectively within their workplaces, that they are guilty of credentialism, and that despite all the rhetoric about a knowledge economy, the reality is that much employment requires limited skills to deliver current product market and competitive strategies (Keep et al. 2006).

This reality exists against a wider backdrop in which many businesses have been in retreat from training effort and investment (Keep 2015), and where there is a strange passivity in many firms' approaches to recruitment and the labour market. Purcell et al. (2017: 8) note that, 'employers see themselves as having little power in the labour markets in which they work —even when they are one of the largest employers with over 100 applicants for some jobs', and also when many of these same employers are using highly casualized forms of employment for graduates (and others) as a screening mechanism that offers less risks than traditional recruitment and interview techniques. This stance, where employers feel that they are 'receivers of a mixed bag labour supply, over which they have little or no control' (Purcell et al. 2017: 10) in part reflects the weakness of the personnel function in many organizations (Atkinson et al. 2017; Purcell et al. 2017; Sisson and Purcell 2010), but also firms' belief that they are 'constrained by market forces' into minimizing internal training spend and reducing staffing costs by whatever means available, 'without consideration of the wider social impact and future costs to the community' (Purcell et al. 2017: 35). The origins of these wider market forces are analysed in Keep (2015). All these difficulties are then further compounded by the relative weakness and/or absence of collective employer organizations that could act as a means of concerting action on education and training on behalf of employers.

The overall consequences are fairly bleak. As the then-head of the Government's Social Mobility Commission observed, 'there is currently no prospect of the Government achieving its ambition of Britain becoming a high skilled high paying economy' (SMC 2017: 4). Changing any of this will be a long-term project that will need to address underlying structures and incentives within the economy and labour market (Keep 2015). Until

such policies are developed the contribution that many employers will make to E&T will remain suboptimal.

This brings us neatly to Scotland, where the government has avoided marketizing relationships between employers, students, and universities, and has tried to build collective employer capacity and a two-way street that includes responsibilities concerning what firms need to contribute. It has also nested its skill strategy within an economic strategy that centres on building socially inclusive growth and a labour market strategy that aims to promote improved job quality, higher pay, greater employee voice, and better skills utilization (see Keep 2014, 2017 for details of the relationship between these strategies and skills policies). This policy context opens out opportunities that are absent south of the border. Given that England and Scotland share many of the same larger employers and have labour markets and economies that are not that different, it will be interesting to see over time how the different national approaches—market or system, and one-way versus two-way relationships—develop and what results they deliver.

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## CHAPTER 14

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# MACRO CHANGES AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR EQUALITY AND SOCIAL AND GENDER JUSTICE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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## INTRODUCTION

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In this chapter we address how the changing context and transformations of higher education (HE) have implications for equality and social and gender justice. We write as three differently positioned women in HE who, at the same time, share a feminist perspective on the influences of neo-liberal and conservative politics on our lives and those of others in HE. We have interconnected networks to, and in, the field of gender and education, but clearly we also have different generational approaches. For instance, Miriam was a founder of the Gender and Education Association (GEA) in the United Kingdom, as part of the expanding forms of HE and its influences on women's involvement as students, educators, and teachers (David 2014, 2016a, 2016b). Both Penny-Jane and Marie-Pierre came from different positions and locations to be involved in the GEA in the United

Kingdom and internationally. Yet we are all what are called, in the UK census, *white Others*. We are all indeed white but have complex and diverse origins and involvements in the United Kingdom, which also complicate our self-identification in relation to being women, or our gender, sexuality, and social class. We are both very privileged in terms of our educational involvements and achievements and yet remain very marginal to the main power relations within HE. Indeed, this is precisely what we want to write about in this chapter.

As we have come into HE at different ages and stages of our lives, we therefore have different responses to the ongoing transformations of HE. This is a very complex issue and we start by addressing the broad statistical changes, and yet the continuing patriarchal if not misogynistic responses to the inclusion of women in HE. We then move on to consider how these values and ideals predate the recent transformations of HE, and are reinscribed and yet recontextualized in neo-liberal changes, despite the increasing involvements and engagements of women. We also consider how the transformations have had influences on new values about equity, fairness, and social justice for students and future generations.

## **THE EXPANSION OF HE AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR GENDER AND SOCIAL EQUALITIES**

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Over the last fifty years, there has been a massive expansion and transformation of HE globally, affecting both the institutions that provide teaching, learning, and research, and who becomes a student (Archer et al. 2003; Shavit et al. 2007). Inevitably, this also affects who becomes an academic, across changing subjects and/or disciplines. Whilst this has been commented upon in some depth and detail in previous chapters of this handbook, very little commentary has been made of the specific gendered and linked social characteristics of the students, their teachers, and the institutions.

As we have already noted, the massive expansion of universities and other forms of HE over the last fifty years across the global North and in

parts of the global South (Connell 2007) has created *massive universities but not universities for the masses* as Langa Rosado and David argued over a decade ago now (Langa Rosado and David 2006). In other words, we now have very large institutions, catering for large swathes of students from a diversity of social class, ethnic, and racial backgrounds, and gender or sexualities, but these institutions remain stratified by their elite and privileged status. The majority of students in elite and traditional universities come from the middle classes rather than the poorer or working-class backgrounds (Archer et al. 2003).

These trends also mean that there has been a transformation in the people who work as academics or administrators in universities. There are subject or disciplinary differences and those employed to teach and/or research in universities vary by institution too. There has, however, been a modest increase in the proportions of women who teach and research, including explicitly on gender and women's studies, or developing feminist critiques of academic knowledge and its production (David 2014).

Nevertheless, equality or the obverse, inequality in HE, is still largely considered in gender-neutral terms. For example, as recently as October 2017, for the British Society for Research in Higher Education (SRHE) and for a major Centre for Studies in Higher Education (CHES), Professor Roger Brown gave a major valedictory public lecture (Brown 2017a). This lecture, as a prelude to the launch of his book—*The Inequality Crisis*—was entitled 'Inequality in Higher Education', and was concerned solely with economic inequalities (Brown 2017b). Brown defined this as income inequality, relying on studies by the OECD (2011) to support his arguments and evidence. He argued that this huge growth in income inequality in most Western economies over the past thirty years or so was linked to the growth in HE. He supported this argument by considering the development of global markets or neo-liberalism in HE and separately the notion of institutional developments, and the ways in which HE institutions had responded to the growth in global markets. Gender was not once mentioned and nor was ethnicity or race, although the theme of the lecture was about the implications for socio-economic equalities.

This is but one exemplar of the ways equalities and inequalities are considered in HE, at least in the United Kingdom. Lord (now Professor) David Willetts, former Conservative Minister for Universities and Science between 2010 and 2015, has also written prolifically about HE. When still a

British Member of Parliament (MP) and Conservative government minister, he produced a booklet for the fiftieth anniversary of the Robbins Report on *Higher Education* (1963). The report had originally been commissioned by the then UK Conservative government to legitimize the expansion of HE that had already been set in train. Willetts's booklet was entitled *Robbins Revisited: Bigger and Better Higher Education* (Willetts 2013). In this study, using official data, he was able to show the very dramatic shifts and expansions in UK HE at least in terms of subjects and/or disciplines taught to (full-time) undergraduate students and their sex (his term) or gender.

His most revealing table is table 3.2 entitled 'Full-time university students by sex and faculty, 1961–62 and 2011–12' (Willetts 2013: 27). He shows the percentage of students in each faculty of each sex and the percentage (or proportions) of students who were in each faculty. He identifies five faculties for the purpose of comparison, namely, Humanities, Social Studies, Science, Applied Science, and Medical subjects. Over all these five faculties the proportions of men to women in 1961–2 were 75 per cent to 25 per cent (with tiny numbers of women in Applied Science). The only faculty where women were in the greater proportion than men was Humanities, and this disciplinary area had about a third (32 per cent) of all students. The total number of full-time undergraduate students was far less than a quarter of a million with almost 100,000 students enrolled in institutions that were not, at that time, identified as HE institutions (HEIs) or universities.

By 2011–12, the shift for all students was dramatic. Over all these faculties the gender balance had shifted dramatically, with 46 per cent men and 54 per cent women over all. The gender balance within subject areas had also shifted dramatically, with one-third of all full-time undergraduate students studying social studies. Here there were approximately equal numbers of men and women. Willetts comments on these shifts, saying:

This *shift in gender balance* [my emphasis] [from the 1960s to the 1980s] has carried on. In the 1960s only 25 per cent of full-time students at UK institutions were female. But in 2011–12 they were the majority – 54 per cent of full-time students at UK HEIs were female. The number of women studying has grown by a larger proportion than the number of men across every subject. Women are still under-represented in sciences (maths and physics) and the applied sciences (computing, engineering, technology and architecture) but the margin has narrowed from the 1960s when only three per cent of students studying "applied science" were women. Arguably the most dramatic increase is in medicine: in the 1960s only 22 in every 100 medical students were women, but by 2011–12 this had risen to 59 in every 100.

Thus the situation we face in today's society is one that might have seemed unlikely in 1960s Britain, with more women entering university than there are men even submitting a UCAS [application] form. This is a remarkable achievement for women, who were outnumbered in universities by men as recently as the 1990s.

(Willetts 2013: 26–7)

Willetts's figures on which he bases the comparisons were about full-time undergraduates in England, and there was a huge increase from well under 200,000 to almost 500,000 in the fifty-year period (Willetts 2013: 28–9). Moreover, there have also been other increases in part-time undergraduates and postgraduate students. In addition, Willetts laments the changes and 'demise of male power' (David 2016b: 51), saying 'it is also the culmination of a long-standing educational trend, with boys and men finding it harder to overcome obstacles in the way of learning. It is a real challenge for policy-makers' (2013: 27–8). He therefore argues for policies to rectify this and return to male domination. He does not consider pedagogical questions, nor who the pedagogues or educators should be.

In his previous work, Willetts (2011) had been very clear about his patriarchal approach and more explicit than Roger Brown. He tried to analyse inequalities, differentiating between attempts to change socio-economic inequalities, which he calls *egalitarianism*, and the rise of women or *feminism*. He argued that 'feminism has trumped egalitarianism' (Willetts 2011: 208). In other words, he wants socio-economic inequality or social mobility for men alone, seeing feminists as entirely the middle-class beneficiaries of HE (David 2016b: 28). Thus it is possible to argue that Willetts's explicit patriarchal approach is *misogyny masquerading as metrics* (David 2016a).

The worldwide changes for both students and academics in HE have been enormous (David 2016b: 50). In the United Kingdom alone we now have more than 2 million students in HE, making for a massive increase in participation, such that females are in the ascendance. The worldwide increases have been five-fold, making HE a major component of global economies, or what is now called 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004).

Women now account for a majority of students in most countries, and this is part of an increase of around 500 per cent in enrolments over less than forty years (1970–2009). UNESCO commented that 'the capacity of the world's education systems more than doubled—from 647 million

students in 1970 to 1,397 million in 2009 ... [and] from 33 to 164 million in higher education' (UNESCO 2012: 9). They go on to say that 'female enrolment at the tertiary level has grown almost twice as fast as that of men over the last four decades. The colleges, schools and universities to which students now go vary greatly, as do the students themselves.'

Global expansion has led to increasing inequalities, including, but not only, for women (David 2016b: 51). While women have secured a foothold in universities, not only as students but also as academics, they remain belittled and subject to forms of sexual harassment, rather than being treated as equals. This is what some have called *the feminization crisis* (Morley 2010).

## WOMEN, FEMINISM, AND HE

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With the expansion of universities, and the growing presence of women at both undergraduate and postgraduate level, as well as among academics, we have also witnessed the rise of feminism, as a form of critique of traditional academic knowledge and activism to transform women's oppression in society. Feminism has taken diverse forms in the various countries of the global North with strong critiques of the differences between white and black feminisms, for instance. Heidi Mirza recently argued about the contestations between these forms of feminism, in the twentieth anniversary celebrations for the publication of her edited collection entitled *Black British Feminism* (Mirza 1997).

There are also contestations about how to typify forms of feminism within HE. What is often called second wave feminism arose out of the women's liberation movements (WLM) of the 1960s and 1970s (David 2014, 2016a, 2016b). First wave feminism, by contrast, largely arose in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, focusing upon political, economic, and social changes for women's emancipation. This was largely through the suffrage movements, as Banks (1986) has argued. The various arguments about how feminism has influenced both the socio-political and economic changes into the twenty-first century and the forms of academic knowledge developed to underpin these movements is also a heavily contested story

(David 2016a, 2016b). Nevertheless, the thread is one of two forms of feminism: liberal or socialist.

David (2014) undertook a study of over 100 feminist activists in the arts, humanities, and social sciences in international academia, to capture the views and values of these intergenerational and emerging feminists. The study was published as *Feminism, Gender and Universities: Politics, Passion and Pedagogies* (David 2014). The journeys of these 110 international educators through the groves of academe (to use an expression coined by Gail Kelly: see Arnove et al. 1985) were presented, grouped into three different generational groups, using the methodology developed by the feminist sociologist of education Olive Banks (Banks 1986). The three groups were those born between 1935 and 1950, 1950 and 1965, and 1965 and 1980. (Penny-Jane Burke was included in this last cohort). In fact, there were far more women in the first group than in the last, and as Emily Henderson pointed out (in her informal communication) there were none from the youngest generation of feminists in HE (those born after 1980). All subscribed to the notion of being a feminist activist or educator and discussed how they engaged with feminism within HE or outside.

In a subsequent study, David (2016b: 89–125) focused on just the feminist educators within the above study. In chapter 4 entitled ‘Changing Political Landscapes of Feminism: Waves and Educational Values’, David looked at how these women negotiated HE, given that it ‘is typified by a misogynist or sexist approach within HE management and leadership’ (David 2016b: 89).

Table 14.1 shows the international networks of the participants in the study. This makes it clear that there is a diversity of countries of residence, which is not at all continuous with countries of origin. The study was made up of a diversity of women academics, across the generations and ages, and also extremely varied in terms of their social and geographic locations: illustrative of the mobile, transnational academics who are characteristic of the overall academic profession in the twenty-first century (David 2014: 17; David 2016b: 100; Kim and Brooks 2013).

**Table 14.1 Participants from networks of international feminists (from David 2016a: 100)**

Current country of residence	Totals	Cohort 1 (1935–1950)	Cohort 2 (1950–1965)	Cohort 3 (1965–1980)
Australia	5	5		
Canada	7	6	1	
India/Israel/Spain	3	1	1	1
Ireland	2		1	1
UK	83	45	28	10
USA	10	9	1	
Totals	110	66	32	12

Neither particular individuals nor institutions were targeted, but given research interests and predilections, it is not surprising that the study had many participants who saw themselves as feminist activist educators or academics. Many were either in the GEA, or cognate organizations. ‘Education feminists’ was the term coined for the group who are committed to and publishing in feminist studies of education and gender. Over half the women from the first cohort, three-quarters from the second, and the vast majority of the youngest identified as part of this group (David 2016b: 101). Nevertheless there remain clear social class differences in origins and approaches to feminism, gender, and education.

The notion of social class used was drawn from the participants’ own accounts, given that they were all social scientists and were involved in using such notions. Family backgrounds were defined not only by parents’ social class in terms of income or means but also by occupation, with many women having parents who were either schoolteachers or university professors (Table 14.2). This turned out to be significantly more usual than expected, especially in relation to ‘education feminists’.

**Table 14.2 Social class families (including parental education) across the three cohorts (from David 2016a: 103)**

Social class distribution	Cohort 1 (1935–1950)	Cohort 2 (1950–1965)	Cohort 3 (1965–1980)	Totals
Upper/upper middle class	22	7	3	32 (29%)
Middle/lower middle class	30	13	5	48 (45%)
Working class	14	12	4	30 (27%)
TOTALS	66	32	12	110

Indeed, one of the major transformations of HE over the last fifty years, responsible for the increasing numbers of women as students in HE, has been the incorporation of teacher education as an undergraduate study, with different patterns across different countries. Many of the participants also had parents, mothers especially, who had participated in teacher education, not then named as HE, and so were not (technically) ‘first-in-the-family’ or ‘first generation’ to go to university, although they felt it to be so.

Given the expansion of HE, many from rather privileged middle-class family backgrounds were ‘first-in-the-family’ or ‘first generation’ to go to university or at very least ‘first girl’. The study clearly demonstrated considerable social mobility amongst the three cohorts, linked as it was to social transformations.

Overall, only a little over a quarter claimed to be from working-class families, whereas nearly double said they were ‘first-in-the-family’. This clearly illustrates how the expansion of HE, specifically to include women’s traditional professions such as teacher education and social work, has become part of the expanded university. It also produces interesting class trends across the three cohorts, with proportionately more from the working class in cohorts 2 and 3 than in cohort 1. Equally, there has been a growth in the proportions of ‘first-in-the-family’ middle-class in cohorts 2 and 3. Only one in five of cohort 1 participants said they were working class, whereas twice as many said they were ‘first-in-the-family’, although occasionally this refers only to being the ‘first-girl-in-the-family’. The working-class ‘first-in-the-family’ are more clear-cut, with many examples of those planning to be teachers ([Table 14.3](#)).

**Table 14.3 First-in-the-family or first generation to go to university (from David 2016a: 104)**

First-in-the-family and social class	Cohort 1 (1935–1950)	Cohort 2 (1950–1965)	Cohort 3 (1965–1980)	Totals
Working class	14	12	4	30 (27%)
Middle class first-in-the-family	12	9	4	25 (23%)
Total first-in-the-family	26 (39%)	21 (66%)	8 (75%)	55 (50%)

These figures and tables thus complicate an already complex story, which cannot be summed up, as it was by David Willetts as *feminism has trumped egalitarianism*. It is clear that not all the feminists in the study were middle class and even when they were, they were either ‘first-in-the-family’ or ‘first-girl-in-the-family’ to go to university. Moreover, half the study was ‘first-in-the-family’ and either from working-class or middle-class family backgrounds. Thus feminism and egalitarianism are *not* in contention: rather true equality in terms of gender and class has not yet been achieved. However, interestingly overall, and across all the countries, a fifth of the participants—all now full professors (in the US sense)—initially trained as teachers. Thus the routes into and through HE are incredibly complex and interwoven. Nevertheless, ‘feminism remains a new wave of thinking’ (David 2016b: 124). It is powerful for learning and theories.

## THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN AGENDAS OF EXCELLENCE AND EQUITY

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HE is currently in a state of flux and uncertainty, with profound changes being shaped largely by economic imperatives and financialization. However, the impact of global neo-liberalism works through its complex intersection with a range of other potent forces, transforming the HE landscape in contemporary times in ways that require sophisticated analyses and conceptual vocabularies to bring to light the working of inequality into, through, and beyond HE (Burke et al. 2017). The forces of globalization, neo-conservatism, corporatization, new managerialism, neo-colonialism,

neo-patriarchy, and institutional racism work in constellation to both reproduce inequalities and generate new formations of difference and exclusion. Such inequalities are often crudely described through the language of ‘barriers’, imagining that if we identify, measure, and then ‘lift’ these barriers, then equity in HE will be achieved. This ignores the ways inequalities are entwined with lived, embodied experiences of educational institutions that reinforce and contribute to the reproduction of wider social and cultural advantages and disadvantages (Burke 2012).

Discourses of ‘excellence’ pervade HE, underpinned by the values of marketing and branding and driven by mechanisms of ranking and assessment, such as national and international league tables. Thus, there is increasing pressure for universities to position themselves as ‘world-class’, to compete in a highly stratified field driven by discourses of ‘excellence’ and prestige cultures. Quality is often in tension with equality and is reduced to technologies of measurement. This has led to the introduction of new frameworks that move higher education more firmly into market approaches, such as the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) in the United Kingdom. The excellence discourses pose serious challenges for equity and widening participation as the focus tends to be on the recruitment and selection of the ‘best’ and ‘brightest’ in the wider context of the prestige cultures being firmly embedded through league table rankings, metrics, and measurements (Burke and Kuo 2015).

This also points to recruitment of the ‘best’ teachers in order to drive up the ‘excellence’ of teaching in HE. The logic is that this is about exercising meritocratic principles to ensure representation of the best and brightest with representation across all social groups. Yet the assumption about what is perceived as the best and brightest is usually not problematized or critiqued. Sociologists of HE have drawn extensively on Bourdieusian concepts to expose that what is often being measured is *social privilege* not intrinsic potential, talent, and ability. Indeed, those who occupy privileged positions are often able powerfully to leverage family portfolios of capitals and networks and thus to manoeuvre the systems of selection, ensuring their sustained privileged position through the prestige cultures of HE (Burke et al. 2017).

Equity and widening participation policy has been dominated by debates about ‘fair access’ and has tended to be preoccupied with ‘raising aspirations’ of those individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds deemed

to have potential and ability. Such concerns tend to overlook the interconnecting structures, systems, practices, discourses, and cultures of HE that are complicit in the social, economic, and cultural reproduction of inequality and exclusion in and through higher education. The increasing levels of instrumentalism and utilitarianism shaping discourses of widening participation have been challenged for failing to engage significant and complex questions relating to the right to HE, not only about who has access, but also about the purposes of and what it means to participate in HE in the twenty-first century (Burke 2012). The discourses of ‘excellence’ have increasingly gained traction, underpinned by New Public Management. This has led to increasing attention to external accountability, organization of quality, and efficiency of resource use in HE. The focus on excellence at a global level has reshaped HE systems internationally. Nixon (2013) traces the ways that the drive for ‘excellence’ often undermines widening participation policy regimes, warning that competition for funds and for students has led to institutional stratification and the self-protective groupings of institutions, which lobbied intensively for their market niche. Within this context institutional prestige has itself become a marketable commodity.

## **THE REINSCRIPTION AND RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF INDIVIDUALISM AS A VALUE IN HE**

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The idea of academia itself is characterized by tensions. On the one hand, academia has been viewed as a site facilitating social mobility, emancipation, and social transformation. On the other hand, there lie, at its heart, deep gender, social class, and ethnic divides which exclude or, at best, marginalize those who are not seen as legitimate in academic spaces. In the global North in particular, HE has traditionally been the preserve of white, middle-class, and ‘unencumbered’ men. While the association of the ‘bachelor boy’ (Edwards 1993; Hinton-Smith 2012) with academia preceded the emergence of the philosophy of Enlightenment, the Cartesian and other rationalist ideals (Descartes 1996) which developed in the seventeenth century in Europe and beyond sealed the construction of the

body and the mind as exclusive categories (Bordo 1987). To be seen as legitimate in HE required, and, to some extent, still requires, the expurgation of emotional, physical, and domestic matters from academic identities and epistemological and theoretical frameworks (Ahmed 1998; Leathwood and Hey 2009), ultimately compromising women's association with the rational and autonomous subject of academia (Lynch 2010).

The linkage between a legitimate academic identity and the figure of the 'bachelor boy' is perhaps best captured by who the recipients of indicators of academic excellence are. Those awarded the Nobel Prize, the Field medal and, more modestly, sitting on editorial boards, giving keynotes and presented with professorships are overwhelmingly white men. One example among many is the Call for Papers for the 2018 Deleuze and Guattari international conference. All the keynote speakers (seven of them) were men and nearly all were from the Anglo-Saxon world. Of the philosophers mentioned in the Call and whose work is to be discussed at the conference, all are men (twelve of them). Likewise, a recent conference in Applied History held in early 2018 at Stanford University in the United States, included thirty keynote speakers, all of them white men. Similarly, the segments of the HE system constructed as the more prestigious—e.g. the Russell group universities and their postgraduate programmes—tend to be those where white, male, and middle-class students concentrate (ECU 2014; Moreau 2016).

## **HE PEDAGOGIES, FORMATIONS OF GENDER, AND PEDAGOGICAL SPACES**

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Underpinning the hegemony of marketized constructions of equity and widening participation, is the continual reformation of normalized academic and student identities, with a focus on standardization. Yet, within this, diversity is increasingly constructed as a positive characteristic reflecting an institution's commitment to equity, usually accompanied by a discourse of assimilation and acculturation (Archer et al. 2003). 'Difference' on the other hand is not a part of hegemonic marketizing discourses, often triggering anxieties connected to pathologized identities, associated with widening participation and those students (and staff) attached to under-

represented groups (particularly those associated with working-class and black-racialized subjectivities). Those who are constructed as different are often viewed as ‘high-risk’ and threatening to academic standards through discourses such as ‘dumbing down’ (Burke 2012).

Pathologized identity constructions connected to ‘dumbing down’ are held in place through institutional categorizations and structural inequalities. Burke (2012) has argued that the agenda to widen participation has raised some challenging dilemmas and tensions in relation to this. On the one hand, universities must identify structural inequalities, which are tied in with relations of power and difference, such as race and ethnicity. This requires methods of targeting. However, this must be nuanced in terms of the ways structures of inequality are *intersecting sets of social and structural differences*, rather than one-dimensional homogenizing identity constructions of a targeted group. HE institutions committed to widening participation, and receiving public funds to support this, must be held accountable for ensuring that resources intended for widening participation are appropriately targeted and not exploited by those who already benefit from multiple forms of social and cultural privilege.

However, and at the same time, it is important to interrogate and challenge pathologizing constructions associated with institutional (and research) categorizations, such as ‘Black and Minority Ethnic’. This is a tension that policy makers and institutions are compelled to address within a framework of equity and widening participation; categorizations help us to decide how to redistribute resources whilst simultaneously categorizations require interrogation of the ways they become mechanisms to homogenize, standardize, and pathologize. The category of ‘Black and Minority Ethnic’, for example, is both a useful device to identify an appropriate target group for the redistribution of resources but it also contributes to the perpetuation of social divisions and hierarchies through reducing that person or group to one aspect of identity. We must make visible the ways such constructions are entangled in cycles of exclusion and unequal power relations and devise inclusive, reflexive, and participatory frameworks that challenge misrecognition (Burke 2012).

Difference (and by association widening participation) is posed as potentially dangerous and contaminating, because ‘excellence’ ironically requires conforming to an idealized set of standards and homogenizing practices that signify ‘quality’. Excellence is measured through a variety of

benchmarks and key performance indicators and is couched in a wider culture of performativity. A university might brand itself as offering a distinctive educational experience but simultaneously must be ranked according to hegemonic discourses of excellence, which depend on evaluations such as student surveys and evaluations or research assessment exercises. Thus staff and students are subjected to homogenizing and neutralizing processes via technologies of managerialism and assessment and through the fixing of socially constructed categories. Such manoeuvres are deeply bound towards hyper-individualism in which specific, performative and instrumentalist models of success are being mobilized.

In an age of performativity (Ball 2003), neo-liberalism and its connected discourses of ‘excellence’, ‘quality’, and ‘standards’, increasingly restrict our pedagogical imaginations, concealing the ways that educational encounters form subjectivities, ways of being and doing. However, it is important to trace how neo-liberalism works in complex ways with other oppressive forces, such as patriarchy and institutional racism, to limit our conceptualization of ‘diversity’ and ‘difference’ and how these dynamics reinforce our complicity in the politics of misrecognition, even when we strive towards social justice approaches (Burke et al. 2017).

Pedagogical relations are formed through intersecting and embodied classed, gendered, and racialized subjectivities, intimately bound up with historical ways of being a lecturer or a student in HE. Neo-liberal imperatives re-emphasize techno-rationalist discourses of human capital and individual responsibility. New formations of patriarchy within neo-liberalism ensure that characteristics associated with difference in HE, such as ‘being emotional’ or ‘caring’, are regulated and controlled through a range of new disciplinary technologies, including of teaching (through mechanisms such as the TEF). Pedagogical relations are thus deeply implicated in the gendered (and classed and racialized) politics of misrecognition, and to the politics of difference and dividing practices (Burke 2017). Within HE markets, ‘diversity’ is often used as a commercial projection, attracting diverse ‘student markets’. Yet, this works in complex ways with contradictory political forces and values, underpinned by neo-colonial and patriarchal perspectives of what constitutes ‘excellence’ within a particular disciplinary field. Thus, diverse students must take up particular sets of performativities and discourses that enable their recognition as

‘academic’, ‘bright’, and ‘having potential’ within the restrictive disciplinary contexts in which they need to be recognized.

## THE REDEFINITION OF ‘CARE-FREE’ ACADEMIC REGIMES IN NEO-LIBERAL TIMES

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Cartesian principles continue to underpin how we define processes of knowledge production and pedagogical relationships. Yet, nearly four centuries after Descartes wrote his *Discours de la Méthode* and other philosophical texts, university campuses bear little in common with what they used to be. In particular, with neo-liberalism and the introduction of the principles of New Public Management in academia, universities have been increasingly subjected to processes of rationalization, marketization, financialization, accountability, and performance measurement. Under the reign of the managerial university model, academics’ working conditions and freedom have eroded, as exemplified by ever increasing workloads and, in the United Kingdom, by the recent attacks on the academic pension scheme, the Universities Superannuation Scheme (USS). Some of these trends also affect students, particularly postgraduate students, who, like academics, are often expected to undertake a broader range of activities, to work at an intensive pace, and to be globally mobile. They are often now described as precarious positions.

What this managerial model hardly ever talks about is care. The academic and the learner are constructed as ‘independent’ (Leathwood 1999), in other terms as free from all relationships of care, implying a rather masculinist model of the scholar. Caregiving relationships within and outside the university are rendered invisible. This state of affairs has led some to describe academic cultures as ‘careless’ (Lynch 2010) and ‘care-free’ (Moreau 2016). Lynch, in particular, claims that this ‘carelessness’ has been exacerbated by neo-liberalism and argues that ‘the new capitalist academy ... imposes expectations of performativity that only a care-less worker can fully satisfy ... As women are much less likely to be care-free than men, regardless of their age or status, their capabilities for satisfying performativity demands are lesser within the new managerial regime’ (Lynch 2010: 9).

The ‘carelessness’ of the managerial university affects all of those who inhabit HE spaces but has specific implications for those caring for a ‘dependant’. Indeed, academics and staff who are caregivers cannot just renounce their (often significant and demanding) caring responsibilities and are faced with the demands of not one, but two ‘greedy institutions’ (Coser 1974; Hays 1996): family and academia.

## THE INVISIBILITY OF CARE IN THE MANAGERIAL UNIVERSITY

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The care regimes of the managerial university present two major characteristics: they render ‘care’ invisible and they misrecognize it, although there are also considerable variations across institutions and national contexts. The invisibility of ‘care’ is deeply embedded in academic cultures. At national policy level, in the United Kingdom, decades of concerns for ‘widening participation’ and ‘lifelong learning’ and the resulting flurry of policy documents have not been associated with much consideration for student carers, who, at best, got a quick reference (DES 1987; DfES 2003; HEPI 2017; Hughes 2011). When caring responsibilities are mentioned, they tend to be reduced to a financial matter (Alsop et al. 2008). In line with this pattern of invisibility, little is known on a national scale about numbers of student parents, although a National Union of Students (NUS) survey has found that a third of further education and HE students in England and Wales care for a dependant (NUS 2009).

At institutional level, most institutions do not collect data about student parents. Out of the nine institutions based in England in which Moreau and Kerner conducted fieldwork as part of a research project about this group, only one admitted collecting data on this group (Moreau 2016; Moreau and Kerner 2012). Even less is known about students with other types of caring responsibilities (e.g. caring for siblings or for older relatives). Also at institutional level, it is clear that student parents and other carers are often invisible in offline and online spaces, although they sometimes concentrate in specific spaces. For example, institutional websites are often populated with the presence of young, smiling, and presumed care-free and careless young women (Leathwood and Read 2009), while a specific webpage may

be dedicated to nursery users. The interviews with staff based in support services conducted by Moreau and Kerner highlighted that some had limited awareness of the presence of student parents on campus and of the provision in place, let alone of the issues faced by this group. During fieldwork, identifying the relevant policies and the spaces dedicated to this group (for example a breastfeeding room) proved challenging and sometimes an impossible task.

## THE MISRECOGNITION OF ‘CARE’ IN THE MANAGERIAL UNIVERSITY

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Despite this prevailing pattern of invisibility, the composition of the HE population has dramatically changed and carers are now a significant presence. In some places, care-free academic cultures have shifted to acknowledge the existence of carers. However, as academic excellence remains associated with the white, middle-class male and, most relevantly for this chapter, care-free student, visibility can bring misrecognition for students with caring responsibilities. In a context where the care-free body is normalized and where caregivers are rendered invisible, the disclosure of caring responsibilities is often accidental. Writing about student parents in the United States, Medved and Heisler (2002) recalled how, asking a question during a lecture one of them was giving, a four-year-old child raised her hand to answer. The child had been taken to campus by her parent as caring arrangements had broken down.

This sudden shift from invisibility to ‘hyper-visibility’ (Spack 1997) is not without danger. Some of the students Moreau and Kerner interviewed walked late into lectures and seminars because of childcare issues, or because their timetables clashed with their child’s timetable, and often had to face the reprobation of the lecturers, yet were aware enough of the stigmas associated with the disclosure of their parental status not to mention it (Moreau and Kerner 2015). When talking to staff in student services, it became clear that caring responsibilities usually came to light when an issue arose, with, as a result, student parents being sometimes labelled as ‘having problems’ or even as ‘problem students’.

Despite decades of widening participation and lifelong learning policies, student parents and other students with caring responsibilities are still subjected to processes of being invisible and misrecognition. The ‘care-free’ nature of academia has a long history, which was already present in the Cartesian rationalist ideals of the seventeenth century. However, despite the increased presence of carers in academia, this ‘carelessness’ has been re-actualized and, some have claimed, has intensified, as a result of the emergence of the managerial university model.

## **GENDERED DIFFERENCES AND THE MARGINALIZATION OF PEDAGOGIES OF CARE**

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Feminist insights have contributed rich and textured analyses of the multiple layers of injustices that operate around processes of gendered subjective construction. Embodied intersections of difference and the affective dimension of misrecognition work on and mark out difference, subtly reproducing inequalities at the material, political, symbolic, and cultural dimensions of social injustice (Fraser 2004). Such frameworks also point to the insidious forms of inequality that work through the politics of misrecognition in which the Other is excluded, marginalized, and often subjected to ridicule, derision, shame, or symbolic violence (Ahmed 2004; Burke 2017). The affective dimensions of experiences of misrecognition have largely been ignored or under-theorized in relation to processes of becoming a student in HE within historically exclusive pedagogical spaces (Burke et al. 2017). New formations of patriarchy within neo-liberalism work to discursively construct those characteristics associated with femininity, such as ‘being emotional’ or ‘caring’, as inappropriate in higher education and tied to lowering of standards (Burke 2017). Frameworks of assessment, ranking, and evaluation operate to regulate and control pedagogical practices through modes of performativity and managerialism (Gill 2010). Hegemonic timeframes, that regulate workload and assess appropriate management and use of time, undermine pedagogical orientations that invest ‘too much time’ in caring for and supporting students (Burke et al. 2017). Discourses such as ‘teaching smart’ reinforce corporate orientations to the contemporary university and how time should

be effectively managed to maximize levels of productivity. Through such mechanisms, a ‘careless’ culture embedded in individualism, competition, and particular modes of ‘success’ ensures that those ‘free’ of caring responsibilities are the most valued due to the assumption that such individuals will be the most productive students/workers (Lynch 2010).

Increasingly, policy has turned attention to boys and men (see the discussion of Willetts earlier in this chapter) fuelled by a discourse of a crisis of masculinity in which women are seen as ‘taking over’ the university, as the numbers of women participating in higher education have increased (Quinn 2003). This rests on patriarchal and misogynist assumptions that women’s position should always be in a minority (Morley 2010). Across high income countries globally, public statements are being asserted that men are the new disadvantaged sex. In the context of HE, this has reduced complex gendered inequalities to a presumed battle of the sexes, failing to engage with the intricate ways that formations of gender are produced and performed in different pedagogical spaces and disciplinary contexts (Burke et al. 2017; Quinn 2003). This tends to reinforce assumptions about what count as legitimate practices and epistemologies and who counts as a ‘proper’ subject in academic and professional contexts, thus re/forming, albeit in more subtle and complex ways, unequal gendered relations. However, this affects men and women differently, also re/forming unequal classed and racialized inequalities and relations.

Experiences of misrecognition are often reduced in neo-liberal and meritocratic terms as nothing more than individual lack of confidence (Zabrodska et al. 2011). In response, universities often adopt remedial support such as study skills, time management and assertiveness training, and individual counselling. Such remedial interventions tend to decontextualize and ignore the embodied experiences of symbolic violence and marginalization produced through institutional practices. This contributes to feelings of not belonging or not fitting in, expressed as individual lack of confidence, poor time management or capability. This also manipulates desires to distance from softness, caring for others and passivity, privileging boldness, competitiveness, and individualism; attributes that form the requisite disposition for succeeding in a highly competitive, individualistic, neo-liberal framework (Francis et al. 2003). This is the case for both students and academic staff. To be active and

independent one must perform the self in particular non-emotional, care-less, and non-collaborative ways; ‘participating’ in pedagogical spaces in ways that tend to foreground rational thought and overshadow emotional, connective, and/or personal responses.

Such discursive manoeuvres work to manipulate anxieties about HE becoming ‘too soft’. Such anxieties fuel deficit discourses, in which caring practices in higher education are perceived as attached to highly inappropriate feminized, maternalistic subjectivities that contribute to the ‘dumbing down’ of higher education and that ‘waste time’ that could be invested in being ‘more productive’. This not only constructs students from working-class and black racialized backgrounds as ‘childlike’, needy, passive, and dependent—and thus out of place in higher education—but also legitimizes forms of pedagogic practice associated with ‘hard’ and ‘tough’ dispositions, as well as forms of pedagogical practice associated with elite higher education (including privileging research ‘productivity’ over teaching). The underlying implication is that the ‘feminization’ of HE poses a threat to institutional aspirations for excellence and works powerfully to implicitly denigrate those dispositions associated with femininity precisely at a moment when more women than ever before are gaining access to and participating in HE.

Confidence becomes a signifier of the ‘proper’ university student and academic yet is framed as a neutral, decontextualized, and disembodied trait that ‘non-traditional’ participants lack (Burke 2017). The wider patriarchal structures and discourses that might work on the feminized student and/or academic (whether male or female) to recast them as lacking in confidence are hidden while the individual becomes the focus of the need for remedial forms of support. Such forms of support are in turn attached to anxieties about the lowering of standards and the assumed feminization of higher education (Leathwood and Read 2009). Neo-liberal discourses that place the gaze outside of institutional practices and firmly on individuals seen as lacking confidence, resilience, and capability manipulate anxieties tied in with aspirations to be counted as excellent and legitimize misogynist discourses that associate feminized practices with lowering of standards, through for example derogatory discourses of ‘spoon feeding’ (Burke 2015).

Feminist theory has highlighted that gender is contested, socially constructed, and discursively produced, as well as constituted through

performativity—naming, doing, and becoming (Butler 1993). Butler’s work on the constitution of the subject through processes of exclusion and differentiation highlights the ways that the subject creates an illusion of autonomy, which disavows dependency on others and the need for inclusion. This works to reinforce individualist discourses embedded in neo-liberalism and to conceal the relational, embodied dynamics of gendered inequalities in higher education. These are tied to the re-citation of hegemonic, corporate discourses of prestige cultures, such as ‘excellence’.

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## CHAPTER 15

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# MACRO CHANGES AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH

*A Case Study in the Health Sector and  
Graduate Practice*

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TRACY ROBINSON, KYLIE TWYFORD, HELENA TEEDE,  
AND STEPHEN CRUMP

## INTRODUCTION

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UNIVERSITY cultures have undergone significant changes in the last twenty years and the previous chapters have highlighted how technological and commercial imperatives have radically changed the relationships between higher education, research, industry engagement, and student cohorts. Of the five key trends identified by Ernst and Young's (2012) report 'The University of the Future: A Thousand Year Old Industry on the Cusp of Profound Change' was the integration of industry as a key driver of change in higher education. Their research revealed that universities will need to build significantly deeper relationships with industry in order to differentiate teaching and learning programmes, support the funding and application of research, and reinforce the role of universities as drivers of

innovation and growth. At the same time, both healthcare and higher education are increasingly driven by technological disruption, innovation, and change—all of which are occurring in an environment of reduced public funding and increasing demand.

Traditionally, universities had a skewed distribution of research productivity with a small minority of academics accounting for most research activity (Dietz and Bozeman 2005). Since the 1980s, the literature has described the emergence of a form of ‘academic capitalism’ whereby higher education institutions are increasingly global in their activities, while students and intellectual products are commodified (Marginson and Rhoades 2002). It is, however, much more complex than this and the term ‘glonacal’ has been coined to reflect how universities must also navigate national and local imperatives in their structures and functions (Marginson and Rhoades 2002).

In the current higher education landscape, research remains a saleable commodity and universities have complex relationships that are characterized by both cooperation and competition. Neo-liberal policies continue to impact and support the idea that universities are akin to quasi markets where research driven by curiosity alone is considered by many stakeholders to be superfluous—even mocked in public forums such as on television and radio—especially if it bears no direct relation to the market economy. Another challenge is that investigator-initiated research is not always relevant to the public or frontline clinicians and there is a need for more strategic prioritized research that considers the perspectives and is enriched (or exploited) by these stakeholders.

All academic staff in Australian universities are under increasing pressure to increase their research output and the idea of a knowledge economy is fuelling transformation in the sector. The question of how to meaningfully engage with stakeholders including the public (who are the primary funders of healthcare and of research), industry, employers, and professional organizations is now an imperative for higher education. One challenge, however, is that industry, employers, and universities operate in silos and are driven by disparate and often incompatible metrics. For example, hospitals often lack research and innovation metrics and universities lack health and community impact metrics. Systems level changes are needed to align metrics for research and healthcare and

organizations or ‘platforms’ (such as Academic Health Science Centres) are needed to enable better integration and collaboration.

Although universities are now subject to market forces, higher education continues to denote status—and research universities are associated with higher status (Marginson 2011). Global rankings perpetuate this status ‘trap’ and reinforce competition in healthcare research and teaching. While universities need to increase their global collaborations and integrate education and research with industry to survive, competitive and fragmented processes remain embedded in their fabric, often driving inefficiency, an unintended policy outcome. The idea of universities as collegial and egalitarian has increasing cachet but policy drivers and disparate metrics work against this agenda. Hence, tensions persist in universities between their competing roles as agents of culture and as agents of resistance (Marginson and van der Wende 2009). The generation and consumption of new knowledge is further complicated by tensions between university autonomy and government funding.

Both higher education and healthcare services face challenges in meeting the demands of their diverse stakeholders. Both are required to become more flexible and agile and tether themselves to business-like approaches while also increasing their engagement with service users and the wider community. This chapter will consider the role of universities in building the relationships and connections that can foster human well-being and build social capital to create societies where all people can participate and have equitable access to, in our case, healthcare. It will also explore the need for a new paradigm in health research, and how industry and higher education can work together to produce work-ready graduates—through work-integrated learning and aligning metrics, systems, and platforms to build the skills and attributes required of the future health workforce.

## DISSONANCE IN METRICS AND REWARDS

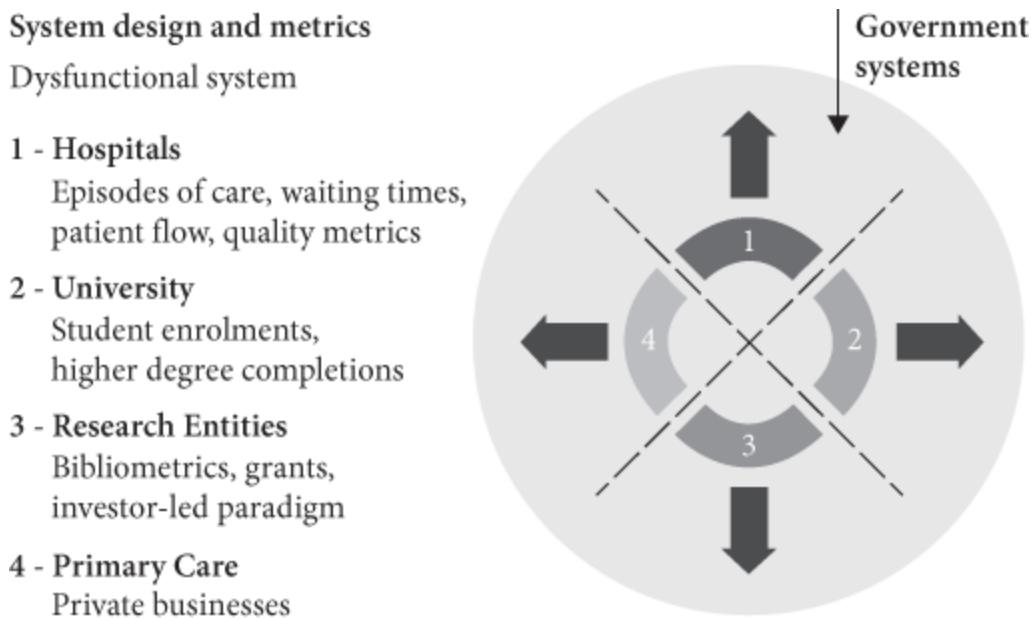
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Business theory identifies that stakeholders operating in discrete agencies need to shift their focus from an individual/organizational level to a ‘systems’ level if they are to communicate and cooperate across organizational boundaries to achieve outcomes (Denzau et al. 2016). If

organizational performance is to be improved, managers and leaders have a key role and must change the way they do things at a systems level (Denzau et al. 2016). Yet, nowhere are the push and pull tensions between organizations more apparent than in the case of healthcare research. As the funders and beneficiaries of health research, the public deserve better integration of research and healthcare that delivers real benefits through sustainability and cost-effectiveness.

Of concern is the fact that it takes up to seventeen years for new research to find its way into clinical practice (Morris et al. 2011; Westfall et al. 2007). Competition for funding and status imperatives contribute to this significant gap in the translation of new research evidence into practice—what have been called the ‘valleys of death’ in translating new discoveries into practice and policy. The concept of a unilateral research continuum from discovery to translation exacerbates these ‘gaps’ and exists in a vacuum without stakeholder engagement. This simplistic continuum is based on the assumption that new research knowledge can be ‘pushed’ into practice and policy. Instead, what are needed are more iterative and interactive approaches that can ‘pull’ strategic research towards addressing systems and implementation problems.

The seventeen-year time lag for translating new research is not entirely surprising given the ageing population, rapid advances in health technologies, and the fact that people are living longer and presenting with increasingly complex and co-morbid illnesses. Nevertheless, it is concerning that in a landscape of increasing complexity and rapid change the public do not always receive optimal healthcare—and many receive unnecessary or harmful care (Grol and Wensing 2013). Although Australia has a world-class health system, it shares many common challenges with other countries in terms of navigating issues of access and translating research for impact and benefit. Universities have a key role in (and in some ways contribute to) translation gaps in healthcare research. In many cases, the lack of integration between higher education and healthcare services compounds the significant gaps between university research and health service delivery and is exacerbated by dissonant drivers and metrics. In Australia, these diverse metrics (demonstrated in Figure 15.1) are significant barriers to sustaining our high quality health system and much work remains to ensure healthcare research is community and industry centred.



**FIGURE 15.1** A model for engaging with community and frontline clinicians to improve healthcare and strategic research

Source: ‘Better Health through Research’. Reproduced with permission from Monash Partners Academic Health Science Centre.

A similar dissonance in metrics occurs in the context of health policy. To date, government funding for universities has favoured those institutions that have a strong research performance across a broad range of fields where most staff are research active. Global university rankings reinforce that ‘research quality’ equates to direct outputs such as grants and papers in peer reviewed journals. Several key documents—the *Strategic Review of Health and Medical Research* in Australia (Commonwealth Government Department of Health and Ageing 2013), commonly known as the McKeon Review, the *Australian Medical Research and Innovation Strategy 2016–2021* (Australian Government 2016), and the Medical Research Future Fund, established in 2015, all support the vision of improved health through research but major grant schemes continue to privilege discovery and laboratory-based translational research over health services and implementation research. Funding bodies do not currently measure or reward metrics around translation and impact that would ensure return on investment of research funding. This means the dimensions of funded research focus on treatment procedures and clinical efficacy at the expense of systems of care and adaptive practice that are integral to implementation research and healthcare improvement processes.

This research and economic landscape encourages competition rather than cooperation among organizations. The kind of ‘systems thinking’ identified by some business theorists is lost in fierce competition over perceived ‘scarce resources’ and focuses only on metrics that are rewarded. The situation becomes self-perpetuating because universities that are high research performing have more prestige and, in turn, attract high calibre researchers, more funding, and exemplary students. This has been described as a ‘winner take all’ market (Marginson 2006) where the focus is on only those metrics that are rewarded. Conventional approaches to healthcare research, therefore, highlight a mismatch between academics’ perceptions of what is needed and what service users perceive as beneficial research (Ward et al. 2009). This is also true of the approaches adopted to tackle the research problem—what is referred to as the ‘know–do gap’ (Ward et al. 2009). In other words, current research approaches in healthcare seek to produce ‘elegant answers’ that focus on clear outcomes and/or cures but these general solutions fail because the reality of healthcare provision is becoming increasingly complex and ‘systems’ research is often neglected. More importantly, healthcare research lacks the perspectives of multiple stakeholders and too often produces results that are not relevant to the public or needs of the system.

For example, although life expectancy has risen for most people in the twenty-first century this has been accompanied by the increasing prevalence of mental health problems and chronic disease such as obesity and diabetes (Lindgren 2016). These chronic and multi co-morbid health challenges may be categorized as ‘wicked’ problems. Rittel and Webber (1973) proposed ‘wicked’ problems as problems that are not amenable to elegant solutions and, in fact, may not even be resolvable. Other purported examples of wicked problems include the current refugee crisis in Europe and terrorism (Manning and Reinecke 2016), and the ‘super wicked problem’ of global warming (Levin et al. 2012). Wicked problems cannot be addressed by typical siloed and simplistic approaches to research and innovation. Indeed, in our case study, they require not only collaboration between the health and research sectors but also government, the social sector, and education. Yet universities are not currently structured to enable such cross-sector collaborations.

Hence, many current health issues facing society resist satisfactory ‘best practice’ solutions, and, as such, there is a pressing need for universities to

have an active role in engaging with service users, the community, and frontline clinicians to ensure that healthcare research is relevant and has impact. Only then can they support the relationships and connections between people and the skills and attributes possessed by individuals that give value and foster health and well-being. The answers and solutions produced by conventional approaches to healthcare research are increasingly ‘out of sync’ with the care complexities and the drive for evidence-based care struggles to fit in with the competing imperatives, the uncertainties, and the pressures of moment-to-moment care.

## **SEARCHING FOR ELEGANT ANSWERS IN WICKED TIMES**

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In the absence of this alignment between higher education and health systems, it is clear our system faces major challenges (Commonwealth Government Department of Health and Ageing [2013](#)). This has significant implications in a century where we must face enormous environmental and health challenges to ensure the future survival of humans. One perceived solution to the research translation gap in healthcare has been the establishment of Academic Health Science Centres (AHSCs) across the globe. Although they differ in structure and models, these centres have been established to deliver integrated healthcare, education, and research (Ferlie et al. [2017](#)). In the United Kingdom (UK), the National Health Service has had a decade of learning about how AHSCs, networks and entities such as Collaborations for Leadership in Applied Health Research (CLAHRCs) community leadership entities for applied research and translation (CLARCHs) can provide system-level platforms to integrate research and healthcare and to drive innovation and improvement at pace and scale (Harvey et al. [2011](#)). The AHSC model has flourished in the United Kingdom, North America, Canada, France, and the Netherlands. They have been defined as collaborations between universities, hospitals, health services, and health entities that provide education and workforce development (Daly et al. [2011](#)). They also enable stakeholder engagement across sectors and with government.

In Australia, our equivalent of AHSCs are the seven Advanced Health and Research Translation Centres (AHRTCs) and two Centres for Innovation in Regional Health (CIRHs) that have recently been accredited by the National Health and Medical Research Council—the peak body for health research. All Centres have now combined in a world first initiative to form the Australian Health Research Alliance (AHRA). Because in Australia they are largely led by health services, AHRTCs and CIRHs have the potential to drive research translation, education, and patient care. Given that most healthcare research has failed to address wicked problems or to produce impact, new approaches are needed. It is vital to address strategic, prioritized, and impactful research to generate knowledge about complex problems and support practice and organizational change that delivers health benefits.

AHRTCs in Australia currently lack a model and system-level drivers that enable the integration of research, healthcare, and education. They also have variable structures, limited funding, and unclear success metrics. Universities have a unique opportunity to actively engage with the AHRTCs and provide platforms and networks where research can be informed by stakeholders (community and frontline clinicians) and translated to navigate the wicked problems with which health services currently grapple. Innovation and the capacity to lead change are essential skills but universities must also mobilize knowledge in new ways to ensure that their graduates can lead healthcare improvement. This includes drawing on learning from other sectors, such as business, education, and information technology (IT) that can promote lean and agile organizational systems. Hence, there is now an increasing interest in how to mobilize new knowledge and lead innovation in healthcare research.

## **AN ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM**

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Healthcare organizations have vast stockpiles of knowledge (both formal and informal) distributed across a variety of ‘reservoirs’ including databases, reports, routines, and, most importantly, in the minds of leaders and staff (Evans et al. 2017). But this knowledge comes in many forms and often resists easy capture and sharing. The need to diffuse healthcare

innovations at pace and scale requires particular capabilities around mobilizing knowledge. However, many previous redesign and improvement methods have failed to have effects beyond localized projects and implementation (Green et al. 2009; Greenhalgh et al. 2004; Massoud et al. 2006; Milat et al. 2015). An alternative model is based on the idea of building ‘platforms’ that can act as mechanisms for change via networks rather than hierarchies in a lateral process of knowledge mobilization. These ‘platforms’ (such as workforce development) can underpin networks by bringing leaders and frontline clinicians together to identify the capabilities and skills needed to develop and disseminate innovations at scale and pace.

The specific capabilities needed for knowledge mobilization are largely absent from university undergraduate degrees or current health workforce development programmes. They include:

- Process and system thinking
- Evidence management skills
- Appreciative enquiry
- Stakeholder engagement
- Co-design
- Diffusion of innovation
- Data/managing information systems (Kislov et al. 2014).

These research capabilities and workforce skills have significant implications for higher education and point to the need for interdisciplinary research that moves beyond randomized controlled trials (RCTs) in artificial settings and narrow populations into real world frontline healthcare. Frameworks are needed to engage stakeholders in prioritizing research and to bring vital real world perspectives that traditional healthcare research cannot provide. This highlights the need for more iterative and collaborative approaches to healthcare research. In other words, healthcare improvement can no longer be considered a matter of unilaterally ‘pushing evidence down’ into practice. On the contrary, healthcare improvement needs to harness the energy and insights of service users and frontline teams and draw on global and local evidence, as and when needed.

Implementing specific changes to practice that can lead to tangible benefits in patient care is at the heart of the increased attention to dissemination and implementation (D&I) research in health (Brownson et al. 2012). Implementation research is defined by the National Institute of Health (NIH) programme announcement on D&I research as:

the scientific study of methods to promote the integration of research findings and evidence-based interventions into healthcare policy and practice. It seeks to understand the behavior of healthcare professionals and support staff, healthcare organizations, healthcare consumers and family members, and policymakers in context as key variables in the sustainable adoption, implementation and uptake of evidence-based interventions. (National Institute of Health n.d.)

While implementation research can be on a continuum in terms of focus, at its peak implementation is the primary focus of research questions, context (real world setting and population), strategies, and variables. Research methodologies can include mixed methods and quasi-experimental studies to determine changes in delivery or acceptability of a programme, or observational studies on adaptation (Peters et al. 2013).

This kind of research requires a multiplication of stakeholder groups. These include: carers, health service managers, health department staff, health economists, commercial and publicly funded health research bodies, professional bodies, the media, and health insurers. There are also increasingly dispersed and more assertive stakeholders, including people from non-government and disease-specific advocacy. These groups mobilize not just conventional but increasingly digital (social) media to promote their interests and convictions. The vision for this change in research approach is that innovation and improvement should be part of everyone's job in healthcare which was acknowledged almost two decades ago (Heath and Milne 2002) but it requires embedding innovation in every level of an organization which has proven elusive in healthcare.

This vision (and the challenge for universities) is to provide a skilled and collaboration enabled workforce embedded within healthcare, able to overcome powerful inter-professional boundaries to generate and mobilize new knowledge that is relevant and of value to stakeholders. This kind of workforce differs from the conventional research trained workforce and requires a focus on so-called 'soft skills' including stakeholder engagement, collaboration and co-design, knowledge mobilization, implementation, distributive leadership, and people skills. These vital skills are not yet core

knowledge domains in higher education or healthcare systems and we currently lack the evidence on how best to develop and support these capabilities in the workforce. It is imperative that the higher education sector rises to this challenge if it is to contribute to and benefit healthcare research and education.

## FUTURE PROOFING THE NEW PARADIGM

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Preparing the future health workforce to be well equipped or well suited for their future roles is now a critical concern for policy makers, health services, industry, and universities. Essential ‘soft’ or professional skills, including interdisciplinary skills, required of the workforce are not restricted to the health sector or research. Across the board, government and industry are demanding the need for graduates—the workforce of the fourth industrial revolution—to have obtained these non-technical specific skills and attributes upon graduation.

Students themselves are calling for these skills (Kinash and Crane 2015) as they recognize the need to obtain employability skills in a competitive and, as Drysdale and Bowen (2017) describe, a precarious labour market that is filled with ambiguity and uncertainty. These drivers of change in the higher education sector of increased student expectations and the need to produce work-ready graduates through collaboration with industry (Ernst and Young 2012) are impacting on curricula, co-curricular, and extra-curricular offerings of higher education institutions.

In particular, communication skills, teamwork, empathy, and providing and receiving feedback are important characteristics that allow individuals to effectively collaborate with colleagues and interact with service users and their families. Factors such as failures in teamwork and communication have been clearly identified as significant contributors to patient harm and preventable medical errors (Hughes et al. 2016). Indeed, we know that team training, for example, can significantly build human capital in healthcare and higher education systems, however, organisations around the globe are grappling with the most effective methods for building meaningful cross-discipline and cross-faculty collaborations.

Work-integrated learning (WIL) and research-integrated learning (RIL) are increasingly seen as important innovations in teaching and learning approaches but not all students have the opportunity to participate in workplace learning. In addition, not all workplaces are able to balance and provide both the technical and digital capabilities that students need with attributes that allow them to collaborate across sectors, inspire and lead change, and manage complexity. This highlights the important role that higher education has in bridging the divide between technical and human or ‘soft’ skills.

WIL offerings differ in their format (virtual, simulations, internships, project-based learning and practicums), location of activity, degree of external engagement, the level of involvement from host and academic supervisors, length and intensity of the activity, to name a few pertinent factors, but they all aim to allow students to gain practical experience while pursuing their university studies (Drysdale and Bowen 2017; Rowe et al. 2012). WIL is attractive to both industry and universities and has been associated with more favourable employment and academic outcomes (Drysdale et al. 2016). To date, however, there has been scant research on how WIL impacts on student development or how it can bolster the human skills needed to traverse the disruptions and changes impacting on health services.

Zegwaard et al. (2017: 145) characterized the profession-ready graduate as having ‘the ability to demonstrate capacities in critical thinking and reflection, and to have an ability to navigate the ethical challenges and shape the organizational culture of the future workplace’. A recent study identified that students who did not participate in WIL programmes rated their critical thinking skills as higher and their anxiety as lower compared with their counterparts who did undertake WIL (Drysdale et al. 2016). While these findings are limited by the fact that they rely on self-report, they do highlight that little is known about how WIL approaches impact on the psychological or human attributes of students. As Redding notes in Chapter 2, although critical thinking has returned to prominence in relation to graduate work-readiness discussions within practical ‘training’ it is not a widely embedded central component of educational courses despite its prevalence in the university lexicon.

Universities and health services are largely publicly funded and should ultimately work to the benefit of communities. In healthcare research and

education, this responsibility is multi-dimensional. We need to facilitate health research that addresses the strategic needs of community and prioritizes and engages with stakeholders including frontline clinicians and the community. We also need to generate outcomes and solutions that deliver community impact rather than enhancing individual careers. It is evident that the human skills needed for this endeavour are not addressed in any depth in current university or workforce development programmes. The challenge for higher education is how to implement new metrics that reflect these capabilities and how to integrate research and education with health services. There is an urgent need to develop structures and processes that allow ‘problems’ and ‘gaps’ to be defined from multiple stakeholder perspectives throughout the research and education systems. We also need to improve and shape metrics that will allow universities to build and research workplace capabilities rather than being beholden to metrics of grants and publications.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

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This chapter has considered the role of universities in building the relationships and connections needed to foster healthcare improvement and to create research cultures that have direct benefit and impact on the public as an example of the current state of change and the challenges of managing universities to serve societal progress. More than ever before there is pressure on higher education around the world to collaborate with industry to produce work-ready graduates with the skills and attributes needed to facilitate and lead the change required to build social and human capital.

A series of demographic shifts have had marked consequences for health service design and delivery. These manifest in the growing number of older patients, increasing co- and multi-morbidity accompanying rising levels of chronic illness and increasingly confounding ethical, moral, and clinical challenges inherent in emerging forms of neonatal and end-of-life care. All of this goes hand in hand with the rapidly diversifying socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds and associated expectations of patients and healthcare consumers generally.

This has occurred against a backdrop of levelling or shrinking resource investments, relentless staff (and patient) churn (i.e. people's intra- and inter-institutional and geographic movements), the spread of new technologies and more rapid turnover of these technologies (new software for example). Alongside this there has been an intensification of bureaucratic, surveillance, and regulatory compliance pressures in most health systems.

With multiple change drivers impacting on the health sector and higher education, new research approaches are needed that besides generating knowledge about the problem will impact on it in productive and tangible ways. *The conceptual framework for this handbook was based on the premise that the heaviest responsibility of higher education is to keep knowledge appropriate via research, because the schemas of learning that come from research help people achieve, understand, and adapt to their world.*

Implementation research enacted through working collaboratively with the vast array of stakeholders provides universities and students with the opportunity to collaborate on complex—even wicked—problems and provide customized solutions to the environment which may help our species thrive in an evolutionary sense in these uncertain times. This will require new metrics for measuring research in healthcare and a shift from prioritizing experimental and discovery research to complex health systems and implementation research that is not always amenable to randomization and controlled scientific approaches. Furthermore, the human or ‘soft’ skills needed to lead and scale up new evidence in health are not really addressed in current university or workforce development approaches. Hence, there is a unique opportunity for higher education systems to lead the way in developing in graduates, and in cooperation with industry, the capabilities needed for the future health workforce.

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## CHAPTER 16

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# CANADA IN A GLOBAL SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

*The Role of Community Engagement*

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BRENT EPPERSON, BRITTA BARON, AND CARL G.  
AMRHEIN

## INTRODUCTION: A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE ON UNIVERSITY–COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

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THE claim to community service—promoting the health, prosperity, and happiness of populations near and far—has become the overriding paradigm to frame university representations of their place in the world. For instance, in the Canadian context, the University of Alberta’s strategy of June 2016 titled ‘For the Public Good’ is one of many similarly framed documents. Research-intensive universities tend to use language that focuses on global challenges, emphasizing the ways in which their contributions help to address some of the most serious issues that confront humanity. For their part, less research-intensive institutions often direct their perspectives to their more immediate local environments. They express aspirations to improve the quality of life, economic vitality, and health of their surrounding regions. However, in part as a response to competition from less research-intensive institutions, in order to secure

public recognition and trust, research universities have also embraced the need to connect with their regional environments, build bridges to community groups, and convince political leaders of the importance of their contributions.

In the last five to ten years, we have seen universities' statements of purpose, mission, and vision shift from themes such as *academic excellence*, *global academic leadership*, and *world's best in this or that field*, to new terminology that emphasizes broader societal goals. In an echo of changing times and the newly defined self-image of universities, John Aubrey Douglass and contributors' much discussed edited volume *The New Flagship University: Changing the Paradigm from Global Ranking to National Relevancy*, advances arguments in favour of more securely rooting universities in their regional communities (Douglass 2016). Taking inspiration from university leaders who sensed the need to develop new language to replace the strongly globalist and (arguably) elitist self-images of the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, the book's emphasis on community belonging and external stakeholder engagement stems from the idea that universities have an indispensable place in society and thus can legitimize the financial support and political protection from their surrounding communities in a renewed relationship of shared interest (Douglass 2016).

This vision of community engagement and interdependence contrasts with the traditional vision of *university autonomy*, as William von Humboldt developed it in the middle to late nineteenth century. Von Humboldt's vision emphasized freedom from any external regulation and independence from the interference of political or societal elites as necessary prerequisites to safeguard research and scholarship. A century and a half later, the university sector having undergone an expansion to a size and relevance in society that exceeds its nineteenth-century status, although universities will not necessarily admit that such a vision has ended, they will concede that there is now a much stronger focus on economic benefit, political relevance, and social utility in determining the purpose of universities. While this change in university–community engagement is occurring on a global scale, it is not moving at the same pace in every country.

Canada makes for an interesting case in this regard. Canada's structures and cultures in higher education have roots mostly in the United States, the

United Kingdom, and France (in the case of Quebec). In many features of the Canadian higher education landscape, we see a predominance of one or more of these templates, and sometimes interesting forms of blended models. Over time Canada has, however, developed its very own institutional environment. In many ways, Canada can be seen as a prime example for strong, sustainable, and mutually beneficial relationships between universities and their surrounding communities. Ivory tower self-visions are especially foreign to the universities based in the vast Canadian prairie landscape, from Alberta in the West to Manitoba in Central Canada. The community-oriented origins of prairie universities are also mirrored in many of the large institutions in Ontario, Quebec, and the Eastern Provinces, as well as in the institutions in British Columbia.

The research-intensive universities in the Canadian prairies can very much be described as a Canadian variation of the American *land-grant university* model. Some of them, such as the University of Alberta, trace their origins to a similar period that gave rise to the US vision of combined practical utility and academic rigour. As such, Canadian universities have historically seen themselves as responsible for fostering the development of their communities—enhancing the productivity of the agricultural sector, developing effective primary and secondary education systems, and supporting technological advancements (especially in natural resource development). Interacting with stakeholders on farms, in churches, in schools, and, of course, in government, was an integral part of the ways in which universities perceived their role in society and their relevance to the people of their regions. Beyond geography and similarities with the American land-grant tradition, the tendency to emphasize engagement with community stakeholders has constitutional origins in Canada.

Canada is unusual among wealthy OECD countries in that the federal constitution designates education as a provincial responsibility. In practice, this means that the federal constitutional framework attributes strong ownership of the authority over all levels of education to the provinces, and is more committed to a decentralized approach to higher education than any other OECD member state. Any policy area that mainly falls within a provincial and territorial sphere of influence is one in which the importance of community engagement is magnified. The governments that have the most influence on Canadian universities are not far off (as they are in many countries) in a distant national capital. The decision makers with power

over operational funding, programme approvals, and other key matters are, in fact, our neighbours, who often have personal or familial ties to their provincial universities. At a time when there is increasing distrust of academic expertise and the institutions associated with it in North America (Nichols 2017), bonds that reassure citizens of local institutional contributions and the integral place of universities in their communities have never been more important. Admittedly, some recent polls have shown that Canadians remain more confident in experts than Americans (Abma 2017). Studies have also shown that over three-quarters of Canadians hold positive views of their universities (Anderson 2017). Nonetheless, rising right- and left-wing populisms that engender suspicion of intellectuals and expertise are contemporary forces that universities have to take into account.

As two senior administrators and a university ombudsman and former student advocate, the authors of this chapter are rooted in the Canadian institutional environment. Yet, the three of us have, by virtue of our own backgrounds, first-hand experience and understanding of other national postsecondary education contexts and institutions. Thus, while keeping in mind the global higher education system to situate our analysis, we offer a unique comparative and multi-scalar perspective on the distinctive nature of university–community engagement in Canada. Prior to exploring the particular features of university–stakeholder engagement in the Canadian case, the following section examines the meaning of *community* and offers a conceptual framework for understanding stakeholder engagement.

## **DEFINING COMMUNITY AND UNDERSTANDING UNIVERSITY STAKEHOLDERS**

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The capacity of Canadian universities to compete in the global higher education system depends on maintaining a solid base of community support. McMillan and Chavis (1986) describe *community* as a people's sense of trust and feeling at home. It is a 'feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that their needs will be met through their commitment to be together' (McMillan and Chavis 1986: 9). For Hannah Arendt, the

community or public sphere is a politically constructed space, one that brings individuals together based on shared values and interests in a commitment to some idea of the common good. In this interpretation, the community is thus an artificial and impermanent space in which people voluntarily agree to live together, albeit with rules and institutions that keep them adequately apart for comfort (Arendt 1958; Kemmis 1990: 5–6, 17, 46, 78). Building from Arendt’s conceptualization of community as a public space and sphere of interaction, Daniel Kemmis argues that community cannot be abstracted from land and the special relationship people have to places. Writing on the American West, Kemmis argues that the relationship to place—the mountains, plains, rivers, and other tangible features that define an environment—is uniquely important to distinguishing communities. Kemmis holds that the particularities of life in the West helped to create a tolerant, cooperative, *barn-raising* culture of volunteerism, one in which people relied on each another for survival and prosperity (Kemmis 1990: 7, 36, 71–2). The analogy of *barn-raising* culture, and the special importance of people’s relationship to place, has been similarly applied to descriptions of communities in Alberta and the Canadian plains (Townshend et al. 2010).

University campuses can be understood as communities within communities, marked by a sense of belonging, serving as politically constructed spaces of gathering between people with shared values in the context of agreed-upon rules, and situated in physical places to which people have profound personal attachment. Within campus communities and the broader regional communities in which universities are located, a variety of stakeholders make demands on institutional resources. In his celebrated book on strategic planning in the public sector, John Bryson (2004: 35) defines stakeholders as ‘any person, group, or organization that can place a claim on an organization’s (or other entity’s) attention, resources, or output or that is affected by that output’. By that definition, virtually all people who live in the region of a university, and even those who benefit from an institution’s education and research abroad, are arguably stakeholders. For the purposes of this chapter, we focus on community engagement with six categories of key stakeholders—students and parents, governments, business, the media, community interest groups, and the associations and unions that represent the primary campus constituency groups (students, faculty, staff, and alumni).

# THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY-STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT: LEARNING FROM THE CANADIAN CASE

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The concept of community—as a sense of belonging (McMillan and Chavis 1986: 9), a space of coming together (Arendt 1958; Kemmis 1990: 5–6, 17, 46, 78), and a place of profound attachment (Kemmis 1990: 7, 36, 71–2)—seems in some ways far removed from the reality of modern universities. Stefan Collini (2012) argues that contemporary global universities have an unprecedented challenge in communicating their purpose to the public. The higher education sector, he argues, is bogged down by audit culture, competition for research funding, and a veritable obsession with ranking and measurement that disconnects institutions from the ‘classical ideals of the contemplative life’ with which most people have historically associated higher education (Collini 2012: 18–19).

In the distracting and disengaging environment that Collini (2012) describes, university leaders often struggle to build stronger communities on their campuses, and to solidify the place of their institutions within the broader communities they serve. De Sousa Santos (2010) argues that when institutions face government or societal pressure to comply with market-driven reforms that arguably distance them from their historical missions, instead of effective community engagement, the response is often to invoke principles of institutional independence and academic freedom, or to fall in line without debate, either erecting barriers to discussion or surrendering to the fickle whims of government and business. Neither digging in nor lying down is an appropriate posture for our time. Instead, Canadian universities aim to more effectively tailor their community engagement strategies to compete in the global higher education system.

In practical terms, this means that community engagement seeks to situate universities as part of the public consciousness, constructing the image of embedded and trustworthy institutions, which have as their primary missions the education and betterment of their regions. It also means ensuring that campuses remain a welcoming physical space for all members of the broader public to come together and interact in social, intellectual, athletic, and artistic events. This designation of campuses as

local gathering spaces instils positive memories and emotions among community members, breaking down the stereotype of the aloof ivory tower. Finally (and this is perhaps especially important in the Canadian West), universities aim to embed themselves in the minds of the public as institutions that are deeply rooted in their communities as places— inseparably connected to regional history, culture, and tradition. In Canada, the public support a university needs to go *out* and compete globally depends on public confidence that it is *in* as a cohesive and devoted part of the community. Maintaining this kind of community support demands a clear understanding of key university stakeholders with regard to their power and interest.

Returning to Bryson (2004), effective stakeholder analysis for public institutions begins with a *power versus interest grid*, which enables the categorization of stakeholders according to their ability to make demands or otherwise impact institutional assets, productivity, or attention, and the degree to which stakeholders are impacted by institutional assets, productivity, or attention (Bryson 2004: 112). This leads to four broad categories for an organization's central stakeholders: (1) the *players* (stakeholders with high levels of power and interest), (2) the *context setters* (those with high power and low interest), (3) the *subjects* (stakeholders with high interest and low power), and (4) the *crowd* (those with low interest and low power). Working within Bryson's stakeholder analysis framework, it is important to remember that the categories are not static. Shifts in political-economic circumstances, or even news stories that create media waves, can change the level of power or interest for any stakeholder (Bryson 2004: 107–13, 335–54).

In an analysis that is compatible with Bryson's (2004) broader public sector framework, Jongbloed et al. (2008) look specifically at university stakeholders and argue that the credibility of the higher education sector depends directly on the ‘nature, quality, and evolving ties’ of its stakeholder relationships (Jongbloed et al. 2008: 307). They identify three differentiating qualities among university stakeholders: *power*, *legitimacy*, and *urgency* (Jongbloed et al. 2008: 310–11). Among the most *definitive* external stakeholders, they categorize government and business as key players with whom interactions are becoming more complex. For instance, whereas in the past university interactions with government were largely limited to ministries of higher education, now multiple ministries may

interact with different central university departments and decentralized faculties. This makes government relations more complex and difficult to coordinate, but it also creates new opportunities (Jongbloed et al. 2008: 311–12).

Our six key university stakeholder groups—students and parents, governments, business, the media, community interest groups, and the associations and unions representing campus constituency groups (students, faculty, staff, and alumni)—mirror the picture of complexity that Jongbloed et al. (2008) portray. They fit well into Bryson’s (2004) four stakeholder categories (*players*, *context setters*, *subjects*, and the *crowd*) and demonstrate the capacity to move between categories. Students and parents are context setters in the sense that, when engaged en masse, they have the power to alter institutional direction, yet their level of interest as a cohesive group is not consistently high enough to always be potential change-makers. For their part, Canadian provincial governments are players. They have entrenched power over university operating budgets (and still provide higher levels of public funding than governments in competitor countries), programme approvals, and other key areas of university policy. Their interest is constitutionally enshrined, and their focus returns every year in the provincial budget cycle. Federal and municipal governments, in contrast, are context-setters. They do not enjoy direct and consistent power on par with provincial governments; however, when their interest is focused, their policies and positions can have important impacts on universities. The Canadian business sector is also a context-setter, since its interest in higher education is inconstant and it is not always a uniform and cohesive group. However, when the corporate sector is interested and engaged, it has the power to influence the direction of universities through the power of the purse and through government advocacy.

For universities, the media is perhaps the most difficult stakeholder to categorize. Its place as a stakeholder shifts according to the news cycle. In quiet periods, the media may merely be a crowd stakeholder, largely uninterested in everyday university governance and lacking concrete power over institutional decisions. Yet, the media is also a sleeping giant that universities can never take for granted. During the provincial budget cycle and in times of crisis or scandal, the media can quickly transition into a context setter or even a player stakeholder, one with the power to sway public and government opinion through its coverage.

Community interest groups can be crowd stakeholders with little direct interest in or power over university governance. They can also be subject stakeholders who take great interest in higher education institutions for professional or political reasons, yet still have limited power over outcomes in university governance. Or, in special circumstances that usually relate to the budget or news cycle, a community interest group may become a context setter. Finally, the associations and unions representing campus constituency groups (students, faculty, staff, and alumni) are usually subject stakeholders who take great interest in university operations and policies, while they have limited direct power over outcomes. However, during the budget cycle when these groups have the opportunity to lobby provincial governments, and during periods when media coverage of a particular institutional controversy is high, if these stakeholders are strategic and well-organized, they can become context setters and help to influence reform or budget outcomes.

In this complex stakeholder environment, change is the only constant. Effective community engagement requires universities to maintain consistent contact and to build rapport with the key stakeholder groups. According to Jongbloed et al. (2008), when universities prioritize stakeholder engagement, the commitment and efforts must be carefully coordinated with the research and teaching objectives of the institution. It cannot be treated as an independent or secondary mission. Beyond outreach and scheduled communications, effective stakeholder engagement demands ongoing dialogue to know whether programmes and services are meeting the needs of stakeholders. It requires universities to approach these relationships with humility and a sense of equal partnership that enables them to identify areas that need improvement and make strategic changes (Jongbloed et al. 2008). It also requires universities to remain sensitive to the budget and news cycles to help predict fluctuations in stakeholder interest and influence. It is a game of strategy and anticipation in which leaders cannot forget the goal of protecting their university's reputation within both the campus and broader communities as spaces of belonging and gathering, and as places to which many people maintain strong personal attachment.

# **KEY MECHANISMS OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IN CANADA: THE CONCEPT OF *EXTENSION FACULTIES* AND FOSTERING RELATIONSHIPS WITH INDIGENOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITY COMMUNITIES**

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In his first convocation address as President of the University of Alberta, Henry Marshall Tory declared in 1908 that: ‘the modern state university has sprung from a demand on the part of the people themselves ... The people demand that the knowledge shall not alone be the concern of scholars. The uplifting of the whole people shall be its final goal’ (University of Alberta 2018). Though Tory uttered those words more than 100 years ago, the goal remains unchanged. However, providing access to postsecondary education for ‘the whole people’ has been particularly challenging in Canada, which has a very large area with a majority of its population living in urban centres near the US border. For example, in 2016, 82 per cent of Canada’s population lived in urban areas, versus 90 per cent in Australia, 57 per cent in China, 83 per cent in the United Kingdom, and 82 per cent in the United States (World Bank 2016). The 2016 population density (people per square kilometre) of these same countries was: Canada 4, Australia 3, China 147, United Kingdom 35, United States 35 (World Bank 2016). However, if we define the ratio of rural population to a square kilometre of arable land, we see the following: Canada 14, Australia 5, China 766, United Kingdom 108, United States 33 (NationMaster 2018).

Canada, like Australia, is very large, and has a highly concentrated urban population, with a large amount of empty space. Unlike Australia, Canada has an exceptionally wide band of cities almost all within a few hundred kilometres of the northern US border. The challenge then, to relatively young provinces with a very low population density outside of cities, was how to provide some level of access to postsecondary education to a population largely tied to farms and forests. The answer was created out of an elaboration of the *extension service* that was first developed in the United States in which the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 established the partnership between the US Department of Agriculture and the Land Grant

Universities, funded by the Morrill Land-Grant Acts of 1862 (National Archives Association 2018). Over time in Canada, the concept of *extension* expanded from servicing rural areas with advice on farming and animal husbandry, home economics, and business. Later services included mobile libraries in trucks, degree programmes through mail servicing and lectures offered by radio stations, and increasingly sophisticated advice on land conservation techniques, insect identification, and soil chemistry.

Following the Second World War, continuing studies/extension services expanded to include the development of degree opportunities. For example, in 1950, during a period of intense industrialization in Alberta following the discovery of oil, the University of Alberta offered its first *mud school*, a partnership between the university's Department of Extension, its Department of Chemical and Petroleum Engineering, and several associations within the oil industry. These non-credit courses that people often initially took for professional development eventually led to increased interest in degree programmes within the diverse regions of Alberta and the Canadian northern territories in which the extension programmes operated. The success of these mud schools led to an increase in the development of courses and programmes offered in various centres across Alberta and in Canada's northern territories. By 1980, schools of continuing studies were serving rural and urban populations with a range of learning opportunities (University of Alberta 2012).

However, with the arrival of widely available Internet access, the attractiveness of traditional extension services has diminished and the proportion of services provided to rural areas has fallen. At the same time, the attractiveness of *blended learning* experiences, in which part of the work is online and part in traditional classroom-like settings, has increased. While some schools in Canada (such as the University of British Columbia in 2017) have eliminated continuing studies altogether or reorganized the functions of these departments into other units (Penner 2017), other institutions such as the University of Toronto and the University of Alberta, have refocused to serve urban populations. The need remains for the delivery of specialized education services to these mostly rural, immobile populations that are tied to locations by economic activity (mostly resource extraction industries). This is certainly the case in the Canadian North. As a result, while faculties and departments of extension have been challenged to justify their existence, other professional faculties such as Business,

Nursing, and Library and Information Sciences have developed sophisticated online course offerings that permit individuals in remote communities to pursue advanced credentials without relocating. In Canada, Athabasca University is perhaps the best example of the extensive range of distance degree programmes available throughout the country.

Beyond extension departments and faculties that continue to evolve in the ways they serve universities and their regions, Indigenous communities and linguistic minorities are particularly important to external stakeholder relations. Canadian universities have developed a strong sense of responsibility to contribute to creating *Truth and Reconciliation* with Indigenous communities. Universities now seek to infuse Indigenous thinking and traditions into many aspects of the physical appearance of campuses, academic programming, research agendas, and governance structures. They further aim to ensure a more fulfilling, prosperous, and healthy future for young members of Indigenous communities (Azizi 2018; Bortolin 2018). These efforts are both a process of acknowledging historical wrongs, and an organized attempt on the part of universities to contribute to building stronger, more understanding relationships between Indigenous and settler communities. Haig-Brown (2018: 320–1) describes the effort in these terms:

Through revealing the truths of the impacts of colonization, some form of reconciliation between and among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples living within these lands may become possible. Canadians across the country are recognizing the importance of such a goal as they become more aware of what has been well hidden, and strategically forgotten, in school and university curricula for decades. Indigenous peoples are insisting that their continuous presence in their traditional Lands, within the cities and throughout the country of Canada, can no longer be denied or dismissed. Many Indigenous people, along with their supporters, are also insisting that the truth of this country's Land theft, treaty violations, and blatantly racist laws, be part of the formal education of all Canadians. The accrued benefits to some, which have led to hardship and poverty for so many Indigenous peoples living on remnants of their traditional Lands, must be recognized and redressed. Only then is there any possibility of reconciling our relationships with one another and with this Land.

Similarly, institutions of higher education have an important role to play in preserving the language and culture of official language minority communities (French speakers outside of Quebec and English speakers within Quebec) and promoting understanding between the two predominant linguistic groups. For instance, Edmonton, Alberta has over 30,000 native francophones and over 80,000 fully bilingual residents in a community that

continues to grow (Wong 2016). The University of Alberta's Campus Saint-Jean (Canada's western-most francophone faculty offering undergraduate and graduate degrees) serves as a cultural hub and a centre for francophone and *FLE* (French as a second language) students to come together. The complex and rich nature of relationships between Canadian universities and both their linguistic minorities and Indigenous communities could provide excellent case studies to analyse opportunities and challenges of the management of external stakeholder relations in higher education.

## CHALLENGES AND THREATS IN UNIVERSITY–COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

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The Canadian system is facing very specific limitations and problems, which have always been present as barriers to navigate. Canadian universities are, for the most part, publicly owned institutions and education is a provincial responsibility. Thus, provincial governments control postsecondary tuition levels, grant funding, and access to capital for buildings. This dependency has limited revenue sources, especially during economic downturns, while universities' expenses have continued to rise. Other challenges are a product of the current economic environment. Society's attitude towards the value of university credentials tends to follow employment outcomes and market demands. Questions on the value of bachelor degrees and graduate degrees at a time when training in trades may be more cost-efficient and lucrative are on the minds of many young people, their parents, and other Canadians. The global higher education environment further affects the persistent challenge of maintaining the public system in Canada's unique constitutional context. As a result of provincial government controls on domestic tuition rates, Canadian universities have become dependent on increasing numbers of international students, who pay higher tuition fees. In light of challenges that are inherent to the constitutional framework, and other challenges that are dependent on the economic trends of the day or the movement of international students in the global higher education environment, Canadian universities must be cognizant of the risks and rewards of community engagement.

The closely knit identity of academic institutions as collegially organized with their own sets of ethical and professional codes of behaviour, their own systems of defining quality in exercising scholarly activities, and their particular approaches to controlling access to membership in their communities, has thus far enabled Canadian academic institutions to protect their place in society and to safeguard their institutional viability. Engaging with external stakeholders and outreach to a broad variety of communities may jeopardize some of the very resilience that universities as institutions have shown. Respect for the university brand in general, and for individual institutional brands, is connected to a special aura of academia as *remote*, *elusive*, and hard to access. As *familiarity breeds contempt*, a blurring of the differential qualities of universities in ever-closer interaction with other societal partners may in fact not help with building trust. It may even have the exact opposite effect.

Universities' willingness and ability to build trust through greater accountability and transparency may lead governments to feel more comfortable in imposing regulatory limitations, adding to bureaucratic burdens and interfering with decision-making that has so far been entirely in university hands. From a managerial perspective in a given university, it is not obvious how to assess options for relationship building and joint project work with outside partners for their potential value to the university. There are virtually endless opportunities to build partnerships—all of which are connected to opportunities and costs. Once entering the complicated social fabric of a city or region, universities can easily be drawn into external conflicts and be pushed into alliances that evolve beyond their control. In their attempts to connect to community groups and causes, universities may come to be seen as partisan and politically biased.

Since outreach and community engagement almost always entails opportunities and risks, universities must understand how to evaluate cost and benefits and how to prioritize some relationships over others. If community engagement is to become a credible and sustainable commitment, universities must make sure that such engagements will become pervasive in the entire academic community, in teaching and research. There is a risk of delegating *outreach* to some administrative experts in relevant positions in central administration, who may not adequately blend engagement efforts with teaching and research missions. There is also no straightforward path for a university to define its own

territory of outreach communities when other postsecondary institutions will, in all likelihood, be located in the same city/region. There is potential for jeopardizing relations with such academic peers when reaching out to particularly *attractive* community partners. Issues can also arise with frequent changes in the personnel who are in charge of decision-making in key partner institutions.

## CONCLUSION

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In a globalized environment, it is not obvious where to identify partners and stakeholders. Whilst originally the concept of outreach was mostly related to the more or less immediate urban or rural environment, such a limited point of view might well lead to an air of provincialism in an increasingly globalized world. In our contribution to this volume, drawing on the Canadian case, we reject the claim that community engagement competes with an aspiration to be globally relevant, visible and connected. Instead, we argue that the Canadian example demonstrates that the apparent conflict and competition between community engagement and global aspiration can be overcome through effective engagement strategies—knowing an institution’s stakeholders, maintaining consistent communication in equal partnerships, and aligning university internationalization with the international ambitions and strategies of the municipal, provincial, and national/federal government. In seeking this alignment and in building international partnerships, universities must closely coordinate with regional community partners.

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## CHAPTER 17

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# DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING TRANSNATIONAL RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS

*A Case Study of Australian Universities*

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FAZAL RIZVI AND RANJIT GAJENDRA NADARAJAH

## INTRODUCTION

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THERE is nothing new about transnational collaborations in higher education. From their very beginning, academies of higher learning have welcomed scholars from around the world to exchange information and collaborate in the production of new knowledge. European scholars travelled long distances, for example, to study at the ancient centres of advanced learning in India, China, and the Middle East (Guruz 2008), exchanging ideas about art, architecture, and religion, as well as the sciences and mathematics. European universities, in turn, attracted scholars from Asia and Africa, well before these regions were colonized. After independence, scholars from the developing countries were offered scholarships to attend universities in Europe and North America, with the expectation that they would acquire the knowledge and technical skills they

needed to assist in the social and economic development of the nations from where they hailed. From the 1950s, such scholarly exchange was also assumed to serve the strategic interests of the developed countries within the broader politics of the Cold War. In this way, transnational academic collaborations have long been an instrument of public diplomacy.

Over the past two decades, however, the rationales for forging transnational collaborations have expanded greatly, and are now focused not only on teaching and information exchange but also on research. An emphasis on research collaborations across national boundaries can now be found in policy statements of most leading higher education institutions (HEIs) around the world. These statements suggest that a globally distributive system of knowledge development and dissemination demands regularized, ongoing and symmetrical transnational links. Furthermore, they highlight the need to create research networks among universities, as a way of sharing income, resources, and effort. Examples of such networks include Universitas 21, Campus Asia, and Global Universities Network (GUN). Most national governments now also encourage transnational research collaboration, as indeed do regional organizations such as the European Union (EU) and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), as well as intergovernmental organizations, such as the OECD and the World Bank, and multinational corporations, such as McKinsey and Microsoft.

In recent decades, thinking about the importance of transnational research collaborations appears to be thus globally converging, along with a normative discourse about the need to create programmes that facilitate researchers to cooperate across national boundaries. In this chapter, we argue that while most national systems of higher education now advocate transnational research collaborations, their approach to the development and management of these collaborations vary greatly. The rationales they provide for such collaborations are often tied to particular national interests, as nations seek to locate the role of higher education within their shifting geopolitical objectives. Not surprisingly, therefore, the challenges they face in establishing and coordinating programs of research collaboration are linked not only to the major characteristics of their systems of higher education but more importantly also the broader objectives of their foreign policies.

In order to show how this is so, this chapter provides a case study of Australia, exploring how and why the Australian system of higher education has, in recent decades, increasingly sought to develop research links with Asian universities; and what challenges its HEIs have faced in this endeavour. Drawing on data collected as part of a broader research project, which included in-depth interviews with key policy actors, leadership, and senior managers across a range of Australian universities, the chapter suggests that the idea of research collaborations with Asia has now become a dominant theme in Australian policy discourses about the internationalization of higher education, as Australia universities have sought to complement their attempts to attract international students from Asia with an equally determined effort to develop research links within the Asia-Pacific. It argues that while the normative discourse surrounding transnational research collaborations in Australia is broadly similar to many other countries, the objectives and operational approaches of Australian universities are nation-specific, embedded within Australia's shifting strategic and economic thinking with respect to its links with Asia. The challenges that Australian HEIs face in developing and managing research links with Asian universities are thus located within the broader contradictions of Australia's historical links with Europe and the United States, on the one hand, and its geographical realities, which are to be found in Asia, on the other.

## **EXPANDING RATIONALES**

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The traditional thinking about the importance of transnational research collaborations has often been linked to the incentives that individual researchers have, as well as an understanding of higher education's role in international affairs. For individual researchers, transnational collaboration provides an opportunity to access expertise, equipment, data sets, and other resources that may not be available within the nations. It enables them to tap into global networks of scholars, stay in touch with knowledge being developed in other parts of the world, and align their work with high status institutions and research teams, resulting in the likelihood of publishing their research in high impact journals. It also increases the prospect of

attracting international funding. A similar set of incentives apply to HEIs, with the additional benefits they accrue in terms of supporting the infrastructure needs of their staff, especially in capital-intensive fields. It enables them to support entry into new fields of research and benchmark the performance of their staff; helping them determine what they need to do in order to enhance their global reputation.

National governments, too, have their own particular and additional reasons for advocating transnational research collaborations, often linked to the objectives of modern diplomacy. In recent decades, governments have increasingly recognized that research is a globally interconnected endeavour, and that researchers around the world are seeking opportunities to pursue their interests by collaborating both within and across national boundaries. As such, transnational research collaborations represent a significant form of institutional and people-to-people connectivity between countries. It is now widely believed that when ‘researchers work together across national boundaries, they do not only contribute to the global production of knowledge; they also play a part in sustaining a culture of cooperation that contributes to more harmonious international relations’ (Ang et al. 2015: 66).

Barlow (2016) has developed a conceptual framework to understand the public diplomacy functions of transnational research collaborations. He has identified a number of core objectives of foreign policy and diplomacy that are served by transnational research collaborations. At the broadest level, he suggests, such collaborations help to improve the general understanding of people across national borders and cultural traditions, reducing the potential of conflict. Over the longer term, they increase the likelihood of trade and investment. Transnational research collaborations also make it easier for nations to resolve their differences, solve common problems, and coordinate a shared response to unexpected crises. Indeed, greater technical coordination among researchers in advance of critical events can mitigate their worst consequences. Research collaborations can also enhance the information, knowledge, and understanding that nations have of each other, improving the evidence base they might need to inform various aspects of domestic and foreign policy. With a better understanding of the economic, political, technological, and intellectual trends occurring in other countries, nations can identify mutually beneficial outcomes in foreign relations. In

this way, transnational research collaborations can help nations to secure a strategic advantage.

Such collaborations need not necessarily be driven by the strategic self-interest of nations, but also by a desire to be a good global citizen. They can also serve humanitarian objectives, through the provision, for example, of development aid and support. Research can be critical in this endeavour. The researchers across donor and recipient countries can most helpfully collaborate to identify major needs and develop instruments to ensure that aid is used effectively, reaching the target communities. Within the higher education sector, collaboration can also contribute to the improvement of academic capacity and institutional practices in countries where HEIs are still in the developmental phase. Research collaboration between developed and developing systems through joint projects thus has the potential to not only build on-site capacity but also to provide focused advice and research training and help develop research institutions and their governance systems.

As useful as Barlow's conceptual framework for understanding transnational research collaborations is, it is however limited, since it largely focuses on the motivations of individual researchers, HEIs, and governments. What it does not consider are the ways in which the forces of globalization are reshaping the research terrain, leading to the emergence of new conceptions of knowledge production, acquisition, and utilization. These global shifts are potentially driving new ways of thinking about the importance of transnational research collaborations in assisting individuals, institutions, corporations, and nation-states to participate effectively and profitably within the global economy. It is widely believed that, paradoxical (paradoxical rather than paradoxically in this context) though this might sound, competition in the global economy demands greater levels of cooperation, pooling of resources, and strategic alliances (e.g. Dicken 2007). Furthermore, it is argued that any attempt at 'scaling up' of economic activity is unlikely to succeed unless transnational teams of researchers are able to work together, share information about markets, and develop collective plans to expand the reach of various goods and services. If globalization is largely about 'deterritorialization of space' (Peters 2013) then advanced research can no longer be restricted to national boundaries.

This argument was powerfully presented more than two decades ago by sociologist Manuel Castells. In his book *The Rise of the Network Society*,

Castells (1996: 469) suggests that in an era of globalization, networks now ‘constitute the new social morphology of our societies’. The main mode of social organization in politics, economy, and civil society, he maintains, is shifting from relatively stable hierarchy, represented by nation-states, to a more fluid networked form. These networks are interpersonal, transnational, and transitory. Castells insists, however, that global networks are asymmetrical: they do not accord power to all equally and are a major expression of global inequalities. Their power lies in their coordinating function in a world in which the processes of economic globalization and the spread of information technology potentially make distance irrelevant. Eriksen (2007: 72) sums up Castells’s thesis by pointing out that ‘whereas classical industrial society was organized through the “space of places”, information society takes place through the “space of flows”, where the degree of connectedness, not physical proximity, is the decisive factor’. In this way, transnational networks are both an expression of and contribute to the ‘shrinking of the world’, enabling communication to take place instantaneously, across global networks that are able to expand without limits.

These possibilities have clearly opened up new modalities of transnational research collaborations and have transformed the ways in which HEIs around the world now conceptualize, promote, and enact them. Generally, the purposes of transnational research collaborations between universities fall into three categories: to increase predominant capability, where the strongest in a particular discipline collaborates with the strongest counterpart in another country; complementary collaboration, where a university strong in some areas and less so in others collaborates with a university that brings what is lacking; and technical collaboration where one university helps the other build capacity (Nadarajah 2014). Transnational research networks are now viewed as having the potential to generate a wide variety of outcomes. Traditionally these outcomes were assumed to be mostly scholarly, but now they are increasingly conceptualized in market terms. Indeed, the very idea of knowledge has been expanded to focus on its commercial applications. As Gibbons et al. (1994) have argued, research in higher education is edging away the production of knowledge within institutionally inherited academic disciplines towards forms of production based on the application of knowledge to address specific problems in various economic and

commercial settings. Referring to this form of knowledge as ‘Mode 2’ knowledge, Gibbons et al. suggest that the new forms of knowledge that are now valued are application-centred, transdisciplinary, heterogeneous, reflexive, and transient. Their importance is no longer necessarily judged by the professional academic community but on the basis of the diverse socio-commercial interests that they serve. Issues of knowledge and economy are thus inextricably tied, as evident in the popularity of the term ‘knowledge economy’ (OECD 1996).

In a knowledge economy, transnational research networks are highly prized, not least because they are able to spread research labour across a number of sites. Not only are they assumed to be economically efficient but they are also considered commercially useful. This much has been persuasively shown by Yonchai Benkler in his book, *The Wealth of Networks* (2006). Benkler claims that nation-states are no longer the only source of knowledge creation and economic productivity, but that it is the transnational networks that now generate the most commercially useful knowledge. With the radical changes in information production that the Internet has facilitated, Benkler insists, we now stand at a key moment of transition. He argues that globalization implies a new mode of social production that is reshaping markets, while at the same time creating new opportunities to enhance individual freedom, cultural diversity, political discourse, and justice. However, these outcomes, he warns, are by no means inevitable: the promise of today’s emerging networked information environment demands new practices and institutions that enable people to connect with each other beyond national borders seamlessly. Since the Internet and the networked information economy are changing patterns of information, knowledge, and cultural production, Benkler’s argument thus implies a deeper justification for HEIs to promote transnational research collaborations.

These ideas have created conditions in which the role of higher education in public diplomacy is shifting and is couched in terms that scholars such as Slaughter and Leslie (1998) refer to as ‘knowledge capitalism’. The idea of knowledge capitalism is based on the assumption that capitalism has undergone a structural change. Highlighting the role of science in knowledge creation and innovation, knowledge capitalism implies that commercially orientated collaborative research is a major source not only of economic dynamism but also of social cohesion and

prosperity. The United Kingdom's Royal Society (2010: vi) thus advocates the importance of what it calls 'science diplomacy', insisting that foreign policy objectives are best informed by scientific advice (science in diplomacy), and that therefore scholarly guilds need to facilitate international science cooperation (diplomacy for science); and use science cooperation to improve international relations between countries (science for diplomacy). In this way, the traditional goals of the role of higher education in public diplomacy are rearticulated in a new language of knowledge capitalism, and the commercial benefits that can be derived from transnational research collaborations.

Systems of higher education around the world have increasingly embraced these new lines of thinking in terms of which they are developing policies and practices that encourage and reward transnational research projects, especially those that produce commercial outcomes. These efforts are supported by intergovernmental organizations. The OECD, for example, hosts and coordinates a Research Collaborative of governments, research institutions, and international finance institutions, the goal of which is 'to partner and share best available data, expertise and information to advance policy-relevant research in a comprehensive and timely manner'.<sup>1</sup> The European Union has adopted a regional approach to collaboration through the creation of its European Higher Education Space that encourages transnational cooperation in both teaching and research, not only within Europe but also with other regional groupings such as ASEAN. A programme called EURAXESS-ASEAN, for example, links researchers in ASEAN with Europe, through sharing of information on research funding, research careers, and collaboration opportunities, supporting projects of mutual interest. Developing economies such as India and China have also recognized the importance of transnational research collaborations and have attempted to create institutions of research cooperation.

Yet while there is clearly emerging a globally convergent normativity around transnational research collaborations, different countries and regions have developed their own distinctive foci on their possibilities, linked invariably to their national interests and policy priorities. In what follows, we use the data collected in Australia to show how its 'take' on transnational research collaborations is linked to the distinctive understanding it has of its geographical location within the Asia-Pacific region, and how the research policies and practices of its universities have

emerged out of its success in internationalizing its system of higher education, recruiting a large number of students from Asia, and transforming the demographic composition of its campuses. In this way, the policy and operational approach of Australian higher education has grown out of its recent history and its current policy successes and priorities. Not surprisingly, therefore, the challenges that HEIs in Australia encounter in forging and maintaining links with Asian systems of higher education relate to the fact that they have yet to determine ways in which they might interact fruitfully with higher education systems in Asia that have markedly different academic and cultural traditions.

## AUSTRALIA-ASIA RELATIONS AND RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS

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Since their very beginning in the nineteenth century, Australian universities have enjoyed robust and enduring relationships with universities in North America and Europe. This is to be expected of a settler colony, whose major institutions were created in the image of the British. The Australian system of higher education thus has a colonial heritage, supplemented by practices derived from the United States, which were themselves influenced by the German model of the research university. Not surprisingly, therefore, Australian universities have always recruited a large number of their academic staff from North America and Europe; and until recently a majority of Australian scholars received their research training there. Their continuing desire to collaborate with American and European universities is perfectly understandable, especially in view of the additional fact that it is mostly these universities that have the required infrastructure for advanced research. Australian scholars have therefore found it easier to relate to and cooperate with their colleagues in Europe and North America.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, Australian universities have been challenged to also look towards Asia, while not abandoning their traditional ties. A number of factors have contributed to this policy shift. To begin with, Australia has at last recognized the importance of its geographical location within the Asia-Pacific region: it is now seeking to shake off some of its assumed ties with Britain. Perhaps

even more significant is the fact that the Australian economy is now inextricably tied to Asia, with its trade with various Asian countries growing exponentially. China, for example, was Australia's largest trading partner in 2014, accounting for 23 per cent of Australia's two-way trade, with bilateral trade values exceeding A\$150 billion. China is also Australia's largest export market as well as its largest source of imports. As trade links between Australia and the countries of Asia grow, especially in the services sector, so does the need to develop robust links between its various institutions, including universities.

In 2012, a major Australia Government White Paper, *Australia in the Asian Century*, highlighted the need for research collaborations between Australian and Asian universities. The paper noted that Asian economies were growing at a rapid rate, along with their institutions of higher education. Within its instrumental and strategic logic, the paper argued that since the twenty-first century is likely to be an 'Asian century', Australian people and institutions had to recognize the implications of this fact for their future prosperity. It suggested that: 'The Asian Century is an Australian opportunity. As the global centre of gravity shifts to our region, the tyranny of distance is being replaced by the prospects of proximity' (Commonwealth of Australia 2012: 1). It also noted that as an increasingly wealthy and mobile middle class emerges in Asia, new opportunities exist for Australians. However, this requires developing stronger relationships across the region, including through closer educational, cultural, and people-to-people links. The White Paper thus repeatedly stresses the role of higher education, and the importance of research collaborations, not only to build stronger links but also for Australian researchers to take advantage of the resources and facilities in which many Asian countries (such as South Korea, Singapore, and China) are now investing heavily in line with their strong commitment to research and innovation within the globalizing knowledge economy.

Australian universities are of course already a major beneficiary of the rapidly growing middle class in Asia, from where they are able to recruit a large proportion of their full fee-paying international students. From the late 1980s, under fiscal pressures of their own, Australian universities have viewed international education as an export commodity, replacing an earlier focus on development assistance through scholarships and other forms of overseas aid. While they have not entirely abandoned such aid programmes,

they have increasingly viewed higher education in trade terms. Indeed, they have begun to rely on the growing elite in Asia for their financial sustainability. International students from Asia are in turn well disposed towards a Western education, viewing it as a marker of social status, regarding it as a good economic investment in their future, especially in a fast globalizing economy (Rizvi 2011).

This market view of internationalization has been embraced by Australian universities, unleashing a new culture of entrepreneurialism that had been inconceivable before the end of 1980s. This entrepreneurialism has rearticulated the norms of international relations in market terms, as well as of the knowledge and skills that are considered important in negotiating the emerging dynamics of globalization—both in responding to its presumed imperatives and taking advantage of its possibilities. Knowledge is thus increasingly viewed as a commodity, with national economic development believed to require a set of globally transferable skills. In the 1990s, much of the focus of Australian attempts to internationalize education was on the recruitment of international students, the promotion of student mobility, and developing structures to support international students and internationalize the curriculum. The idea of international education as an industry emerged, with its own administrative technology, its own rules of operation based on an expertise that incorporated knowledge of market segments and specificities, as well as a symbolic language about the distinctive benefits of internationalization.

In the beginning of the new century, however, as the contradictions of these and other developments became evident, the importance of transnational collaborations in higher education emerged as a key dimension of internationalization, ahead of a focus on educational markets and their commercial possibilities. Universities began to recognize the need to create transnational bilateral and multilateral research networks among both universities and industries, as a way of developing new modes of sharing income, resources, and effort. If the market view of international education was largely about recruiting students, enabling Asian students to experience Australian education, then the emphasis on transnational collaborations implied rethinking the nature and scope of that education itself. In this new context there emerged the need to re-examine the traditional curriculum, challenged by the claims of ‘other’ knowledge traditions; as indeed did the need to develop new pedagogies that were

more responsive to recent innovations in social media and the ubiquitous technologies of communication. Beyond the focus on educational markets, it became possible for Australian universities to work towards a new discourse of student mobility, as well as the potential of transnational research collaborations in higher education as not only socially and culturally productive but also economically efficient.

In recent decades, then, the focus on transnational research collaborations with Asian universities has been boldly advocated by the Australian Government, which has invested heavily in programmes such as the Australia-India Strategic Research Fund (AISRF) and the Australia China Science and Research Fund (ACSRF). In April 2013, Australia's Chief Scientist noted three critical pathways to increase Australian engagement on the global stage:

- maintaining and strengthening research relationships with high performing nations that enhance our performance;
- nurturing long-term research relations with emerging nations, particularly in our region; and
- collaborating with nations that have complementary research priorities and challenges (Office of the Chief Scientist 2013).

More broadly, research collaborations with Asian universities have been underlined in the Australian Government's National Strategy for International Education 2025. The National Strategy aims to strengthen partnerships at home and abroad, enhance student and faculty mobility, and position Australian education institutions to compete globally by promoting excellence and embracing opportunities to expand international education. In addition to the National Strategy, the Australian International Education 2025 (AIE2025) provides a market development roadmap. The federal governments' industry-oriented National Innovation and Science Agenda incorporates strategies that aim to facilitate increased international research collaboration and partnerships with industry, while the recently released science policy, Australia's National Science Statement, supports interdisciplinary alongside international research collaboration.

## ENACTING THE AUSTRALIAN POLICY AGENDA

In what ways have Australian universities understood and enacted this national policy agenda in seeking to develop research links with universities in Asia? In what follows we use data collected as part of a broader research project to discuss some of our findings. We argue that while some of the approaches Australian universities have adopted can be generalized, they face some specific challenges in developing research collaboration with universities in Asia. A recent survey by Universities Australia<sup>2</sup> has noted that over 60 per cent of the 9,171 institution-to-institution agreements established by Australian universities include elements of transnational research collaborations, reflecting both a global trend as well as the policy priorities of the Australian Government to encourage collaborations in knowledge production, exchange, and utilization. This suggests that while most Australian universities have embraced the new national agenda they have widely interpreted the idea of transnational research collaborations in market terms, focusing on the production, utilization, and transfer of knowledge for commercial purposes, which includes a discourse that underlines the importance of engagement in order to access competitive grants. The potential links to regional security and democratization are also noted but in these too the norms of international relations are also defined mostly in market terms.

What is also evident is that while the policy discourse of collaborations with Asian universities has become ubiquitous in Australian higher education, fewer than 20 per cent of the agreements are with Asian universities.<sup>3</sup> The policy discourse has thus failed to generate the enthusiasm and mechanisms of its various possibilities at the level of academics themselves. A number of academics regard the issues of public diplomacy, tangible economic benefits, and institution-initiated transnational collaboration for knowledge creation to be beyond the remit of higher education. Others have found it difficult to reconcile the diverse components of the value-chain spectrum across the national and institution-initiated research collaboration with Asia. At best, therefore, collaborative links with Asian HEIs are uneven, irregular, and often opportunistic. They have tended to follow money; and are therefore often ‘once-off’ and transactional. Universities themselves lack the framework, confidence, and resilience to navigate the cultural and administrative difficulties that

invariably arise. In instances where obvious pathways to scaling-up the initial transactional-type engagement are absent, there is a tendency for the early excitement in collaborating with Asian HEIs to wear off quickly, making it difficult to sustain them, even when substantial investments in terms of personnel and time have been made.

With the exception of the Australian National University, which was created in the 1950s with a specific mandate to engage with the region, most other Australian universities have begun to embark on collaborative activities with Asian countries, including China, India, Indonesia, Vietnam, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Malaysia. However, they have done this based on their experiences with HEIs in the United States and Europe. They have not sufficiently taken into account the major cultural and academic differences that exist between Australian and Asian universities. As a Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC) (Research) at a regional university pointed out:

For Australian universities to be successful in transnational research collaboration with HEIs in Asia, collaborations need to start internally (within the home university and even between Australian universities). We (Australian universities) recognise that engaging and collaborating with Asia is different to our historical links with Europe and the USA. This requires a different mind-set, approach and patience with skills at fundraising, engagement, entrepreneurship and significant experience at negotiations.

What has become clear is that the development of such a mind-set is not easy, and requires a great deal of time, resources, and patience. The academics who are comfortable with their links with European and American universities do not see the need to develop such a mind-set, feeling that they are already preoccupied with their existing arrangements.

Yet, coinciding with increasing pressure from the federal government for Australian universities to embrace components of the new public-sector reforms, greater accountability, and less reliance on public funding, Australian HEIs have found themselves in a frenzy to sign up and forge transnational research collaborations with Asian universities, without any clear sense of purpose, strategy, and operational understanding. The early memorandums of understanding (MOUs) were not very helpful, as a DVC (Research & International) at an Australian technology university argued: ‘Almost all MOUs that were established in the early days to explore transnational research collaborations, and there are many, have not been worth the paper it is written on. Operationalizing these MOUs and in cases

of exiting without institutional reputational damage has turned out to be difficult, and a waste of time and resources.'

Attempts to develop relationships with Asian universities are also based on 'a false sense of wisdom' gained through their success in recruiting students from Asia. Inward mobility of students, predominantly through established Agent networks, had provided them the opportunity to directly and fully engage, perhaps better understand the cultures, requirements, and practices of HEIs in Asia. However, these opportunities were not fully taken up and in any case insights from recruitment experience do not necessarily apply to research collaborations, which require an understanding of the ways in which research cultures in many Asian universities are differently structured. Australian universities are thus ill-prepared to contextualize differences in institutional cultures and practices in their pursuit of transnational research collaborations. Furthermore, misguided also is their expectation that most HEIs in Asia are keen to collaborate with Australian universities and do not have other options to pursue. Indeed, leading research universities in Asia, such as the National University of Singapore, the University of Hong Kong, Tsinghua University in China, and the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) already have major suitors, including many Ivy League schools in the United States.

Many Australian universities have pursued alternative routes to forge research links with HEIs in Asia. They have created profile-building activities by opening university-branded overseas offices in locations of strategic importance. These offices, staffed by home campus university staff and alumni, facilitate 'local' information and research expertise-sharing activities, establish networks, and engage industry. They have generated numerous consultancy assignments from industry and government, which have in many cases led to in-country collaborations with researchers and institutions that have participated in servicing the consultancy assignment. This has perhaps reinforced positive perceptions of industries, governments, and HEIs in Asia of the quality of Australian universities and their scholars, especially when they have taken up the opportunities to fully engage in developing solutions to local problems. However, some of these collaborative arrangements have not survived the period of consultancy due to a lack of commitment and strategies to ensure sustainability.

Without exception Australian universities acknowledge that research collaboration with HEIs in Asia has the potential to result in an increase in

inward mobility of students pursuing postgraduate and doctoral research studies. The case of IIT Mumbai-Monash University is often cited,<sup>4</sup> as it involves joint supervision of research students working on industry-related projects. This form of transnational research collaboration is considered less complex to administer and manage and at the same time easier to quantify and measure. As DVC (Research) at a Technology university observed:

The success of transnational research collaborations with Asia can be evidenced in the increase and instances of joint supervision of research candidates from the region. There is an increase in inward mobility but as yet no evidence of an increase in outward mobility of Australian research candidates. Joint supervision of PhD candidates seems relatively less-complex, once supervision arrangements, approval of research proposal and managing complaints are addressed early in the process. Universities tend to repeat that model, for joint PhD supervision, with the same HEI or other HEIs. There is interest to leverage and build on this success, to develop multi-tiered, multi-discipline institution-wide collaboration.

Based on the success of this model, a plethora of similar initiatives have been established by Australian universities and can be categorized as educational (mobility of research candidates to pursue doctoral studies with joint supervision), research (interaction, engagement, and joint research by scholars from HEIs), and reputational collaborations (predominantly transactional in nature that showcase and enhance an institution's reputation). However, each of these arrangements faces major barriers and challenges, to which we now turn.

## **CHALLENGES OF RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS WITH ASIAN UNIVERSITIES**

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The increasing influence of new public-sector management on Australian higher education (Rizvi and Lingard 2010) has undermined its efforts to develop collegial relationships with Asian universities. A combination of a focus on performativity and accountability requirements, combined with shifting reliance on public funding, emphasis on measurement of outputs, short-term employment contracts for academics and professional staff, and new and complex reporting and governance measures that impact both revenue generation on the one hand and investments and expenses on the other, have profoundly influenced the capacity of universities in Australia in

their attempts to engage in research collaboration with HEIs in Asia. These market considerations have demanded forms of entrepreneurialism that ‘crowd out’ (Sandel 2012) forms of intercultural and transnational collegiality.

Across many disciplines there are numerous Australian scholars who have established global research reputations. Invariably these renowned scholars are over-committed, with very little time on their hands to pledge to new initiatives. Potential partner universities in Asia, many seeking to climb the global rankings and requiring the expertise and global profile of these scholars, place preconditions on collaboration, seeking formal commitment of globally reputed scholars as lead researchers in the collaboration initiative. Australian universities thus find providing such assurances to potential partner universities in Asia a challenge, and when they propose alternatives to these established scholars find to their dismay that the collaboration initiative has stalled. As a DVC of a Group of Eight university points out, given the highly individualistic nature of the academic enterprise, trying to put together research teams led by a leading global scholar is like ‘herding cats’.

It is now widely acknowledged that Australian universities are characterized by alarming levels of bureaucracy. This bureaucracy represents a major challenge to HEIs in Asia interested in collaborating with Australian scholars, as they navigate Australian university management and accountability systems. As a DVC (Research) at a Group of Eight university observes: ‘If there has been success to date with research collaborations with Asia that is in spite of our internal structures and bureaucratic practices.’ Of course, the better resourced universities in Asia are more readily able to negotiate Australian bureaucratic expectations. Not surprisingly, therefore, Australian universities find it attractive to ‘marry-up’ with these institutions and seek to establish research collaboration with HEIs in Asia that are globally ranked higher than they are themselves. In this way, the logic of ranking systems impacts choices that Australian universities make, side-lining other more ethical and educational considerations. Increasingly, for example, collaborative initiatives that are motivated by a university’s social responsibility within the region are less favourably considered than those that are driven by instrumentalism. From the perspective of researchers, the ways in which Australian universities select research partners in Asia often remain

obscure. The researchers thus prefer to make their own links rather than rely upon the institutional choices, while the universities view individual arrangements as inefficient and of higher risk.

In their pursuit of accessing funds for transnational research collaborations with Asian universities, universities often rely on the opportunities provided by such government schemes as the Australia India Research Fund and the Australia China Research Fund. Success rates of non-Group of Eight universities in accessing these funds on their own are, however, very low, pointing to further complexities, not least because the current mechanisms for funding are one-dimensional and do not support longer-term initiatives. As a consequence, Australian universities avoid the challenges of broader, deeper, longer-term institution-wide collaborations, and are restricted in their reach and choice of opportunities. Collaboration initiatives funded by the Australian Government bring numerous stipulations of reporting necessities, not all of which the collaborating institutions are able and willing to embrace, placing additional pressures on HEIs.

A handful of Australian universities tried their best in developing their initial approach to collaboration with HEIs in Asia. They chose potential partner HEIs that employed scholars educated in the English-speaking West in disciplines that thrived on established global networks such as nanotechnology, medicine, architecture design, and aerospace. However, in spite of their groundwork in carefully selecting collaboration partners, Australian universities find that institutional cultures, hierarchies, and traditions vary greatly across Asian universities, and that no single model applies, even within the same country. Each country has moreover its own bureaucratic requirements with respect to the conduct of research, including aspects of research visa, research ethics, copyright laws, and expectation regarding transfer and commercialization of new knowledge. The variations in relation to the ownership of intellectual property at universities in Asia, particularly in those nations that were not previously British colonies, pose a major challenge for Australian universities. Attempts to untangle these differences can be a long process and there is no guarantee that the outcome is acceptable to Australian authorities.

There have been numerous instances of Australian universities pursuing collaboration with HEIs in Asia that have realized much later in the process that the expectations and intentions of partners are not aligned to their own

or have shifted to areas and disciplines that are of no interest to themselves. This occurrence, perhaps through lack of clarity surrounding initial engagement, has implanted seeds of doubt about unspoken and non-transparent agendas, which are seldom easy to navigate. In pursuing research collaboration with HEIs in Asia, Australian universities often claim to be strategic both in their choice of partner institutions and expectations of outcomes. In doing so, scalability—to multiple, cross-discipline, and longer-term research supported through diverse sources of funding—is considered critical. If progress towards scalability is not evident many existing arrangements can become unsustainable, with Australian universities seeking alternative opportunities.

## CONCLUSION

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Australian universities are changing: to address client and stakeholder expectations, to respond more actively to social and economic change, to leverage and exploit market opportunities, and to both participate in and contribute to Australian national interests in Asia within the knowledge economy. From their beginning in ad hoc and ill-prepared attempts, transnational research collaborations with HEIs in Asia are now structurally transforming themselves through investment into forging new practices to ‘make research collaboration with Asia happen’. The benefits of these new structures in fostering, nurturing, and harvesting research collaborations with HEIs in Asia have, however, yet to be realized. At many universities there is a great deal of cynicism about investments made in what some academics regard as peripheral functions of higher education, distracting them from their core functions. This situation is further exacerbated by the lack of Asia-related expertise, cultural knowledge, and intercultural skills.

Collaboration has always been at the heart of academic labour. As research collaboration and engagement with Asia become more pronounced within the strategic priorities of Australian universities, our analysis shows that the issues of cultural knowledge, intercultural skills, and personal and academic networks are of utmost importance. If this is so then Australian universities perhaps need to look more seriously at the existence of the Asian diaspora academics they already employ; and also leverage their

international alumni networks in the region. Diaspora and alumni have the great potential to contribute to Australian universities' understanding of Asia's governments, institutions, businesses, and networks, and play a key role in establishing as well as nurturing transnational collaborations with HEIs in Asia. If establishing trust and effective reciprocal communication are necessary for collaboration then the Asian diaspora and alumni can facilitate the processes of identifying and assessing opportunities, nurturing mutually respectful relations, and building sustainable collaborations.

In this chapter, we have suggested that, beyond the rhetoric, research collaborations with HEIs in Asia represent a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. We have argued that their success cannot be assumed if they are defined largely in instrumental market terms, without also addressing their various strategic, operational, political, economic, cultural, and ethical dimensions. In a context in which individual, collective, and institutional drivers of collaboration often come into conflict, financial outcomes cannot be the only measure of performance and success: authentic collaboration demands a much more complex set of deliberations in ways that are mutually supportive and reciprocal among the involved parties.

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<sup>1</sup> <<https://www.oecd.org/env/researchcollaborative/>>.

<sup>2</sup> International Links Data, June 2014. <<https://www.universitiesaustralia.edu.au/global-engagement/international-collaboration/international-links#.WrEP—hubIU>>.

<sup>3</sup> <<https://www.universitiesaustralia.edu.au/global-engagement/international-collaboration/international-links#.WrEP—hubIU>>.

<sup>4</sup> <<http://www.iitbmonash.org/home/>>.

## CHAPTER 18

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# SCHOLARSHIP IN THE UNIVERSITY

*An Ecological Perspective*

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RONALD BARNETT

## INTRODUCTION

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THE very idea of scholarship has taken something of a battering over recent years. In parallel, the term ‘scholarship’ itself—in the English language—has also faltered. I want to explore this phenomenon but I also want to examine the prospects for its re-energizing. Could it be that even if scholarship is becoming invisible at the moment, it might yet become more evident? The idea of scholarship is waning but perhaps it can emerge again as a possibly significant form of academic endeavour. It might even flower anew. That is the possibility I shall pursue here and I shall do so by advancing an idea of ecological scholarship.

## THE SCHOLARSHIP OF SCHOLARSHIP: ITS INVISIBILITY

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There is rather little scholarly material on scholarship itself. By far the most influential recent text surely is Ernest Boyer’s (1990) *Scholarship*

*Reconsidered*. However, its purpose is to pump up the idea of ‘the scholarship of teaching’ and so, having that limited—although hugely important—remit, it cannot claim our attention on this occasion. Indeed, that there is a dearth of material that actually deals directly with the matter of scholarship in general—as distinct, say, from scholarship in a particular domain (as in ‘the scholarship of teaching and learning’ (Murray 2008) or ‘Christian scholarship’ (Marsden 1998))—is a phenomenon worth dwelling on for a moment. If scholars themselves have not thought much to concern themselves with the matter of scholarship, perhaps it is hardly surprising if, when any hostile waves descend upon it, it is quickly and quite quietly submerged. After all, it appears that it has few if any defendants, even from within its own ranks.

A second and even more troubling matter is this. The negligible amount of attention paid to the matter of scholarship prompts the thought that scholarship has hardly ever existed in any substantial form; an emperor-without-clothes phenomenon. Reference to it has occasionally been made but even then largely in a perfunctory matter. Perhaps, then, it has never enjoyed—if that is the word—a significant presence in academic life.

These are serious concerns, which may be summarized more formally: that the very term ‘scholarship’ may be an empty signifier. When it does make an appearance, the term is drawn upon for all manner of purposes, so serving different interests, and comes to have various fillings in the hands of its various users but, in itself, it is actually empty as a concept. It adds nothing to the vocabulary of higher education and we are better off without it.

I am sympathetic to these charges but they are not the full picture. There is also a more variegated and even a more positive story to tell. Not only has there been and is there still scholarship of substance but it could well be that a new age of scholarship is yet ahead.

## OBSERVATIONS

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Let me begin by making some rather elementary—and I hope, non-controversial—observations. *Firstly*, over the past half-century or so, ‘research’ has taken off. That is to say, organized empirical enquiry, built

largely around the natural sciences, has acquired mega-proportions across the world, in its volume, costs, and status. This is not happenstance. It is part of the growth not only of the knowledge society (Stehr 1984) but also more especially of ‘cognitive capitalism’ (Boutang 2011). That is to say, research, particularly that associated with the natural sciences, is connected with economic growth in the wider society. Within the leading research-intensive universities, research has in turn come to generate considerable income flows, both directly and through various knowledge transfer activities (for example, the establishment of spin-out companies, often in collaboration with industry).

A consequence of this phenomenon is that scholarship, as an activity that generates little in the way of income for universities and—it is felt—has little pay-off in the wider society, has been overshadowed. After all, scholarship betokens a love of texts, and an abiding interest in texts, and there is little money to be had—it may seem—from such an activity.

A *second observation* follows. In principle, scholarship is discipline-blind. That is, scholarship could be found in relation to any discipline. University academics of any hue could well be passionately interested in pouring over existing texts in their discipline, getting on the inside of those texts, and coming to form a deep and critical viewpoint. They could, as it were, become sages of their discipline, able to place their readings of the texts in question in a broad context and able, too, to make wise judgements about those texts. Such exemplary figures of the academic life could be said to populate every discipline; and perhaps examples of such individuals could be found universally across disciplines.

My sense, for what it is worth, is that this broad sense of scholarship has long been a feature of American academic life. In books emanating from the United States, there is often to be found—or at least, until very recently—references to scholars and scholarship in just this way. On this way of construing academic life, scholars and scholarship are as much a part of the sciences as such as they are of the humanities. (That Boyer’s book, mentioned earlier, comes out of the United States, and enfolds academic work across the disciplines, is germane to this point.) This same universalism is much less evident elsewhere. Characteristically, outside the United States, scholarship has been largely associated with the humanities, broadly understood. There is a logic to such a tacit understanding, which is

that it is the humanities where we see a particular attachment not only to books, but to the book.

Indeed, an attachment to the book as a primary carrier of significant academic understandings of the world is part of the inner culture of the humanities. Furthermore, it is—or has been—part of the duty (no less) of the humanities to take time and spend effort in deciphering such texts. Such an orientation must surely be connected with the movement in the Middle Ages, with the birth of the European university, wherein much effort was spent in rediscovering and interpreting the texts of the Greeks. For several hundred years, accordingly, academic work, if it possessed any seriousness, took just that form, of reading carefully and discerning existing texts and coming to interpretations about them. There was here nothing short of a love of the word. John Henry Newman, for example, certainly wrote a great deal but it was on the basis of an immense amount of reading (going far beyond his essays associated with his Idea of the University).

*Thirdly*, this story—essentially one of a diminution in the significance of the book in academic life—has been given additional momentum of late with the coming of the digital age. This has had profound consequences for academic life, a full exposé of which has yet to be provided. But among those consequences are the use of computers as part of research processes, the availability of online academic journals, and the rise of so-called ‘big data’, and in the process, research processes being intimately associated with information management and processing. Scholarship as a love of texts, and the careful mining and interpretation of texts, is in turn diminished. At best, it becomes a matter of forensic critique through the use of computer-based forms of discourse analysis. The humanities are by no means immune from these developments but succumb to them—or embrace them, depending on one’s point of view.

Some are wary of such modern developments and fear for the future of the humanities. For at least fifty years—but arguably well over one hundred years—many have been anguished by the thought not just that the humanities were in decline but that their end was approaching. However, this death is foretold repeatedly. The humanities, we are frequently informed (well, at least every decade), are in crisis. And this foreboding has surely gained added impetus from the digital revolution. In this milieu, reasoning takes on new hues, with the incoming of ‘multimodality’, the capacity to communicate through the use of several media more or less

simultaneously. Vision, sound, and even simulated touch can all come into play; and even the written word changes in its on-screen usage. Umberto Eco's (2012) book *This is Not the End of the Book*; (the title including the semi-colon) is testimony to a concern that the book itself is in peril; and if that is the case, so too must be scholarship (Eco and Carrière 2012).

*Fourthly*, academic life has become characterized by a busyness. It is not just that the pace of academic life has quickened but that also it has intensified and become more visible and performative. Now, the academic scholar can be forgiven for feeling a little guilty in being seen to be reading a book in her or his room (if, indeed, she or he still enjoys a room, as 'hot-desking' expands). All must be felt to be on the move, or at least active, earnestly intent on tasks with some kind of pay-off. Again, therefore, the apparent repose that a close examination of texts calls for—not just their reading but their re-reading—is rendered otiose. Close patient attention to texts becomes out-of-kilter with the rhythm of the age.

*Fifthly*, the matter of time becomes significant here. Research looks to the future, to be a harbinger of new technologies that in turn will usher in radical transformations of the world. Scholarship, in contrast, seems to dwell in the past. Its texts—even if they are very recent—sit there already; and perhaps they are hundreds or even thousands of years old; or perhaps they are symbols of exotic cultures in distant lands. This is not work, it may be felt, that will beckon forward the future; that anticipates the future. Any 'extended present' (Nowotny 1996) that scholarship opens seems to be extended into the past rather than into the future.

*Lastly*, for a complex of reasons, research has come to be associated with large teams and groups. Papers in the hard sciences may be authored even by several hundred academics from across the world. Scholarship, in contrast, remains still a province of the lone ranger academic, developing personal ruminations on the texts that surround him or her.

So, in summary, there is a global political economy of academic life that is playing out, which in turn has profound consequences for scholarship. Its status is diminished, it is rendered invisible, and it is even repudiated as a form of academic life no longer deserving of respect in the wider world. We should note that this occlusion of scholarship by research is not a new phenomenon. In a recent commentary, Gary Rolfe (2013: 17) quotes Heidegger, writing even back as far as 1938, as observing that 'The scholar disappears. He is succeeded by the research man ...'. Later, towards the end

of the 1940s, the self-styled Bruce Truscott (1951) offered a detailed description of *Red Brick University*, which—in its near 400 pages—contains long chapters on both research and teaching but, so far as I can see, has nothing to say on scholarship as such. A text such as that by H. W. Garrod in 1946 on *Scholarship: Its Meaning and Value* was already looking out of place, as research had been given impetus by the Second World War. And Rolfe suggests that this shift to research has taken on added pace of late and he adds (2013: 18) that: ‘... the *primary activity* of university academics, at least in the UK, is no longer scholarship but research’ (my emphasis).

I suggest then that, after all, we cannot even say of scholarship that it is an empty signifier; or that it is a term without implications or consequences. On the contrary, we should rather say of scholarship that it is a *negative* signifier. Characteristically, it has come to evince a penumbra of negative sentiments and connotations. In the shadow of research, it has come to elicit a sense of non-seriousness and insignificance. It is the activity of those who cannot or who do not want to conduct (empirical) research. Few would want to sign up to the identity of ‘scholar’; much better, much more impressive, to be a ‘researcher’. After all, scholarship rarely generates much, if anything, in the way of an income stream. Scholarship might be associated with the scholar’s own ‘pleasure of the text’ (Barthes 1975) but it is unlikely to produce much pleasure in the senior management team.

## THE VERY IDEA OF SCHOLARSHIP

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The idea of scholarship can helpfully be understood as having both a particular and a more general meaning. The more particular or *classical* conception is, as intimated, that of a concern with existing texts and their interpretation. Here, too, more limited and wider interpretations are apparent. In its *more limited* form within this classical conception, scholarship refers to a concern with written texts. ‘Gladly wolde he lerne and gladly wolde he lerne’—so said Chaucer of the mediaeval clerk in his *Canterbury Tales*, and whose learning was founded on the study of written texts, especially those of the Greek philosophers and of more contemporary texts. In its *wider form*, taken on especially recently, the texts that form the

basis of scholarly work have broadened considerably to include not just words in other media (such as film and artistic works) but the words and actions that constitute forms of life very generally. In this sense, anthropology, ethnography, discourse analysis, and oral history are quite legitimately held to be exemplars of scholarly endeavour.

There are, therefore, both limited and wide understandings of scholarship within its classical definition as a study of texts. But there is, too, a more diffuse meaning, that pertains to insights into the character of the contemporary scholar's life. Characteristically, it will involve writing a great deal, and it will also include sharing and discussing the fruits of that scholarship with others, in seminars and conferences and, these days, in blogs and social media. Our scholar, too, now has to have a worldwide network of academics and others from whom the scholar's life can draw and which offer a platform for his or her activities.

To say this is to indicate that the scholar's life and, indeed, her or his identity, is configured across a *time-space complex*. A proper account of this complex is beyond us here but we may note that the active scholar's time-space situation is ever-widening. He or she lives in the past, engaging with present and past texts, but lives also in the future, establishing scholarly projects for him or herself, perhaps involving at least travel to distant lands if not actual collaboration with other international scholars. To draw on another significant term here (with its hermeneutic and phenomenological overtones), the scholar's *horizons* are all the time enlarging. The scholar lives in spaces that continue to broaden—at once globally and epistemologically—and sees her/himself in timeframes that continue to elongate, backwards in time and forward into the future. Bertrand Russell (1967 [1912]: 93) implied of himself that he was a citizen of the universe—such must be the beckoning before the contemporary scholar.

So, in summary, scholarship may be understood in narrow or broad ways, with the scholar's horizons correspondingly limited or even infinite. The modern scholar is nomadic, always on a journey, his or her identity on the move, epistemologically, temporally, spatially, and even, as it were, politically, as the scholar finds herself engaging with—or at least seeking a hearing from—different audiences. In the process, the scholar's texts are also widening. No longer just books or other texts intimately connected with the scholar's calling, the scholar engages forensically with all manner

of texts in a variety of contexts, formal and informal, and in both virtual and naturalistic settings. Today, there is no fixed identity of ‘scholar’.

## SCHOLARLY VIRTUES

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There is a paradox here. In volume, scholarship is more extensive now, and more complex, and more of a global phenomenon, than ever before. But, even so, it is marginal to the mainstream of academic life and is actually down-valued in national funding and evaluative regimes. Some institutions and even some nation-states virtually repudiate scholarship. And it is often invisible to the wider public. But why should it matter if scholarship is fading from view, whether as an idea, as a narrative for academics’ self-understandings, as a management interest, as a policy goal, or as a way of academic life—or all five? It matters very much.

*First*, good research and good scholarship do not inhabit mutually exclusive zones but draw significantly on each other. This is not just a matter of producing a workmanlike ‘literature review’ at the start of a journal article. It is much more a matter of being deeply immersed in an intellectual field such that one has a large set of resources on which to draw. The diligent scholar, after all, will have her own library or collections of books or at least downloaded papers, and amassed bibliographies (her own and others); she will have an expanding network of others in the field, across the world, and will know the work that they are engaged on; she will be an active participant in conferences and seminars around the world (and will be a frequent invitee to give papers and ‘keynote’ addresses). All of these activities and materials constitute considerable resources that the active scholar, literally and metaphorically, has at her—or his—fingertips at any one time, and which can bring added horizons to research; even added value.

It is not only that the scholar has a large repertoire to hand to enable rapid progress with projects and ventures, but it is even more that, through all of this steady and patient work over some years, the scholar has come to form deep insights into the field. Most of the paths have been followed, and the positions of the key actors in the field have been mapped, and the points of conflict or controversy readily comprehended. Perspectives are seen

perspicaciously, something of the history of the field is grasped, and it may be placed in a comparative context. Its philosophical presuppositions will be not just understood but critically so. In short, such a scholar feels at home in the field, is able to deploy it and even to critique it, and to form *synoptic framings* of issues as they come up.

Such authority is won only with conscientious study over time, a study in which the scholar yields to the field and yet is able to secure a vantage point from which a space is secured for her or his own *scholarly signature*. The timbres (within philosophy and social theory) of, say, an Ernest Gellner or Jürgen Habermas or Alasdair MacIntyre or Charles Taylor or Slavoj Žižek or (in the broad field of higher education studies) Guy Neave or Sheldon Rothblatt or Martha Nussbaum or Bruce Macfarlane or Jon Nixon are particular and immediately recognizable.

It follows that there is a *virtue-complex* that attaches to scholarship, when at its best. The virtues associated with exemplary scholarship include (i) *carefulness* (taking care, being scrupulous, attending to detail); (ii) *authenticity* (being one's own person in coming to judgements and not falling back on existing authorities); (iii) *courage* (standing out, if necessary, against the ideologies of the age, both those internal to the academic world and to the wider society); (iv) *truthfulness* (a concern to come to understandings of the world that have a robustness about them, however that might be perceived); (v) *appropriateness* (a sensitivity to context, in all its manifestations); (vi) *sincerity* (an investment by the scholar in her or his own work such that it isn't frivolous); (vii) *communicability* (a fervent wish and determination to be accessible to wider audiences); and (viii) *revelation* (that is an intent on revealing a situation to the listener or reader, such that the world is understood anew).

I would make three observations on this virtue-complex. *Firstly*, these virtues go beyond 'epistemic virtues' (Brady and Pritchard 2003), that is to say beyond the virtues associated with efforts to secure knowledge and understanding. The virtues just listed derive from a wide conception of scholarship that is concerned with communicating to audiences across society. They are also concerned to realize the potential in scholarship to widen understandings in society. Scholarship here becomes a crucial vehicle in the development of societal learning systems (Habermas 1987). Ultimately, therefore, this kind of scholarship is intimately associated with the survival and the *continual advancement* of the whole world.

*Secondly*, this virtue-complex overlaps Habermas's validity claims but is crucially different from them, and in two ways. On the one hand, Habermas (1984: 180) identified just three validity claims inherent in a rational discourse, those of truthfulness, appropriateness, and authenticity, whereas the values identified here go well beyond those dimensions. And they do so because what is in question here is a whole way of life that is intent on realizing its potential in the twenty-first century. On the other hand, there is a different ontological presence here across the two sets of ideas. Habermas's validity claims are inherent in a rational discourse. They are presupposed logical and ontological conditions of what it is to engage in a form of communication that is intent on seriously understanding the world. Clearly, scholarship is a form of life that falls into such a framing. But the virtues—picked out here—are the *normative* conditions of an envisaged form of life. The idea of scholarship being advanced here is a proposal; it is suggested as a form of academic life that might serve as a critical standard, to be aimed at and to be judged by.

## **B E W A R E   O F   S C H O L A R L Y   S E L F - I N D U L G E N C E**

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The *third* observation builds on that last. For Bourdieu (2000), scholarship could become so entrenched as a form of academic life that it would constitute a 'habitus' and would take on the character of 'scholasticism'. I am not sure that Bourdieu intended the value-laden aspect of that term but certainly it was intended to convey a sense of the possible apartness of the scholar. The scholar *qua* individual, and a scholarly community, could easily succumb to an undue inwardness. And some of the scholarly virtues can all too readily promote such an apartness. Scholarship can easily slide into arcaneness, inaccessibility, and self-indulgence, the signs of a way of life that is adrift from the main currents of the world.

This scholasticism can slide further into a kind of academic ideology (Barnett 2003), convinced of its own value and rarely pausing to examine itself. It is simply assumed that this life is valuable and, *sotto voce*, is worth being supported by the public purse. Little in the way of justification is apparently needed and where efforts are provided to supply it, they usually amount to rather thin gruel, the inner story of which is 'let us return to the

halcyon days of the 1960s or even the 1950s, when scholars were left to their own devices' (consider Collini's (2012) *What are Universities For?*). Topics are taken up that have very little to offer the world. Sometimes the cry of 'academic freedom' is heard here, which (unless it is properly in defence against intellectual oppression) can be tantamount to the plea 'leave me alone to do my own thing in my own way'. In contrast, the virtue-complex pulls scholarship of itself into a relationship with and concerns for the whole world.

## INTERLUDE

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My argument so far can be put in this way. Scholarship has been on the wane for the past half-century or so, as a term in the language of higher education, as a concept and as a practice. This is readily understandable in the wake of the explosion of funded research, which brings—to the research-intensive universities at least—both massive income streams (plural) and reputational capital, and is both desired and needed by a knowledge-dependent society. The shorthand term for the emergence of this set of social phenomena is 'cognitive capitalism' (Boutang 2011).

In parallel with a vaunting of research, scholarship has been on the end of much scepticism. It is seen as other-worldly, with little in the way of redeeming features such that it is hardly worth spending public monies or institutional energies or resources on it. After all, it struggles to show itself on the performance indicators or ranking measures against which universities are judged, either in national evaluation exercises or in transnational 'league tables', and in performance management regimes *within* universities within which individual academics are judged. Scholarship may be understood, accordingly, as a form of academic life that sprang from a certain kind of academic governance, wherein the universities were their own masters; 'dönkish dominion', as Halsey (1992) termed it.

Given this commentary, it might be felt that scholarship has had its day. It was a form of academic life characteristically associated with a monkish form of existence, and with the humanities and books, a form of life in which the academic world was subject to few if any accountability

measures. Now, universities and their activities have to pay their way and preferably demonstrate their ‘impact’. Reading a book, especially if it is being done in expensive real-estate in a city or urban university setting (New York, San Francisco, London, Paris, Beijing, Sydney, or wherever) is now a costly activity with little in the way of a pay-off or any other institutional reward. It becomes a marginal activity. Indeed, allowing individual academics their own offices is a highly questionable use of resources. If ‘hot-desking’ is out of the question, at least much smaller offices must be deployed; certainly, there can be no room for individual academics to have their own libraries on university premises.

## RE-TERRITORIALIZING SCHOLARSHIP

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Conceptually and institutionally, then, scholarship as such seems to have run into a *cul-de-sac*. It is not immediately clear whether any kind of legitimization can be found for it in the twenty-first century, save as—at best—a kind of cottage industry, a traditional craft, of some interest to visiting travellers but having little impact on the wider polity or economy. It has ceded its place in the academic and societal firmament to research, which in turn has accreted huge spaces to itself (in which, for example, nanotechnology and particle physics study the smallest entities and yet require massive physical resources); and that in turn has served only to marginalize scholarship still further. Admittedly, we have seen its recent phoenix-like rising in the form of ‘the scholarship of teaching and learning’ but, for all the international take-up of that idea and the emergence of a new community among academic developers, scholarship as such is now virtually invisible in institutional strategies and national policy-framing.

Perhaps the key question is this: could a constituency arise that might have an interest in scholarship, not in any way to replace research but move it into a new space, parallel to research? Or, more subtly still, might there develop broad concerns in the wider world such that scholarship might yet come to acquire a new significance (again, alongside research)?

An immediate ploy here would be to identify a range of national and global problems that call for the kinds of academic endeavour that scholarship can supply. For example, issues that arise from demographic

imbalances, the care of the elderly, transcultural and trans-generational tensions, matters of well-being in a complex world, or from identity maintenance (and the psychological difficulties that that presents), of governance and democracy, of social attitudes towards ecological dimensions of life, of the impact of the digital revolution and the coming of the robot society, of living together on this crowded planet and so on. All of these matters take on their own hue within different nations but they also have cross-national dimensions attaching to them. Certainly, there are issues here that may prompt conventional sociological research but all of these—and the list can be extended considerably—call too for very considerable scholarship, delving into literatures, concepts and perspectives across history, philosophy, social theory, anthropology, psychology and psychotherapy, ecology, computer science and neurology and so on. The emerging challenges of the twenty-first century are surely going to call for scholarship of a very adept and sophisticated order.

These reflections in turn raise several profound issues, which we can only touch on here:

- (1) *Interdisciplinarity*: this has been a matter itself of academic interest for around fifty years, albeit with intermittent quickenings and slowings. Over time, a welter of terms has emerged, including ‘trans-disciplinarity’ and ‘meta-disciplinarity’. What is on the cards here is that the major challenges of the world are calling for cross-disciplinary study. It has repeatedly been said that those challenges do not fall neatly within disciplinary boundaries but need to be addressed by bringing the resources of multiple disciplines together. That reflection, however, brings in its wake further matters of (i) university organization, (ii) resourcing, and (iii) evaluation—for all three moments are characteristically structured on disciplinary lines. Certainly, those sharp boundaries are giving way, as research funding agencies seek to stimulate multi-disciplinary research on large cross-cutting themes and as teaching programmes also become cross-disciplinary (witness a programme title such as ‘music design technology’); and that gradual dissolution is a straw in the wind here.
- (2) *Mode 2*: a similarly profound matter of the relationship of academic enquiry to the world arises in the ‘Mode 2’ debate (Nowotny et al.

2001). Indeed, the Mode 2 form of knowledge production can be said to be a specific form of interdisciplinarity since it not only engages with problems *in situ* in the world, draws on ad hoc teams, and has an ephemerality about it but it is also characteristically interdisciplinary, in drawing in multiple cognitive resources that are going to be helpful—in combination—in seriously addressing and hopefully in emerging with solutions to a presenting problem. Further, as its proponents have insisted, Mode 2 knowledge is supremely ‘transgressive’, living across multiple boundaries, of practice and theory, of informal and propositional knowledge, of academia and policy (not to mention politics), and of absolutism and pragmatism. Accordingly, new spaces for understanding the world are opening here.

- (3) *The lure of the market:* Markets are frequently seen as anathema to scholarship and with good reason, for scholarship generates relatively few customers, or monetary turnover, and has little part to play in universities’ branding and projection in the academic marketplace. If universities are now for hire, who is going to hire scholars? But today’s scholars may yet fare well in the marketplace if only they can play their economic cards well.
- (4) Recently, the University of Leicester in England attracted worldwide publicity for its work in (literally) unearthing the skeleton of the English king, Richard III. That work was a huge multi-disciplinary effort, involving forensic and anatomical specialists and archaeologists but also calling upon social, cultural, and war historians and other forms of scholarship able to bring a complex story to the public’s attention, leading to major exhibitions and ceremonies which attracted global interest. This is but one example of hundreds where the work of scholars of all kinds is able to find a public hearing. More generally, we may be witnessing the emergence of the *entrepreneurial scholar*, able to work with publishers, setting up online journals and social media spaces, and broadcasting companies, always on the lookout for novel viewpoints.
- (5) *A call for wisdom:* The theme of wisdom has played large in the philosophy of Nicholas Maxwell for over forty years (2007). He sees the academic world—and knowledge efforts in general—as

having been founded on catastrophic errors committed at the outset of the Enlightenment by the French *philosophes*. In essence, these errors are such that it has never been part of the orientation of empirical enquiry to address the basic problems of living. Instead, Maxwell wants to see learning in general—and universities in particular—oriented towards ‘what is of value in life’, which he terms ‘wisdom’. And some of that thinking can now be seen to be mirrored in some universities as they attempt to tackle grand challenges of the age.

- (6) *Public sphere*: The idea of the public sphere was especially vaunted by Jürgen Habermas (in his (2005 [1962]) book on *The Transformation of the Public Sphere*). By ‘the public sphere’, Habermas had in mind a space in society that was external to the state and to the market and in which an open untrammelled debate was possible, and which sees the flourishing of multiple points of view. It is a space of public reasoning. Now, not least with the emergence of social media, scholars of the university are able to reach out to and engage with multiple publics. In the twenty-first century, scholars may yet give new life to the idea of the public intellectual.
- (7) *The state and academe*: Across the world, in both capitalist and socialist countries, higher education has been caught up in projects of the state. It is not too fanciful to claim that it has become a key state apparatus. For the most part, state control is relatively light, taking the form of an implicit contract, in which the state continues to support universities—both ‘public’ and ‘private’—in return for certain knowledge and skill-providing services, which it then monitors. With certain glaring exceptions, this ‘evaluative state’ (Neave 2012) steers with a gentle rudder. In democracies, universities are caught up in power-plays, as political parties vie with each other in their fluctuating designs of higher education policy frameworks. In all of this, universities feel impinged upon but also still enjoy space for creative work.
- (8) *The digital age*: ‘The digital age’ is a shorthand for a complex of phenomena that are both closing and opening spaces; and which are of particular moment to scholarship. Three phenomena are especially significant here, those of (i) screen-based interrogation of

texts; (ii) computer-based forms of communication within academic communities, now especially global; (iii) computer-based forms of communication that enable communication with the wider society. As implied, such phenomena are changing modes of enquiry, and of the relationship between the writer and the reader. Scholarship, accordingly, is severally implicated here.

These seven phenomena are requiring a *re-territorialization* (Delanda, 2013 [2006]; Deleuze and Guattari 2007 [1980]) on the part of scholarship. A form of enquiry that was located in the book, or at least in texts that had physical form, and could be perused in academic settings, is now displaced in multiple ways. Scholarship is willy-nilly being drawn into other spaces, of globality, of practice, of electronic media, of demonstrable impact, of the public sphere and of messy disciplinary interweavings. No longer can it assume its own worth; now that has to be demonstrated and in many forms and settings. Nor is the university library its natural home. New spaces are opening, in the university–state relationship, in the market, in society and via new technologies, albeit freighted with power and difficulties.

## A NEW SETTLEMENT?

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Can scholarship find a new home where it can settle? The idea of settlement, of course, equivocates. It speaks of inwardness, of a home where one feels ‘at home’. But it also speaks of foundations settling afresh, of settling again, perhaps after an earthquake. And it hints at a compact with outside interests or even external forces, and so establishing a mutual settlement; of settling matters. All of these connotations of settlement are here.

The seven phenomena just identified are pulling, prodding, pushing, and even inviting scholarship away from its traditional moorings, its comfortable habitat, into rough and *unsettled* spaces. There seems to be no sure or stable location any more. The seven moments shift on different planes, with their own ethical loadings (or none), degrees of fluidity and boundary maintenance, and agency. And so scholarship could be left to its own fate, bounced around (rather like the ball in the pinball machine) as it

tries to find a *modus vivendi* for itself, a means of survival, both within institutions and across higher education systems, in the worldwide academic community and in society. But the prognosis is not good: the forces at work are not concerned with scholarship per se. They would hardly notice if it were to be extinguished.

The question before us, then, is simple, stark, and grave: is there a means by which scholarship can find a new settlement in which it has agency of its own and in which it is valued by the wider world? The seven moments just identified suggest that there is an expanding *social ontology of scholarship* that would pull it out of joint. Is there a space, a legitimation available to scholarship, in which it might find a new place in the sun?

## AN ECOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

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The university has its being among many ecosystems but I suggest that seven are especially significant, those of knowledge, social institutions, persons, learning, the economy, culture, and the natural environment. These seven ecosystems are each unstable, subject to impairment and loss of inner diversity. They all act upon and, indeed, are constitutive of the university, and at local, national, and global scales; and the university in turn has powers in relation to them all.

One ecosystem has come to claim the high ground—that of the economy; and it is the university's 'contribution' to the economy that has come especially to matter, ahead of its contribution to the other ecosystems. This pull of the economy on higher education has spawned a value-laden literature of near-infinite proportions, critiquing 'neo-liberalism', 'academic capitalism', universities 'for hire', markets and 'quasi-markets' in higher education, and so on and so forth. In the process, scholarship has often felt that it has had to bend in the wind, looking for income generation possibilities, for publication in 'world-leading' journals and headline-grabbing moments. In this lurch towards an instrumental conception of scholarship, many understandably become pessimistic and even lament a 'university in ruins' (Readings 1997). The irony that such a major work of historical and critical scholarship could somehow have been produced *within* a university that apparently lay in ruins seems to be lost on many.

The critics of the fate of scholarship have much on their side but, as implied, they over-play their hand. I suggested earlier that in all manner of regions, demands for understandings of large matters are likely to expand and to call for scholarship. It would be a scholarship with a public orientation, taking its bearings *from* the world in order to give back *to* the world. This informal reflection can now be formalized in the following way. The seven ecosystems—of knowledge, society, learning, persons, culture, the economy, and the natural environment—will always be falling short of their potential. They will lack diversity or will be fragile. The university cannot be expected to rescue the situation but it can play its modest part in that direction. Every societal problem of any significance—in cities, across the generations, in mutual comprehension, in public services—is indicative of a shortfall in the well-being of one or more ecosystem.

Further, those seven ecosystems are not just external to the university, for knowledge, society, the economy, persons, learning, culture, and the natural environment are all organically present *within* the university; and, as stated, each of these ecosystems is both impaired and will assuredly fall ever shorter of rising expectations of the world. Even despite suggestions of a ‘post-truth’ world and increasing marketization, surely we are going to see calls for heightened levels of human understanding of large issues (and so the knowledge ecosystem will be implicated), of cross-cultural cooperation (and so the culture ecosystem will be implicated), of wider notions of ‘economy’ as the limitations of market-based models are grasped (and so the economy ecosystem will be implicated), of what might be meant by well-being (and so the ecosystem of the person will be implicated), of the need for lifelong and lifewide learning to be given more attention (and so the learning ecosystem will be implicated) and so on, across the seven ecosystems.

Three points emerge here: (i) every university stands within a cluster of ecosystems, seven of which are significant and are organically linked to what it is to be a university; (ii) the ecological profile of each university is particular, since its configuration across those seven ecosystems is unique, given its resources and its possibilities; and (iii) given the shortfall in the extent to which those ecosystems stand in relation to their possibilities (for worldly flourishing), the university has a responsibility to play its part in helping to advance the well-being of those ecosystems. This we may term *the ecological university* (Barnett 2018).

Such a set of ambitions for the university raises in turn major challenges for scholarship. Scholarship is called forth here in many ways. It is called to take on the *widest horizons*, in bringing academic disciplines and structured frameworks to bear on the challenges presented by the seven ecosystems. It is called to *see through the ideologies* and interests of the wider world, which will assuredly resist radical new ways of presenting issues. It is called upon to bring *concerns* for wider human understanding, for the world itself, and for the natural environment into play. It is called upon to develop *synoptic frameworks* that can bring different and even disjointed sets of empirical studies and literatures together. And it is called upon to be *courageous*, in promoting new ways of seeing the world that respect the internal integrity of those seven ecosystems.

A set of riders is necessary here. This is not simply the fashionable plea for the university to attend to the problems of the world, at least as they are presented by the world. Nor even is it to fall in with contemporary calls for the university to realize itself as a provider of ‘public goods’ or even to become itself the public sphere in embryo. It is in part all of these but this *ecological scholarship* will go much further. Ecological scholarship stands on its own ground, attending to the total world, the whole Earth, but with its own ploys. It is a scholarship from-the-world (Bengtsen and Norgaard 2018) and for-the-world, not giving to the world what the world simply calls for but reinterpreting the world, to give to the world what it never dreamt of. This is an *authentic scholarship*.

Another rider is also warranted. Derrida (2001) spoke of a university without condition. That was a curious idea for the university has *always* been conditioned and is now besieged by external forces (global markets both in higher education and more generally, the digital age, rankings, external audits, instrumentalism, and so forth). The contemporary university perforce lives within conditions. But Derrida’s idea catches the glint of a ray of light, that a scholarship might emerge that, as stated, has its own integrity, refusing to bow to the big battalions. But also, it would impose its own conditions on itself. This scholarship—this ecological scholarship—*would impose upon itself* the virtues and, thereby, the conditions of fearlessness, comprehensibility, vision, concern (for the whole Earth, and especially the seven ecosystems with which it is ineluctably associated), and reaching out (to the world). This is no ivory-towered scholarship, no scholarship that is concerned only with itself and its own modes of thought

and conversations. Rather, it is a scholarship imbued with an interest—an *ecological interest*—in the world, in all its aspects.

## CONCLUSIONS

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For understandable reasons, scholarship has been on the wane, having been displaced by forms of research in which scholarship plays but a small part. Scholarship no longer cuts the mustard in an age that calls for contemporary empirical substantiation of knowledge claims, which in turn just might be marketable or otherwise demonstrate their impact on the world. It is out-of-kilter with the age, at once one of haste, instrumentalism, showiness, and entrepreneurialism. A form of academic life that seemed to inhere care, steadiness, a measured pace and rhythm, intrinsic virtues, something of an inwardness and its own academic space was bound to feel unloved.

For all that, scholarship seems a long time a-dying; on the contrary, it is in many ways growing, as academic papers and books are available online and as opportunities for new visibility present themselves. Admittedly, it seems often to succumb to the contemporary scissors-and-paste mentality, raiding ‘findings’ with search engines, generating unwieldy bibliographies, and buckling together listings of any number of authorities (not to mention name-dropping). These are but signs of the aforementioned forces (rankings, instrumentalism, haste, showiness) infiltrating scholarship. But old-style scholarship is still to be found, even if in the shadows of academic life.

The question is whether a role can be found for scholarship that would provide it with a new legitimacy. Two conditions would need to be satisfied, those of (i) worldly desire and (ii) preparedness. The idea of ecological scholarship—mooted here—may fit that double-bill, although it fares differently in relation to each of those conditions.

In speaking of *worldly desire*, I am not suggesting that the world will clamour for this ecological scholarship as such, especially of the critical authentic kind being pressed here. But it is entirely plausible to think that worldly and societal settings will develop in a propitious way. There could well be calls for and even demands that the university address major problems and issues, even of a global character. And spaces open for new

scholarly entrepreneurialism. So the conditions might arise whereby spaces for ecological scholarship—of the kind being advocated—could open.

But then the second matter arises, that of *preparedness*: will the academic community be prepared to make the necessary accommodations that ecological scholarship requires? Here, the jury is out. The scholarly community shows an undue stubbornness in remaining within its disciplinary configurations, in its concerns with frameworks that have little bearing on matters of the world, in its focus on minutiae rather than on the big picture (the trees and woods syndrome) and in its modes of address. Perhaps this last is key, a reluctance amongst scholars to consider the matter of audience. Accessibility, delight in the written word, and care for the reader are not characteristic hallmarks of academic texts. Even here, though, there are academic winds of change that are getting up—witness the interest being taken in *academic* commentators on academic writing (such as Billig 2013; Pinker 2014; and Sword 2012, 2017), an interest even *within* the academic community.

So, to put the matter formally, the time of ecological scholarship may be upon us *ontologically* (the world simply is changing in ways conducive to the emergence of suitable conditions), *subjectively* (scholars may yet come to understand themselves anew, not least in an Internet age in which everything is in the public domain and the need to communicate widely becomes more important), and *epistemologically* (we come afresh to understand the university as being set in a global and even universal context). The coming of an ecological scholarship—and the ecological scholar—may not be far off.

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## CHAPTER 19

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# HIGHER EDUCATION FINANCE

*Global Realities, Policy Options, and  
Common Misunderstandings*

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D. BRUCE JOHNSTONE

HIGHER education throughout the word is a large and ever-growing enterprise. It is thought to be the key to national as well as individual economic prosperity, to a stable and inclusive democracy, and to a vibrant civil society. Higher education is also costly and becoming rapidly more so: to nations, to the institutions of higher education, and in most countries to parents and students. National policies for the financing of higher education are mainly responses to the global reality of higher educational costs and revenue needs—at both the institutional and the country or system levels—that tend to rise at rates in excess of available revenues from governments alone. Thus most countries are turning (or have long since turned) to solutions both on the revenue side—principally increasing the share of instructional costs borne by parents and students—or on the cost side, seeking productivity gains by cutting expenses and changing the traditional paradigms of teaching and learning. All of the policy options are complex and nuanced. They are also, in almost all countries, politically and ideologically contested. The results, at least to this author, include common misunderstandings that feed on these complexities and contestations and that further complicate the policy options before governments, institutions, and families alike. This chapter attempts to illuminate: (a) the global reality

of higher education's underlying financial challenge; (b) the policy options before governments, governing boards, and institutional leaders; and (c) some of the common misunderstandings that can arise from recognizing the financial realities while maintaining institutional quality and enhancing accessibility and social justice.

## **GLOBAL REALITIES: THE DILEMMA OF HIGHER EDUCATION FINANCE**

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Behind the ever-rising per-student costs is higher education's underlying labour-intensive, productivity-resistant production function. Colleges and universities lack the kinds of continuous productivity enhancements associated with manufacturing, agriculture, and other productivity receptive sectors, which either outsource labour-intensive components to low wage jurisdictions or substitute capital and technology for labour to enhance productivity. On the other hand, higher education in most countries—like basic education, symphony orchestras, nursing homes, and other labour-intensive enterprises—faces a *default* per-student cost trajectory that reflects mainly its costs of faculty and staff labour, but without the productivity enhancing substitution of technology or outsourcing to reduce labour costs. As long as the compensation increases of the productivity-resistant colleges and universities mirror the compensation increases in the general economy—which increases are fuelled mainly by the productivity-receptive economic sectors—the average unit (per-student) costs in higher education will rise at rates that are above the average rise in unit costs and prices in the overall economy—and thus above the prevailing rates of inflation.

Rising higher educational costs can be accelerated by new instructional programmes and new academic specialties as the tendency in most universities in most countries is to add new programmes faster than old programmes—and their faculty and staff and equipment—can be retooled, retrained, or shed altogether. This escalation is furthered by the inflexible faculty labour markets prevailing in most countries and is especially significant in low- and middle-income countries in which faculty and staff, along with other civil service employees, tend to be well organized,

politically powerful, and able to resist a reallocation of resources that might jeopardize jobs. (Private institutions of higher education, whether non-profit or for-profit, tend to be more flexible and better able to reallocate resources—and thus to more easily shed less critically needed staff and to follow the changing needs of local job markets and the changing demands of their students.)

These rapidly increasing per-student instructional costs are even further accelerated by relentlessly increasing enrolment pressures in most countries and in almost all middle- and low-income countries. Enrolment increases call for additional college and university capacity, including more lecture theatres, laboratories, residence halls, and entire campuses—and of course for more faculty and staff. This surging demand is driven in most countries by high birth rates and increasing college- and university-age populations that are then accelerated by the rapidly growing secondary school completion rates as potential students and their families recognize that higher education is the key to better jobs, higher status, greater social and political influence, and a wider array of lifetime choices, including occupations, places to live, and mates. Finally, most governments seek greater social justice through the expansion of higher educational accessibility to those who have traditionally been excluded or at least underrepresented in higher education: e.g. the rural or isolated, the ethnically and linguistically marginalized, sometimes girls, and nearly always the poor.

## A REVENUE SIDE SOLUTION: COST-SHARING

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At the same time, the revenues required to meet these rising costs and revenue needs, especially from governments, have been failing in most countries to keep pace. This failure may be due to taxpayer resistance, to the sheer inability of governments to increase taxes, particularly in times of flat or declining economic growth, or to competition from other more socially or politically compelling public needs. But for whatever reason, revenue from government in most countries has been failing to keep up with higher education's rising revenue needs. In response, governments, universities, and tertiary-level institutions throughout the world are turning

to other sources of revenue to fill the gap and stave off the encroaching austerity.

The principal other-than-governmental revenue sources are parents and students—or what has come in higher educational policy parlance to be known as *cost-sharing*. Cost-sharing is both a statement of fact—that higher educational costs are necessarily shared among governments, parents, students (mainly through part-time employment and loans), and philanthropists or donors—as well as a term used to describe a worldwide shift of the costs of higher education from a predominant or even an exclusive reliance on governments and taxpayers to a greater reliance on parents and/or students (Johnstone 2004; Johnstone and Marcucci 2010a).

Cost-sharing is supported by the economic concepts of equity and efficiency as well as by the apparent inability of public revenues in almost all countries to keep up with burgeoning enrolments and rising per-student costs. However, it continues to be strongly resisted in countries with traditions of free or only nominal tuition fees (sometimes constitutionally enshrined), some of which also have limited mechanisms of means-tested financial assistance or of student loans to maintain accessibility in the face of these rising expenses. And the alternatives to closing the cost–revenue gap with increased revenue from governments and/or families are solutions on the cost side: that is, forcing productivity gains in higher education that do not compromise the quality or relevance of either instruction or research. The policy challenge posed by higher education finance, then, is the need to reconcile the sometimes competing needs for:

- additional revenue from the public treasury—in the face of competition from other socially and politically compelling needs;
- additional revenue from parents and/or students—in the face of inevitable student and political opposition;
- enhanced higher educational accessibility—in the face of potentially increased expenses to low income students and families;
- enhanced efficiency—in spite of higher education’s historic resistance to conventional metrics of productivity.

Proponents of cost-sharing maintain that it can supplement public revenues and—with means-tested financial assistance—enhance capacity,

accessibility, and equity. And without some form of revenue supplementation, public colleges and universities in many countries will be forced either to limit enrolments—and thus continue to serve only a small elite—or will be maintained at such levels of overcrowding and shabbiness that all students may be denied a good higher education.

## **FORMS OF COST-SHARING**

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Cost-sharing can take several quite different forms, the principal ones being the following eight ([Table 19.1](#)) (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010a: 64–5):

**Table 19.1 Higher education finance: international comparisons of selected countries**

Country	1	2	3	4	5	6
	GDP per capita projected 2016	Membership in OECD	Tertiary level gross enrolment ratio	% of pop. age 25-34 'bachelor' degree	Pub. & pvt. HE expenditures per f.t.e.	Pub. & pvt. HE expenditures % GDP
Australia	\$64,705	Yes	86.6	30.2%	\$17,383	1.6
Chile	\$13,663	Yes	86.6	17.64%	\$8,592	2.5
China	\$8,401	No	39.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
France		Yes	64.4	12.1%	\$15,757	1.4
Germany	\$41,244	Yes	64.5	14.3%	\$17,691	1.2
Kenya	\$1,607	No	4.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Korea	\$29,115	Yes		44.5%	\$10,173	2.3
Japan	\$38,252	Yes	62.4	n.a.	\$17,397	1.5
Russia	\$10,885	No	78.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
South Africa	5,589	No	19.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Sweden	\$49,574	Yes	63.4	22.2	\$23,325	1.7
United Kingdom	\$37,813	Yes	56.5	30.5%	\$25,095	1.8
United States	\$70,204	Yes	86.7	24.9%	\$27,389	2.8
Country	7	8				
	Extent of private higher education		Tuition fee policies*			
Australia	Nominal private sector		Students are Commonwealth supported or full fee paying. Moderately high tuition fees for CSP students deferred via income contingent loans at zero real rate of interest.			
Chile	Pvt. sector dominant short		Fees have vacillated from high fees to a promise of free universities. In 2016, 30 of 60 univ. participated in the gratuidad			

	cycle for profit	programme (free tuition) for students from lowest 50% of family income.
China	Still small but growing pvt. sector	Tuition fees for 1st degree students, approved in 1997, helped finance great expansion of higher education. 2012 devolution to provinces and institutions saw fee increase as well as differentiation by programme.
France	Nominal, with some grandes écoles private	No tuition fees, but modest other fees. All academic h.s. grads qualify for universities, but many of most able elect selective grandes écoles, some of which are private with tuition fees.
Germany	Nominal private sector	No tuition fees in 2017, but individual Länder have authority to impose fees and several did in the 1990s. Access is via means-tested loans, subsidized to the point of almost grants.
Kenya	Fast growing as public capacity is limited	Nominal fees for limited numbers of governmentally-supported students, but high fees for <i>privately-supported</i> , or <i>parallel track</i> students in public universities (similar to others in East Africa).
Korea	Private sector dominant	Large tuition fee-dependent private sector and high tuition fees in public sector. Elections in 2012 promised 50% reduction in fees, but not yet (as of 2017) realized.
Japan	Private sector dominant	National universities corporatized in 2004 with limited authority to set moderately high tuition fees. Tuition fee-dependent private sector under stress from declining college-age pop.
Russia	Growing non-elite private sector	End of USSR and ensuing austerity led to dual track tuition fees that limited number of state-supported students: but admitted others for high fees, allowing pretence of legally-mandated free higher education.
South Africa	Growing non-elite private sector	Tuition fee policies are highly politicized by enrolment pressures, need for fee revenue, continued inequality, the legacy of apartheid, and political pressure for promised free higher education.
Sweden	Only nominal private sector	Like other Nordic countries, there are no tuition fees—but also no officially expected parental contributions for high living costs, which fall mainly on students through student loans.
United Kingdom	Only nominal private sector	First European country to depart from free or near free HE. Scotland separated in 1998 with deferred fees and income contingent repayments. England followed in 2006 with high but deferred tuition fees (i.e. loans)
United States	Pvt. non-profits declined but dominate elites	Great variation by state, sector, level, and control (i.e. public or private). Fees range \$2,000 to \$4,000 public 2-year to \$40,000-\$50,000 and more in elite private institutions (with heavy discounting & aid).

\* Actual fees in most countries vary by institution, by sector, and often year by year.

Source: Johnstone and Marcucci (2010a), and The International Comparative Higher Education Finance and Accessibility Project at: <<http://www.gse.buffalo.edu/org/IntHigherEdFinance/>>.

- (1) *The beginning of tuition fees where higher education was formerly free or nearly so:* This was the case in China in 1997, the United Kingdom in 1998, and Austria in 2001.
- (2) *The addition of a special tuition-paying track while maintaining free higher education for the regularly admitted, state-supported students:* Such a *dual track* tuition fee preserves the legal and political appearance of free higher education, which is particularly important (and is frequently enshrined in a constitution or a framework law) in formerly communist or socialist countries such as Russia, most of East and Central Europe, and other countries that were once part of the former Soviet Union, as well as East African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania with their legacy of African socialism.
- (3) *A very sharp rise in fees where public sector tuition fees already exist:* This has been the case most recently in England, which in 2012 raised the maximum allowable university tuition fee to some £9,000 (around \$12,000). It has also been the case for decades in most of the states in the United States and many of the provinces in Canada, as state and provincial governments have failed to maintain their former shares of public university expenses.
- (4) *The imposition of user charges to recover the expenses of what were once governmentally- or institutionally-provided and heavily subsidized residences and dining halls:* This has been happening in most countries, including virtually all the formerly communist/socialist countries as well as most of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, where subsidized living costs at one time absorbed the bulk of public higher educational budgets.
- (5) *The elimination or reduction of student grants or scholarships:* This is sometimes accomplished simply by ‘freezing’ grant or loan levels, holding them constant in the face of inflation, which then erodes their real value. This began happening to the once generous cost of living grants in Britain (which were later abandoned altogether) and has happened to the value of the maintenance grants in most of the communist or socialist countries of the former Soviet

Union, Eastern and Central Europe, and Asia, as well as many countries in Africa.

- (6) *A shift in the predominant form of student assistance from grants to loans:* This was the case in the United Kingdom, as reported above, and has been the case in the United States, where the federal need-based grants have not kept pace with increases in the costs of higher education to students, but the total volume of federally-sponsored student loans (most of them subsidized and/or guaranteed) has risen dramatically.
- (7) *An increase in the effective cost recovery on student loans:* This can be accomplished through a diminution of the subsidies on student loans (similar to cutting the value of non-repayable grants), through an increase in interest rates, a reduction in the length of time that interest is not charged, or through a reduction in the numbers of loans for which the repayments, for any number of reasons, are forgiven. Or, the effective cost recovery might be accomplished through a tightening of collections, or a reduction in the instances of default (as in the United States in the 1990s) with no change in the effective rates of interest paid by those who were repaying anyway.
- (8) *The limitation of capacity in the low fee or free public sector together with the official encouragement (and frequently some public subsidization) of a tuition-dependent private sector:* A number of countries—notably Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Brazil, and other countries in Latin America and East Asia—have avoided much of what would otherwise have been significant governmental expenditure on higher education by keeping a limited public sector—usually elite and selective—and shifting much of the costs of expanded participation to parents and students through the encouragement of a substantial and growing private higher education sector.

## TUITION FEES AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

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Although cost-sharing may take on these different forms, the imposition of, and/or increases in, tuition fees provide the greatest financial impact. This is

because tuition fees, aside from the need to rebate some of the additional income in the form of grants or discounts to preserve accessibility, can be both financially significant and ongoing, and can even be designed to increase with some regularity, thus keeping pace with the inevitably rising per-student costs of instruction. Also, unlike most forms of faculty entrepreneurship, tuition fees do not divert faculty from the core instructional mission (and according to many observers, actually have a beneficial effect of improving the quality of teaching and the relevance of the curriculum). Perhaps for these reasons, tuition fees are also the most politically charged and ideologically resisted form of cost-sharing and thus have become a symbol of the conflict between those who believe that government must continue to provide higher education free of any charge, and those who believe in the imperative of cost-sharing and especially of tuition fees.

At the same time, shifting even a small portion of the costs that were formerly borne by governments and taxpayers onto parents and students requires some form or forms of student financial assistance for students from families who cannot afford these expenses. Financial assistance may take the form of grants (or discounts) that may cover all or some of the tuition fees plus some or possibly most of the costs of student living. Grants or discounts are generally means-tested, or based on some measure of what the family can afford to pay based on its income, assets, and special expenses (such as the size of the family and the number of children in higher education for whom fees and living expenses have to be paid).

Means-testing, however, is difficult as families may resist disclosing to authorities their true incomes and assets. This resistance may be to escape taxation; or it may be that resisting the disclosure of family income, or its under-reporting, may be rewarded by a means-tested grant or discount that would not have been earned with a true reporting. Means-testing is more likely to give reliable measures of family finances in countries where incomes are generally reported and known, as they are more likely to be in North America, the United Kingdom, and Northern Europe than in many other countries or where incomes are apt to be variable, or from self-employment or farming, and are often either not known or not reported with accuracy. Countries such as Kenya or the Philippines have resorted to what have been described as *categorical indicators* of income that may at least approximate the ability to pay a moderate tuition fee and be more difficult

to hide. For example, families may be considered able to pay if either parent is employed full time in a managerial capacity by the state or a licensed multinational corporation, if the family has been able to send children to private secondary schools, or if the family farm is of a certain size or has running water and telephone connection, and so forth. In all of these cases, the object of governmental policy is to find a relatively accurate, verifiable, and cost-effective approximation of a family's ability to pay a tuition fee so that the financial assistance may be targeted on those families for which the governmental grant will not merely reward academic ability, but will make a difference between a student being able to attend an appropriate university or not (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010a; Marcucci and Johnstone 2010).

## STUDENT LOANS

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The other form of financial assistance designed to expand accessibility to all forms of postsecondary education is a loan. Student loans are politically controversial because, along with other forms of cost-sharing, they are designed to shift a portion of higher educational costs onto students—even though they can equally be perceived as a way to retain accessibility if tuition fees and other forms of cost-sharing are unavoidable and if the family of the student is unable to cover the costs of attendance. Governments may prefer loans over grants, or low tuition fees for all, in that a loan, even if funded initially from governmental revenues, is in theory more of an asset than an expenditure even if partially subsidized. Thus, a given level of governmental expenditure—again in theory, and assuming a degree of means-testing, or targeting—can generate more accessibility than the same level of expenditure could provide with no or very low tuition fees for all or even with means-tested grants.

The caveat, *in theory*, is used because very many loan programmes in fact do not recover more than a fraction of the amounts lent. This may be due to interest rates that are set too low, or because the loans are not recovered, or because the means-testing is insufficient. In addition, some families, especially in some cultures, are resistant to borrowing or averse for religious reasons to the payment of interest, as in some Islamic cultures. And student debt—even in a country as accustomed to cost-sharing, high

tuition fees, and student borrowing as the United States—can become a problem if students take on far more debt than they are likely to be able to repay. However, given (a) the need in so many countries for some degree of cost-sharing; (b) the fact that higher education does bring a private return to students (both monetary and non-monetary); and (c) student loans with appropriate interest rates that are appropriately recovered can provide substantial cost-effective access, student loan schemes will continue to play an important role in reconciling the need for supplemental revenue with the need for maintaining and expanding higher educational accessibility. Indeed, student loans are an integral part of higher education finance in very many countries, including (among a great many): the United States and Canada in North America; the United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Portugal, in Europe; Kenya and South Africa in sub-Saharan Africa; Chile and Colombia in South America; and Australia, Japan, Korea, and China in Asia (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010a: 129–60; Ziderman 2009).

## POLICY OPTIONS ON THE COST SIDE

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The increasing gap between rapidly rising instructional costs and available revenues may have to be solved in most countries not simply by raising ever more revenue from parents and students as well as taxpayers, but also by reducing costs and increasing productivity. This assertion requires a modification of the conclusion expressed earlier in this chapter: namely, that instructional expenses, which are borne by governments and families alike, must be expected to continue rising at rates at least equal to prevailing inflation, and that solutions to these perpetually diverging trajectories primarily call for additional revenue. Cost-side solutions, rather, reject the notion of higher education’s inevitable productivity resistance, and assert that higher education—or at least some public institutions in some countries—must find ways to lower, or at the least to stabilize, the continuing rise in per-student instructional expenses.

Most higher educational leaders and faculty in most countries, however, would claim that costs have already been cut or stabilized. They would point to such alleged productivity-enhancing measures as:

- increasing average class size;
- increasing (some) faculty teaching loads;
- replacing regular faculty with less expensive part-time or adjunct faculty;
- absorbing enrolment growth not through universities but through university colleges and other short-cycle institutions that are less costly to both governments and families than traditional universities;
- alternatively or additionally, absorbing enrolment growth through freezing public higher education (especially public research universities) and encouraging (and partially subsidizing) private institutions of higher education at less cost per-student (at least at less cost to the government);
- cutting non-teaching staff;
- outsourcing non-academic functions (e.g. printing, maintenance, payroll, telecommunications) to outside, lower cost providers;
- freezing or cutting faculty and staff compensation;
- cutting book and journal expenses by inter-library sharing and electronic retrieval;
- stretching the physical plant by operating year-round;
- deferring maintenance on the physical plant.

More profound—and more disruptive, controversial, and problematic—measures advanced to alter higher education's productivity resistance and allow major reductions in per-student costs include:

- far greater use of electronically-delivered instruction from all sources including Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs);
- in accord with above, the use of instructional technology to move students through their higher education by awarding degree or diploma credit not for satisfactory time in class, but for demonstrated proficiency, thus encouraging students to move at their own pace and allowing the most academically able and ambitious to complete in far less instructional time—and at less expense to institutions, governments, parents, or students;
- similarly, shortening the total time to the final degree by reducing the average time to the bachelor's degree to three years (as in the United

Kingdom) and further by accelerating the time to advanced professional and graduate degrees.

A major barrier to many of these measures is that the low-hanging fruit of easy productivity increases in most countries may have already been taken. The more difficult measures, such as altering teaching loads or reallocating or terminating staff, or moving to an altogether different and cheaper teaching-learning paradigm—quite apart from any deleterious impact on learning—are often blocked in public institutions of higher education by civil service laws or governmentally-negotiated labour contracts. The management of governmental agencies and the norms of civil service employment generally prize continuity of practices and employment, both of which are incompatible with the kinds of profound and disruptive changes necessary to a major alteration in the underlying trajectory of higher education's instructional costs.

There has been a clear shift in governmental laws and regulations dealing with public universities in the last several decades, especially in Europe (e.g. the Netherlands and the United Kingdom), in many Canadian provinces and virtually all American states, and very recently in China and Japan. This shift has been in the direction of greater managerial autonomy and flexibility, frequently transforming public universities from simple governmental agencies into *public corporations*. These new developments are designed to maximize the university's outputs of teaching and research for the taxpayer dollar, as well as to provide incentives for maximizing other-than-governmental revenue. Substituting lower-cost junior or part-time faculty for higher-cost senior faculty, increasing average class size, increasing teaching loads, and differentiating faculty workloads will be resisted by faculty and staff and their political allies. In the end, they may be too divisive and too easily politicized both from those on the outside who believe there are far more cuts yet to be made, as well as those on the inside who believe that the cuts already made were unnecessary and have damaged their universities.

What lies ahead in the worldwide financing of higher education may be a far more profound set of changes to the way at least some students are educated. These include shorter first degrees (which is already happening with the European Bologna Accords), more university credit for learning taking place in secondary schools (such as the International Baccalaureate

or the American Advanced Placement Program), a greater differentiation of sectors, and more students beginning their postsecondary education in lower-cost non-universities such as three- and four-year university colleges, community colleges, polytechnics, universities of applied technology, and other institutions featuring shorter cycles, higher student/faculty ratios, and less faculty time devoted to research.

The most profound, controversial, problematic, and disruptive threat to the worldwide conventional instructional paradigm is the potential presented by instructional technology and the Internet, which present the tantalizing but disturbing possibility of altering the basic instructional paradigm associated with higher education since the Middle Ages and greatly lowering the cost to students, institutions, systems, and countries. Few will doubt that instructional technology will alter the way professors teach and students learn, and few will resist self-paced learning via the Internet taking the place of much certificate training or mid-career professional updating that may be required of healthcare professionals, engineers, accountants, and lawyers. At the same time, many observers are sceptical about the degree to which MOOCs or even less dramatic forms of technologically-aided, self-paced learning will so profoundly alter the higher education of traditional age students. The sceptics point to early indications of very heavy drop-out rates from such learning experiences, together with significant problems with the actual awarding of degrees and maintaining security. Traditional age students, it is asserted, go to colleges and universities (if they can) not just to learn from an instructor—whether lecturing or leading a discussion in front of a live class or received on a computer screen—but to learn from other students both in and out of class, plus all of the rest of the university experience. What some fear is that some governments will attempt to solve the financial dilemma of rising costs and increasing enrolment pressures with a combination of high-fee elite public universities, which will become increasingly for students who are very high achieving and disproportionately from wealthy families, and the rest of the students will receive their higher education either from a high-cost private college or from a public college that is low-cost—to both the student and the state—because there are few professors and most of the instruction is conveyed via the Internet (Johnstone 2013a).

# **COMMON MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT HIGHER EDUCATION FINANCE AND POLICY OPTIONS BEFORE GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION**

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Higher education's underlying cost trajectory, its resistance to cost-cutting and continuous productivity gains, the politically and ideologically contested case for cost-sharing and tuition fees, and the complex and also controversial relationship between cost-sharing and student loans (again in their many forms) give rise to controversy and misunderstandings. Some of the common misunderstandings (again, as understood by this author) are the following (Johnstone, 2013b):

*Common misunderstanding 1: The charging of public sector tuition fees recognizes primarily the private benefits of higher education as opposed to the public, or social, benefits; and the higher the tuition fee, the more the private benefits are presumed to exceed the public, or social, benefits.*

One of the least edifying debates in the discourse over the appropriateness of a tuition fee in the provision of public higher education is whether the benefits of higher education are *public (or social)* or *private*. Obviously, higher education brings both. Private benefits to students include greater productivity and greater lifetime earnings as well as greater status, prestige, and socio-political influence in addition to a wider choice of careers, mates, domiciles, and other life options. Parents of students also receive benefits, including the satisfaction that their children have all of the aforementioned advantages, as well as the added capacity to care for them if necessary in their elder years.

Just as obviously, there are *public, or social, benefits, or positive externalities*, to higher education as well, including economic growth and prosperity as well as the enhanced quality of life and social and civic virtues such as toleration and political participation that are generally assumed to spill over to populations far outnumbering the students who received the higher education. If the private benefits were assumed to be sufficient to induce the optimal amount of higher education—that is, a sufficient number of students or graduates, by programme and level of attainment, and for

these private benefits to be distributed equitably—then the market alone might suffice without public subsidization. However, it is generally assumed in virtually all countries that entirely fee-supported instruction, whether provided by public or private providers, and assuming sufficient parental contributions and available student loans:

- would not yield a sufficient number of college and university graduates to capture all of the externalities, or social benefits, of higher education;
- would especially not yield a sufficient number of graduates in particular fields that produce some of the most significant social benefits such as nursing, teaching, or basic scientific research; and
- would not address the social goals of advancing equity among the very large number of potential students and parents unable to come up with the requisite tuition fees, even with loans and other forms of financial assistance, and therefore would not yield the equitable distribution of students and graduates to satisfy widely-held notions of social justice.

Therefore, the majority of undergraduate instructional costs in almost all countries (as well as nearly all of the expenditures on sponsored research and public service) continue to be borne by governments and taxpayers. And thus, the existence or the level of tuition fees—whether no fees, very low fees, deferred fees, or relatively high fees—says little or nothing about the recognition in any particular country of the social benefits of higher education.

*Common misunderstanding 2: Public sector tuition fees constitute the principal financial barrier to higher educational accessibility and wider participation.*

Public sector tuition fees clearly constitute a financial hurdle for low and low-middle income families—albeit a hurdle that can be significantly lessened by governmental and institutional financial assistance. And just as clearly, tuition fees constitute in most countries a major political and ideological flashpoint. However, as long as the fees are in the moderate range (say, 10 to 25 or 30 per cent of undergraduate instructional costs) or are deferred for most students, tuition fees probably do not constitute the

principal financial barrier to higher educational participation. In cases where students are unable to attend full time and live at home or with an income-earning partner, the costs of student living, or maintenance, generally constitute much greater expenses, including food, lodging, clothing, transportation, entertainment, mobile telephones, and the like. And on top of tuition fees are the educational expenses of books, computers, examination and registration fees and other university fees that may be unrelated to the tuition fees. This is not to deny that expenses in their totality can constitute a formidable financial barrier to higher educational participation, particularly to young persons from low income families, or that public sector tuition fees contribute to these expenses. But there are other, and generally far more cost-effective, ways of ameliorating these barriers than by providing very low or no tuition fees for all students: specifically, targeted or means-tested financial assistance with moderate tuition fees for those parents and students who can and will pay their underlying share of the instructional costs of public higher education.

*Common misunderstanding 3: Increasing tuition fees leads to falling enrolments; therefore increases in public sector tuition fees should be avoided altogether or at least kept as low as possible to maintain enrolments.*

The effect of an increase in tuition fees has been the subject of considerable research in the United States, the United Kingdom, and other OECD countries (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010a: 202–20). More refined research has studied the effect of changes in net tuition fees—that is, after financial assistance. Such research shows little effect from changes in tuition fees for most students, but generally shows some effect on those from lower socio-economic backgrounds, who may have little or no way to absorb even a modest increase in fees. Increases in tuition fees may also discourage those who may be unprepared or ambivalent from the start about the academic rigours of college or university. However, there has been relatively little research on the effects on student enrolment behaviour other than decisions to not enrol at all or to drop out once enrolled. And at least in the United States and other countries where there is a wide range of postsecondary alternatives from which the student (and generally also the family) can choose, the effect of an increase in tuition fees and/or a reduction or change in financial assistance may not mean a decision to not attend or to drop out, but rather to take a part-time job, to work longer hours, to borrow more, or

(particularly in the United States) to change to a lower price institution or to move back home with one's parents.

Thus, the scholarly and policy interest in the tuition price elasticity of demand is not exactly a misunderstanding, nor is it incorrect or unimportant. To the contrary, the effect on enrolment behaviour of changes in tuition fees and/or financial assistance is of profound importance. But if the underlying costs of higher education can be expected to rise nearly every year, it is not inappropriate—and may be only realistic—to assume that those increasing instructional costs should be borne proportionally by those sharing them: that is, by governments and families alike. If a government, having inaugurated a policy of modest tuition fees, then freezes these fees—probably in the face of most other prices continuing to rise—the government is sending a confusing signal to students and parents: that is, that their public higher education, which has a highly subsidized price to begin with, and the underlying costs of which keep rising every year, should nonetheless be somehow immune from the inflation that is seen almost everywhere else.

A more rational and predictable policy is for a government to determine an appropriate (at least approximate) share of instructional costs to be borne by parents and students—which share will necessarily be affected by, for example, history, the prevailing economic and political ability to keep raising taxes, the extent of a fee-dependent private sector, and the strength of available financial assistance, and other factors—and then to maintain that share—likely meaning modest fee increases in most years. But a policy of maintaining an appropriate family share also serves to focus politically on the need to maintain the government's share, which like the family's share, must be expected to be maintained and thus to be increased in most years along with the underlying increases in the cost of instruction and enrolments.

*Common misunderstanding 4: Any increase in per-student instructional costs—and any increase in tuition fees representing the family's share of such increased costs—should not exceed the country's prevailing rate of inflation. More importantly, increases in instructional costs and tuition fees should not exceed the rate of inflation year after year.*

As explained early in this chapter, the expected yearly increase in per-student instructional costs, as well as the annual increase in tuition fees—assuming a decision has been made that tuition fees should constitute a

more-or-less constant share of instructional costs, with governments responsible for the remaining share—should be expected generally to exceed a country's prevailing rate of inflation, and to do so year after year. This so-called *cost disease* would not occur if the compensation of the faculty and staff fell behind wages and benefits in the larger economy: that is, did not share in the economy's overall growth. Increasing unit costs also might fall behind prevailing inflation where an artificial productivity increase is forced upon colleges and universities. This can occur when class sizes and/or teaching loads are increased year after year or cost centres such as libraries and laboratories are downsized or allowed to deteriorate—all of which can make instructional costs *cheaper*, but not necessarily any more *productive*. Thus, tuition fees can reasonably be expected to increase year after year at rates exceeding the prevailing rates of inflation unless the government increases its share or unless public colleges and universities find ways to cut per-student costs, also year after year without diminishing quality or capacity.

At the same time, this default expectation of virtually continuous cost and fee increases obscures the fact that per-student costs in virtually all countries vary greatly among institutions: nearly always higher in research universities and much lower in colleges and short-cycle institutions. Per-student costs in many countries vary as well simply by the governmental revenue made available to a particular institution, the ability to charge higher tuition fees, the possession of a large endowment, or the ability to attract annual philanthropic donations or external research revenues. The American economist and university president Howard Bowen in 1980 first coined the term *revenue theory of costs* to suggest higher education's peculiar determinant of its unit, or per-student, costs, or *production function*. Rather than being based on the cost of inputs and a technologically-based relationship between inputs and outputs, as in most business or industries, the unit costs in higher education are based mainly on available revenue (Bowen 1980). While this phenomenon does not in itself refute the general absence of continuous productivity improvements or the consequent likelihood of annual increases in costs and fees, the absence of any technologically-based production function to establish or at least approximate what the unit costs in a college or university ought to be, and the great variation of what these per-student costs actually are, suggests that cost cutting, or at least increments in efficiency, are more possible than

university administrators or faculty are comfortable acknowledging. Furthermore, cost increases can always be held down temporarily by holding faculty and staff compensation increases below average compensation increases in the general economy, as well as by forcing ever larger classes or higher teaching loads—although such changes would not count as increasing productivity unless the products, or outputs, of teaching, research, and service were fully maintained, which is unlikely.

True increases in higher education's productivity, like the productivity increases associated with manufacturing and some service industries, are probably possible only with a radical restructuring of higher education as we have come to know it: that is, with university campuses, lecture theatres, classrooms, textbooks, and professors combining teaching and research. In most visions of profound, or radical, higher educational change, these features give way to MOOCs and students learning essentially on their own and at their own pace, without benefit of the faculty relationships, advising, counselling, and recreational opportunities that we associate with university campuses. However, such alternative instructional provision would fail to provide much of what students (and parents and employers) expect from their colleges and universities and is unlikely to replace colleges and universities as we know them in any country. Nevertheless, there may be room for such radically different—and more productivity-receptive—forms at the margins of higher education: such as some remedial education, adult learning, professional certification; and licensure updating, and cases in which distance education is the only option.

*Common misunderstanding 5: Promoting tertiary education among low-income and other financially marginalized elements of a society is better done with free (or at least very low-cost) public higher education than with moderate tuition fees plus financial assistance.*

Free or very low-cost higher education—that is, the instructional costs of higher education being borne exclusively (or almost so) by the taxpayer—may be a cost-effective way to enhance accessibility when all or most of the following conditions can be said to prevail:

- Higher education is *not* overwhelmingly the preserve of the children of more privileged families, but is rather partaken of with relative social equality.

- The taxes to support higher education, particularly at the margin of tax increases, are relatively cost-effective and at least relatively progressive so that the additional taxes required to keep up with the rising costs are not themselves so costly to collect and do not fall disproportionately on the middle and lower socio-economic classes.
- The opportunity cost of additional government expenditures for higher education—that is, the next best alternative expenditure that might have been made if some of the additional revenue needed for higher education could have come instead from other-than-tax revenues such as tuition fees—brings less public good than the benefit attained by the continued spending of higher tax revenues on higher education. (In other words, there are few great public needs that are not being achieved because of a lack of public funding that could be funded with a shift of instructional costs from government to parents and students.)

The above conditions are generally met in the affluent Nordic countries, where there would seem to be no significant policy advantage to the imposition of even moderate tuition fees, which would certainly be fiercely resisted anyway by parents and students alike (even though parents clearly could and probably would pay a modest tuition fee if it were required). At the same time, in much of the world—and especially in most middle- and low-income countries:

- Higher education *is* disproportionately the preserve of the middle, upper-middle, and upper classes.
- The raising of government revenue *is not* particularly progressive (especially when achieved through inflationary confiscation of purchasing power by deficit spending), nor is most taxation cost-effective at the margin. (That is, taxes tend to be not only regressive, but difficult and expensive to collect.)
- Parents *do* believe that tuition fees, if charged, are properly theirs to pay if they are at all financially able—making the charging of tuition fees and means-tested financial assistance another means of achieving a bit of socially desirable income redistribution.

- Private, tuition fee-dependant higher education is common, growing, and generally respectable—thus making the generally much lower tuition fees in the public sector seem fortuitously modest.
- The queue of socially and politically compelling, yet unfunded, public needs (e.g. elementary and secondary education, public health, or public infrastructure) is long and formidable, suggesting that devoting additional public revenue every year to higher education has a very high opportunity cost.

Many of these conditions are found in countries as widely disparate in per-capita wealth, the quality (however measured) of their colleges and universities, higher educational participation rates, and most social and cultural norms as (to take some random examples) the United States, China, Russia, Brazil, Kenya, Burkina Faso, and most of the countries of continental Europe. The United States, Canada, and Japan, for example, already have significant tuition fees in their public institutions of higher education in the range of 20 to 40 per cent of instructional costs. England and Australia also have significant tuition fees, albeit deferred and repaid as income contingent loans. China has tuition fees that have been pegged to roughly 25 per cent of undergraduate instructional costs. Most of the Southeast Asian countries have tuition fees, and Mongolia has had some of the highest public university tuition fees in the world relative to its per-capita income. The Netherlands, Italy, Poland, and other countries in continental Europe, after political struggles, have at least modest tuition fees.

However, Germany, France, Switzerland, and several other European countries continue to struggle politically with the very notion of tuition fees (sometimes, as in France, making do with only modest fees that are not described as tuition fees). Most of the Latin American countries (outside of Chile before 2016) continue to feature no or only nominal fees in their public universities—with substantial portions of their undergraduates accommodated in fee-dependent private colleges and universities. And the transitional countries of the former Soviet Union, Central and Eastern Europe, and other countries in Africa have some form of dual track tuition fees where the governmentally-sponsored student pays no or very low tuition fees. In such cases—and especially where the raising of additional taxes can be difficult and often regressive, where college and university

students come disproportionately from the more affluent and privileged classes, where there are growing private sectors to demonstrate the ability and willingness of many families to pay a moderate tuition fee, and where financial assistance exists—a failure of the government to impose at least a moderate tuition fee for all students in all or most public institutions of higher education can be said to *leave behind* revenue that could otherwise have improved higher educational quality, capacity, or funds for financial assistance.

*Common misunderstanding 6: If countries can no longer afford free or very low fee public higher education for all and must raise tuition and other fees—with programmes of financial assistance to maintain accessibility—it is better to maintain access with grants than with loans because: (a) too many students, especially from low-income families, are culturally debt averse and will simply not borrow, thus effectively continuing to deny them access to higher education; and (b) very many student loan programmes throughout the world have failed financially due to high defaults and to the very high cost of servicing the debts.*

There are important policy caveats—germs of truth—to this position. One is that there are indeed some cultures in some countries that seem to be averse to debt (perhaps especially averse to higher educational debt for a young woman). At the same time (and to be deliberately provocative), higher education itself in some countries in some cultures was once considered inappropriate for daughters, but fortunately this has mainly changed. In fact, although some cultures are still averse to certain aspects of modernity such as casual dating, most have accepted, for example, credit cards, cell phones, Western music, and the Internet. Nowadays, the willingness to assume indebtedness for the opportunities that are opened through higher education may be another aspect of modernity that may still be difficult for some families to accept. The issue, then, may be the extent to which the general taxpayer should be asked to accommodate a persisting cultural aversion to educational debt by the costs of non-repayable grants or low tuition fees for all in lieu of loans.

The other germ of truth to the declaration that student loan schemes ‘just don’t work’ is that many have indeed failed financially; in fact, the developing world is littered with failed loan programmes. Shen and Ziderman (2009) have shown many instances of student loan programmes in which the discounted present value of the reasonably anticipated repayment stream is far, far less than promised when the loan programme was inaugurated as a step in the direction of cost-sharing—and a few of the

worst examples in which the present repayment value is so low that the government would actually have saved money by giving the money to students as grants rather than loans in the first place and saved the expense of attempting to collect.

However, these examples reveal a number of reasons why student loan schemes fail, as well as how failures can be lessened or prevented (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010a, 2010b). In many cases, for example, interest rates have been set far below the cost of money, meaning the programme would fail financially even if all borrowers repay—which is never the case. Student loan schemes have commonly been put into place with little or no counselling about what it would mean to the student borrowers upon completion of studies to have a debt (or an accumulation of deferred fees) or what would be the consequence of default. Frequently, particularly in low-income countries feeling pressure from international development agencies may put a loan scheme in place with insufficient technical or legal preparation for servicing the loans, making collection unlikely even if the borrowers were initially inclined to repay. In other words, student loan schemes—although no panacea for the financial austerity prevailing in many countries, and always costing public money (see misunderstanding # 8) can be made to work: with the sufficient initial capitalization, the willingness of government to absorb a share of the inherent risk, an appropriate interest rate, the involvement of the college or university, and a proper professional approach to debt servicing and collection (Johnstone and Marcucci 2010a, 2010b).

*Common misunderstanding 7: If a country is persuaded that public sector tuition fees are financially necessary (whether up-front or deferred) and that student loans must be offered (whether to cover tuition fees, the costs of student living, or both), the loans should be repayable as a percentage of future earnings rather than repayable on a fixed schedule of payments, like a mortgage or a conventional consumer loan.*

Policy analysts, politicians, students, and many economists have been fascinated for the past fifty years by the idea that student loans might be repaid not on a schedule of fixed repayments, but as an obligation to repay a certain percentage of earnings until the debt was repaid with interest, or until (for low earners) a certain number of years had passed while repaying this percentage of earnings, but without being able to discharge the debt, at which time any remaining debt would be cancelled. Economists tend to be especially intrigued by the pure form, where surplus interest paid by high

earners effectively covers the shortfalls on low earners, turning a student loan into a form of equity, where students are viewed as selling shares of their future earnings in return for the capital needed to invest in their educations. The high risk of loans that are available to all students, with no non-governmental guarantors, the problem of *adverse selection* (whereby students who plan a low earning career such as the ministry or public service may rush to participate while those who anticipate high incomes tend to decline), and the difficulty of capitalizing or securitizing income contingent loan notes have limited the adoption of income contingent student loans except for loans that are capitalized and effectively guaranteed by government. The most noted of these are the Australian and English models, which combine the presumed advantages of deferred tuition fees (i.e. higher education free at the time of matriculation) with the presumed advantages to students of the income contingent repayment obligation.

However, although loans with income contingent repayment obligations may be thought always to be superior to conventional loans with fixed repayment schedules, it is first important to note that most students will repay exactly the same amount—measured in true simple interest, or the discounted present value of the payments—on the income contingent schedule as they would have on an equivalent conventional, or mortgage-type, loan on a fixed repayment schedule. Also, as virtually all income contingent loan schemes have some maximum repayment period after which the remaining debts of borrowers who have had low lifetime earnings and have been unable to fully repay their obligations, will be forgiven, the *generosity* of an income contingent loan scheme depends on the percentage of earnings that are to be repaid (usually monthly) and the number of years a borrower can be held to continue repayments. A high percentage of earnings to stipulate the monthly payments together with a long maximum repayment period would constitute an *ungenerous* loan scheme, meaning that a borrower would have to be quite destitute over his or her earning lifetime to trigger the forgiveness of a remaining debt. Conversely, a repayment contract featuring a low percentage of earnings for the monthly payments and a short repayment period would probably mean that many borrowers could reach the end of the maximum repayment period with a remaining debt to be forgiven. The point is that any repayment obligation—fixed schedule or income contingent—can be made cheaper with a lower rate of interest (i.e. a larger subsidy), and any conventional repayment

schedule can be made more manageable by extending the repayment period and by providing easy refinancing, deferment, or forbearance in the event of unemployment or low earnings.

In the end, student loans of the income contingent variety are clearly more acceptable to students and politicians as well as to many economists and policy analysts. And there are clear advantages, although some of the advantages, such as employer collection at the time of wage and salary payment are not strictly a feature of income contingency, and there are other ways short of full income contingency to protect the low earner from unmanageable debt. Thus, a rebuttal to the too frequently passionate advocates of income contingent loans is not that the advocates are altogether wrong, or that this type of loan does not have many advantages, but that the concept of the income contingent student loan is too frequently misunderstood as well as oversold (Johnstone 2009; Johnstone and Marcucci 2010b: 149–55).

*Common misunderstanding 8: If a student loan programme is thought to be necessary, it should be designed to be financially self-sustaining: that is, for the repayments eventually to be sufficient to cover the necessary new lending.*

This is a recurring theme of new student loan programme proposals, with no basis either in theory or in practice. It is extremely unlikely that repayments on past loans will ever be sufficient to become the sole source of new lending, due both to the inevitably extensive losses from defaults and built-in subsidies (which can be lessened with higher rates of interest), and also to the increasing volume of new lending needed to keep up with the combination of increased dollar needs per student and the almost inevitably increasing numbers of new student borrowers.

More important, however, there is no reason even to aspire to a *revolving* or *self-sufficient* student loan programme. The amounts coming in via repayments have almost nothing to do with the amounts that should be—or can be—lent out to new or repeat student borrowers. At its most efficient (and independent of new governmental capital), a student loan programme should aspire to having the present discounted value of the anticipated stream of future payment on each cohort of new lending come as close as possible to the dollar value of those loans—less only the government’s share of defaults plus the present value of any deliberately built-in subsidies. But governments will have to account annually for the

present value costs of subsidies and losses as well as any net new borrowing.

## POLICY OPTIONS AND LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

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Policy options for the financing of a country's system of higher education must be seen within a context of that nation's history, its level of economic development, its population demographics and social stratification, and its political system and prevailing ideologies. Nevertheless, virtually all countries face similar global realities: a growing importance of higher education, enrolment pressure, high and steadily increasing costs, and policy solutions that are both difficult and politically contested. What works or seems to work in one country might be totally ineffective or even counterproductive in another. Thus any lessons to be learned regarding the more effective financing of a country's system of higher education must be offered with both caution and humility. Nevertheless, there remain lessons to be learned from an examination of higher education finance from an international comparative perspective—and from a careful look at common misunderstandings.

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## CHAPTER 20

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# EDUCATING FOR THE COOPERATIVE SOCIETY

*The Role of Government in Building Human and Social Capital*

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KEN MAYHEW

## INTRODUCTION

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THOSE who manage universities have many strategic decisions to make. These decisions include the following:

- the balance between research, teaching, and civic engagement activities;
- the mix of subjects in both teaching and research;
- the mix of teaching levels offered—sub-degree; bachelor's; master's; doctoral;
- the generation of income and endowment;
- admissions policy;
- setting of fees;
- staffing policy.

Having set its strategy and translated it into a plan, a university then has to manage itself competently to deliver on this plan. Government is concerned

that all of this produces something that is optimal for society. This concern should have two dimensions. The first is that universities are delivering what they plan and claim to deliver as effectively as possible. The second is whether what universities are delivering is suitable for society's needs.

In assessing the role of government we will use the framework suggested by McDonnell and Grubb (1991: 6). They describe 'four classes of instruments':

- Mandates: rules imposed by higher levels of government that constrain the actions of individuals and institutions and are intended to produce compliance.
- Incentives: the transfer of money ... in return for certain actions.
- Capacity-building: the transfer of money for the purpose of longer-term investment in material, intellectual, or human resources.
- System-changing: the transfer of official authority among individuals and agencies to alter the array of institutions that deliver public goods and services.

As we shall see, governments have deployed all four classes of instrument in their dealings with higher education institutions (HEIs).

The legal relationship between government and the HE sector varies from country to country. Most, but not all, countries have a mix of public and private universities. However, 'public' can take on a whole variety of meanings. In the United Kingdom, for example, what are called public universities are in fact private charities—they carry the public label simply because of their dependence on government funding. In the majority of other countries being public implies some form of more direct 'ownership' by either national or local government. In some countries there are significant elements of direct government control; in others governance is much more devolved, and there has been a widespread tendency for greater devolution of control in the last couple of decades. So when considering the role of government, in some cases, and at one extreme, we have to think of a state-controlled activity (much like a nationalized industry) and in others, whether public or private institutions are involved, we have to think more in terms of regulation and incentives.

## WHAT IS THE JOB OF UNIVERSITIES?

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Before we can discuss the role of government we have to define a little more fully what job universities are trying to do. At the most general level universities typically see themselves as having three functions—teaching, research, and “engagement with civil society” (Brink, 2018:287). However, the devil is in the detail. If a private sector organization was under consideration, we would start with that organization’s own declared mission, before going on to examine in detail its strategic plan and the aims and objectives that derive from that plan, and then evaluate how well the organization delivered to these aims and objectives. There was a time not so long ago that the concept of a mission statement or even of a strategic plan was alien to many in the HE sector. Things have changed rapidly in this regard in recent years. However, a casual reading of many university mission statements rapidly encounters little more than high level, generalized verbiage and the same can be said even of many strategic plans. Organizations in the private sector are not exempt from such criticisms but universities face an additional complication. The private sector is free to set its own mission and objectives subject to the laws of the land and to any regulatory requirements. Universities, *ab initio*, are likely to find their mission and objectives defined much more tightly by government. This means that their stance may be defensive against governmental targets and demands. It also means that we may need to judge universities in different countries by different criteria. At the same time internationalization has meant that universities, in some senses, serve two masters. There has always been an international community of scholars but this community is now much larger and more extensive than it used to be. The average academic spends a significantly greater proportion of his or her time than once was the case in some form of contact with foreign scholars, be it in attending conferences, submitting to journals, or engaging in collaborative research projects, whilst faculties often contain staff of many nationalities. In like manner, many more undergraduates and graduates study in foreign universities, whether for the full duration of their studies or on schemes like junior year abroad or Erasmus Plus.

The problem that this brings for government (and for universities) is that the academic community sets its own standards and universities compete to

achieve high regard internationally. Such competition is both reflected and intensified by the popularity of international ranking tables produced by a variety of organizations. The number of pronouncements (sometimes misleading) by universities boasting about their performance in these rankings or about their aspirations for future performance abound. The same is true of national rankings. In other words universities tend to simultaneously pursue recognition as making the contribution that governments desire but also recognition among their academic peers in a self-referential community. Achieving the two forms of recognition may not always be consistent.

Against this background, how can/do the activities of teaching, research, and civic engagement contribute to building a cooperative society and how can governments enhance this contribution? First we have to decide what we mean by a cooperative society.

## WHAT DO WE MEAN BY A COOPERATIVE SOCIETY?

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A cooperative society is defined as follows:

Cooperativeness has two axes: vertical and horizontal. The vertical is about the legitimacy of the authority structure, and whether the philosophy underlying that legitimacy is capable of generating high trust in the authority system. This needs to be enough to encourage adventurousness at the base sufficient to contribute to adaptiveness. The totalitarian state does not normally pass this test. ... The second axis of cooperativeness is horizontal, and this is about the capacity to trust strangers. Without this, all exchange processes are subject to the limits of interpersonal trust-bonding and are consequently stifled when it comes to extending exchange more widely. Key here is system trust via institutions; e.g. society's system of law and regulation, and the trust in that system's fairness; and the building of a sense of civic consciousness which psychologically enhances the concern to share public goods responsibly. (Redding 2017: 8; see also [Chapter 2](#) in this volume)

Where do universities fit in? Redding writes of:

Kant's dictum that societies progress by liberating individuals from high dependence on others as sources of thinking, although such others are still people to learn from. Such learning should include the encouragement of that thinking. The implication is that the more a society contains individuals who can think for themselves, so as to reach informed judgments and persuade others of them, the greater is society's capacity to handle the difficult work of adjusting and increasing complexity. (Redding 2017: 2)

Universities, among other institutions, can produce people capable of this independence of thought, which can be regarded as a necessary condition for the achievement of a cooperative society. However, it is not a sufficient condition. Whether or not there is high trust in the authority system depends on many other factors. Indeed the loss of confidence in the political establishment evident in North America and a number of European countries has come at a time of record numbers of university graduates. At the extreme, universities in some countries still operate within effectively totalitarian states. Similarly trust relationships in society are influenced by multiple factors and it is far from clear that ‘trust via institutions’ is stronger today in era of mass higher education than it was decades ago.

Chris Brink, a former vice-chancellor of Newcastle University, perhaps implicitly acknowledges such qualifications and takes a grounded approach when arguing that we should be concerned not just about what universities are good *at* but also about what they are good *for*. To be good *for* requires ‘engagement with civil society’, which he describes as follows:

Engagement with civil society is not a separate activity from research and teaching. Nor would it suffice to say that it ‘overlaps’ with research and teaching. Engagement is better characterized as orthogonal to research and teaching. It is the deployment of our research and teaching, for the purpose of (a) responding to societal challenges, and (b) learning from them. Research and teaching are vertical core functions, engagement is a horizontal core function, cutting across the other two. ... Engagement has a sense of purpose: it does not just analyse a societal challenge, but hopes to help address them. We deploy our expertise, the subjects and disciplines that we are good at, in order to be able to give a reasonable response to the question what we are good for.

(Brink 2018: 287)

Such engagement might assist the workings of a cooperative society as defined by Redding but could be interpreted as having a relatively limited role in shaping that society. Meanwhile today’s governments, whilst acknowledging a broader contribution, generally seem to place greater explicit stress on the role of HE in boosting economic growth and contributing to the national economy, whilst at the same time enhancing the individual’s chances of labour market success. For example the preamble to the UK government’s 2016 White Paper on higher education contents itself with the following:

Our universities rank among our most valuable national assets, underpinning both a strong economy and a flourishing society. Powerhouses of intellectual and social capital, they create

the knowledge, capability and expertise that drive competitiveness and nurture the values that sustain our open democracy.

Access to higher education can be life changing for individuals ... The skills that great higher education provides—the ability to think critically and to assess and present evidence—last a lifetime and will be increasingly in demand as the number and proportion of high-skilled jobs rises.

If we are to continue to succeed as a knowledge economy, however, we cannot stand still, nor take for granted our universities' enviable global reputation and position at the top of league tables. We must ensure that the system is also fulfilling its potential and delivering good value for students, for employers and for the taxpayers who underwrite it. (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills 2016: 5)

Admittedly there is some acknowledgement of the broader social purpose of universities, but the overwhelming emphasis is on their role in ensuring personal and national economic success. In the United Kingdom and elsewhere, recent decades have witnessed increasing stress on the economic contribution of universities.

In the case of the United Kingdom an interesting contrast is provided by the preamble to the Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education 1963), a report that heralded the emergence of mass higher education in the United Kingdom. The report lists ‘at least four objectives essential to any properly balanced system’ (p. 6). The first is described as ‘instruction in skills suitable to play a part in the general division of labour’ (p. 6). By this is meant the skills necessary to prepare people for the labour market. To modern eyes it is interesting that the authors of the report were almost apologetic in stating this objective. ‘We put this first, *not because we regard it as the most important* [my italics], but because we think that it is sometimes ignored or undervalued.’ The report continues: ‘And it must be recognised that in our own times, progress—and particularly the maintenance of a competitive position—depends to a much greater extent than ever before on skills demanding special training. A good general education, valuable though it may be, is frequently less than we need to solve many of our most pressing problems’ (p. 6).

The report went on state the second objective as follows: ‘while emphasising that there is no betrayal of values when institutions of higher education teach what will be of some practical use, we must postulate that what is taught should be taught in such a way as to promote the general powers of the mind’ (p. 6). Today this raises the important question: are many of today’s vocational courses fit for purpose in this regard?

The third objective, the report argued, was ‘the advancement of learning. There are controversial issues here concerning the balance between teaching and research in the various institutions of higher education and the distribution of research between these institutions and other bodies. ... But the search for truth is an essential function of institutions of higher education and the process of education is itself most vital when it partakes of the nature of discovery. ... But the world, not higher education alone, will suffer if ever they cease to regard it as one of their main functions’ (p. 7). Again, it is interesting that the authors of the report could contemplate that some universities would *not* have research as a central mission. Furthermore, when entertaining this possibility, the authors could not have imagined the extent to which the number of HEIs has in fact increased in so many countries.

The fourth and final Robbins objective was:

a function that is more difficult to describe concisely, but that is none the less fundamental: the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship. By this we do not mean the forcing of all individuality into a common mould: that would be the negation of higher education as we conceive it. But we believe that it is a proper function of higher education, as of education in schools, to provide in partnership with the family that background of culture and social habit upon which a healthy society depends. This function, important at all times, is perhaps especially important in an age that has set for itself the ideal of equality of opportunity. (p. 7)

What remains of these noble objectives? In some senses it is all a matter of emphasis. The first objective is a plea for universities to provide vocational (broadly defined) subjects as well as academic ones. The second is a plea that universities should teach people to think critically for themselves—general cognitive abilities should be developed. The third emphasizes the fundamental importance of doing research but not at the expense of teaching. The fourth objective is potentially more controversial—much depends on what is meant by ‘common culture’. Nevertheless it is hard to imagine that any education minister would disagree with the broad thrust of these four objectives. But emphasis and precise interpretation are all important.

There has been a changing emphasis in government circles across the developed world. It was the inevitable consequence of the growing size of the HE sector and therefore its greater salience both in numerical and financial terms. Greater expenditure on HE, whether by the state or by

individuals, meant greater emphasis on the need for an economic pay-off. At a time when management of universities has been increasingly devolved from the ministry to the universities themselves, this means that levers to ensure value for money and to engineer change need to be more subtle and sophisticated than they once might have been. This raises a question that is not asked often enough. Do the ministries of education have the necessary intellectual and professional skills and experience to perform their tasks? Do they have sufficient understanding of the university sector?

So, at least in terms of public rhetoric, the contribution that governments expect universities to make has simultaneously narrowed and become more demanding. The broader social aims outlined thus far would hardly be denied by the authorities but they are more in the background. So set against all of this what issues do governments face in order to maximize the contribution of the HE sector?

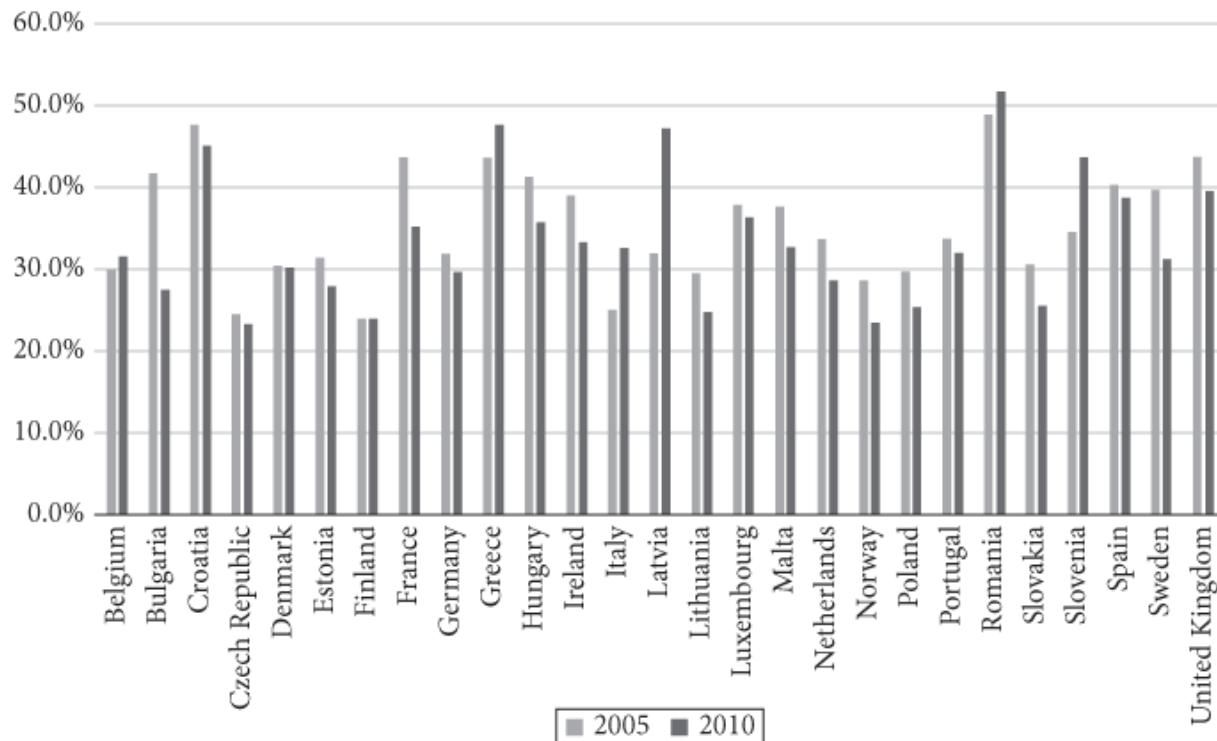
## HE AND THE LABOUR MARKET

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Given the contemporary emphasis on the role universities play in contributing to the national economy, an overarching issue is the relationship between the sector and the labour market. The growth in the number of bachelor graduates and of those with postgraduate qualifications has outpaced changes in the composition of employment—in the growth of traditional graduate jobs. Does this mean that more and more graduates are under-utilized when they enter the labour market? (This issue is also examined in [Chapter 13](#) from the standpoint of employers rather than government policy.) This question raises two separate issues that public officials and commentators often fail to adequately distinguish. The first we will label the issue of over-qualification or over-education, the second the issue of over-skilling. Over-education or over-qualification describes a situation where an individual enters a job whose entry requirement (in terms of qualification) is lower than the qualification level possessed by that individual. Use of this metric has led some EU and OECD civil servants to underestimate the problem of under-utilization. They deem that someone is over-qualified if they have a higher qualification than that possessed by the modal occupant of the occupation. A hypothetical example serves to

illustrate the absurdity of deploying this approach to evaluate under-utilization. Imagine that thirty years ago only five out of a hundred baristas had a degree as opposed to a school leaving qualification. They would have been the only over-qualified baristas. Today imagine that 90 of the 100 baristas have degrees. Since a degree appears to be the entry requirement into that type of job, none of the graduates would be deemed to be over-qualified. What in fact we are witnessing here is a phenomenon known as occupational filtering down.

Employers screen for the applicants with the highest intrinsic capabilities and educational attainment is used as the criterion for this purpose. A generation ago the equivalent screen might have been someone with a school leaving qualification. Today exactly the same ‘quality’ of person has a degree and that therefore becomes the screen. What really matters is whether today’s graduate is doing the same job as his or her non-graduate precursors. By occupational title, that graduate often clearly is. However, it is possible that employers have upgraded the skill content of the job to make use of the skills that individuals have allegedly acquired at university. It is extremely difficult to obtain reliable evidence on this. The most commonly used method is to ask respondents to surveys whether or not their skills are being fully used. A recent exercise of this type is summarized in [Figure 20.1](#). It documents the extent of over-skilling or under-utilization for graduates across a range of European countries.



**FIGURE 20.1** European graduate under-utilization, 2005–2010

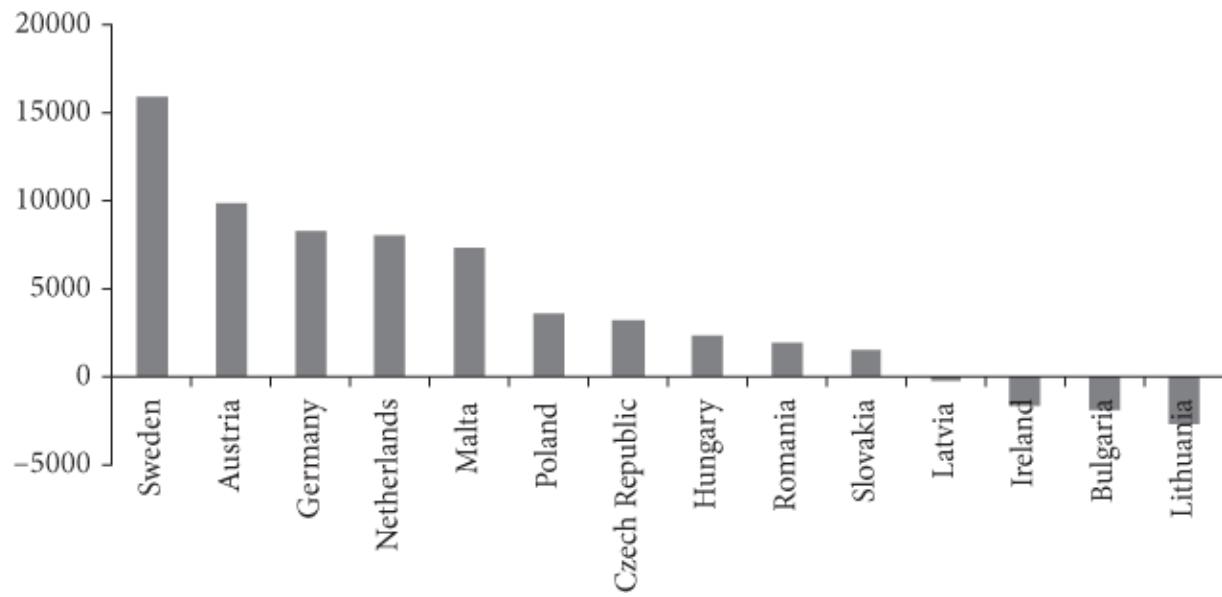
Source: Holmes and Mayhew (2015).

As the figure shows, under-utilization varies from country to country but always exceeded 20 per cent in 2010 and for more countries than not exceeded 30 per cent. This is what we label as over-skilling. Cappelli has written about similar problems in the United States (Cappelli 2015).

In other words governments need to confront the fact that there is a mismatch between what the HE sector is producing and what the labour market needs. There is a view that in the longer term the availability of highly skilled labour will induce employers to increase the skill intensity of their jobs. But Figure 20.1 suggests that this has happened only to a very limited extent thus far and there is no guarantee that it will happen in the future. This has potentially worrying consequences. From the narrow economist's viewpoint, it means that for many young people HE is, in one sense, a socially wasted investment. Given the jobs they hold, their productivity would have been just as high had they not gone to university. From the young person's standpoint they may have needed their degree to get their job but only because they are the forced participants in a positional competition. Their wages will reflect their productivity, which is delimited

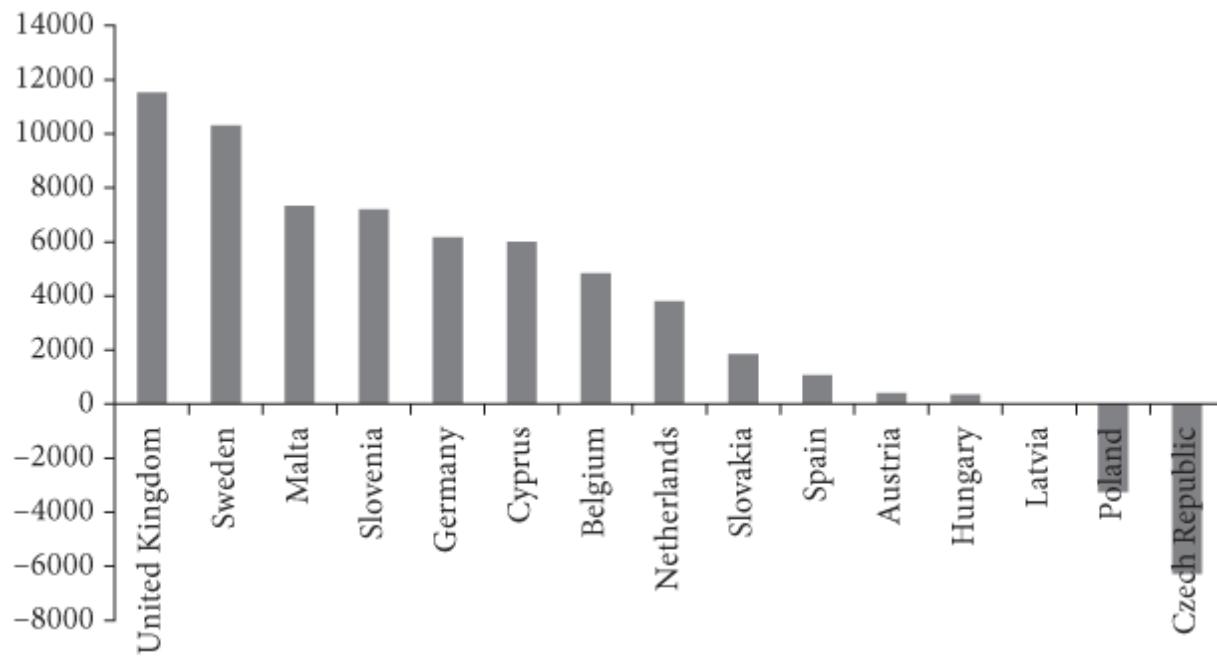
by the design of the job they do, and they will not be high in the sorts of jobs we are describing. This is particularly worrying the higher are the costs to the student of attending university. The United States and England are extreme examples here. In England, for example, some young people are now entering the labour market with debts in excess of £50,000. It has been calculated that three-quarters of them will never fully pay off their debts<sup>1</sup> (Belfield et al. 2017)—this figure itself may be a testimony to the low labour market returns that many graduates obtain. Even in countries where tuition fees are lower, this is still a problem. The student has still borne some of the cost, not least in terms of the earnings forgone whilst at university, and the state is also potentially spending public money wastefully. The bottom line is that, even if HE is doing a superb job in educating young people, it is nevertheless making a smaller contribution than governments might have hoped to the economic success of many individuals and to national economic productivity and growth.

This means that governments need to think very carefully about the nature of pathways from compulsory education into the labour market. This involves considering the location of learning, the level of qualification, and the duration of courses. The variation across countries that still exists in these respects is illustrated in Figures 20.2 and 20.3. The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) level 4 equates to postsecondary non-tertiary education, level 5 to short-cycle tertiary education, levels 6, 7, and 8 to bachelor's, master's, and doctoral respectively. The figures depict expenditure per full-time equivalent student at levels 6–8 minus such expenditure at levels 4 and 5.



**FIGURE 20.2** Differences in public expenditure—ISCED 4 vocational vs. ISCED 6–8

*Note:* Expenditures are given in the Euro Purchasing Power Standard, which allows for differences in the purchasing power of a common unit of currency across different countries. The PPS is constructed so that one PPS = one Euro at the average purchasing power of all countries in the European Union. *Source:* Holmes and Mayhew (2016).



**FIGURE 20.3** Differences in public expenditure—ISCED 5 vs. ISCED 6–8

*Note:* Expenditures are given in the Euro Purchasing Power Standard, which allows for differences in the purchasing power of a common unit of currency across different countries. The PPS is constructed so that one PPS = one Euro at the average purchasing power of all countries in the European Union. *Source:* Holmes and Mayhew (2016).

Some countries have well-developed alternative routes—work-based learning, vocational colleges, and so on. Other countries have diversity within the HE system, community colleges in the United States, for instance, or technical universities in Germany. Other countries like the United Kingdom have less diverse HE systems. One suspects that, because of this, many UK universities are delivering vocational courses which should not be at bachelor level and which should be of shorter duration, and thus could be delivered more cost-effectively. It is easier for countries that have maintained flourishing alternative institutional routes to sustain the appropriate balance. It is much harder for countries like the United Kingdom where, for whatever reasons, these alternative routes have withered, to resurrect them. This is not to say that this should not be attempted but simultaneously at least some universities need to be encouraged to contemplate offering more shorter, sub-degree qualifications, and to rethink the mix between vocational and academic courses.

## ACCESS

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The human capital theory revolution started by Becker and Schultz in the 1960s and early 1970s seemed to offer policy makers a magic bullet, particularly from the early 1980s, when in many countries the policy mantra became rolling back the frontiers of the state (Becker 1964; Schultz 1971). In a world changed by Thatcherism and Reaganomics, the influence of which spread into large swathes of continental Europe and Australasia, policy makers had become more reluctant to interfere with private business and industrial policy therefore became unfashionable. Efficiently running private markets would deliver better economic outcomes than the state could ever do. Human capital policies (that is more education and training) seemed to offer a relatively doctrine-free and non-interventionist way of boosting productivity and growth, though, as we have intimated, only if the human capital was appropriately deployed by employers. In like manner they also offered a market-driven solution to distributional problems. In log cabin to White House spirit, give children from disadvantaged backgrounds a better education and they will move up the societal ladder in a meritocratic society. Improving access to higher education has long been a policy imperative across the developed world and in some parts of the developing world. However, to different extents in different countries access to HE remains biased in favour of those from more privileged backgrounds. In this context access has two dimensions. The first is whether or not an HE place is obtained. The second relates to the institution attended since in many countries subsequent labour market success is significantly influenced by the prestige of one's university. Thus France exhibits greater access to higher education than (say) Germany because everyone with the baccalauréat is entitled to enter HE. In fact effectively 100 per cent of those with the general baccalauréat do go on to HE as compared with about 75 per cent of those with the vocational baccalauréat. It is children from the poorer families who take the vocational route and either do not enter HE or end up in lesser ranking establishments (Duru-Bellat 2015). At the opposite end of the spectrum, children from more privileged families are successful in the competitive examinations that allow entry into the prestige establishments. Even in a proudly egalitarian

country like Sweden, access is socially biased on both dimensions (Jonsson 2016).

If governments want an inclusive society, then it is important to continue to address this problem. Not unreasonably, university authorities in some countries argue that their institutions admit on merit, as measured by prior academic achievement. It is not their fault, they argue, if the school system produces results that are heavily influenced by social origins. The question for government is whether it should interfere with the admissions process by insisting that standards are relaxed for less privileged applicants (see, for example, Chowdry et al. 2013). In other countries where access to good public universities demands less in terms of prior academic achievement, two problems are encountered. The first is that children from richer families apply to private universities who may be freer to ration their places on the basis of fees and/or prior achievement; and it may be that the private universities serve their students better in terms of teaching, reputation, and job prospects. The second is that admission to university may be easy but survival there is not, and unacceptably large numbers of students drop out because they simply cannot cope. Historically, for example, the French and Belgian systems have been notorious in this regard.

The task for governments is to devise mechanisms whereby appropriate allowance can be made for deficiencies in prior achievement and attempt to ensure that HE institutions, and particularly the elite institutions, make proper provision to monitor and help those admitted with less strong academic backgrounds to ‘catch up’—all of this without compromising the general academic standards of the institution.

## SOCIAL CAPITAL

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Thus far we have considered efficiency and fairness in the production of human capital. Now we turn to social capital. The definition of social capital has a number of possible variants. At its simplest it is synonymous with the extent and strength of an individual’s personal networks. Such networks, acquired at university, may subsequently help one advance in the labour market. A broader definition would encompass the possession of attitudes and behaviours that makes someone a better citizen. An even

broader definition might capture at least some of the other elements that lead to Redding's vision of a cooperative society—not least the ability of people to think critically for themselves. What does the evidence tell us about these three dimensions of social capital? There is a surprising lack of convincing research on the influence of social networks in the developed world—there is more on the developing world. However, it would appear that a good economic network does advance careers (Calvo-Armengol and Jackson 2007) and that these networks can of course be acquired at university. A problem is that the better networks tend to be acquired at the better universities, thus reinforcing the advantages of attending such universities. There is much more research on the attitudes and behaviour of graduates. This does indeed tell us that graduates 'behave better' in a whole variety of ways. They lead healthier lives, commit less crime, and get more involved in a whole variety of civic activities (Grugulis et al. 2017). What the research has much less to say about are the causal mechanisms involved. It is likely that the sort of people who go to university are already possessed of these desirable behavioural traits before they even start their course, just as a generation ago those who left school with good leaving grades were similarly blessed. In other words there is a positive rank correlation between educational attainment and these traits. As for the ability to think critically, it seems pretty obvious that university should enhance this. However, the important questions are how much, and could this capability be equally well acquired in other routes and locations? Do we really believe that the average 60-year-old, who most likely did not attend university, has fewer critical thinking faculties than the average 25-year-old, who much more likely did?

This is not to argue that social capital may not be enhanced at university. Rather it is to ask how much it is enhanced and whether the university is the only, or the best, location where such improvements are possible. At the same time, can we be sure about the extent to which many university courses do in fact enhance critical thinking capabilities? We have made similar arguments concerning human capital; at least for some individuals there are other ways of improving their human capital and these may be more cost-effective.

Now we turn from macro or (as McDonnell and Grubb describe them) systems issues to more specific issues of regulation and control.

# HOW DO GOVERNMENTS INFLUENCE THE PERFORMANCE OF HE INSTITUTIONS?

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With varying degrees of emphasis, depending on the country, governments want universities to perform well on the three dimensions of teaching, research, and civic engagement. Again, depending on how tight the regulation is, governments may try to ensure good performance by various forms of direct or indirect control mandates in the terminology of McDonnell and Grubb. Often, however, they attempt to influence behaviour via financial rewards and penalties—McDonnell and Grubb's incentives and/or capacity-building. Indeed performance-related funding has become an ever more prominent part of the HE scene. [Table 20.1](#) (adapted from Jongbloed and Vossensteyn 2016) gives a far from exhaustive range of examples.

**Table 20.1 Financial incentives**

Incentive relating to:	Country or region
Number of bachelor's or master's degrees	Austria, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Germany, some US states
Number of exams passed or credits earned	Austria, Denmark, Finland, some US states
Number of students from under-represented groups	Australia, Ireland, Germany, some US states
Study duration	Austria, Denmark, Netherlands, some US states
Number of doctoral degrees	Australia, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Germany
Research output (e.g., quality, productivity, impact)	Australia, Denmark, Finland, Hong Kong, UK
Research council grants won	Australia, Finland, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Scotland
External income (i.e. non-core income)	Australia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hong Kong
Revenues from knowledge transfer	Australia, Austria, Scotland

Source: Jongbloed and Vossensteyn (2016).

However, performance funding such as this can have unintended or unfortunate consequences. For example, for some years the United Kingdom has had research performance exercises, the most recent incarnation of which is the Research Excellence Framework (REF). The United Kingdom has also recently introduced a Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF), designed to promote good teaching and student care, and before that had a variety of teaching quality control mechanisms. Problems have arisen for two reasons. The first is that historically the rewards/penalties have differed between the two frameworks. Significant prizes, in terms of government funding, await the successful universities in the REF. The TEF has attracted no such rewards nor has it involved financial penalties, except in extremis. The second is a problem of the reliability of the measures. The REF and its precursors have been the object of intensive gaming by universities, whilst the judgements of the subject panels charged with marking university departments have been questioned. Arguably the TEF and its precursors have measured bureaucratic procedures rather than teaching quality, and this may well be one of the reasons for the growth in the ratio of administrators to academics in every UK university. Reliance on student satisfaction surveys in the TEF may have encouraged an attitude from teachers of ‘if you don’t bother us, we won’t bother you’. It may also provide a partial explanation for the grade inflation that we have witnessed in HE. Imperfectly designed measures (and all measures will to a degree be imperfectly designed) can distort university behaviour in ways not intended by government. In the case of the United Kingdom, regulation has almost certainly led many universities to concentrate on research at the expense of teaching; and, as we will see, at least some of these universities have also used tuition fees to subsidize some of that research.

Underlying all of this lurks the issue of transaction costs. Regulation imposes costs on the regulator and the regulated. The 64,000 dollar question is always whether the gains from regulation outweigh these costs.

## RESEARCH

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The United Kingdom of course is not the only country where regulation has encouraged greater concentration on research. In fact such has been the growing global appeal of research assessment that three individuals from Spain, the United Kingdom, and Canada founded The International School on Research Impact Assessment (ISRIA) in 2013. Its website claims that ‘people from over 25 countries have participated in ISRIA’.<sup>2</sup> An academic’s career advancement is critically dependent on research performance; teaching performance plays a much smaller role. Given that governments tend to incentivize universities to do more research and that university management passes this incentive on to academic staff, this raises a mildly embarrassing question. Is there too much research? According to Remler (2014), 82 per cent of humanities articles are not cited in the five years after their publication. The equivalent figures for the natural sciences and social sciences are 27 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. And apparently these figures do not exclude self-citations. At 12 per cent, medicine does better but, even within medicine, Weale et al. (2004) calculated that for the 11,755 articles published in immunology journals in 2001 the median citation rate was three by October 2003. The equivalent figure for 16,452 articles published in surgical journals was one. Such evidence should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that there is too much research. Good teaching, it can be argued, requires that staff keep fresh and up-to-date by doing their own research, whilst it may not just be fellow researchers who read research output. Nevertheless citation statistics such as these do raise serious questions.

## WHO PAYS?

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A key question for government is how to fund university activities. Central here is the setting of student fees, and deciding on the extent to which the state subsidizes the student. These issues are treated more fully in Chapter 19. Generally private universities are free to set whatever fees they choose and the potential consequences of this are evident in the United States where tuition fees have reached stratospheric levels. In public universities the fees are generally more modest but in recent years there has been a tendency for English-speaking countries, particularly England, Australia,

New Zealand, and to a lesser extent Canada, Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland, to place the burden of payment on the student. By contrast in many continental European countries most of the cost is still borne by the state.

Economists have long debated the appropriate cost-sharing arrangements. They distinguish between the private and social returns to obtaining a degree. The private returns are the extra earnings someone obtains over and above what they would have earned as a non-graduate net of the costs they incur as a consequence of attending university—fees and forgone earnings. The social returns are defined as the social value of extra output produced by a graduate net of the costs to society. The latter are defined as the private cost plus whatever the state contributes—for example by subsidizing the fees. The problem comes when one tries to operationalize the concept of the social value of extra output. Usually the heroic assumption is made that a good first approximation are the extra earnings of the graduate—i.e. the numerator of the private calculation. To this are then typically added two externalities—an economic and a social one. If these externalities are positive then the gross social return exceeds the gross private return—the returns to the externalities are not captured by the individual student but accrue to society. The economic externality is based on the contention that the very presence of a graduate in the workplace or office raises the productivity of those around him or her. The social externality is that graduates behave as better citizens. The problem is that there is precious little hard evidence as to the extent of the economic externality whilst, as we have already argued, it is likely that the sort of people who become graduates would have been better citizens even if they had not attended university—it may be a matter of the sort of people they are rather than of traits they acquire at university. In other words, it is arguable that the bulk of social returns are in fact captured by the graduates themselves as private returns rather than accruing to society more broadly. It is arguments such as these that encouraged some governments in the English-speaking countries to transfer the fee burden to the students themselves and indeed econometricians estimate that the average private return to obtaining a bachelor's qualification has held up well through the years of HE expansion. However, this hides some problems. The first is that there has been an increase in the variance of this return—some people do well out of university and some do badly. Even those who do relatively well

may have simply been paying for a positional good; returning to our earlier argument they do not actually need what they learn at university to perform their job but they need their degree simply to be considered at the recruitment stage. Other graduates may use the skills they have acquired at university but these skills could have been acquired more quickly and cheaply elsewhere.

Similar arguments apply even if the state is funding tuition—if the arguments above are correct, a portion of HE teaching activities are socially wasteful. What of those courses which do provide a sensible economic return? Since the graduate is capturing most of the return, it seems reasonable that the graduate should bear the cost. However, there is one important qualification to this argument and it relates to capital constraints. It would be hard for many families to afford fees and living costs up-front. Therefore a contingent loans system is desirable. These systems are deployed in, for example, England, Australia, and New Zealand. The United States, by contrast, has little element of contingency in its system, with potentially disastrous consequences for those graduates who do not earn well in the labour market. Some commentators argue that in practice there is little difference between a contingent loan and the state paying up-front. However, this is to miss the point that all taxpayers are sharing the cost of tuition if the state pays up-front whereas with a loan system those who benefit most end up paying most.

An argument that is often heard from the left of the political spectrum is that HE is a ‘merit good’ and that, just as with primary and secondary school, everyone should have access to it free of charge. With mass systems this seems unrealistic and regressive. It would mean that those who do not benefit from university at all end up subsidizing those who do. What is clear is that the expansion of HE has been accompanied by a fall in the unit of resource (per student) provided by the state (see, for example, Murphy et al. 2017).

## **HOW MUCH SHOULD GOVERNMENTS INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF UNIVERSITIES?**

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Some would argue that the current control regimes we have discussed already imply massive ‘interference’ with the internal management of universities. However, typical forms of regulation often involve influencing management rather than directly observing and instructing it. In the case of the United Kingdom, for example, the REF is a powerful influence on university priorities; the TEF reports on teaching performance but only very partially and imperfectly. Obviously poor performance on these exercises will attract official attention and sometimes action. But many other things go on within the black box that, historically at least, have seemed to attract relatively little official notice. Here we mention just a few.

A number of countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, have experienced grade inflation. In early 2018, for example, the UK Higher Education Statistics Agency announced that over 25 per cent of UK bachelor degree students obtained First Class Honours in 2016–17. There may well be benign reasons for this. Perhaps teaching quality and pastoral care have improved. Perhaps students work harder or benefit from different assessment mechanisms. However, there is the more worrying possibility that standards have slipped—that a bachelor’s or master’s today does not mean what it did in the past. It is hard to acquire definitive evidence but at the very least governments need to address the issue more directly and ascertain whether in fact standards have slipped and, if they have, decide whether it matters. A related issue is how hard students actually work. For some years this had been a matter of debate in the United States. It has been calculated that so-called full-time students spend no more than an average of 27 hours per week studying during term—and this is class contact and private study time combined (Babcock and Marks 2010). Furthermore this number has fallen significantly over time. In the United Kingdom the Higher Education Policy Institute conducts regular surveys on this and the most recent one tells us that an equivalent figure is 26 hours, the figure varying dramatically by subject—from 35 hours for medicine and dentistry to 19 hours for mass communication and documentation (Neves and Hillman 2017). Students in continental Europe appear to work a little harder (Brennan et al. 2009). Put study time and grade inflation together and one has to at least ask three questions. Have faculty and students signed what has been termed a non-aggression pact? What exactly does a ‘full-time’ student mean these days? And linked to all

of this, can we be sure that curriculum content is appropriate for the level of qualification it is meant to be delivering?

Whether it is the state or the individual bearing the cost, an important issue is the extent of cross-subsidization between the different strands of university activity and whether that cross-subsidization is justified. A KPMG ([2014](#)) report on the United Kingdom, for example, calculated that in the academic year 2012–13 the average cost of providing a full-time bachelor’s course was £7,694. This contrasts with the £9,000 fee that students were being charged. Of the 36 courses covered, nine cost the university more than £9,000—the costs ranging from £13,965 to £9,249. The remaining 27 courses cost less than £9,000, the costs ranging from £8,899 to £5,539. Some of the excess revenue from these 27 subjects went to help make good the shortfall from the nine subjects. The rest, it would appear, went to subsidize research (Johnes and Johnes [2016](#)).

Overarching all of these and other issues is one big question. Are universities providing value for money—be it for the student or the state? Or have they become self-regarding institutions seeking to survive and prosper in an uncertain world paying little real attention to their social purpose and with insufficient, misdirected, or ineffective intervention from the state?

## CONCLUSIONS

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The precise institutional and legal relationships between government and universities differ from country to country. Everywhere, however, governments wish to optimize the contribution that higher education makes to society. Arguably the extensive growth of the HE sector has been accompanied by a narrowing of the vision of what that contribution should be, with ever greater emphasis on national and individual economic success.

Government policy towards the sector can be considered at several levels. The highest level concerns the relationship between the sector and the labour market. The massive growth of HE participation in recent decades has not been accompanied by an equivalent growth in traditional graduate jobs. Many of today’s graduates are entering occupations that were

once the preserve of their non-graduate parents and grandparents. This raises the question as to whether the skills and capabilities they acquire at university are being utilized by their employers. If not, the alleged contribution of the HE sector to national productivity and to the economic fortunes of individuals will be more limited than policy makers had hoped. At the same time and as a greater proportion of HE courses have become vocational rather than academic, it has to be asked whether such vocational courses are being delivered at the right level and in the right places. A traditional work-based apprenticeship with associated courses at a technical college might offer a shorter and more cost-effective alternative. Thus policy needs to aim to have a variety of pathways from compulsory education into the labour market. Some countries, notably the Netherlands and the German-speaking countries, are more successful in this regard than others. Countries which are more reliant solely or mainly on a conventional HE system need to ensure a suitable diversity within that system and specifically avoid a situation where too large a proportion of education and training is delivered in three-year bachelor's courses. It may be that systems-changing policies, to create different institutional routes, are needed here, not least because, although governments across the world saw HE expansion as a way of improving life prospects for youngsters from less privileged backgrounds, achievements in this regard have been limited.

Turning from systems-changing instruments to mandates, incentives, and capacity-building, in some areas governments have been very active and in others they have not. There are significant differences between most of the English-speaking countries and the rest of the world. The former load a bigger proportion of the cost of undergraduate education on to the students. In large part the difference represents different distributional imperatives but in the English-speaking countries burden shifting was also seen as a way of incentivizing universities—in a quasi-market, it was thought, the universities with the better products could charge the higher fees. In practice such effects have been very muted.

Financial incentives have been widely deployed to improve performance. Some of these have been related to throughput—the number of students, the number of degrees awarded, the length of courses. Others have been designed to encourage universities to relate more to the external community and to find non-governmental sources of funding. A third category has been designed to improve quality and their use has raised two

problems. The first is gaming behaviour by HE institutions. The second is a more profound distortion of behaviour. The problem with quality is that some aspects of it are more easily measured than others. It is easier to measure research quality than teaching quality. Thus it is tempting for institutions to concentrate on what can be measured (research) and neglect what can't (teaching). When teaching quality exercises are introduced the difficulties of measurement mean that universities might be encouraged to game the system without any change in the quality of the offer to students.

Mandates—direct requirements to do x, y, and z—are of course frequently used by all governments. However, it is arguable that many governments fail to investigate the internal affairs of universities as thoroughly as desirable. We have raised questions as to what students are actually getting for their (or the state's) money, about standards and about quality.

To different extents in different countries universities have not fully come to grips with what their role needs to be in an era of mass higher education. Nor, it can be argued, have governments. At worst, universities can be accused of having become self-regarding, inward-looking institutions giving insufficient thought about their societal contribution, whilst governments need to think harder about what they should expect from their universities, about when to intervene and about how.

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<sup>1</sup> After thirty years any unpaid debt is written off by the Student Loan Company.

<sup>2</sup> <<https://www.theinternationalschoolonria.com/>>.

## CHAPTER 21

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# EDUCATING FOR THE COOPERATIVE SOCIETY

*The Role of Industry in Building Human and Social Capital*

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SUZANNA TOMASSI

## INTRODUCTION

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THE previous chapters have addressed in great detail the role of education, in particular at the tertiary level, in the context of economic and social developments. It has been said that higher education contributes strongly to a society's ability to adapt to a changing world. There is also a vast amount of literature focusing on the impact of higher education institutions (HEIs) on regions where they are located, as well as their links with industry. Available research covers both theoretical frameworks and various practical examples and case studies. Very few would question the existence of these relationships, although many would argue about the methods of measuring the actual impact of these partnerships.

This chapter investigates the relationship between industry and academia from the perspective of industry. It is based on feedback from industry leaders on how they see the role of their organizations in the wider society. This approach remains quite uncommon with far less literature and data available. In order to address the shortage of data, in this chapter case

studies are used to describe the relationship between specific companies, their academic partners, and the wider society.

The analysis presented in this chapter is a result of a so-called *context limited study*, which focuses on specific case studies, selected in the context of the research subject. While the results cannot be generalized across the wider population, they help to explain some activities and may be applied to other regions or sectors of similar background.

Close links between industry and HEIs play a key role in addressing challenges at the regional and national levels. Therefore, this chapter focuses on a specific case study of Coventry University, a British public university located in the West Midlands, and its selected partners: the Unipart Group, HORIBA MIRA, Interserve, and KPIT Technologies Ltd in India. It also refers to a bespoke Global Leaders Programme which is an extra-curricular offering, designed to enhance students' leadership and soft skills and prepare them for future employment after graduation.

While Coventry University is UK based, its influence, partnerships, and ventures go beyond the national level and it is therefore almost impossible to define its geographic boundaries. Indeed, the same can be said about its staff and students, with many of them permanently located outside the main campus and even based abroad. This does not come as a surprise, as globalization has led to the creation of new business models which can be split geographically or operate virtually, outside the traditional borders.

To reflect the global mind-set of the university, the selected examples are both UK based and international, indicating interconnectivity that can shape society at a distance. Wherever possible, the author aimed to obtain feedback from the industry representatives to assess their views on the impact of their companies on the wider community. Additionally, relevant partnership managers from Coventry University were asked for their feedback to ensure that both perspectives were fairly captured.

## **EDUCATION, INDUSTRIES, AND THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: BRIEF THEORETICAL OVERVIEW**

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While the role of education in the social and economic development of a nation is no longer questioned, it is worth noting that in the past, these areas were seen as separate. Two of the first promoters of education in the context of economic development in the seventeenth century were Edward Misselden and Thomas Mun, although their views applied initially to merchants and later industrial workers. The wider access to education as the right of each individual and the idea of mass education became more common in the early eighteenth century (Latchanna and Hussein 2017). For example, while Adam Smith accepted the role of qualifications and promoted education (Mueller 2015), he did so by highlighting moral and humanitarian reasons rather than economic factors.

The links between education and the economy appeared in different theories during the early twentieth century when economists started connecting the scope of education, professional achievements, and the economic advancement of a nation. This debate was initiated in the 1930s by Harold F. Clark who showed a correlation between the level of education and the level of income. Thirty years later this was further developed by Gary G. Becker and Theodore W. Schultz. Particularly important were Schultz's theories of human capital and human investment, promoting investment in education as a way to increase economic development (Grodzicki 2000).

The indirect impact of education on regional development is also reflected in François Perroux's growth pole theory from the mid-1950s. Initially this was linked to leading sectors attracting regional industries. At a later stage Perroux focused on metropolises, which can act as growth poles, dominating smaller urban areas, making them dependent on the policies coming from the centre (Malizia and Feser 1999, cited in Grosse 2002). A similar approach is observed in the core and periphery model by John Friedman who suggested that the best companies locate their activities in the fast developing metropolises and regions, which dominate the peripheries economically, socially, and culturally (Raagmaa 2003). Also the theory of networks by Manuel Castells is based on metropolises being the economic, financial, and social growth centres. They develop further through innovations, promote information exchange, and lead to the establishment of network societies, relying on online communication and information sharing (Castells 2009). Castells's theory has been linked to the product cycle theory which suggests that economic development is a result

of technological innovations, generated in developed regions, which have well-established research and teaching institutions, as well as social and knowledge resources (Przygodzki 2007).

More recently, other researchers have also acknowledged the links between economic and educational development. For example Edgar Faure observed that technological advancement forces staff to upskill and therefore promotes lifelong learning. His theory suggests that economic development initiatives should include expansion of education as a way to transform traditional trades, create new job categories, and promote social mobility, in particular among those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Faure et al. 2013).

Openness of the region can stimulate further economic development using small and medium enterprises. Such expansion leads to the establishment of *industry clusters*, a concept introduced and popularized by Michael Porter. Porter argued that urbanization, as well as formal and informal networks influence the economic development of regions (Grosse 2002). Innovations appear in industry clusters, which are typical for large agglomerations, leading to further developments there. Big cities tend to be more open and offer the necessary infrastructure supporting innovations through universities and research centres (Przygodzki 2007). Clusters tend to specialize and promote further research and development (R&D) activities, often focusing on their own region.

Pull and push factors force cluster members to simultaneously cooperate and compete against each other. Their constant evolution inspires innovation, further developments, and knowledge sharing. This is often encouraged by local governments that are keen to stimulate activities in the region and develop them further, attracting new funding and industry entrants who wish to benefit from the intellectual and technical infrastructure that is already available there.

Another concept worth mentioning in the context of societal development is Richard Florida's theory of a learning region, the idea that regions develop if they have an ongoing drive to innovate and change (Samuelson and Nordhaus 2009). Innovations are often the result of cooperation between academia and industry. They are also affected by the society as a whole, although this impact does not seem to be extensively covered in economic theories. While there is no doubt that both local government and industry have a strong impact on wider social capital, it is

suggested that a high level of social trust stimulates long-term developments within the region.

Summing up, based on the review of key theories, differences in regional development, access to education and its level of quality are likely to cause polarization among regions. Those that are more advanced develop faster, leaving others behind. In order to avoid a potential vicious circle and limit public interventions, this chapter argues that government should stimulate the development of academia and R&D, promote lifelong learning, and provide incentives to introduce high-tech technologies within the sectors.

## **EXPANSION OF THE KNOWLEDGE- BASED ECONOMY**

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This chapter has referred to *innovations* on several occasions. There are a multitude of definitions of innovations and a number of them are presented in earlier parts of this book. Since this chapter focuses on the role of industry in building social capital, it is worth noting that what they all have in common is the frequent link to the world of academia and industry. They rely on human ideas and lead to positive changes, whether in relation to technological development or social advancements.

Innovation and development rely on knowledge creation and dissemination. According to Drucker (1993), today's economy is dominated by the capitalism of information—more companies create and distribute knowledge than create and distribute products and services. It can be said that knowledge becomes of strategic importance to enterprises and as the world evolves, companies must learn to create new knowledge. This can be accelerated by the trust and support that people receive within their company.

This chapter has argued so far, that regional developments require coordination of efforts among all key players, including local society, industry, businesses, and academia. The local government is expected to stimulate growth through different decision making processes and therefore promote sustainable development within the region, taking into consideration the needs of this and future generations. It may be also said

that economic development needs to be seen as an integral part of the regional development process and therefore, it should cover such aspects as environmental protection, culture, local communities, and public health amongst others (Brandenburg 2011).

Ongoing cooperation between stakeholders such as industry, HEIs, R&D centres, local government, and local communities allows for the development of a network which can stimulate knowledge and information exchange. It may also lead to a better quality of life within the region and increased attractiveness to new investors and incoming labour. Focusing specifically on the industry, it can be argued that through a complex network of connections, industry can strengthen its impact within the local community. It is worth repeating the point made by the editors of this book that *very little really occurs in isolation* as this helps to explain why most of the enterprises tend to cooperate with others. As economies evolve and adjust to growing competition at regional, national, and international levels, organizations are likely to benefit from ever expanding networks that include academia and industry.

While the selected case studies presented are at different stages of development, there is no doubt that they have all evolved through two important elements, specifically cooperativeness, which forms the basis of all collaboration, and innovativeness, at least in the context of a local region. Despite a certain level of *uniqueness* in each case, according to all respondents, all projects could be replicated in other countries and applied to other industries.

The expansion of globalization is stimulating the growing importance of regions. Here local environments become arenas for sharing knowledge, innovation, and creativity. It is fair to say that in the last decade globalization trends initiated the expansion of the knowledge-based economy, which requires human capital, both in the context of the economy and social changes. This has opened up many opportunities for universities, which can, and indeed should, play an important role in this process. This trend is particularly noticeable in the United Kingdom which has recently witnessed devolution of power from the central government to local bodies. This gives the local regions an opportunity to manage their own developments as they are closer to their people and can therefore respond faster to their needs.

## COVENTRY UNIVERSITY: A CASE STUDY

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Coventry University is located in the region commonly referred to as *the heart of British industry*. The West Midlands has seen its share of successes and decline throughout the decades, in line with the development of traditional heavy industries and later on, their demise. Thanks to the large-scale regeneration and revitalization supported by the central government and EU Regional Development funding, as well as the dedication of multiple local stakeholders, the region's economy is doing well.

While the definitions of revitalization or restructuring rarely refer to education, the role of HEIs in both processes cannot be ignored. Universities operate within the wider context of the cities where they are located and their future is linked to the economic development of the local region. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that many universities work closely with their local councils and Coventry University is no exception. Academia is often seen as a place where knowledge is created, giving people an opportunity to increase their qualifications, gain new information, and upskill. Furthermore, there seems to be a general consensus that this is indeed one of the main roles of universities and through their activities they should aim to increase people's earnings and quality of life and improve wider social interactions. At the same time, it is worth remembering that universities rarely work on their own and, indeed, many of them are part of well-developed networks.

Commonly, restructuring is seen as a process which only affects local areas. Contrary to this assumption, its effects can have far-reaching impact. Paraphrasing Kuciński (2005), while initially restructuring often leads to increased competitiveness of companies, long-term it increases the attractiveness of the whole region, which can turn into a growth pole attracting further economic developments. Therefore, restructuring should be seen as an ongoing process of change that applies to all institutions wanting to adapt to the ever changing environment and remain competitive in the market. These changes can be linked to new products, technology, processes and procedures, R&D activities, management systems, innovation, or upskilling of staff, leading to an increased value of the enterprise and a strengthened position among competitors.

The current knowledge-based economy requires both formal and informal knowledge. As regions evolve, they attract and generate new knowledge and innovative jobs, requiring new qualifications and skills. This process is heavily reliant on a partnership between industry and education. Interesting examples of such partnerships are present in the Coventry University portfolio. The university is keen to work with new companies entering the market (including those on the university technology park), as well as those that are well established and keen to take their business to the next level.

With approximately 30,000 students across the group, Coventry University is considered to be a large institution. Its students and staff are an incredibly diverse population across all measures including ethnicity, nationality, religion, and disability. In comparison to the rest of the sector, Coventry provides more access for students from disadvantaged backgrounds than almost any other UK university. Its programmes offer a wide selection of routes into higher education, including traditional taught and research programmes to apprenticeships and accelerated degree programmes, which give students better control over their study pattern. Apprenticeships are of particular importance as they require good links with industry partners and are seen by many as a way to offset decreasing numbers in Higher National Diploma, Higher National Certificate, and part-time studies which used to be a popular way to upskill those in full-time employment.

As a former polytechnic, Coventry has enjoyed strong links with industry, local businesses, and the public. Therefore it does not come as a surprise that employability is one of the key strengths for the university, which prides itself as an institution that is developing career-ready graduates. The university's external links have been further strengthened and expanded in recent years, reflecting its ambitious development and expansion plans. Indeed, it is expected that by 2020, its contribution to the local economy will exceed £1.5 billion (Roache 2016). Today, Coventry University considers itself as a global player with academic, research, and entrepreneurial activities across the globe, and partners including Jaguar Land Rover, GE Aviation, Highways England, and Intel to name a few. In 2015 the university was recognized for its entrepreneurial activities with the Queen's Award for Enterprise in International Trade. As the university's partnerships expand, there is a general belief that these should provide

benefits to all parties involved, be financially sustainable, and lead to further opportunities, brand enhancement, and reputational growth.

Looking at the profile and developments at Coventry University, it is clear that it fits into the *engaged university* model identified by Gaffikin and Perry (2008), which is based on an open dialogue between academia and its surroundings. This cooperation uses both formal academic knowledge, as well as tacit knowledge for the benefit of the local population and companies. In this model, HEIs are considered to be partners and not *consultants*, which can be said about Coventry.

There is a general consensus that universities can influence their surroundings and be instrumental in development processes through their links with other HEIs, industry, public and private sectors, and local governments. This cooperation can cover various aspects such as R&D activities, knowledge sharing and exchange, development of civic society and culture, promotion of entrepreneurship among the local population, and curriculum development, thereby addressing the latest requirements of the knowledge economy.

Partnerships between local governments, academia, and industry bring tangible benefits through management channels. It is quite common these days for the representatives of local industries and governments to be part of governance structures at universities. In the same spirit, HEIs' representatives tend to sit on the boards of local councils. Moreover, an increasing number of universities tend to consult their key industry partners on curriculum changes while companies want to ensure that they will have access to well-educated students once they graduate. The consultation process can also include local people, consulted in relation to changes to the university as a whole (for example campus developments or broader infrastructure changes). This is a good approach to keeping the communication channels open, allowing for swift action if required.

Partnerships between industry and academia bring tangible benefits to the wider society. This impact can take the form of promotion of knowledge and a lifelong learning philosophy. Many companies recruit locally and through staff development and upskilling, thereby directly contributing to the increased level of education among the local population. Other examples worth mentioning are volunteering activities involving students and staff and social ventures.

Openness to lifelong learning helps staff to maintain their jobs, secure promotions and progress through the ranks within their companies. It also allows them to limit unemployment periods and secure job changes, as many employers are keen to find staff who are flexible and open to acquiring new knowledge. As a result of these trends we can observe polarization of job markets—on one spectrum we can see knowledge-based economies with high-tech companies requiring highly skilled staff, while on the other, we have markets that thrive on cheap, low skilled labour. Additionally, the growth of online and blended learning has opened up new avenues and possibilities for people to gain new knowledge and qualifications, leading to further expansion of internationalization in higher education.

In the context of local societies, Szapiro ([2006](#): 25) refers to the ‘social effect of education’. He argues that societies with high levels of education have higher levels of technology, increased social cohesion, and lower levels of crime. As a consequence of such benefits, local and regional governments should actively foster cooperation between industry and local education providers as these may lead to positive social changes within the region.

When we look at the partnerships between universities and industry, it is clear that these must also include active relationships with local communities. Closer links between universities and their surroundings allow local people to participate in the life of universities, while companies can use these channels to learn about the new requirements and needs of others. Knowledge exchange between partners encourages all parties to deepen their experience, which further strengthens the partnership and leads to expansion of joint developments.

## The Unipart Partnership

A willingness to share knowledge and for joint benefit has led Coventry University to enter into a number of interesting partnerships. A good example is its partnership with the Unipart Manufacturing Group, a global specialist in manufacturing logistics and consultancy.

Unipart has a number of sites in Coventry and the surrounding area. Historically Unipart and Coventry University have ties through people development, with a large number of employees graduating from the university. As the partnership evolved in 2013, two-way discussions developed focusing on ways to close the increasing skills gap in engineering, develop engineers for the future, and help make the United Kingdom more competitive. In 2014 both partners established the Institute for Advanced Manufacturing and Engineering (AME), a joint £32 million initiative, which received £7.9 million funding from the Higher Education Funding Council for England's (HEFCE) Catalyst Fund. AME brought together high class specialists from academia and industry to set up the very first *Faculty on the Factory Floor* initiative in the United Kingdom.

Despite being a relatively new venture, AME has become one of the country's leading centres for developing new technologies and has either completed or is working towards over £5 million worth of funded projects. The AME strategy continues to be flexible to emerging changes and is moving into further ground-breaking areas integrating research, teaching, and business.

A knowledge-based society requires new technologies and IT solutions, as well as a highly experienced and well-educated workforce. This approach was reflected in the initial vision behind AME, which, as previously noted, attracted HEFCE Catalyst funding. AME's new approach to manufacturing degrees allows students to apply theory to practice in *real time* and in the *real environment* on the factory floor. The uniqueness of this project has attracted a number of external partners as well as extra funding for further developments and R&D activities, with a particular focus on 'priority sectors and future technologies specified by the European

Commission, Technology Strategy Board and the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council' (AME [2014a](#)).

In the words of the Director of AME: 'bringing the teaching and research environment onto the factory floor generates a unique experience for students and fresh thinking for industry. It is a means of developing industry ready graduates, boosting UK economic growth and accelerating the process from innovation to commercial realisation. Its aim is to deliver partnerships that benefit both (partners), to deliver impact through knowledge exchange ... By siting this facility with a manufacturer rather than on campus, it removed both cultural and physical barriers' (PraxisUnico n.d.).

The partnership between the Unipart Group and Coventry University is of significant importance when we consider recent statistics. Currently Britain is ranked as the ninth largest manufacturer in the world, after China, the United States, Japan, Germany, South Korea, India, Italy, and France (The Manufacturer [2017](#)), with almost 25 per cent of factory output sold outside its borders. While the level of productivity in manufacturing has increased three times faster than the whole economy (as measured by output per hour), the sector must transform further, in preparation for the '4th Industrial Revolution' (EEF, The Manufacturers' Organisation [2016](#)). As competition between economies intensifies, Rhodes ([2015](#): 18) expects that this will increase demand for skilled workers, combining advanced technical skills with soft skills, including project management and problem solving. The same goes for the engineering sector with the UK Commission for Employment and Skills highlighting skills shortages in key expanding sectors including construction, ICT, and manufacturing, despite the size of the total workforce shrinking through automation. As the need for people with higher level skills increases, it may be further accelerated by potential restrictions on the free movement of labour, following the Brexit vote (Engineering UK [2017](#)).

To address the urgent need to upskill the workforce and in order to reduce the skills shortage in the United Kingdom, in 2014 Unipart and Coventry University created three 'industry ready' degree programmes in manufacturing engineering, including BEng, MEng, and MSc. They are now being delivered within a 1,700m<sup>2</sup> manufacturing hub that was built on the Unipart site in Coventry, thanks to the investment of £3 million (AME [2015a](#)). All curricula combine the latest academic theory with practical

applications, are activity led, provide a *live* manufacturing environment and access to R&D, and offer summer placements as well as internships in the United Kingdom and abroad. Course structures allow students to develop soft skills including project management, communication, teamwork, and leadership, as well as giving them access to the best engineering specialists and the newest equipment that many of their peers only learn about from textbooks. Many students have been provided with scholarships funded by Unipart, which limit financial burden after graduation. They also complete their degrees one year ahead of their peers, which accelerates their career development.

The importance of the new curriculum should be seen in the context of the challenges faced by the engineering and manufacturing sectors in the United Kingdom. The engineering workforce has been relatively stable, constituting 19 per cent of total UK employment in 2016–17, while for manufacturing this figure was at 8 per cent in 2015 (Rhodes 2015). Unfortunately, the workforce is getting older, with numbers decreasing, particularly among those aged under 25. Moreover, in contrast to other sectors, engineering continues to be male-dominated, with women constituting less than 10 per cent of those in engineering roles in engineering companies (Engineering UK 2017). Therefore, in order to attract more young people to the sector and promote the newly established AME, in 2014 the Institute became involved in the Teen Tech initiative. This is aimed at bringing engineering to life and promoting the sector as an exciting career and education choice among teenagers across the United Kingdom (AME 2014b).

Without doubt, manufacturing and engineering are critical to the UK economy. It is estimated that in 2015, engineering contributed approximately 26 per cent of the total GDP, showing 2.3 per cent growth over the previous year (Engineering UK 2017). Through their joint partnership, the Unipart Group and Coventry University intend to strengthen the position of UK industry abroad. With support from the UK Trade and Investment and the UK Chicago Consulate, in 2015 AME organized and led the Advanced Manufacturing Trade Mission to the United States, focusing on the Midwest region which has a similar profile to the West Midlands and a high number of engineering and manufacturing companies (AME 2015b).

Although still young, AME has proved that the real-time link between the industry and academia can accelerate commercialization processes. Within less than two years, AME had secured £2.8 million of R&D funding (AME 2015a). Its current partners include Ford Motor Company, Jaguar Land Rover, Niche Vehicle Network, Innovate UK, and Aston Martin. Within the region, the Institute has received support from the Coventry and Warwickshire Local Enterprise Partnership. The available evidence so far leaves little doubt about the Institute's long-term benefits to the partners and the wider industry, including access to high quality graduates and technologies, opportunities for knowledge transfer and sharing, continuous professional development for existing staff, commercialization activities, access to R&D, creation of new jobs, the strengthening of the UK engineering and manufacturing position in the world, and promotion of the STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) (AME 2014c).

The Unipart partnership benefits the wider society in a number of ways. The previously mentioned new programmes attract local applicants and increase the level of qualifications within the region. As a for-profit organization, its actions are not simply altruistic but make sense commercially and are embedded within all decision making processes. Unipart Group's corporate responsibility is reflected in *The Unipart Way* philosophy of working that engages and empowers employees at every level to identify and remove waste from processes and continually improve the business and conserve environmental resources. By engaging with local stakeholders, Unipart can help to improve the employability and life prospects of those living within the community and develop local economies as well as positively impact the well-being of the company's employees and their families. For these and many other initiatives, Unipart Group was recognized with a five star rating in the 2016 Business in the Community Corporate Responsibility Index, the United Kingdom's leading benchmark for responsible businesses. The company also won the Environmental Leadership *Example of Excellence* in the 2011 Business in the Community's Responsible Business awards.

As a unique initiative in the United Kingdom between industry and academia, the partnership between Unipart and Coventry University has already secured a number of prestigious awards. These include the Guardian University Award for Business Partnerships 2016, the Cotswold

Life Engineering Manufacturing Innovation Award 2016, the Future Manufacturing Award 2016/17, and the Impact Award Finalist 2015. AME was named as a Top 100 Manufacturer in 2016 and at the end of 2016, the Director of AME was named as one of the ‘top 20 manufacturing professionals in the country’ (AME [2016](#)). All these awards provide external validation to the collaboration between Unipart and Coventry University and suggest a need for further innovative solutions in the sector.

## The HORIBA MIRA Partnership

Coventry University has been championing an *Excellence with Impact* research strategy that allows the university to work alongside a variety of industry partners. As part of this, and following the success of AME, in April 2017 Coventry University joined forces with another of its long-standing strategic partners, HORIBA MIRA, to set up a joint Centre for Connected and Autonomous Automotive Research at HORIBA MIRA’s technology park in Nuneaton, Warwickshire. The Centre focuses on addressing future transport needs by creation and expansion of new intelligent connected vehicle technologies and services (Coventry University [2017](#)).

While these are early days and it will take time for the project to bring large-scale tangible results, there is no doubt that it will have positive impact on both the automotive industry and society as a whole, by lowering energy use, improving the experience of drivers, increasing road safety and reducing traffic accidents and fatalities, increasing security, and creating new materials and product designs (Vincent [2017](#)). Through business sponsored PhDs, partners expect to expand research with impact, focusing on innovation development within the industry. The new venture focuses on the Intelligent Mobility sector and is expected to create new skills and technologies offering safer, more efficient, and environment friendly travel solutions. The idea is that these can be quickly integrated into other projects and thereby bring safety and economic benefits to businesses and the wider society.

HORIBA MIRA is considered to be a global leader in advanced vehicle engineering, research, and product testing, working with the automotive,

rail, defence, and aerospace sectors. As both partners have expertise in transport and automotive related areas, it is worth mentioning the Intelligent Variable Message Systems project, led by Coventry City Council and involving both organizations. This £2.5 million project is the first of its kind in the United Kingdom and it is likely to revolutionize the way people travel in the region and reduce congestion, pollution, and traffic (CWLEP 2017a).

Another interesting venture involving both partners is a recent £7.1 million UK Connected Intelligent Transport Environment project which was based on a trial of driverless cars, both on and off public roads. In addition to HORIBA MIRA and Coventry University, this involved other partners including Siemens, Vodafone, Huawei, University of Warwick, and Coventry City Council. The project was part funded by Innovate UK (£3.41 million) and it had significant impact in a number of areas. For example, in terms of local employment, it allowed for the creation and safeguarding of approximately 350 jobs. This is particularly important when we consider the effects of employment on the region. For every person employed in engineering, there are an additional 1.74 jobs, giving a multiplier effect of 2.74 (Engineering UK 2017).

In research terms, both projects provide new wide-scale technology to increase safety of road users, improve the efficiency of the road network, and reduce traffic congestion, and will likely lead to further R&D and business opportunities. They have been supported by the Coventry City Council, reflecting its wider ambition for the city to become one of the top ten in the country by creating further growth, new jobs, economic developments, and further research opportunities.

Summing up, the partnership between Coventry University and HORIBA MIRA was described by colleagues as broad and far-reaching, accelerating, with deepening internal dialogue between both institutions. The next step will involve the skills agenda as the skills required within the industry are rapidly changing and are expected to evolve in the future. As the partnership accelerates, its impact is two-fold. On one hand there is an immediate impact on the wider society through employability, curriculum shaping, sponsored PhDs, profile raising, expenditure (direct and indirect), increased acceptance of robotics and automation, staff upskilling, education promotion, forward thinking, and acceptance of innovation that questions and challenges current systems, habits, and products. Long-term, as the

research progresses, it will increase road safety, reduce traffic congestion and accidents, and create new products and services. ‘It will help establish the UK as a global centre of excellence and drive forward the commercialisation of connected vehicles, while delivering major wealth creation and inward investment opportunity for the UK’ (CWLEP 2017b).

## The KPIT Technologies Ltd Partnership

The relationship between Coventry University and key contacts at KPIT Technologies Ltd goes back six years. The most recent project is based on two industry-based programmes: MTech Automotive Electronics and an MBA in Strategic Engineering Management, which were co-created with this India-based company in order to address their needs, requirements, and long-term plans for the future. The first cohort of students was welcomed in 2017.

KPIT Technologies Ltd is one of the fastest growing technology companies providing product engineering and IT consulting solutions and services across automotive, transportation, manufacturing, energy, utilities, and life sciences industries. While many Indian companies traditionally offer made-to-order solutions, KPIT Technologies Ltd specializes in innovative and sustainable solutions, providing its customers with competitive advantage to their businesses. This approach is reflected in the structure of the programmes, which are divided into three stages: Certificate, Diploma, and a Master’s project. All projects offered within the programmes are linked to customers’ queries and are designed to provide real outputs. The programmes are taught by Coventry staff flown from the United Kingdom, combined with distance learning, which allows for delivery to KPIT Technologies Ltd satellite sites globally.

The partnership between KPIT Technologies Ltd and Coventry goes beyond teaching, offering them new customized opportunities to grow, generate income, strengthen their brand, or help with the competitive positioning within the market. As the programmes evolve, it will be possible to align learning and teaching with research by offering the best graduates PhD opportunities, providing KPIT Technologies Ltd with more talent and potential R&D options.

While this is a new venture, it is expected that it will help to retain talent and bridge the gap between technical engineering and business management fields. Apart from staff development and improved career planning within KPIT Technologies Ltd, another fundamental impact on the community is a cultural shift from creation, based on specifications provided by others, to innovation and creativity based on own research and design. This shift is expected to stimulate economic growth and prosperity.

## The Interserve Partnership

The relationship between Coventry University and Interserve goes back to 2014 when both institutions jointly applied for external funding. UK-based Interserve is one of the world's biggest support services and construction companies. It is a significant international supplier of public service contracts with a growing reputation for developing innovative and impactful social value programmes through its corporate sustainability plan.

In line with its vision to *redefine the future for people and places*, Interserve launched its SustainAbilities Plan in 2013, highlighting the group's commitment to sustainable activities. Being a for-profit organization, Interserve seeks new ways to grow and expand its business. It invests in the development and training of its staff to ensure that it continues to retain and attract the right people, as well as to meet customers' needs and develop lasting, long-term relationships.

As the partnership with Coventry University expanded, the level of diversity on the Interserve side allowed partners to initiate a number of different projects benefiting the wider society. Through sponsoring Coventry PhD students, Interserve's healthcare division expects to identify new ways to support people with complex needs who require care, to live independently in their homes. This is particularly important in the context of shifting demographic changes whereby people are living longer but also require additional support in the later stages of life. The PhD studies involve development of health assisted technologies which will enable better help and support offered to those individuals.

The new Migration Friendly Cities project bid involving both partners and local authorities from the wider West Midlands region is investigating

the contribution of refugees and migrants to the city's civic, economic, and social life. The project will investigate which skills are needed among the migrant population in order to empower them so they fully integrate and join the local job market. It will also look at ways to reduce hostility and prejudice towards refugees and migrants and increase solidarity between migrant and non-migrant groups. The project will involve interviews with local employers in the West Midlands and their feedback on the skills that refugees require in order to be successfully employed. This is particularly important because Coventry has a high number of refugees struggling to join the local workforce. Through better integration and upskilling of the migrant population, the project is likely to have strong social impact by bringing economic value to Coventry and the region. Interserve is keen on social enterprise and their contribution to the city and the region. They work with the Coventry University Social Enterprise to promote social values, creativity, and knowledge creation.

## THE GLOBAL LEADERS PROGRAMME

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While it is increasingly common for industry to influence universities' curricula, it is believed that Coventry University's Global Leaders Programme is quite different from offerings available at other UK institutions. This bespoke, non-credit bearing programme was created and has been managed centrally at the university since 2010. It was designed to suit students from all faculties, allowing them to develop their leadership and soft skills. The programme's impact is reflected in how it is run by practitioners with strong industry backgrounds. The programme features regular guest lecturers from various industries, so through interactions with them, students are able to consider their future career choices. It also offers them a unique opportunity to learn from the personal experiences of high profile specialists, who are happy to inspire new generations and share their knowledge. Companies supporting the Global Leaders Programme included Jaguar Land Rover, Aston Martin, NHS, Sainsbury's, British Council, Caterpillar, NASA, Ericson, DHL, Barclays, and Interserve.

The programme offers two separate tracks for undergraduate and postgraduate students, as well as a new research specialization reflecting

different advancement levels of students and their interests. While there is no hard data to confirm this, based on informal feedback from other colleagues, it is estimated that the Coventry Programme is the biggest of its kind among UK universities, with over 1,500 students registered in 2016–17 alone.

The programme offers campus-based activities such as workshops and seminars led by corporate speakers. It also gives students an opportunity to undertake a work placement or participate in field trips (both) offered within the United Kingdom and abroad. These are designed to allow for expansion of cultural competences, knowledge exchange, networking, and give students an opportunity to work on case studies in a real professional environment. As the programme evolved, the team managing it has been able to set up and develop long-lasting relationships with individual speakers and organizations, leading to new business ventures, job offerings for students, and other opportunities.

## CONCLUSION

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As noted at the beginning of this chapter, there is no doubt about the importance of the relationship between academia and industry, as well as the impact that both have on society as a whole. However, there is no easy way to measure this impact. This is partially a result of a multitude of definitions, as well as difficulties in separating different influences, as changes rarely occur in isolation. Despite this, it is important to recognize the importance of industry's impact and continue with further research in this area.

This chapter has presented a brief overview of the evolution of the role of academia and industry in regional development, as well as the links between society as a whole, industry, local businesses, academia, and local governments. As economic development stimulates social development, it sparks further economic changes. Consequently, regional development should be seen in the context of social and economic transformation.

Wider access to education and lifelong learning increases people's chances to find better employment, progress, or adapt in new environments. Quality higher qualifications are still linked to a premium and higher

earnings after graduation. Of course, education is not a silver bullet that will solve all problems; however, if it is of good quality, it can increase productivity and quality of work, and therefore stimulate economic development. Higher economic development attracts more research, publications, and external investments and improves the quality of life of ordinary people within a region. Therefore, it can be said that combined efforts between academia and industry can lead to increased employability and economic and cultural development within a society. In practical terms, many partnerships rely on external grants, which often require additional participation from local businesses and therefore further strengthen the local workforce.

The characteristics and specializations of Coventry University's partners presented in this analysis reflect aspects of the local region in which the university is located and from where many Coventry students come. As their visions and values are complementary, by pooling together resources and experience they can together bid for, and benefit from, additional commercial opportunities.

The case studies presented in this chapter included a number of organizations from different industries and with different business models. What they all have in common are similar ethics and drive to deliver ground-breaking innovation in research, teaching, and business. As they operate both globally and regionally, the cases show that it is possible to create knowledge exchange that will benefit local societies and expand macro activities, thereby creating a win-win situation for all stakeholders.

Two partnerships (with Unipart and HORIBA MIRA) benefited from the use of industry premises by the university. Co-location of Coventry staff on the partners' sites was highlighted as the key aspect leading to success of these partnerships and allowed the bridging of two different working cultures.

In today's fast changing world, industry has a moral duty and obligation to positively impact on the wider society. In the cases presented, this impact was possible through education and partnerships with a university, which challenged the status quo and stimulated a new way of thinking. In the words of colleagues from Unipart, 'the wealth of knowledge and drive at Coventry University complements that of Unipart Manufacturing Group and the wider Unipart Group of companies', which no doubt can be said about other partners too. As one of the Coventry colleagues put it, 'we are a

small part of the process of change'. While there is no quantitative data to support this, colleagues who contributed their views for this chapter felt that through a partnership this impact was more far-reaching than if they were working alone.

The initial findings from the interviews suggest that both academia and industry have the potential for very strong and positive impacts on society and economic growth and act as a growth pole within their regions. The growing importance of the knowledge-based economy forces enterprises to quickly adapt to the changing environment. Those who work closely with academic partners can influence their academic offering to make sure that it is tailored to reality and job market requirements. This, combined with better brand recognition, ongoing training, and lifelong learning, increases the experience and abilities of local populations to thrive in a fast changing environment.

There is also a general consensus that the approaches presented in this chapter could achieve impact beyond the region and be replicated across other sectors in the United Kingdom and abroad. The evidence available so far suggests that these activities are likely to address to some extent skills shortages, allow companies to upskill and retain staff, promote innovation and research, and have an overall, positive economic and social impact on the wider society. As these partnerships evolve and expand, it is critical to establish regular data collection methods so it is easier to assess the long-term impact of industry on the wider economy and society.

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## CHAPTER 22

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# EDUCATING FOR THE COOPERATIVE SOCIETY

*The Role of Universities, Research, and the Academic Professions in Fostering Good Citizenship*

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MEHMET MURAT ERGUUVAN, NIKOLOZ PARJANADZE,  
AND KEVIN HIRSCHI

## INTRODUCTION

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THE role of higher education institutions (HEIs) in society is dynamic and ever-changing. Beyond offering courses to students that inform and improve upon skills and knowledge, universities in particular are often viewed as a public good that interacts not only with its direct stakeholders, but with the public at large. As HEIs increase their social footprint, so do expectations in terms of student development, faculty development, community engagement, governmental engagement, and empirically informed research about most aspects of life. As is evidenced by the need for the present book, it is this expansion into new territory that HEI administrators must consider and carefully plan. One such developing area is the facilitation of young adults in their engagement with public entities and politics, or, in other words, citizenship.

There is a natural relationship between the concept of citizenship, the development of good citizenship, and HEIs. First and foremost, a tertiary education is considered as contributing towards adulthood for people in many nations. The learning and social environment for these young people is formative and acts as a bridge between childhood and independent adulthood (Arnett and Tanner 2006). In addition, the vast majority of decision makers today have a bachelor's degree or higher (Miller et al. 2015). Their experiences at HEIs are similarly formative and can lead to drastically different results. For example, a person now a CEO, as a university student might well have become involved in volunteer community service organizations, student government, perhaps engaging faculty members to cause change during a degree programme: the habits acquired can be imagined as continuing throughout a productive career.

The impact a university can have on the relationship between the individual and society is not only limited to its alumni. Universities often serve as a neutral space for public talks, meetings, and venues for protests. They publish work that informs society, and their professors make statements that are often headline news. They operate as polling places for elections and host research institutes on political processes. They have even been the venue of flashpoints between large segments of society and politics as seen in the deadly 1968 protests in France, Ohio in 1970, and Athens in 1973. The need is clear for an intentional and systematic approach to fostering good citizenship for HEIs of all kinds.

In light of the concerns raised in this handbook and in the extant literature, and with a focus on the role of HE in moulding good citizens, this chapter seeks answers to the following questions: To what extent is higher education able to help students understand global issues and their connections with their own lives? How might universities assist in embedding the knowledge, skills, and competences in students that they will require to take an active role in national, regional, and even global issues regardless of their economic and social status? To what extent can HEIs contribute to fostering good citizenship and the creation and maintenance of a cooperative society in an increasingly globalizing world? ‘What if higher education were to take a leadership role, as it did in the space race and the war on cancer, in preparing students and providing the information and knowledge to achieve a just and sustainable society’ (Cortese 2003: 17)?

## THE RELEVANCE OF HEIs TO CITIZENSHIP IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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As has been identified in other chapters in this handbook, there are critical forces in the external environment influencing the role and relevance of universities in the twenty-first century. Althof and Berkowitz (2006: 512) define citizenship as a ‘pro-social engagement in or towards a democratic political system’. They suggest that ‘any democratic society must concern itself with the socialization of its citizens ... [that] citizenship education necessarily entails character and moral formation’ (2006: 495) and that ‘societies need ... children to develop into moral adults’ (2006: 496). Hoge (2002: 106) suggests that ‘citizenship education actually needs a character education foundation’, whilst Cortese (2003: 22) goes further and argues that ‘college and university planners have the unique ability and unprecedented responsibility to help higher education fulfil its responsibility to create a healthy, just, and sustainable world’. From a societal development perspective, good citizens are also good for the economy. Stated simply they permit it to remain stable while changing. Looking at the funds spent for each student in different states, Satz (2007: 625) proposes that there is ‘a tie between the distribution of educational resources and citizenship’, that is, the more money spent, the better the quality of citizenship.

Marginson (2011: 431) draws a parallel between the extinction of monasteries and the future of the university, arguing that the HEI will be required to expand beyond simply giving degrees and must ‘re-ground itself in the social’. This re-grounding should occur through engagement with the local and regional communities on a variety of issues. Chatterton and Goddard (2000) divide this into three areas: (a) skills, (b) innovation, and (c) culture and community. In a similar vein, Coleman (2009) argues that the ‘oversimplification of civic engagement, idealization of the expert, fragmentation of knowledge, emphasis on technical mastery, neutrality as a condition of academic integrity—is toxic when it comes to pursuing the vital connections between education and the public good’. Chatterton and Goddard (2000: 475), in discussing the changing requirements being placed on universities at the turn of the twenty-first century note that:

universities and colleges are asked by a new set of regional actors and agencies to make an active contribution to the development of these regions. These demands are driven, amongst other things, by processes of globalisation and regionalisation (or localisation) in economic development, whereby the regional (or local) environment is as relevant as the national macro-economic situation in determining the ability of enterprises to compete in the national, supra-national and global economies.

Based on the arguments found in the literature, there is an obvious connection between the HEI and the development of citizenship. However, before that relationship can be discussed, an understanding of citizenship is required.

## TYPES OF CITIZENSHIP

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Citizenship can be thought of on global, regional, local, and institutional scales. Global citizens are those who engage with organizational institutions beyond their own nation. Perhaps ultimately any citizenship ‘is as much about obligations as it is about rights’ (Byers 2005). Whilst the idea of global citizenship creates unique challenges and paradoxes vis-à-vis citizen rights and obligations (Carter 2013; Hutchings 2002), it is useful as a normative concept. Toh (1996: 185) considers a global citizenship perspective to involve ‘awareness of and commitment to societal justice for marginalized groups, grassroots empowerment, nonviolent and authentic democracy, environmental care, and North–South relations based on principles of equity, respect and sharing’. Global citizens view the world and its inhabitants as interdependent and work to develop the capacity to act to advance both their own enlightened self-interest and the interest of people elsewhere in the world by understanding the interconnection of all living things (Appiah-Padi 2001). Certainly, the concept involves both inward (awareness and commitment) and outward (action) dimensions, reflecting both social and personal change (Hanson 2010).

One guiding set of rules for global citizenship behaviour might be the adherence to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and engagement with the *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations in 2015. Preceded by the Millennium Development Goals, the SDGs seek, amongst other things, to reduce hunger, poverty, major disease, and pollution, as well as increase economic wealth and productivity and

educational attainment. While nations, civil society, and educations are working to achieve these goals, individual citizens can also play a role in terms of: awareness of global issues; contribution to civil society; reducing personal practices that are detrimental to SDGs; and working towards professional and business progress in achieving SDGs. In terms of education, SDG4 is specifically dedicated to this field and aims to ‘ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university’ by 2030 (UNESCO 2017).

One basic tenet of citizenship is the concept of collaboration and cooperation amongst people. Nadeau and Nadeau (2016) posit that humanity is entering a *new phase* of human organization—a *cooperative society*. Drawing on the observations of successful cooperative organizations (i.e. farmers’ cooperatives, locally run utility companies, housing cooperatives), societies can better address their economic, political, and environmental needs through the cooperative operation and management of organizations. The building blocks of a better society are individual people engaging in positive-sum behaviour. ‘Positive-sum behaviour arises when people expect a benefit from cooperation ... positive-sum behaviours give rise to a fairer, more civilized society’ (Heslop et al. 2016: 1). As Redding and Drew (2016: 107) argue, ‘societies progress by the influence of two forces: innovativeness and cooperativeness’.

On a local scale, good citizens are viewed in a variety of spheres, from politics, economic activities, consumption of media, volunteerism, and, of course, the broad categories of civic engagement and community engagement. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) posit three types of *good citizens*: the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen, and the justice-oriented citizen. The personally responsible citizen obeys laws, pays taxes, takes care to not cause extensive damage to the environment, and may volunteer or contribute to a local cause. These types of citizens believe that the solution to social problems can be achieved through actions similar to theirs. The participatory citizen is a much more active member of a community who may organize events to benefit a specific community in need or address a problem with the government. They believe that leadership and initiatives for change are the key to a better society. Finally, the justice-oriented citizen is more focused on critiquing the powers that

cause injustice. They believe that improvement of the society comes through questioning and calling for change where there are unjust systems.

On an institutional scale, citizenship can be considered organizational. *Organizational citizenship* is defined by Organ (1988: 4) as ‘individual behaviour that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization’. In terms of HEIs, sound institutional citizenship will enable the institution, amongst other things, to establish a healthy and productive relationship with the community, contribute to policy making, help the country develop sound economic measures, and preserve the environment.

## Community Engagement

The originating initiative for HEIs, whether religious or philosophical in nature, was commonly limited to the elite of the community. However, during (and since) the Industrial Revolution, HEIs in many countries have engaged more with the masses and through this engagement most of them have, by design or implication, promoted the ideals of democracy for all members of their society. Today, higher education is able to contribute to the community in many ways, and in particular through sharing its expertise accumulated in research. Becoming more engaged with the community is not only delivering know-how through the standard educational process, but also involves the following:

- (1) lifelong learning activities such as short-term training programmes, public lectures, certificate programmes, professional development opportunities, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) and other online teaching and learning tools, and other innovative approaches;
- (2) community service activities including promoting community service amongst HEI students, faculty, and staff, as well as providing a venue for such activities;
- (3) cultural activities such as hosting sports, art, music, theatre, and dance events, maintaining museums and galleries, and facilitating fairs and festivals that promote local and indigenous cultures.

# Policy Engagement

It is also of crucial importance that HEIs be engaged in policy making processes at the local, regional, and national level. Historically, educational systems and HEIs in particular played an important role in the formation of modern states of Europe (Green 1997). The advent of modern nation-states is tightly connected to the development of HEIs as pillars of public good; supported by a notion in the nineteenth century that *elites* cannot guarantee statehood if power, authority, and responsibilities are not broadly shared among different layers of society. Broader participation in political processes was only possible when, as Waks (2006: 409) notes, ‘commoners involved in commerce acquired greater social power’. Today, policy is made, in the best cases, as a tenuous collaboration between the masses and the few elected policy makers. However, as the masses become more informed and skilful, their engagement with policy makers tends to become more deeply informed by public debate based on verifiable facts. HEIs can facilitate this process particularly well as they typically last beyond the tenures of elected officials and are able to provide the following:

- (1) experts, research, and research centres that inform the public and communicate directly with policy makers about updated, accurate, and valid data and research results to guide appropriate, empirically-informed, and effective policy making;
- (2) a neutral space for policy discussion through allowing debates, politically oriented public talks, safe protests, and monitored online venues for discussions on policy that may affect the university, locality, region, or the nation in which the HEI is located, or international issues;
- (3) an educational process for students that informs them about policy, the ability of the individual citizen to engage with policy makers, and the impact that policy has on their lives, communities, and the world.

# Economic Engagement

HEIs have increasingly been tasked with economic development as a primary goal, both in terms of research and in training and providing the market with a skilled workforce. Throughout the twentieth century, this training has transitioned from the traditional economy to the knowledge economy. The knowledge economy refers to a market system where the expansion of the economy is determined by the access to information (Drucker 1992) and HEIs have played a role in this shift. Beyond recognizing the reality of the knowledge economy, HEIs can support the local, regional, and national economy by engaging in the following:

- (1) increasing the capacity of workers and markets through development, and constant updating of, skills for the knowledge economy, and offering expertise to enterprises;
- (2) providing venues for innovation through tech parks, start-up incubators through direct investment, or collaboration with local organizations;
- (3) serving as a role model of fair and sustainable economic practices through careful and considerate planning of growth.

## Environmental Engagement

HEIs have historically led the path to sustainable practices by first uncovering the damage done to the environment by human activity. Indeed, today, HEIs lead in terms of developing sustainable campuses and learning environments. Cortese (2003) argues that as time progresses, the context of learning will change to make human–environment interdependence, values, and ethics a seamless and central part of teaching of all the disciplines, rather than isolated as a special course or module in programmes for specialists. Incorporating environmental concern in their mission statements should help HEIs keep the related issues in the agenda. HEIs can serve as good role models by promoting:

- (1) environmental sustainability in construction and operations on campus, including the institutional promotion of reusing, reducing, and recycling through awareness and reward programmes, the use

- of renewable energy, efforts to offset carbon emissions and public forums to discuss and promote such issues;
- (2) the protection of environment through providing evidence-based research on issues such as global climate change, endangered species, sustainable/renewable energy, and the use of locally sourced products;
  - (3) the incorporation of environmental sustainability issues in the education process through updated curricula and by promoting sustainable efforts by students, faculty, staff, and other stakeholders.

## **RAISING GOOD CITIZENS: DEVELOPMENT**

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Considerable research has been conducted on the role of HEIs in terms of developing good citizens. Chambers and Gopaul (2008: 59) carried out a survey through which they gathered 217 descriptions of ‘higher education for the public good’. The following key themes identified in the research indicate the importance of HE in relation to fostering good citizenship in the society: collaborative relationships with the community; service to the community; support community diversity; improve quality of life; economic benefits; regulation of social change; transmission of culture; democratic citizenship; civic participation of graduates; social responsibility and inclusiveness (Chambers and Gopaul 2008: 72). Braskamp (2008) was one of the developers of a Global Perspectives Inventory (GPI). ‘The GPI is beneficial for those involved with program assessment and institutional improvement initiatives’ (RISE 2017). In his study, Braskamp (2008: 2) concludes that ‘global citizenship ... is an appropriate image to frame our aims and goals in educating our students’. Harkavy (2006: 5) argues that the ‘goal for universities should be to contribute significantly to developing and sustaining democratic schools, communities, and societies’; that ‘democracy must begin at home, and its home is the engaged neighbourly college or university and its local community partner’ (Harkavy 2006: 19); and that ‘universities should closely collaborate across cultures and national boundaries to advance human welfare’ (Harkavy 2006: 34). Altbach et al. (2010: 30) identify four major factors that have recently affected academia: ‘the *massification* of higher education, globalization, the advent of the

knowledge society and the importance of research universities within it, and information technology (including distance education)’. These factors are covered in more detail in other chapters of this handbook.

There are serious challenges, which will most likely intensify in the near future and restrict the activities of the HEIs, including but not limited to: decreasing student numbers, funding, the casualization of faculty, and increasing competition. Despite the *massification* process in higher education, however, a society still consists of individuals, and unless HEIs manage to focus on the civic role of the *individual*, a cooperative society is unlikely to be a realistic outcome. The educational process at HEIs, therefore, must aim at equipping students not only with employment skills but also with ethical values that will help build a cooperative society.

Educators and administrators need to *care* about each individual student so that students know how to care for others. If a freshman chooses the wrong programme but is assisted to find a more appropriate programme, that process of helping can shape a role model to help the student in later becoming a more beneficial contributor to society. Conversely, the ignored or failed students may end up in fields to which they are not suited. They are then less likely to make a beneficial contribution to society and may become cynical about cooperating and assisting others. As Arvanitakis and Hornsby (2018) point out, fostering good citizens is realized by the institution and its educators as well as the curriculum.

According to the literature in the above sources, the following are values, knowledge, and perspectives which HEIs can impart to students to assist them in becoming good citizens: respect, justice, equity, fairness, equal opportunities; understanding of a citizen’s responsibilities to others, to society, and to the environment; understanding of ethical behaviour in personal, professional, and public life; and knowledge and skills for involved responsible citizenship at the local, state, national, and global levels. In addition, the literature suggests that HEIs should educate for *whole* persons—that is, they ‘must address social, emotional, and ethical issues, as well as academic’ (Noddings 2006: 238)—and that they can inform policy development through publishing research on how HE continues to contribute to the development of good citizenship and the social and financial returns of education and training to the individual, the firm, and the economy at large (Blundell et al. 2005).

## CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

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Do the universities practice what they teach? Nagy and Robb (2008: 1428) argue that higher education institutions have a role in inculcating corporate social responsibility and suggest that ‘if citizens are viewed as an “unconscious civilisation” then universities have a role to challenge this hegemony rather than accept this as inevitable’. A typical *motherhood* statement espoused by many HEIs (usually in the context of promoting their good citizenship) is that they are ‘an equal opportunity institution that does not discriminate against any member of its community on the basis of gender, race, nationality, ancestry, creed, marital or parental status, or physical, mental, emotional, or learning disabilities in its educational programmes and activities’ (IBSU 2017). Yet such statements can often remain espoused ideals whose gestation to full implementation takes time, and runs up against embedded realities that are not easily circumvented.

If history is anything to go by, it is fair to assume that a well-working democracy will pave the way towards smooth-functioning societies in which the conditions for becoming a better citizen are ripe. Social classifications are often a threat to the social harmony that is required for this process. For HE to contribute here, as Gurin et al. (2004: 17) note, the ‘educational benefits of diversity depend on curricular and co-curricular experience with diverse peers, not merely on their co-existence in the same institution’.

Critics in the field of democratic citizenship education argue that ignoring minorities and placing an emphasis on the majority will result in young people from such minorities being ‘ill-prepared to be citizens and leaders of ethnically and racially diverse’ nations (Gurin et al. 2004: 19). This point is reinforced by Waghid (2004: 525) in discussing the case of ethnically diverse South Africa: ‘the liberal-communitarian concept of citizenship education is not sufficient on its own to bring about educational transformation in institutions. Instead, citizenship education initiatives in South Africa need to promote a sense of compassion, motivating learners to take seriously the suffering of others.’

In terms of gender in a democratic citizenship education, Gouthro (2007: 143) adopts a feminist theoretic approach and puts forward three considerations.

The first consideration is the need for a careful examination of structural inequalities that create disadvantages for women in pursuing lifelong education. The second consideration is the need to create a broader and more gender inclusive understanding of the scope of lifelong learning possibilities, so that women's learning experiences are not devalued. The third consideration explores how to take up gender as a complex variable within the broader discourse of inclusion.

Chapters 14 and 26 of this handbook explore such issues in considerable detail.

## CURRICULA DEVELOPMENT

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Have the curricula been changed to adapt the current challenges that HE faces, particularly the requirement for good global citizens? Yob and Ferraro (2013) argue that HEIs could provide students with the appropriate knowledge and skills for public service and political engagement by incorporating such topics into their curriculum yet Hanson (2010) suggests there is a paucity of information on how individual courses and their instructors might support the fostering of global citizenship. Barnett (2000: 255) argues that it would 'be unlikely to yield the human qualities of being that the current age of supercomplexity requires'. 'Curricula in higher education ... take different shapes as a result of separate sets of negotiations between contending forces. The state, the labour market, students, knowledge fields and institutions exert their influence in varying proportions across curricula' (Barnett 2000: 262). So why are such issues related to good global citizenship not actively canvassed in higher education in countries such as the United States? Andrzejewski and Alessio (1999) argue that it is because policy makers and educators don't experience or see the immediate consequences of such problems, and therefore distance themselves from such issues. They are someone else's problems.

Should we have a separate subject for teaching values and citizenship, or should the idea be blended with the syllabi of all the relevant subjects? Benneworth and Cunha (2015: 516) suggest 'societal roles of universities involve providing higher-level education for students and workers, whilst social innovation appears to be oriented around the delivery of social services'. They further argue that 'social innovation challenges universities

in terms of the desirable outcomes, delivering socially innovative organisational forms and delivering social justice, which are socially desirable, not universities' core missions, nor necessarily things universities do very well' (2015: 517) and point out that 'it cannot be assumed that universities will always, and under all circumstances, want to promote social justice' (2015: 517).

## CONCLUSION

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This chapter reviewed the literature on citizenship and examined its relationship with HEIs as well as providing recommendations for promoting good citizenship through collaboration at the institutional, local, regional, and global levels. While the issues at hand are complex and dynamic, HEIs continue to contribute to the well-being of the society. By fostering good citizenship their students and staff members can become role models for others. This can then widen the circles of influence producing more good citizens who can adopt global values. It is not until a society has a stable set of such ideals that its level of cooperativeness can rise, and so enable it to cope more easily with the extra complexities faced in modernization. The growth of the necessary trust happens when people share ideals, especially when those ideals rest of a bed of civilizational principles. It is those latter principles, covering both inherited knowledge, wisdom, and their constant re-evaluation in a changing world, that is the work of HE. Regardless of subject field it is the essence of what *can* be learned by members of a society, and then in turn by the society itself.

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## CHAPTER 23

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# GOVERNMENTS NEED TO, AND DO, TRUST UNIVERSITIES

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MIKE B. CALFORD

IT is an interesting phenomenon that the major universities across the world have a great deal of commonality in their structures: they have departments/schools aggregated within faculties/colleges, and management by deans, provosts, rectors, and vice-chancellors. They also have in common a nested hierarchy of degrees, from bachelors to a postgraduate course-work pathway, or through a research preparatory year, or two, leading to a PhD pathway. In addition, they have a governance framework, separate to management, of academic boards/senates. These hold a great deal of independence whilst reporting to governing councils or regents. The differences are mostly in terminology rather than in substance.

As a result of this commonality, there is broad understanding and recognition of qualifications obtained at other universities, and staff move freely to fill positions across national boundaries.

In using the term ‘major universities’, I refer to those that have a combined research and teaching function and are not restricted by dogma or creed. Aside from totalitarian regimes, almost every country has them and governments of many political ideologies generally set up systems that preserve them. Independent of the political system in place the vast majority of governments support public universities to make independent

decisions about how they spend government funds; and allow large private universities to compete for, and largely depend upon, government funds. Essentially universities are granted autonomy to operate. Inherent in this relationship between governments and universities is trust that the running of academia by academics will produce the returns necessary to advance economies and social structures—but could it be achieved in any other way?

At the 2010 mid-year plenary meeting of Universities Australia former national education minister John Dawkins (1987–91) opened his address to the collected chancellors (titular heads), and vice-chancellors (presidents) of Australia’s thirty-nine universities with ‘Thank you, does this mean that I am forgiven?’ He could not have been more wrong.

In 1985 Australia had seventeen universities and around sixty higher education colleges and institutes (with few exceptions, these conducted little research and did not train PhDs); by 1995, after the amalgamations and conversions sparked by Dawkins, Australia had thirty-nine universities all conducting research and teaching. Colleges and institutes had almost disappeared.

Most of the previous colleges had a specialist function—agriculture, health, teaching, engineering. Coupled with a 1996 change in regulations that encouraged Australian universities to enrol full fee-paying overseas students, Dawkins had started a process of empowerment of his country’s higher education sector.

Dawkins was not forgiven. He didn’t need to be, as everyone in the room owed their career (or, at least, their present elevation) to the changes he introduced. Old or new, unchanged or amalgamated, the Australian universities became larger, more influential, and conducted more research than their predecessors.

Contrary to the concerns of many academics for the demise of their system, the next twenty years saw a rapid expansion of all aspects of higher education academic endeavour. Australia, with a population of around 25 million, now has thirty-nine comprehensive universities that train students to PhD. Twenty-seven of these now graduate more than 100 PhD students per year (compared to five doing so in 1990; HDR Time Series 2017). This is a higher proportion than most other countries, including the United States which has around 180 comprehensive universities granting more than 100 PhDs per year, for its population of over 350 million (MUP 2018). In their

own right, universities have become big businesses in Australia and contribute a significant proportion of the economy. In the State of Victoria, the contribution of international education exceeded A\$9 billion in 2017 (DFAT 2018) and, at 20 per cent of all exports, represents the largest export industry.

Despite the current successes of the Australian system, the outcomes of the Dawkins reforms were not at all as planned. In the original green paper, signalling his reforms, Dawkins foresaw an end of university governance by academics and introduction of a more managerial framework with a sector-wide oversight and performance review mechanism (Dawkins 1987). It was this confronting of what many academics saw as a fundamental, and defining, principle of university operations that produced the strongest opposition—rather than the structural changes to funding and the effectively forced amalgamations (Chapman 2015). Previous allocations of base funding were reduced and funds were moved into competitive research grant pools and to research block grant schemes to be distributed on institutional performance, and a quality assessment framework was introduced (Larkins 2011). However, enacting these changes, paradoxically, gave increased recognition, and power, to peer-review mechanisms with the result of reinforcing structures for decision making by academics.

For academics and administrators there was a major difference in tradition found at a university rather than a specialist college: independence of academic governance from management or state oversight. Those moving into this framework, whether through amalgamations or establishment, saw the value of autonomy, and embraced the opportunity to exercise it. Whilst established research-oriented academics were mostly concerned about the fate of their own disciplines through the more competitive agencies, and largely oblivious to the changes taking place within their institutions, those newer to it were concerned about structures and governance. They also became the innovators in the new environment; setting standards and extending peer-review of quality of teaching in the new system, and dominating discourse about limiting the extent of managerialism in the sector. Thus, a government initiative of a system-wide quality audit (1992–5) aimed at increased oversight, became a peer-review exercise which embedded autonomy of decision making as a key principle for the new and existing universities (Mikol 1996)—a similar outcome to equivalent exercises in other countries (Harvey 1998).

Similarly, a subsequent cycle of reviews of academic boards (or senates) assured that the majority of members were elected rather than appointed by management, and in 2005 a consensus statement was agreed at a national meeting of chairs of boards. The role was codified as ‘The Board is the principal policy-making and advisory body on all matters relating to and affecting a university’s teaching, research and educational programs. It is also responsible for assuring academic quality including academic freedom, academic integrity, assessment, admissions, and research conduct’ (Dooley 2007).

Whereas we can conceive a debate over whether autonomy in academic decision making leads to better research productivity, and research quality, the more interesting question is whether there has ever been an effective comprehensive university system that has operated without autonomy. It is worth asking whether the outcomes of the Dawkins reforms could have ended any other way—in the context of expectations of expansion in research and teaching.

In many jurisdictions, autonomy of academic institutions has a long history. In the nineteenth century, or earlier once the break from religious oversight was effected, the expansion of disciplines and knowledge and the limited pool of knowledgeable graduates left no choice but for peer-based approval of subject material and curricula. In the Humboldtian system, operating in much of Europe, a designated professor carried the bulk of decision-making power, whereas in the British and North American systems these were collective decisions (Pechar 2005). Irrespective, the boundaries between management and governance were clear.

Importantly we should not view, from our present perspective, the debate over the granting of autonomy to universities as one that pertains only to developing economies, or to those where religion or ethnic traditions could be challenged by adopting Western approaches (Wan et al. 2015). Similar debates ensued in the recent past in most places as their university sector expanded. In the second half of the nineteenth century the land-grant universities of the United States, and the new universities of the late Ottoman Empire (and the Turkish Republic that followed (Barblam et al. 2008), were set up with considerable autonomy and a dual management and governance structure which looks very similar to most major modern universities. The decisions to adopt such structures were deliberate and, at least for the land-grant universities, very public.

The encouragement of the practice of autonomy is not confined to Western-styled secular universities. The Federation of the Universities of the Islamic World (FUIW) agreed to standards for evaluating performance and improving quality in higher education in 2007. Included amongst the indicators and aspirations are: ‘Providing an environment of academic freedom among the teaching staff in order to promote their independence as to taking academic decisions’; ‘The need of the faculty staff to feel that the institution enjoys full self- management and decision-making autonomy’; ‘The universities’ need for a wider margin of freedom in decision-making and for financial support for their projects’ (FUIW-FUMI [2017](#)). Whilst these statements of autonomy are embedded within a voluntary quality assessment framework rather than in legislation, they mirror many principles familiar to the accreditation and institutional review requirements in Europe, North America, and Australia.

A ready-built ‘experiment’ to test the value of autonomy in university governance can be considered to be taking place in Malaysia. This country has seen an unequalled expansion of higher education over the past fifteen years which is reflected in a large number of smaller private institutions and offshore campuses of foreign universities being formed, a large cohort of students from elsewhere in Asia coming to study, and a burgeoning interest in studying (Molly et al. [2017](#)).

Recognizing the mechanisms that had earlier contributed to growth in other rapidly developing economies (such as Japan and Korea), public and political debate in Malaysia highlighted the need for an expanded higher education sector. Within this context, the need to have a few high-quality institutions was recognized early, and around 2005 government set in place mechanisms for supporting a transformation of the major five public universities to become research-intensive and graduate-student oriented.

It was seen that achievement of this goal would be enabled by the granting of autonomy in decision making—essentially in a traditional British model. However, this autonomy is tempered by operating within a legislative framework empowering the Ministry of Higher Education with authority over student enrolments, staff appointments, salaries, and educational programmes. Nevertheless, the effective ceding of many academic and planning decisions to universities in a performance monitoring framework has been accompanied by remarkable changes (Ujang [2012](#)). Primarily these have been aimed at achieving the stated goal

(in 2007; see update Ahmad and Farley 2014) of graduating 60,000 doctoral students by 2020 through a research-intensive transformation and a conversion of essentially undergraduate teaching universities into predominantly postgraduate research training universities.

No doubt the increased funding and the appointment of high-quality academically experienced presidents and senior executives would have had a major impact in any system. However, the introduction of autonomy in academic matters, and peer-review decision making on distribution of research funds, aided in the attraction of many expatriate staff with British, North American, or Australian PhDs and experience. Following perceived success, the process for extending autonomy to all twenty public universities in Malaysia is underway (Ahmad and Farley 2014).

The Malaysian university system transformation parallels that achieved in Taiwan two decades earlier (Law 1998). In both jurisdictions, the issue of university autonomy is one of high professional (Azman 2012) and public awareness which, at times, becomes political. That newspaper pages (Maxon 2018) or broadcast news can be led by items on infringement of university autonomy is a surprising feature, for visiting academics.

What does this worldwide network of essentially variants of the same organization represent? And, does it have to be this way? In most countries, the system of teaching at high-school level is highly codified with national or state-wide curricula and examinations. Whilst these allow for differences for schools with religious affiliation, the core components of the syllabus for sciences and humanities are usually in common. Whilst it would seem feasible to design a successful university system that operates within an equivalent oversight regime to such secondary school systems, it appears that no comprehensive world-class university has emerged from such a system. The long timeframes of university activities may be a critical factor limiting development in a controlled system, and that determines (or selects for) the adoption of autonomy and dual governance structures.

There is also an inbuilt stability in the decision-making timeframe of universities. Whilst we now commonly think of modern universities as billion dollar entities—and governing bodies are becoming prone to appointing top-level managers with skill sets appropriate to running billion dollar companies—the decisions made to start or stop a new degree, or to set up a new research institute have long-term consequences that are difficult, or impossible, to avoid.

The timeframes are very different to those in business as a university's enterprises cannot easily be terminated, or bought and sold. For example, the choice to start a new professional degree, such as pharmacy or physiotherapy, may be seen in commercial terms and depend upon some market analysis and will be committed to at senior-executive level. However, the work will have begun a few years earlier through discussions with, and commitment from, the relevant industries or hospitals (to uphold these commitments introduces a five- to ten-year minimum framework). This work will have been undertaken by interested academics from cognate disciplines—often looking to create a larger entity of aligned colleagues.

Typically, university senior executive supports their discipline experts (or those from another university) to convince partners and government of the merits. Once a decision is made to pursue a new degree, there is the recruitment of staff (a greater than twenty-year commitment) and writing of curriculum; the building or renovation of discipline-specific facilities (return on investment is usually considered as a twenty-five-year commitment); all occurring a year or two before the first enrolment of students and any return on investment; and, if a decision is taken to end a particular degree, teach-out scenarios are typically five to six years.

Thus, even for a commonplace event (starting or stopping a degree) universities operate over a timescale which is two to three times longer than the election period in most government systems. Faced with these timeframes few private enterprises would take the risk, but governments and universities must.

Here, starkly, is the very nature of the risky alliance: governments commit to support universities to long-term activities (with mutually agreed *prima facie* community benefit and merit) over which their administration, and very likely the next couple, will be able to exert little control. The research endeavour of universities has even longer timeframes for a return and the subject matter—if it is to be forward looking and worthwhile—is inherently obscure. It is a universal adage of anyone who is well experienced in administration of research that one ‘can’t pick winners’.

In a research environment where the vast majority of investments do not work out, governments, through the nature of politics, cannot afford to be the decision makers. Viewed in a return on investment economic sense, this low probability of success is inherent in the very nature of innovative research. Clearly, there are other reasons for significant and widespread

government investment in research: it informs teaching; leads societal advancement and social inclusion; and keeps a country or jurisdiction at the front of, and able to assess, technical developments. Whilst these could be cited as sufficient to justify the existence of research-intensive universities and of government-funded granting agencies—ultimately the economics depends upon a few projects that return a significant economic impact to account for the overall investment in research. For example, the single project of Graeme Jameson cited for his Prime Ministers Prize for Innovation (2015) was credited with an economic impact greater than A\$36 billion.

In both realms of activity (research and teaching), the success of a venture largely depends upon aspects of control that are the preserve of the governance domain: oversight of quality and standards. Thus, university management, and the governments that fund them, depend upon a decision-making system ceded to discipline-based academics, and their boards, which is outside of their immediate control. An interesting thought exercise is to consider whether transplanting a typical professor, from any of the current top-ranked 2,000 or so universities across political and national divides, to another institute would substantially affect their daily working life? It would not. The expectations of research, teaching, and scholarly development in their field of expertise, and oversight and defence of quality, are all variations on a common theme—and governments that want an educated workforce and innovative research are obliged to invest through it.

The universities of the Soviet Eastern Europe provide a counterpoint. Throughout the initial period of Soviet Russia and in the post-Second World War expansion, universities operated in a highly regulated system with little autonomy of decisions. Generally, academic appointments, performance, and promotion were overseen by boards and committees. Clearly, controls on academic freedom limited development in the humanities and social sciences. Nevertheless, it was a highly effective and high-quality system for many disciplines, in particular the natural sciences, engineering, and medicine. In these fields, standards were rigorous and colleagues were well respected by their counterparts in Western universities (Malinauskaite 2016). As unacceptable and restraining as this system was, does this success in a limited range of fields refute the argument that academic autonomy is a necessity for a successful university system? Perhaps so, but there was a

fundamental difference in the cycle of government business in the Soviet bloc that aligns with, or exceeds, the long timeframes of university decision making. This alignment removes the primary necessity for governments to cede control to universities: wherein investment in university activities needs to continue well into the future and beyond their administration. Given that a political system operating with such timeframes is unlikely to be one that embraces the challenges that would undoubtedly stem from a successful comprehensive university, it is an unlikely scenario.

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## CHAPTER 24

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# EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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MICHAEL A. PETERS AND PETAR JANDRIĆ

## INTRODUCTION: THE ROBOTS ARE COMING

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THE 2015 World Summit on ‘technological unemployment’ held in New York on 8 September by The World Technology Network in association with IBM Watson and speakers such as Robert Reich, Larry Summers, and Joseph Stiglitz addressed the issues by highlighting the new raft of disruptive technologies that will allegedly create jobless growth and worldwide unemployment:

Accelerating technological unemployment will likely be one of the most challenging societal issues in the 21st Century. Never before in history are so many industries being simultaneously upended by new technologies. Though ‘creative destruction’, in which lost jobs are replaced with new ones, will be a factor, our newest technologies have the clear potential to eliminate many more jobs than we create. With technology advancing at a geometric pace, robotics, artificial intelligence, 3D-printing, and other innovations with enormous disruptive potential will soon hit the mainstream. Billions of people worldwide are currently employed in industries that will likely be affected—and billions of new entrants to the workforce will need jobs.

(The World Technology Network 2015)

Larry Summers (2014) writing for *The Wall Street Journal* suggests the main problem is not producing enough but providing enough work: ‘There are more sectors losing jobs than creating jobs. And the general-purpose aspect of software technology means that even the industries and jobs that it creates are not forever.’ His views are echoed by the current generation of economists.

Mark MacCarthy (2014) in ‘Time to Kill the Tech Job-Killing Myth’ acknowledges, ‘There is a prevailing opinion that we are in an era of technological unemployment—that technology is increasingly making skilled workers obsolete.’ Yet in a contrary mood he is more optimistic choosing to emphasize the long-term relationship between technology and job creation focusing on the software industry that employs some 2.5 million directly and supports job growth in other industries (five new jobs for every ten software jobs).

Others are much less sanguine. Erik Brynjolfsson and Andrew McAfee in *Race against the Machine* (2011) and *The Second Machine Age* (2016) have commented that the computer revolution has huge potential for disrupting labour markets and reducing labour costs. In their latest book they talk of the watershed in robotization and the corresponding increasing capacity and intelligence of digital technologies. Their empirical study led them to three broad conclusions. The first, hardly surprising or informative, is that ‘we’re living in a time of astonishing progress with digital technologies—those that have computer hardware, software and networks at their core’. They go on to argue for a second conclusion that ‘the transformations brought about by digital technology will be profoundly beneficial ones’. The third conclusion is the one posing the greatest challenge:

digitization is going to bring with it some thorny challenges ... Rapid and accelerating digitization is likely to bring economic rather than environmental disruption, stemming from the fact that as computers get more powerful, companies have less need for some kinds of workers. Technological progress is going to leave behind some people, perhaps even a lot of people, as it races ahead.

(Brynjolfsson and McAfee 2016: 11)

In an interview entitled ‘The Great Decoupling’ McAfee suggests:

Digital technologies are doing for human brainpower what the steam engine and related technologies did for human muscle power during the Industrial Revolution. They're allowing us to overcome many limitations rapidly and to open up new frontiers with unprecedented speed. (Bernstein and Raman 2015)

Brynjolfsson adds:

Digital technologies allow you to make copies at almost zero cost. Each copy is a perfect replica, and each copy can be transmitted almost anywhere on the planet nearly instantaneously. Those were not characteristics of the First Machine Age, but they are standard for digital goods, and that leads to some unusual outcomes, such as winner-take-most markets. (Bernstein and Raman 2015)

If the era of the Industrial Revolution was the First Machine Age, and Electricity the Second, then Electronics was the Third and the Internet as platform the Fourth. In 2003 Marshall Brain wrote a series of articles on the coming robotic revolution. Over ten years later, following the publication of *Robotic Nation and Robotic Freedom* (Brain 2013) he notes the pace of automation has increased with the advent of driverless cars, pilotless drones, and automated retail systems like ATMs, restaurant kiosks, and self-service checkouts. These developments emphasize the emergence of autonomous intelligent systems taking the form of humanoid robots. Moore's law predicts CPU power doubles every eighteen to twenty-four months or so and he documents Intel's release of the 4004 microprocessor in 1971 with a 4-bit chip running at 108 kilohertz and some 2,300 transistors, followed by the first IBM PC in 1981, Intel's first Pentium processor in 1993 (4.7 megahertz with 30,000 transistors), and the Pentium 4 with 1.5 gigahertz and 42 million transistors. Today, supercomputers like the Milky Way-2 has in excess of 300 quadrillion FLOPS (floating operations per second) (see Expert Exchange 2016). The iPhone 6 has more computing power than the Cray 2 supercomputers of the 1980s.

Martin Ford (2009) in *The Lights in the Tunnel: Automation, Accelerating Technology and the Economy of the Future* argues that as technology accelerates, machine automation may ultimately take over the economy creating significant job loss (up to 50 per cent of all jobs in two decades) and a diminished discretionary income for the bulk of consumers.

Technological unemployment is undoubtedly an impending problem that will create greater inequalities and an increasing gap between the returns to labour and the returns to capital. There have been many proposed solutions to this problem including the Luddite strategy of refusing innovation, as

well as more progressive solutions based on the provision of welfare and public employment schemes and the introduction of a basic minimum income. Some economists have talked of granting subsidies and grants to small business and the self-employed, the introduction of a shorter working week, and public ownership of the technological infrastructure. Some educators seek a panacea in reshaping the future workforce through the concept of ‘critical thinking’ yet critical educators such as Henry Giroux clearly show that these efforts are far from enough (Jandrić 2017: 153; see also Giroux and Jandrić 2015). In this general environment, it seems increasingly unlikely that education by itself will be sufficient to solve problems of technological unemployment (see Brown et al. 2011; see also Lauder 2010). In this chapter we assess the limits of educational solutions to the problems of technological unemployment, link them to cognitive capitalism, and rethink the role of education, critical thinking, and innovation in and for the age of digital reason.

## **KLAUS SCHWAB’S FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION**

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Klaus Schwab, the founder and executive chairman of the World Economic Forum wrote the underlying paper for the economic summit at Davos in 2016, profiling what he calls ‘The Fourth Industrial Revolution’:

We stand on the brink of a technological revolution that will fundamentally alter the way we live, work, and relate to one another. In its scale, scope, and complexity, the transformation will be unlike anything humankind has experienced before. We do not yet know just how it will unfold, but one thing is clear: the response to it must be integrated and comprehensive, involving all stakeholders of the global polity, from the public and private sectors to academia and civil society. (Schwab 2016)

He pictures the next industrial revolution as succeeding the IT revolution of the 1970s that automated production and he speculates that a fourth revolution based on what he calls ‘cyber-physical systems’ is the next development paradigm. First an era dominated by steam and mechanical production, what we commonly know as the Industrial Revolution, followed by the mass production paradigm that dominated the electric age, then IT and finally cyber-physical systems that can be seen as a distinct era

because of its velocity, scope, and system impact. This is the age of global connections that have the power to transform entire systems of ‘production, management and governance’.

The speed of technological ‘breakthrough’, Schwab argues, has no historical precedent connecting billions of people through mobile devices that have unprecedented processing power, storage, and unlimited access to knowledge. He writes:

And these possibilities will be multiplied by emerging technology breakthroughs in fields such as artificial intelligence, robotics, the Internet of Things, autonomous vehicles, 3-D printing, nanotechnology, biotechnology, materials science, energy storage, and quantum computing. (Schwab, 2016)

What characterizes the Fourth Industrial Revolution is the underlying digital logics that changes everything. While it is the means for massive automation and the decline of industrial jobs it is itself not ‘industrial’. This is what Schwab does not understand or theorize very well. An industrial technical system that had its beginnings in England and Scotland with the invention of a refined steam engine that could be applied to the textile industry has now been truly globalized but it is not just the extension of the scope and scale of industrialization that has changed. With each successive wave of technical innovation the logic has undergone fundamental changes in velocity, speed, and scope with an accompanying emphasis on processes of abstraction, formalization, and mathematicization that enable and reward autonomous digital network systems.

Having reached its global limits of geography and the integration of world markets, technology has increased the speed of its instant messaging and communication such that hundreds of thousands of transactions and information exchanges take place at the *speed of light* within the space of a micro-second. Today a single global technical system is emerging that connects and interlocks all major continents with some regionalization in finance, commodities, news, communication, and information. There is a *single planetary technical system* that enables access to global markets in instantaneous real time creating truly globally-scaled markets that dwarf the scale of the first industrial/colonial system and exponentially speeds up all transactions. A fundamental difference is that this single system perfected and refined reaching into every corner of the world no longer works on simple cause and effect and therefore is not linear but rather emulating

natural systems becomes dynamic and transformative. This demonstrates the properties of chaotic and complex systems that also increase volatility, interconnectivity, and unpredictability. It is in part the consequence of the digital logic that drives the single technical system of ‘algorithmic capitalism’ (Peters 2012).

Automated cognition is fundamental to digital capitalism (see Boutang 2012; Peters and Bulut 2011). Braidotti (2015) suggests:

Automated cognition is central to today’s capitalism. From the rationalization of labour and social relations to the financial sector, algorithms are grounding a new mode of thought and control. Within the context of this all-machine phase transition of digital capitalism, it is no longer sufficient to side with the critical theory that accuses computation to be reducing human thought to mere mechanical operations. As information theorist Gregory Chaitin has demonstrated, incomputability and randomness are to be conceived as the very condition of computation. If technocapitalism is infected by computational randomness and chaos, therefore also the traditional critique of instrumental rationality has to be put into question: the incomputable cannot be simply understood as being opposed to reason.

Others have provided a critique of ‘algorithmic ideology’ as a means to understand corporate search engines and draw on algorithmic logics for their distributive power (Mager 2014) and the different spatio-temporalities of automated trading that account for the speed of knowledge exploitation in financial markets (Grindsted 2016). Ray Kurzweil (2006) argues that accelerating technology makes this unfolding era truly different especially with the facility of recursive self-improvement and the cumulative growth of Artificial Intelligence. This is the age of genetics, nanotechnology, and robotics that ushers in the age of singularity, enabling the rebuilding of the world molecule by molecule.

Carl Frey and Michael Osborne’s (2013) study examines how susceptible jobs are to computerization. Their empirical work is quite detailed, tracking the probability of computerization for 702 occupations. They argue: ‘about 47 percent of total US employment is at risk. We further provide evidence that wages and educational attainment exhibit a strong negative relationship with an occupation’s probability of computerisation’ (Frey and Osborne 2013: 1). Their conclusion is worth referring to. They write:

While computerisation has been historically confined to routine tasks involving explicit rule-based activities ... algorithms for big data are now rapidly entering domains reliant upon pattern recognition and can readily substitute for labour in a wide range of non-routine cognitive tasks ... In addition, advanced robots are gaining enhanced senses and dexterity,

allowing them to perform a broader scope of manual tasks ... This is likely to change the nature of work across industries and occupations. (Frey and Osborne 2013: 44)

They find that their model predicts job losses also in the service sector as well as transportation and logistics occupations, office and administrative support workers, and labour in production occupations. As they indicate, ‘While nineteenth-century manufacturing technologies largely substituted for skilled labour through the simplification of tasks ... the Computer Revolution of the twentieth century caused a hollowing-out of middle-income jobs’ (Frey and Osborne 2013: 45). These conclusions ought to be sobering for policy makers and educationalists alike: Where will new jobs come from and what is the purpose for education especially at advanced levels when the covenant between higher education and jobs has been permanently broken? Frey and Osborne (2015) argue that the job stagnation in the digital age can only be avoided by a shift towards inclusive growth. In this frame, a major question becomes how can higher education address inequalities brought on by technological change? With the expanding scope of automation will self-employment become the new normal? In relation to the prospect of transforming education, they write:

While the concern over technological unemployment has so far proven to be exaggerated, the reason why human labour has prevailed relates to its ability to acquire new skills. Yet this will become increasingly challenging as new work requires a higher degree of cognitive abilities. At a time when technological change is happening even faster, a main hurdle for workers to adapt is thus the surging costs of education.

(Frey and Osborne 2015: 89)

They note the surge in university fees and the spiralling student debt, but argue that the same digital forces at work transforming the future of work can also transform education with the advent of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) and virtual academies. They comment rather optimistically: ‘On campus lectures have no pause, rewind or fast-forward buttons, but MOOCs allow students to learn in ways that suit them the best. Students can skip some lectures while attending others several times at virtually no additional cost’ (Frey and Osborne 2015: 90). Yet their account is uncritical of MOOCs and forms of online learning that tend to follow the old industrial principles of one-to-the-many broadcast with little interaction and virtually no space as yet for user content (see Gordon et al. 2015; Jandrić 2017; Peters 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

The MOOCs revolution promises to open up school level and higher education by providing accessible, flexible, affordable courses, using a range of platforms. Fast-track completion of university courses for free or low cost has the potential to change course delivery, quality assurance and accreditation, credentialling, tuition fee structures, and academic labour. Educational institutions need to learn from these initiatives and adopt new business, financial, and revenue models to meet the needs of learners in an open marketplace. Open education brings opportunities for innovation and exploration of new learning models and practices. At the same time universities need to understand the threats of the monopolization of knowledge and privatization of higher education. By contrast they need to look to the prospects and promise of new forms of openness (open source, open access, open education, open science, open management) that promote ‘creative labour’ and the democratization of knowledge (Peters 2013d). Policy makers need to embrace openness and make education affordable and accessible and also profitable for institutions in an open higher education ecosystem (Peters and Britez 2008; Peters and Roberts 2011; Peters et al. 2013).

We need to understand how 4,000 years of linear writing is giving way to the tele-image (Peters and Jandrić 2016; see also Peters and Jandrić, 2018a); the ways in which digitization as an economic force holds sway over the cultural and the political (Hayes and Jandrić 2014; Jandrić and Hayes 2018); the evolution of new forms of collective intelligence (Jandrić 2017; Lévy 2015; Peters 2015; Peters and Jandrić 2018a) and their political innovations (Jandrić 2017; Peters and Heraud 2015; Peters and Jandrić 2015a, 2015b), to mention a number of the immanent possibilities.

The digital revolution in and of itself will not transform education yet if it does, it will not be entirely for the good. What is required in addition to new digital technologies and the emergence of massive digital systems that operate to centralize power is both political will and social vision to respond to the question: What is the role of higher education in the digital age when technological unemployment becomes the rule rather than the exception?

## EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

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Recently, one of us visited a telling exhibition on the history of public transport in Zagreb, Croatia (Technical Museum [2017](#)). Tram traffic in Zagreb was established in 1891, and the first job advertisement for tram conductors sought applicants who had completed a minimum of two years of schooling. In 1910 the tram network was electrified, and schooling requirements for prospective conductors were raised to a minimum of four years. Decade by decade, technological developments in tram traffic have been closely followed by increasing schooling requirements for prospective conductors. Finally, a recent job advertisement requires prospective conductors to meet the following criteria:

- High school education in a relevant field (i.e. 12 years of schooling).
- Previous work experience.
- State licence exam.
- Command of one foreign language. ([Zagreb.hr 2017](#))

During more than a century, the work of tram conductors has not changed much—they sell/control tickets, advise passengers about best routes to their destinations, and manage overall passenger experience. Acknowledging technological developments in ticket sales such as barcode readers, however, educational requirements have risen much quicker than job complexity. The rise of educational requirements cannot be explained only by job requirements—obviously, there are other important factors at play such as availability of educated workforce, perceived importance of public transport, and occupational need for protection (through mechanisms such as state licence examination).

During the period of electrification being a tram conductor was a novel, exciting, and well-paid occupation—posters and advertisements from that period depict tram staff as carriers of technological progress. After the Second World War the spirit of novelty has by and large gone, and tram conductors have become respectable representatives of the rising middle class. Finally, with the advent of the knowledge society, the social status of tram conductors has slowly but surely declined. As Zagreb Electrical Tram increasingly digitalizes its services, the job of tram conductors is likely to

completely disappear (Technical Museum 2017; see also Frey and Osborne 2013).

Using the case of tram conductors, this brief history reveals the temporal evolution of the interplay between the nature of work, social status of work, technological development, and education. Early tram conductors had very little education and highest social status. Following technological development, each generation of tram conductors was required to undergo more and more education and training; all the while, their social status was firmly situated in the middle class. Finally, tram conductors of the early twenty-first century with historically unprecedented levels of education are being pushed out of the middle class, precariatized, and will probably be soon replaced by the machine. Some of these people will probably retool for occupations created by new technologies, such as working in the central tram dispatch centre. Yet, this solution is not for everyone, as technology continuously lowers the number of required staff per vehicle and per passenger (Technical Museum 2017). In the case of tram conductors in Zagreb, educational attainment has by and large failed to compensate the logic of technological development—more education did not help tram conductors to maintain the declining social status of their work, or indeed the need for their services.

Looking at the employment marketplace at large, things look a bit different. New technologies have created new occupations, and economic growth in the second part of the twentieth century has brought about the following trends:

In 1940, five per cent of people in the U.S. over the age of twenty-five had finished at least four years of college. By 2013, that figure had risen to thirty-two per cent. At this point, it's well understood that there exists a persistent gap in employment rates and wages between those with bachelor's degrees and those without. On average, those who graduate from four-year colleges are not only employed at higher rates but also earn over fifty per cent more than those with only a high-school degree.

(Vara 2015)

Looking across occupations, and at an individual level, a college degree indeed pays off in terms of employment and wages. Consequently, worldwide government policies have been directed towards increasing educational attainment. This is a prime example of what David Labaree calls educationalization of the problem of employment (Labaree 2008). However, educationalization of technological unemployment creates a

vicious circle: as the marketplace becomes flooded with college graduates, the value of their degrees falls. On that basis Vara (2015) and others claim that ‘A College Degree Is the New High School Diploma’ (Farrington 2014).

Educationalization of technological unemployment is based on the concept of human capital. Its main protagonist, *homo economicus*, is founded in three main assumptions: rationality, which implies making market-based decisions about one’s education; individuality, which implies that these decisions should be directed towards individual benefit; and self-interest, which implies that people need to take care of (and be responsible about) their own education (see Peters and Jandrić 2018a). In many cases, *homo economicus* can indeed turn the game of technological development in their own favour. For instance, these days it is generally accepted that pursuing a career in STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) can significantly improve one’s chances in the global work market (see Langdon et al. 2011).

By producing more graduates, some companies, cities, and even countries can gain a certain advantage over others. The proverbial case in point is Silicon Valley, where innovation and critical thinking have definitely started to contribute to a more progressive relationship between education and (computer) industry. However, studies in technological unemployment by and large agree that the Fourth Industrial Revolution destroys more jobs than it makes, so advantages created by innovation and critical thinking are necessarily limited temporally and geographically. Without creating new jobs, educationalization of technological unemployment merely creates a new class of ‘winners’ in the declining work markets. Based on many centuries of experience, it is not difficult to conclude that the largest proportion of the new winners will arrive from the affluent social groups of the present. If we refrain from utopian solution ideas that new technological developments, innovation, and critical thinking will somehow create more work, producing more graduates does not resolve the social problem of technological unemployment—at least not at a global level. In the age of digital reasoning, we do not need more education—instead, we need to fundamentally rethink basic concepts such as education, work, and leisure.

# WORKING IN THE AGE OF COGNITIVE CAPITALISM

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Tram conductors produce tangible service—they sell tickets, show directions, and help passengers to reach their destinations safely and quickly. Therefore, their work firmly belongs to the mode of production characteristic for the era of industrial capitalism. With the development of the age of digital reason, however, production of tangible artefacts and services slowly but surely gives way to production of intangible concepts and ideas. *Cognitive capitalism* is the culmination and most systematic outline to date of an economic theory of a form of capitalism superseding industrial capitalism. Yann Boutang (2012) working with his colleagues in Paris around the journal he established in 2012 called *Multitudes*, builds on the works of Antonio Negri, Paolo Virno, Christian Marazzi, Andrea Fumagalli, and others in the Italian autonomist school of thought to focus on cognitive and ‘immaterial’ labour.

Under cognitive capitalism a fundamental shift occurs in capitalism from physical resources to knowledge and brain power as both input and output, signalling a break with Fordism and a historically new stage of capitalism, with significant consequences for education and digital labour (Peters and Bulut 2011; see also Peters and Jandrić 2015b). Richard Sennett’s *The Corrosion of Character* (2000) describes the enormous difference between the lives of a Fordist worker Enrico and his son Rico, who works in a more flexible and unpredictable form of capitalism. Upon reading the book, one comes to recognize the extent to which the world of work has been transformed. Even though the popular media remembers Karl Marx only during times of crisis, there are vibrant debates among Marxists themselves, regarding the transformation of work and labour processes. We should definitely take Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri into account among the prominent names of this debate. Yet, we believe a historical account of this concept would be useful prior to more contemporary ones.

Leopoldina Fortunati states that Tarde’s writings (*Les Lois de l’imitation* [1890] and *La Logique sociale* [1895])

stressed the existence of other forces (or laws) acting on a socio-psychological level, such as imitation, the law of minimal effort, and innovation. In doing so he argued that the social teleology imposed by classical economists unaware of the true foothold of political economics was at fault for the omission of affections, and especially of desire, in analyses of valorization (spheres which were also neglected by subsequent Marxisms). (Fortunati 2007: 142)

Werner Sombart, on the other hand, in *Modern Capitalism*, argued that immaterial labour was becoming more central to capitalism and laid down three reasons for the technological developments of the time:

first of all, the objectification of technical knowledge, which ensured a continued control over new ideas or inventions, their transmission and with it the diffusion of knowledge; secondly, the systematization of technical knowledge which allowed for a systematic progression of knowledge and its enlargement; thirdly, the mathematization of technical knowledge. (Fortunati 2007: 143)

The revival of the contemporary versions of immaterial labour debates can be seen with such scholars as Antonio Negri, Michael Hardt, and Maurizio Lazzarato, and the journal *Futur antérieur*. Nick Dyer-Witheford (2001) provides a smooth historical account of how these debates were chronologically shaped in Antonio Negri's writings on the

intellectual qualities of a post-Fordist proletariat enmeshed in the computers and communication networks of high-technology were intensified in the analysis of the general intellect (the socialized, collective, intelligence prophesied by the Marx of the *Grundrisse*) developed by the journal *Futur antérieur*.

(Dyer-Witheford 2001: 70)

For a precise definition of immaterial labour, we can refer to Lazzarato:

Immaterial labor is defined as the labor that produces the informational and cultural content of the commodity. Informational content: related to big industry and tertiary sectors; skills involving cybernetics and computer control ... Cultural content: kind of activities involved in defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms and more strategically public opinion.

(Lazzarato 2006: 132)

The revival of these reflections reached its peak with the publication of Hardt and Negri's *Empire* (2000).

Underlining the shift from an industrial economy towards an informational economy, Hardt and Negri focus on how the nature of labour has changed within the framework of the Toyota model, as opposed to the Fordist one. In this new phase of global capitalism, 'factories will maintain

zero stock' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 290) and immaterial labour will gain significance. Hardt and Negri define immaterial labour as that which 'produces an immaterial good, such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 290). According to Hardt and Negri, there are three types of immaterial labor:

one is involved in an industrial production that has been informationalized and has incorporated communication technologies in a way that transforms the production process itself ... Second is immaterial labor of analytical and symbolic tasks, which itself breaks down into creative and intelligent manipulation on the one hand and routine symbolic tasks on the other. Finally, a third type of immaterial labor involves the production and manipulation of affect and requires (virtual or actual) human contact, labor in the bodily mode. (Hardt and Negri 2000: 293)

As far as the rise of immaterial labour is concerned, Hardt and Negri stress a point of departure from a Marxian political economy 'by which labor power is conceived as "variable capital", that is, a force that is activated and made coherent only by capital' and argue that 'today productivity, wealth, and the creation of social surpluses take the form of cooperative interactivity through linguistic, communicational, and affective networks' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 294). Thus, they argue, in this decentralized production, 'the assembly line has been replaced by the network ... workers can even stay at home ... and these tendencies place labor in a weakened bargaining position' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 295–6). Hardt and Negri, when thinking about this challenge to labour power, argued that production and life have become quite inseparable. That is, in this flexible accumulation regime, 'life is made to work for production and production is made to work for life' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 32).

Hardt and Negri and others' analyses of immaterial labour was attacked for some obvious reasons in the sense that these new circuits of capital 'look a lot less immaterial and intellectual to the female and Southern workers who do so much of the grueling physical toil demanded by a capitalist general intellect whose metropolitan headquarters remain preponderantly male and Northern' (Dyer-Witheford 2001: 71). Despite these sound critiques, Dyer-Witheford acknowledges the increasing hegemony of immaterial labour along with other scholars, including Yann Moulier Boutang, who has neatly classified certain characteristics of cognitive capitalism. Comparing cognitive capitalism with industrial capitalism, Boutang states that 'in industrial capitalism, accumulation concerns mainly machines and the

organization of work dealt with ... whereas accumulation in cognitive capitalism rests on management of knowledge and production of innovation, hence on immaterial investments' (Boutang 2012: 12). Along with that, Boutang stresses the differences with respect to different entrepreneurs of industrial capitalism and cognitive capitalism. While the former is defined by his/her greed, pride of separateness, and the 'exception of founding father', the latter is marked by the desire for fame and 'pride of cooperation and connectivity' (Boutang 2012: 22).

Here, the issue of cooperation and connectivity directly takes us to the classification we have tried to establish within the framework of this chapter. We have argued that the different capitalisms we have underlined have a lot in common. In this respect, immaterial labour, cooperation, and informational capitalism all have overlapping features. As argued with respect to information, for instance, it is not easy for a single person to control, and is based on networks (Fuchs 2008a). These features all have the potential for collaboration. However, it is exactly here that we might step back and be cautionary in terms of the 'cooperative or emancipatory' for two reasons: political economy and subjectivity. While the former is related to the fact that 'the total assets of the top six knowledge corporations were 1,132,41 billion US dollars in 2007 and are larger than the total African GDP' (Fuchs 2008a: 284), the second has to do with how labour is subsumed within cyberspace thanks to the discourse around collaboration, pleasure, and participation. In other words, what the participation of immaterial labour within cyberspace means has not been endorsed by critical theorists, who have underlined this potential but at the same time pointed to various mechanisms through which subsumption of labour is realized in cyberspace (Fuchs 2002, 2007, 2008b). This cautionary stance is relevant to the realm of education, as well.

David Harvie, for instance, argues that the war over value has not only spread through the factory but there are also attempts to quantify the value produced by immaterial labour, especially within the framework of higher education, including techniques of 'quantification, surveillance and standardization' (Harvie 2000, 2008; see also De Angelis and Harvie 2006). Neo-liberal restructuring of schooling in line with market demands has also resulted in the emergence of a global policy inflation around lifelong learning and educational credentials that are commodified. As the assembly line and certain expected demands from the factory and workplace have

disappeared, schooling built around industrial lines has been rearranged, and is asked to train students along the lines of the global knowledge economy and fluctuating market demands. However, the responsibility is between the school and the individual. An awareness of these developments then takes us to the centrality of value creation to capitalism. That is, despite the changing nature of work and labour processes, value still represents ‘the life blood of capitalism’, in whatever form (Rikowski 2003). As it is also asserted, ‘the extraction of value from immaterial labor, much like that occurring at the zenith of Fordism in the automobile factories of Turin or Detroit, is not a friction-free matter’ (Brophy and de Peuter 2007: 179).

In this respect, one could argue that immaterial labour is quite material in terms of extraction of surplus value and exploitation and thus analyses based on the concept have to take an approach that is based on a layered and relational understanding of immaterial labour and the differential power relations among the people who exercise this kind of labour in their everyday lives, be it creative design workers or the janitor who cleans their cutting edge personal computers.

## **Educating for the Fourth Industrial Revolution**

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Material labour is based on the concept of *homo economicus*—the amount of produced goods, and the level of skill required for producing these goods, is directly related to a worker’s income. However, immaterial labour operates in a radically different way. In our recent book, *The Digital University: A Dialogue and Manifesto* we closely examine changes in knowledge production and dissemination in the age of the digital reason and critique the main founding assumptions for *homo economicus* as follows:

The assumption of individuality is counter posed by collective intelligence ... that can take different forms from collective awareness and consciousness, to collective intelligence, responsibility and action. The assumption of rationality is contradicted in a networked environment as the ontological basis is contained in the relations between entities rather than any one self-sufficient entity that is rationally aware and transparent to itself. The network is a very different kind of epistemic set of relations rather than the individual knowing agent. Finally, the assumption of self-interest again tends to be offset or decentred by forms of

collective responsibility. In a connected world there are no clear boundaries in either the physical or social worlds.

(Peters and Jandrić 2018a: 343)

Based on this argument, we propose a fundamental shift from the figure of *homo economicus* based on the logic of human capital to the figure of *homo collaborans* based on the notion of creative labour. By creativity, we imply a different paradigm ‘as a sum of rich semiotic systems that form the basis of distributed knowledge and learning. This view sees creativity as enabled or permitted by the new digital infrastructures of human culture in the 21st century—primarily technical infrastructure, code, and content’ (Peters and Jandrić 2018b). We show that the transition from *homo economicus* to *homo collaborans* is rooted in basic questions pertaining to human nature, and the dispute between Darwin’s theory of evolution and Kropotkin’s theory of mutual aid. ‘The struggle between *homo economicus* and *homo collaborans* has always been there, but digital technologies have created a new battlefield and a new opportunity to challenge the traditional order of things’ (Peters and Jandrić 2018a: 350).

Education of *homo economicus* is radically different from education of *homo collaborans*—the first is based on spirit of competition, individual achievement, and intellectual rights, and the latter is based on radical openness, peer production, and collective intelligence. Acknowledging the complex and interrelated nature of the two concepts, we have recently developed the idea of the education of *homo collaborans* using two distinct yet overlapping models. In relation to the public role of education, we developed ‘the open model of the digital university’.

This model is philosophically oriented to understanding the emergence of a different kind of institution and its possibilities within the epoch of digital reason. Against neoliberalism and the cult of generic management, the open model of the digital university examines the significance of peer governance, review and collaboration as a basis for open institutions and open management philosophies. Expressive and aesthetic labour, popularly known as ‘creative labour’, demands institutional structures for developing ‘knowledge cultures’ as ‘flat hierarchies’ that permit reciprocal academic exchanges as a new basis for public institutions. (Peters and Jandrić 2018a: 352)

In relation to epistemology and economy, we further developed ‘the creative university as digital public university’. This model provides a good fit for open science and its economy which replaces linear models of knowledge production by ‘more diffuse, open-ended, decentralized, and

serendipitous knowledge processes based on open innovation and technology’, encourages ‘innovation-smart processes based on the radical non-propertarian sharing of content, cloud data computing, and the leveraging of cross-border international exchanges and collaborations’, and fosters ‘a culture of distributed, collaborative, decentralized model research that is genuinely participatory, involving the wider public and amateur scientists along with experts in the social mode of *open knowledge production*’. (Peters and Jandrić 2018b). ‘The creative university as digital public university’ is based on:

- (1) User-centred and open-innovation public knowledge ecosystems.
- (2) Shared ethos underlying ‘co-production’, ‘co-creation’, ‘co-design’, and ‘co-responsibility’.
- (3) New platforms to utilize collective intelligence and commons-based peer production.
- (4) Focuses on the links between openness and creativity; design and responsibility.
- (5) Radical openness, interconnectivity, and interactivity—shift from industrial broadcast media (one to many) to new social media (many to many). (Peters and Jandrić 2018b)

In response to technological unemployment, the concept of *homo collaborans* underlying our ‘open model of the digital university’ and ‘the creative university as digital public university’ needs to include issues pertaining to work in the age of cognitive capitalism. We need to acknowledge vast opportunities of learning at work; we also need to link these opportunities closer to work markets. Above all, we need to acknowledge that the Fourth Industrial Revolution, at least in the near future, will probably not provide enough work for everyone. However, warn Bayne and Jandrić, our solutions cannot be developed within the existing systems of reasoning:

The main challenge here is in trying to think about new alternatives not vested in their precursors. That robots are coming to take over our jobs is a very widespread perspective, and has been around for a very long time, gaining new energy recently. In the context of teaching we should not be asking the question: In 50 years from now, will there be a human or a robot teaching? Rather, we should be asking the question: What combination of human and artificial intelligence will we be able to draw on in the future to provide teaching of the

very best quality? What do we actually want from artificial intelligence? (Bayne and Jandrić 2017: 210; see also Jandrić 2017)

Following these thoughts, we proceed to develop the non-supercessionist ‘model of education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution’ which draws on our earlier models of education and recent insights in the field of technological unemployment.

Solutions to a post-work future can be situated between the two main extremes: techno-solutionists, who think that scientific development will somehow fix the issue of technological unemployment (see Allen 2015); and socio-solutionists, who seek for various social remedies such as universal basic income (such as Standing 2011, 2014; see also Standing and Jandrić 2015). Summarizing these trends, Srnicek and Williams reply to the trend of technological unemployment by making four basic demands:

- (1) Full automation.
- (2) The reduction of the working week.
- (3) The provision of a basic income.
- (4) The diminishment of the work ethic. (Srnicek and Williams 2015; see also The Real Movement 2017)

While these demands could (and surely will be!) critiqued from many different aspects (for instance, they fail to address important issues such as equality and freedom) (see The Real Movement 2017), they do still represent the main trends in studies of technological unemployment.

‘The model of education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution’ blends Srnicek and Williams’s understanding of cognitive work with our ‘open model of the digital university’ and the model of ‘creative university as digital public university’. According to ‘the model of education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution’, contemporary educational systems should:

- (1) Develop and implement automation as a commons based on peer governance, review, and collaboration as a basis for open institutions and open management philosophies.
- (2) Embrace and defend radical openness, interconnectivity, and interactivity, develop user-centred and open-innovation public

knowledge ecosystems, utilize collective intelligence and commons-based peer production.

- (3) Contribute to the reduction of the working week, based in a shared ethos underlying ‘co-production’, ‘co-creation’, ‘co-design’, and ‘co-responsibility’.
- (4) Challenge the prevalent work ethic by focusing on the links between openness and creativity; design and responsibility.
- (5) Develop material conditions for just distribution of wealth.

This model acknowledges that the transformation from *homo economicus* to *homo collaborans* is (and will probably never be) complete, and that education cannot resolve the problem of educational employment in its own right. However, by embracing the concepts of radical openness and collective intelligence embodied in the notion of *homo collaborans*, ‘the model of education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution’ creates a non-supercessionist alternative to the narrow view of education and research through the lens of human capital and triggers some basic principles for developing the present and the future of education and research. Considering the developmental nature of education and research, our model is far less prescriptive than Srnicek and Williams’s demands for technological unemployment. For instance, instead of straightforward opting for the provision of a basic income, it speaks more generally about the development of material conditions for a just distribution of wealth. In this way, we believe, ‘the model of education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution’ provides an adequate blend of recent developments in studies of education, research, and work in the age of cognitive capitalism, and creates an open invitation for creating a more sustainable and a more just future.

## CONCLUSION

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Technologies of the present destroy more jobs than they create—and this trend is likely to continue (at least) in the near future. Based on the concepts of human capital and *homo economicus*, emphases on innovation and critical thinking embedded in education, research, and policy measures

developed in the framework of industrial capitalism are unable to resolve the problem of technological unemployment. We need solutions which are neither new wine in old bottles nor old wine in new bottles—instead, we need to fundamentally rethink the concepts of work, education, and research. In this chapter, we blend recent insights into cognitive capitalism, the present and future of work, and theories of innovation in the age of digital reason. ‘The model of education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution’ is based on our past and present experiences, yet it offers a non-supercessionist view towards the future. Acknowledging the never-ending transition from *homo economicus* to *homo collaborans*, it creates a forward-looking framework which enables education and research to actively shape the future of work. The shift from *homo economicus* to *homo collaborans* counterposes individualist understanding of innovation and critical thinking by collective intelligence, rationality by the relational definition of networked (human and non-human) entities, and self-interest by collective responsibility. The digital age is in its very infancy, and ‘the model of education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution’ is very likely to change in the near future. Therefore, our model does not present a prescription, a blueprint, or a solution—instead, we merely hope that it is a useful contribution to the ongoing discussion about the future of work, education, and research.

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## CHAPTER 25

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# EDUCATING FOR THE INNOVATIVE SOCIETY

*The Role of Indian Institutes of Technology in  
India*

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VENNI V. KRISHNA AND NIMESH CHANDRA

## INTRODUCTION

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At the end of colonial rule in the late 1940s, India embarked on a developmental trajectory to transform an agrarian economy into a modern industrial society. Soon the country realized that the basic building blocks for such a path of development lay in creating a variety of institutions in science, technology, and higher education for generating human capital. The importance of human resource skills and the vision to create specialized institutions for their training were given high priority by the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. Whilst the political and intellectual elite had a wide network of collaborative links with Cambridge and Oxford from the colonial era, they were looking for other inspirational model institutions in the United States in engineering and related fields. The idea of investing in specialized institutions of engineering focused on building the future society indicates that the early post-independence leadership had a vision of the role of higher education in societal development.

The growth and contribution of the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) from early in the 1950s symbolizes the foresight of a developing nation for educating a special cadre of engineering professionals towards building a modern, industrial society. The IITs in India represent the most revered and the premier set of engineering universities, when compared to thousands of engineering colleges affiliated to more than 975 universities. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in the United States served as an important reference point or a model for the establishment of the first five IITs by the early 1960s in Kharagpur, Bombay, Madras, Kanpur, and Delhi. The IITs are known for their academic excellence in science and engineering education, and particularly for producing high quality engineering, science, and management graduates and postgraduates. The IITs are recognized as the most eminent institutions for engineering education in the United States. In Silicon Valley, IIT trained students through their contribution have earned a reputation not only for *brand IIT* but also for *brand India*. Even though IITs constitute a small part of the higher education landscape of India, they play a pivotal role in the emerging knowledge-based society. Within the vast higher education sector, IITs emerged as the frontier of innovation, particularly in imparting high technology skills. For a developing nation, what was the vision and role of leadership in laying the foundations of IITs? How did they originate and progress over the years? In what ways have IITs sustained their excellence in teaching and research? And what has been their contribution to society and industry at the national and global level? This chapter attempts to describe the role of IITs in their national and international dimensions. Given the limitations of space and time, what follows is a synoptic view of the institutional history of IITs and their relevance as teaching, research, and innovation driven institutions.

## **VISION AND THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP**

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IITs were conceived and established at a time when India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru's vision of building modern India dominated the national development agenda. Together with Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, he was a leader at the forefront of the national movement

for independence. He was also a leading architect of the Non-Aligned Movement in the developing world. Interestingly, Zhou Enlai's principles of *Panchsheel* were enshrined as the guiding goal of this movement. Much of India's post-war growth in science, technology, and higher education has a distinct imprint of Nehruvian science policy (Krishna 2001). At the heart of the nationalist ideology and science policy of the Nehruvian era was the top-down model, wherein science and technology (S&T) were dominant instruments of development and modernization. As early as 1937, at the annual session of the Indian Science Congress, Nehru stressed that 'it is science alone that could solve these problems of hunger and poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of superstition and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste of a rich country'. He went on to reiterate the importance of modern S&T in India's future development in the Manifesto of the Congress Party in 1945 by issuing the following statement:

Science in its instrumental fields of activity has played an ever increasing part in influencing and molding human life ... Industrial, agricultural and cultural advance, as well as national defense depend on it. Scientific research is, therefore, a basic and essential activity of the state and should be organized and encouraged on the widest scale ... The wealth and prosperity of a nation depend on the effective utilization of its human and material resources through industrialization.

Nehru's science policy framework of linking science, technology, and higher education with national development gained considerable prominence in the 1950s. There was a sense of unbounded optimism and political commitment to cultivate and organize science as a national goal. As argued elsewhere (see Krishna 1997, for example), India was among the few developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to embark on grand national projects in the space, atomic energy, defence, agriculture, medical, and industrial research sectors, all of which have grown to be leading science agencies of India in the twenty-first century. The base for modern industrial India in steel and iron, coal, oil refineries, and shipbuilding was also created during Nehru's regime and these industries provided India with a strong industrial base. He foresaw that the application of S&T, together with higher education institutions, was essential for a developing country to leap-frog to the next level of development. Nehru along with Homi J. Bhabha, popularly known as India's father of atomic energy, went on to formulate the *Scientific Policy Resolution* (Government

of India 1958) that was adopted by the Indian Parliament in 1958. This vision statement clearly underlined the importance of people's participation and their spirit.

The key to national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people, lies, in the modern age, in the effective combination of three factors, technology, raw materials and capital, of which the first is perhaps the most important, since the creation and adoption of new scientific techniques can, in fact, make up for the deficiency in natural resources, and reduce the demands on capital. But technology can only grow out of the study of science and its application.

Nehru believed that with the spread of education and with economic development itself, the values which animate the scientific temper would become embedded in people's lives. The way in which advanced countries sought to spread science among the common people in their march towards economic progress was very clear in the statement in its subsequent paragraphs:

The dominating feature of the contemporary world is the intense cultivation of science on a large scale, and its application to meet a country's requirements. It is this, which, for the first time in man's history, has given to the common man in countries advanced in science, a standard of living and social and cultural amenities, which were once confined to a very small privileged minority of the population.

It is only through the scientific approach and method and the use of scientific knowledge that reasonable material and cultural amenities and services can be provided for every member of the community, and it is out of recognition of this possibility that the idea of a welfare state has grown. It is characteristic of the present world that the progress towards the practical realization of a welfare state differs widely from country to country in direct relation to the extent of industrialization and the effort and resources applied in the pursuit of science.

(Government of India 1958)

Nehru's vision of development through S&T and the way the whole perspective could yield results was intimately connected with the rapid expansion of education, skills, and human capital and hence, higher education institutions. The Scientific Policy Resolution went on to underline this aspect.

The wealth and prosperity of a nation depend on the effective utilization of its human and material resources through industrialization. The use of human material for industrialization demands its education in science and training in technical skills. Industry opens up possibilities of greater fulfillment for the individual. India's enormous resources of manpower can only become an asset in the modern world when trained and educated. (Government of India 1958)

The policy intention to create a broad-based institutional structure for education in science, training in technical skills, and more importantly engineering education was assigned top priority. It is within this policy framework and Nehru's vision of leadership that the plans for creating specialized engineering institutes took root.

## ORIGINS AND THE GROWTH OF IITs

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The policy discourse initiated by the Indian political and scientific elite led to the formation of a committee under Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in 1945. This twenty-two member committee consisted of scientists, bureaucrats, and businessmen with a view to advising on the provision of higher technical education facilities in India towards the end of Second World War. Its report recommended setting up of four technical institutes modelled on MIT. A fifth institute was later added to the list of four recommended by this committee. In the meantime, the All India Council for Technical Education was set up by the colonial government in 1945 which also called for establishing high-grade technical institutions in India along the lines of MIT. Nehru, who ardently facilitated the setting up of IITs, shared the views of Sir Ardeshir Dalal (Viceroy Executive Council member) that technology would play a critical role in free India. The government after independence in 1947 in fact established five IITs in Kharagpur, Bombay, Madras, Kanpur, and Delhi. Nehru and Dalal believed in the power of scientific theory for the resolution of industrial problems. The MIT model was perceived as a possible answer to the lack of high-level engineering training in India and possibly also to promote an institutional research model in which applied research rather than basic research was pre-eminent. This approach has credence as there is evidence to show that the establishment and development of higher technical institutes with a problem-solving approach met India's post-war needs, especially in hydraulics and civil engineering.

Even though India inherited a number of colonial scientific organizations and networked with eminent British metropolitan universities, India opted for MIT as a reference model. There were certain features in this model that inspired the planners of these higher technical institutions,

most prominent of which were: strong science base; course structure that integrated teaching and practical training; recognition of humanities and social sciences in the engineering curriculum; characteristics of the land-grant university committed to local/regional economic and social development; and most importantly, cooperation with industry. A very interesting account of how the MIT model of higher learning, which combines theoretical and practical courses, has been exported to India and other countries can be found in Leslie and Kargon (2006). MIT was one of the most prestigious institutes at that time and was set up with large-scale government support for research concentrations. This perspective appears to be pragmatic and dominant, wherein, through the demonstration effect, the MIT model was perceived as a solution to the lack of high-level engineering training in India and possibly as a means to promote an institutional research model in which science and engineering education and research could have a major impact on the regional development.

As [Table 25.1](#) shows, the five initial IITs were established between 1951 and 1961. Even though the underwriters of the IITs drew inspiration from the MIT model in their educational structure and course modules, four different countries assisted the government through aid and infrastructure in their formative years (Sebaly 1972). IIT Kharagpur and IIT Kanpur were established in collaboration with the United States; IIT Bombay in collaboration with the Soviet Union; IIT Madras in collaboration with Germany and IIT Delhi in collaboration with the United Kingdom. After the creation of these five IITs, two more were established in 1994 and 2001 (at Guwahati and Roorkee respectively) and eight new IITs were set up in other cities of India during 2008 and 2009. By 2018, there were twenty-three IITs in India. The older five IITs served as mentors for the creation of all the new IITs. These institutions have played an important role in imparting quality teaching and undertaking scientific and engineering research. The involvement of IITs in making use of their intellectual assets for economic development and for generating revenue has gained considerable attention in the last couple of decades.

**Table 25.1 Growth and enrolments at IITs, 2015–2018**

	Name of IIT	Year of establishment	Undergraduate intake/year	Master's intake/year	PhDs enrolled 2015–18
1	IIT Kharagpur	1951	1,512	1,582	2,288
2	IIT Bombay	1958	880	1,275	2,894
3	IIT Madras	1959	849	937	2,017
4	IIT Kanpur	1960	987	1,265	1,595
5	IIT Delhi	1961	848	1,172	542
6	IIT Guwahati	1994	660	667	1,616
7	IIT Roorkee	2001	1,008	997	352
8	IIT Patna	2008	120	194	259
9	IIT Jodhpur	2008	200	60	1
10	IIT Hyderabad	2008	242	223	169
11	IIT Gandhinagar	2008	178	570	200
12	IIT Ropar	2008	151	49	224
13	IIT Bhubaneswar	2008	260	130	207
14	IIT Mandi	2009	125	–	20
15	IIT Indore	2009	123	–	16

Sources: Annual Reports of IITs, 2015–18; Kakodkar Committee Report (2011).

Prompted by the Kakodkar Review Committee and higher education policies of the government post-2014, IITs marked out an aggressive policy to expand both the growth and spread of IITs in the country as well as to enhance their research intensity. With an average of 0.6 PhD graduates for each faculty member and a target of 10,000 PhD students graduating from the IIT system every year, the faculty strength at the IITs is estimated to grow to a level of about 14,475 by 2020.

## Transition from an Era of Brain Drain to Brain Gain and Brain Circulation

There is no doubt that the IITs system evolved in India as an elite higher education engineering oasis in an expanding higher educational landscape. Who enters these institutions, who comes out and where they go on completion of courses and degrees has somehow become an enigma insofar

as the general public is concerned. Though revered as eminent institutes, IITs have come under heavy scrutiny and criticism from various quarters throughout their formative years extending up to the 1980s. One of the criticisms emanating from the IIT system was a charge that massive investment in IITs was leading to a brain drain. For instance, a study undertaken by Sukhatme and Mahadevan (1987) on IIT Bombay revealed that 42.9 per cent of its successful undergraduates settled in the United States between 1973 and 1977. Similarly, in a study of IIT Madras, Ananth et al. (1989) found that the proportion of its graduates immigrating abroad, particularly to the United States, was estimated at 29 per cent in 1983 and increased to 35 per cent by 1987. What was happening in the case of IITs, as a whole, was in fact a reflection of a larger problem of a brain drain that confronted the country until the 1980s and early 1990s.

In the late 1980s, the Government of India took serious note of the loss of human capital in the form of a brain drain and initiated various policies to arrest the exodus of human capital and at the same time to reverse the trend of the brain drain (Singh and Krishna 2015). As the country progressed into the 1990s, the ICT software sector came to play an important part in the economy (Sarma and Krishna 2010). Various institutional schemes and initiatives introduced in the late 1990s and at the beginning of the twenty-first century created a conducive ecosystem for the ICT software sector. India's software industry clustered in Bangalore, Hyderabad, and Delhi National Capital Region and the infrastructure created in more than forty ICT software technology parks in these cities further enabled the growth of the ICT sector. Several professionals who earlier migrated to the United States witnessed new business prospects. Khadria's (2002) empirical study indicated a positive trend of return migration among Indian IT professionals in the late 1990s. This development highlights a unique aspect behind cities like Bangalore becoming a 'corridor' for IT professionals that offered ample challenges but at the same time rewarding opportunities for their career growth in India. There is no systematic data with regard to return migration but a few empirical studies, as noted above, do lend support to this aspect of brain gain in the case of IITs.

With the rise of globalization and rapid economic growth since the 1990s, there is very little or no discussion on the brain drain involving IITs. The rising trend of IIT graduates migrating to the United States and other

foreign locations no longer makes media headlines. On the other hand, mobility studies scholar Anna Lee Saxenian, in her book *The New Argonauts* on Asian migration to Silicon Valley, draws attention to the brain circulation of Indian diaspora. Saxenian (2005, 2006) noted that by the end of the 1990s, Chinese and Indian immigrants accounted for 29 per cent of all IT start-up companies in Silicon Valley. Saxenian further tracked the journey of these high-tech immigrants who, after successfully establishing their IT operations in California, decided to ply between the United States and their countries of origin. Their mobility enabled them to manage their businesses in disparate regions of the world and to capitalize on the opportunities in both the United States and their motherland. Saxenian's study clearly substantiates the concept of brain circulation. The ICT diaspora connectivity to the Indian ICT industry is facilitated by The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE) and Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association (SIPA), both headquartered in Silicon Valley and dominated by IIT alumni. Both these networks have also opened up outreach centres or branch offices in the main ICT hubs of India.

## **Three Missions: Teaching, Research, and Innovation**

As already noted, the important reason for emulating the MIT model was the course structure and curricula at MIT which was seen to infuse excellence in teaching. Hence the proposed course structure for the IITs from the beginning comprised a four-year undergraduate curriculum wherein the first two years were common to all branches of engineering and included study in science, mathematics, humanities, and social science. The proposed academic plan also emphasized seminars and guided studies but a reduction in the number of formal lectures. Further, an examination system was proposed that took internal account of work done by students throughout the term of their study, and a scheme was developed for workshop training and practical training in industry (Chandra 2009; Subramanian 2015).

IITs focused more on teaching, education, and training in the initial years of their establishment. The initial five institutes gave high priority to

the selection of their faculty. Highly meritorious faculty came into the system right from the beginning. Over a period of time, IITs emerged as exemplary, model engineering institutions for other public and private engineering institutions, now spread over 975 universities and 42,000 colleges. Keeping in mind the objective of producing highly skilled scientists and technologists, the emphasis on postgraduate education and research was rather subdued until the 1960s. One of the strong factors behind IITs' success can be seen in their admission system. The competition to gain admission to an IIT is tougher than for any other prestigious institution of engineering and technology in the world (IITDAA 2004). The Joint Entrance Exam (JEE) to gain admission into IITs held every year is a very big event in the educational arena in India. In 2015 some 500,000 plus students appeared for the JEE and just 2–2.5 per cent made it to the fifteen IITs. The acceptance rate to undergraduate programmes in IITs is one in forty to sixty applicants compared to one in seven at Stanford, one in ten at MIT, one in two at Cornell engineering, and one in four at Michigan. For postgraduate admissions in 2003, about 159,000 students (out of approximately 350,000 engineers produced in India) appeared for the General Aptitude Test in Engineering (GATE) out of which 28,877 (18 per cent) were qualified to gain admission to the IITs. These institutions right from the beginning have aimed at maintaining a student: teacher ratio of 10:1 taking into consideration that IITs would also emerge as research institutions. In a country where admission to the higher education system is viewed with some suspicion, IITs' merit-based selection of graduates has set an example across the country for medical and other professional college admissions.

The immunity of admissions to IITs from political influence, interference, and money power that is prevalent in the private medical and engineering colleges in India is quite remarkable. The IIT faculty and its administrators are squarely responsible for this recognition in college admissions. Often the criticism that is levelled against JEE and IITs is that the system selects the *crème de la crème* from millions of students to produce the best engineering students. However, the highly respected editor of a leading Indian science journal, *Current Science*, and a leading Indian scientist, Balaram (2003: 614) observes that, 'the IITs have emphasized quality undergraduate education in engineering. Their success has been predicated on two factors: rigorous selection of students and a proven recipe

for training.' It is no secret in Indian higher education circles that IITs follow a very systematic and rigorous, merit-based processes for selection of their faculty. In doing so, the system has given a very high priority to teaching ability and excellence in the research output of its faculty in the selection process. More than anything else, the IIT system is well known for its teaching excellence and for systematically following the engineering syllabus designed for courses in each semester. There seems to be a systemic high degree of academic accountability that is followed in the evaluation and upgrade of courses from time to time. Beyond the rigorous admission system (JEE) and excellent teaching, another factor that has sustained the IIT brand over the years is the motivation of students to excel in their courses with high grades over the duration of their degree. The motivation is directly related to the lucrative career pathways in Indian and global firms and most importantly for finding easy placements for higher degrees in top notch US universities.

Having earned the reputation of producing world class engineering graduates, IITs' eminence as research institutions came under scrutiny in the 1980s. Compared to the MIT model, IITs were unable to develop a research base and hence their ability at solving industrial problems was rather limited according to the IIT Review Committee led by Y. Naydamma in 1986. Somewhat similar views were expressed by the IIT Review Committee led by Dr Rama Rao in 2004. Indications were very clear that there was a need to move up the value ladder from an excellent undergraduate institution to further strengthen the postgraduate, PhD and postdoctoral based research programmes. The turn of the century in 2000 saw an era emerge in which India's prowess in the software industry became prominent across the world. Leading Indian software companies such as Tata Consultancy Services, Infosys, and Wipro, together with more than 300 global Fortune 500 software giants such as Microsoft, Intel, and GE, which opened R&D centres in India, created considerable demand for researchers in engineering fields. The Kakodkar Committee Report in 2011 urged IITs to increase their intake of PhD students from 1,200 to nearly four-fold by 2018. The research intensity of IITs in the form of PhD students has experienced a surge and increased almost ten-fold between 2000 and 2015. In an effort to sustain research quality with the scaling up of PhDs, the 2011 Review Committee recommended the ratio of one PhD per faculty each year. Similar increase in the intake of master's students came

into force in IITs so as to feed into PhD programmes. The considerable growth in the research intensity in IITs is illustrated in [Tables 25.2](#) and [25.3](#). As [Table 25.3](#) indicates, there has been nearly a five-fold increase in the research output of IITs between 2000 and 2017.

**Table 25.2 Growth of PhDs at IITs, 1999–2020**

Year	No of PhDs	Faculty at IITs
1999–2000	541	2,353
2004–5	1,003	2,530
2011	1,200	4,460
2015	5,294	8,030
2020	10,487*	14,475*

\* estimations

Sources: IIT Review Committees (2004, 2011 and annual reports).

**Table 25.3 International publication profile of IITs**

IITs	1999*	2005*	2010**	2015**	2017**	% increase 1999–2017
IIT Bombay	238	552	800	1,359	1,698	613
IIT Delhi	329	631	859	1,249	1,647	400
IIT Kanpur	321	536	698	1,042	1,193	272
IIT Kharagpur	445	654	1,164	1,629	1,828	311
IIT Madras	317	555	928	1,307	1,707	438
Total	1,650	2,928	4,449	6,586	8,073	389

Sources: \* Science Citation Index—Expanded accessed in March 2008; \*\* accessed in 2018 Web of Science.

IITs' effort to increase the research intensity and increase their profile in international science can be seen in the surge of publications from 1999 to 2017. While IIT Bombay increased its count of publications from 238 to 1,698 (613 per cent), the least amongst the five institutions, IIT Kanpur, increased from 321 to 1,193 (272 per cent). The IITs collectively published 8,073 papers in 2017 as compared to 1,650 papers in 1999 (a growth of 389 per cent).

With the plan to enhance research intensity, the third mission of *innovation* came into sharp focus in the IIT system from the 1990s. IITs began to institutionalize various organizational mechanisms for knowledge transfer and promote university–industry relations. The perspectives of a linear model of innovation which had strong roots in IITs, as in other Indian R&D laboratories, were revised. New perspectives such as the *triple helix* of university–government–industry relationships, *knowledge-based economies*, and national innovation systems influenced the IITs and their leadership. Further, the increasing demands for knowledge coming from both small and medium scale enterprises and global TNCs, which have opened more than 300 R&D and innovation centres in India, reoriented the IITs to revamp their institutional and organizational arrangements to promote knowledge transfer to industry and society at a faster pace. The significance of IITs as the leading institutions of innovation and technological change, gained prominence after the government issued a National Science and Technology Policy in 2003 and a Science, Technology and Innovation Policy statement in 2013. Creating intellectual property and its transfer has assumed enormous significance. Institutionalizing proactive policies to own intellectual property and license and transfer the same for generating revenues, and policies to promote incubation and spin-off firms for generating revenues have assumed enormous significance over conventional forms of technology transfers such as consultancy and sponsored research. Organizational entities promoting incubation and entrepreneurial activities at the five older IITs are shown in [Table 25.4](#).

**Table 25.4 Incubation and entrepreneurial infrastructure at IITs**

Institution	Incubation unit and year of establishment	No. of spin-offs or firms under incubation 2017–18	Prominent areas of expertise of incubator units	Other entrepreneurial infrastructure*
IIT Bombay	Society for Innovation and Entrepreneurship (SINE); 2004**	55	IT, computer science, electronics, design, earth sciences, energy & environment, electrical, chemical, aerospace	Entrepreneurship cell (TePP)
IIT Delhi	Foundation for Innovation and Technology Transfer, 1992 Technology Business Incubation Unit (TBIU), 1999	51	computer science, electrical, chemical, interdisciplinary, life sciences, chemistry, IT, BT	Entrepreneurship development cell
IIT Kanpur	Innovation and Incubation Centre (SIIC), 2001	27	IT, design, weather insurance, navigation systems	Entrepreneurship cell; electronic and animation cell; small scale industry cell
IIT Kharagpur	Science and Technology Entrepreneurs' Park (STEP), 1992	86	IT, computer science, ceramics, energy	Entrepreneurship Training Society (TIETS)*** 2005 Biotechnology Park, TTG
IIT Madras	IIT Madras Incubation Centre Rural Technology Business Incubator Dynamic groups like Tele-communication Network (TeNeT); 1999	154 (Incubation Centre) 52 (Rural Incubator)	IT and rural telecommunications, computer science, physics	C-TIDES; 11 acres research park

\* Entrepreneurship cells in IITs are largely student initiatives; Technopreneur Promotion Programme (TePP) is conducted at IITs by Government of India for promoting individual innovators to become technology-based entrepreneurs. \*\* An IT business incubator was set up at Kanwal Rekhi School of Information and Technology in 1999 prior to the existence of SINE. \*\*\* A formal unit-Technology Business Incubation for Innovation and Entrepreneurship (TBIE) is being set up at IIT Kharagpur.

IT: Information Technology; BT: Biotechnology; TTG: Technology Transfer Group; C-TIDES: Cell for Technology Innovation, Development and Entrepreneurship Support

**Table 25.5** presents data on the scores for a select group of seven IITs. Given the limitations of space, we shall look at just a few examples of the efforts in innovation and technology transfer at IIT Madras and IIT Bombay.

**Table 25.5 Patents, technology transfer, and MOUs from 2010 to 2017 at IITs**

Institute	Patents filed	Technologies commercialized	MOUs with industries signed
IIT Kharagpur	231	9	60
IIT Bombay	439	73	225
IIT Madras	311	17	176
IIT Kanpur	204	56	124
IIT Delhi	146	15	8
IIT Guwhati	61	4	14
IIT Roorkee	22	-	3

Source: Tiwari (2017).

Besides the innovation process at IITs, each IIT has institutionalized specific mechanisms to promote innovation and technology transfer, incubation and revenue sharing arising out of the commercialization of research and entrepreneurial activities. At IIT Madras, industry interaction and other functions of the technology transfer office is undertaken by the Centre for Industrial Consultancy and Sponsored Research (IC & SR), established in the early 1970s. The entrepreneurial infrastructure at IIT Madras has been developed since the 1990s. The Centre also runs a master's programme in entrepreneurship and successfully coordinates technology development and the management of projects. The creation of C-TIDES: the Cell for Technology Innovation, Development and Entrepreneurship Support at IIT Madras is a student focused establishment, primarily entrusted to develop the spirit of entrepreneurship and provide industrial mentorship to young entrepreneurs. IIT Madras, in 2018, established a fully-fledged 11 acre Research Park. Six more IITs are in the process of establishing such research parks but it is pertinent to briefly look into the innovation activities of the Madras Park over the last few years.

The Research Park was first established in 2000 to convert research into innovations by faculty and students. ‘It is spread across 1.2 million square feet, houses almost 100 entities—research companies, innovation arms of large corporates, startups and incubators—and had already facilitated filing over 60 patents’ by 2015 ([Hariharani 2015](#)) and it is reported that by 2018 the Research Park incubated more than 140 start-ups.

The Telecommunication and Computer Networking (TeNeT) group of IIT Madras has been the focal point at the institute for incubation and enterprise creation through spin-offs over the past couple of decades. The TeNeT group which promotes incubation and enterprise creation comprises members including faculty and students from the engineering, electrical, and computing departments and is housed in close proximity to the Department of Electrical Engineering. There are over 200 professionals, 1,500 engineers, technicians, and other staff including 16 core IIT faculties forming the TeNeT group. By 2015 the group incubated over thirty firms. These professionals work in diverse fields of research across eight to ten dedicated laboratories at the institute including wireless communication, computer networking, fibre optics, digital systems architecture, integrated voice, video, and data communications, computing, and translations for rural development in India. In 2017 two alumni of IIT Madras (Jaishree Deshpande and Kris Gopalakrishnan) established an Innovation and Entrepreneurship Centre at the campus. The Centre is patterned after similar centres at MIT, the University of New Brunswick, Canada, and Queen’s University, Canada and is envisaged to play the role of angel investor.

Similarly, at IIT Bombay, the Industrial Research and Consultancy Centre (IRCC) was set up in the 1970s, to foster the overall R&D growth of the institute and promote academia–industry interaction and handle all externally funded research and development projects. It undertakes financial management and the recruitment of researchers to work on funded projects as well as managing activities related to intellectual property protection and technology transfer. In 1999, the institute set up an incubator at the Kanwal Rekhi School of Information Technology. This incubator was an important source for creating an environment for entrepreneurship. This has further catalysed the institute’s effort to set up a fully-fledged incubator covering other areas of science, engineering, and technology. It is supported by the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India. IIT Bombay also set up an independent Society for Innovation and

Entrepreneurship (SINE) in 2004. On behalf of IIT, SINE manages equity in incubated firms or spin-offs. During 2013–14, IIT Bombay filed 61 Indian and 20 US patents and incubated 55 firms (Indian Institute of Bombay 2014). In 2015, patent applications at IIT Bombay jumped 24 per cent compared to five years before, earning it the National Intellectual Property Award. The institute also set up the Desai Sethi Centre for Entrepreneurship (DSCE) in 2015 to encourage student start-ups. External earnings at IIT Bombay through industry collaboration both within India and with international agencies witnessed a three-fold increase between 2008–9 and 2013–14 as Table 25.6 illustrates. Much of this R&D and innovation was concentrated in the fields of renewable energy, aerospace, and telecommunications and ICT.

**Table 25.6 Industrial R&D funding at IIT Bombay (INR millions)**

Year	National	International	Total
2008–9	660.4	60.4	720.8
2009–10	950.3	70	1020.3
2010–11	1700.3	90.5	1790.8
2011–12	1810.0	80.9	1890.9
2012–13	2770.8	150.7	1890.9
2013–14	1990.0	140.58	2130.6

Source: Annual Reports, IIT Bombay.

## NATIONAL AND GLOBAL IMPACT OF IITs

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One sector of the Indian economy where IITs have impacted is the ICT software and related segments of industry. NASSCOM (the software industry association) put India's ICT exports at US\$138 billion in 2017–18 out of total revenue of nearly US\$165 billion, and total revenue from this sector is likely to touch US\$220 billion by 2020. This sector also accounts for nearly 9 per cent of India's GDP. The IIT alumni play an important role, directly or indirectly, in Indian software firms such as Tata Consultancy Services, Infosys, Wipro, and HCL Technologies. The same is the case with

global multinational corporations which have opened over 470 R&D centres in India. IITs have become important sources of knowledge production, collaboration, and innovation for firms such as Intel, Microsoft, Unilever, Motorola, GE, Samsung, and Texas Instruments, and IBM labs in India collaborate with IIT Delhi and in fact began their operations in India from the IIT Delhi campus (Krishna et al. 2012).

When we begin to explore the impact of IITs on the global front, the first issue that comes into sharp focus is their status in the university rankings either in the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) or Shanghai Jiao Tong rankings. The IITs do not come anywhere closer to the world's top-notch universities such as MIT, Stanford, Harvard, Cambridge, or Oxford because IITs are not considered as fully-fledged universities. IITs are dominated by engineering and science disciplines and they do not have medical, law, or full arts and social science schools or faculties. Though IITs are ranked as top Indian universities by the Indian National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF), they figure in the bracket of the top 500 to 600 World Class Universities. However, when the rankings are examined for universities without a medical school, IITs compare well with World Class Universities and are in the top 200. Notwithstanding, IITs have acquired a good deal of global reputation and recognition because of their alumni. Alumni include: Sundar Pichai, CEO of Google; Silicon Valley venture capitalists such as Vinod Khosla, Kanwal Rekhi, and Yogen Dalal; Arun Sarin, the former CEO of Vodafone; Sabeer Bhatia, former CEO and founder of Hotmail; former McKinsey CEO Rajat Gupta; and thirty-five executives at GE. According to alumni sources, there are more than 25,000 IITians who have made the United States their home. Indira Nooyi, former CEO of PepsiCo, Nikesh Arora, CEO of Palo Alto Networks, Shantanu Narayen, CEO of Adobe Systems and several others who are either from IITs or other Indian engineering institutes in India inspire and motivate young IIT graduates.

The IIT brand image became globally noticeable through its alumni impact in Silicon Valley since the 1990s. There are more than 11,000 IITians in the Valley. IITians have played an important role in building Silicon Valley as the technology and innovation hub of the world. In 2005, 'the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill honoring the contributions of IIT graduates to American society' (Subramanian 2015: 292). In 2018, about 400 IIT alumni in Silicon Valley, including veterans such as Vinod Khosla, unicorn entrepreneur Dheeraj Pandey, and others launched the IIT

Startups Accelerator at the History Museum in Mountain View, California. IITs are currently ranked fourth in the world after Stanford, Harvard, and Berkeley in running alumni unicorn start-ups—i.e. firms valued at US\$1 billion or more (Jha 2018).

In 2009, the Bay Area Council Economic Institute carried out an extensive survey and detailed study. It observed that ‘when the Bay Area’s innovation infrastructure—research institutions, technology companies, and capital and risk-taking culture—comes in contact with India’s talent and entrepreneurial energy, the combination has been explosive, unleashing powerful business and wealth creation’ (Rediff Business 2009). IIT alumni played a big role in this in the Bay Area. In 2015 India’s Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, convened a special summit in Silicon Valley to discuss with entrepreneurs of Indian origin how to strengthen business network ties with India. On this occasion, Sundar Pichai of Google observed that ‘the bond between India and Silicon Valley is strong. The products built by Indian graduates from IIT and other institutions have helped to revolutionize the world’ (Quartz India n.d.). Satya Nadella, CEO Microsoft, recently made a reference to the role of IITs by stating, ‘elite Indian Institutes of Technology have become synonymous with building Silicon Valley’ (Nadella 2017: 24). IIT alumni in Silicon Valley institutionalized social networks and have forged links with the Indian ICT clusters since the 1990s through the formation of two vibrant associations, TiE and SIPA, both headquartered in Silicon Valley, California. Together these associations have a membership of nearly 10,000 professionals. One significant feature of diaspora connectivity was in catalysing the process of venture capital policies and schemes both in the Valley and in the software hubs of India. The booming software sector in India and the ICT infrastructure underpinning it have attracted hundreds of professionals to establish new software firms in India in recent years.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

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Over the past six decades IITs have emerged as India’s top ranking engineering universities. As Balaram (2003: 614) aptly puts it, ‘IITs were born at a time when the Nehruvian vision clearly held that science and

technology would dominate the transformation of India.’ IITs will play a significant part in the transformation of India’s knowledge-based economy in the coming decades. IITs are now seen as model institutions to be emulated, not only in building a culture of research and innovation in the central and federal university sector, but also in the institutionalization of university–industry relationships and relevant organizational entities.

Beyond Indian shores, IIT alumni have earned a big recognition for ‘brand IIT’, particularly in the world’s most competitive innovative cluster, Silicon Valley. Their national and international reputations had their own social and economic costs. IITs experienced a brain drain during the 1960s and 1980s. However, with globalization and economic growth since the 1990s, there has been a marked improvement in the science, technology, and innovation ecosystem in India. With the rise of India’s software industry, India experienced a reversal of this trend in terms of brain gain and brain circulation. The IITs’ contribution to the national economy is particularly evident in the case of the ICT industry in the last couple of decades.

IITs emulated the MIT model in their formative years and were successful in evolving teaching and learning mechanisms towards training high quality engineering graduates. In drawing inspiration from the MIT model, it appears that IITs have focused more on attaining excellence in teaching and research intensity compared to knowledge transfer and regional innovation. From an overall innovation perspective, one that emphasizes entrepreneurial culture and enterprise creation in universities, our contention is that IITs and other universities in India lack a well-developed venture capital support structure as is seen in the case of MIT, Stanford, and Silicon Valley in the United States. The research base of all IITs put together is nowhere comparable to either MIT or Stanford. However, highly qualified human capital thrives where a complementary and conducive innovation and science and technology ecosystem exists. This is evident from the way in which IIT alumni contributed robustly in the Silicon Valley compared to Indian shores.

From an overall perspective the research and innovation potential in the higher education sector in India is grossly underutilized. This is due to very low research intensity in an otherwise vast higher education landscape of 975 universities and over 42,000 colleges with an enrolment ratio of nearly 25.2 per cent in 2017–18. As universities and higher education come to play

a significant part, both in the emerging knowledge-based economy and the national innovation system, governments in a number of countries have initiated several policy and structural reforms over the past few years. India is yet to implement these initiatives, which are likely to strengthen the higher education research and innovation base in the country. The main reason is very low public investment of around 3.5 per cent of GDP in education compared to neighbouring Asian economies such as China, Japan, and South Korea which invest over 5–6 per cent of GDP. Further, whereas these leading Asian economies are spending between 15 and 40 per cent of national gross R&D expenditure in higher education R&D, the Indian figure hovered under 4.5 per cent during 2015–18. The IITs and a small number of leading universities are possible exceptions. We argue that a major national challenge for India is to infuse academic institutions in higher education with adequate investment to achieve the Humboldtian goal of teaching and research intensity. Failing to do so will seriously hamper higher education in meeting the challenges of building an innovative society.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter draws on our previous published work on Indian universities and IITs. See Chandra (2009); Chandra and Krishna (2010); Krishna (2001, 2012); Krishna and Chandra (2011); Krishna et al. (2012).

## CHAPTER 26

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# POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR EQUITY, GENDER, AND WIDENING PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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PIERRE MOREAU

## INTRODUCTION

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In Chapter 14 of this handbook, we considered how the changing context and transformations of higher education (HE) have implications for equality and social and gender justice. Policy reforms driven by intersecting political forces are profoundly reshaping HE. We explored this in relation to ongoing structural inequalities and how patriarchal discourses work with neoliberalism to reproduce continuing, and generate emerging, forms of difference and inequality in and through HE. In Chapter 14 we illuminated the ongoing inequalities that play out despite the massive expansion of HE over the past fifty years. This takes place in a context in which structural inequalities, such as gender, class, and race, are seen to have been erased and symbolic inequalities, that are associated with women and femininities, are made invisible through discourses that assert a logic of gender

neutrality. We discussed how being caring, and having caring commitments, are dispositions that carry little value in the often perceived *gender-neutral* institutional spaces of universities.

In this chapter we build on our discussion by further examining the implications of changing HE policy on the in/equitable participation of academics, administrators, and students. We develop a feminist critique to illuminate how policy creates and perpetuates insidious inequalities, which operate at structural, cultural, and political levels (Fraser 2003). Policies focusing on eradicating inequality in HE, such as *widening participation* (WP) policies, tend to focus on getting people into HE with little attention to the qualitative experience of students from under-represented backgrounds. In this chapter we draw attention to how staff and students experience inequalities in relation to wider HE policy and practices, using examples from our own research as well as from others'.

## **GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES AROUND WIDENING PARTICIPATION AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS**

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As we have already seen in Chapter 14, widening participation in HE has become a mantra of many countries of both the global North and the global South (Connell 2007). In the United Kingdom, the New Labour government of 1997 was very keen to develop policies of social inclusion, initially linked to tackling poverty, and later to widening this approach to other sectors of education, including further and higher education. This approach was arguably for both social and economic reasons. It built upon the expansions of HE set in train by the Conservative government's implementation of the Robbins Report of 1963 on HE. And yet it also wanted a different approach to expanding higher educational opportunities to fit with global economic expansion. Thus, major political contentious debates were set in train about academic excellence versus educational achievement, which had implications for how to implement fair access and widening participation.

In the aftermath of the UK Labour government's specific policy to expand and regulate undergraduate student access to and participation in different types of HE, through the 2004 Higher Education Act, studies were commissioned (David 2010). These were because of the acrimonious debates surrounding the questions of access to and widening participation in HE, whereby the aim was to ensure 50 per cent of the relevant age cohort participated in HE. The UK government through its Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) with its major educational research programme—the Teaching and Learning Research Programme (TLRP)—committed £2 million funding for the research and David was appointed to direct the studies (David 2010: 14).

As David (2010: 13) wrote:

Over the last forty years, the overall numbers of undergraduate students participating in some form of higher education has quadrupled from half a million in 1965, to two million in 2005–6 ... As Hayward and colleagues go on to argue: 'educational participation beyond the compulsory school age has increased in the UK since 1945, with a massive increase in full-time provision between 1985 and 1994'. Moreover, over the years from 1996–7 to 2005–6, in absolute terms, women outnumbered men and are 60 per cent of full-time student population in UK universities with some variations in English, Northern Irish, Scottish and Welsh forms of access and participation.

The political background to this expansion and to developing arguments and policies for access to and participation in HE was in line with previous decades of expanding educational opportunities. David (2010: 7–8) argued that:

The UK government, during the first half of the first decade of the twenty-first century, has been eager to develop and extend learning opportunities for both young people and adults, across their life course, to ensure that the education and skills base of the UK economy is internationally competitive. ... Deploying new ideas about forms of governance and what have been called new managerialism or neo-liberalism has meant that a variety of new and innovative approaches to education and individual or personal learning opportunities have been tried and tested ... Indeed, the pace of developments in the balances between transformations in what has been called 'the knowledge economy' and new forms of teaching or learning regimes has become known in some contexts as new forms of 'academic capitalism'

(Slaughter and Rhoades 2004) ...

Widening participation in higher education was not a new policy mantra in the twenty-first century. Indeed, ideas about how to make educational opportunities more equal for various groups such as those in poverty, economically or socially disadvantaged, or on the basis of being working class, from an ethnic or racial minority, and according to gender, had been a

policy theme throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Initially, though, it was a theme applied to reconstructing secondary and compulsory education, rather than access to, or participation in, higher education ...

Understandings of the meanings of fair access and widening participation were extremely eclectic and yet not at all concerned with altering existing power relations. There was contestation between meanings of academic and/or educational achievements and ‘fair access’. Seven studies were commissioned through the TLRP ranging from statistical to qualitative studies of diverse participants in HE, and including one study of a community where adults did not necessarily participate in HE. The main aim of the studies was how to improve learning by widening participation in HE. Thus the studies all focused on questions of ‘transforming *institutional practices* and on developing appropriate and *sustainable pedagogies for social diversity* and learning across the life course’ (David et al. 2010: 180).

The implications for the future which came out of these seven fine-grained and sensitive studies was to ‘argue for the centrality of educational opportunities across the life course to ensure that they are aligned to men and women’s changing socio-economic and family circumstances’ (David et al. 2010: 180). An array of inclusive and personal pedagogies was suggested that might engage students of the future in educational courses and new or innovative subjects, going beyond the twentieth century. This also had implications for social mobility and how to change circumstances for under-represented groups in an entirely new light. David et al. (2010: 201) concluded by stating:

Finally a vision for fair access, equity and diversity in participation in the global academy would surely incorporate the uses of critical and connectionist pedagogies, including developing inclusive and yet personal pedagogies to ensure people’s lives across the life course were enhanced and improved ... If we value inclusion, teachers, practitioners and policy-makers should maintain high expectations of all students as learners, whilst recognising the diversity of their needs, cultures and identities.

Widening access to and participation in HE has emerged as a major policy concern in a number of national contexts. It is connected to longer histories over struggles for the right to higher education, to concerns for greater fairness in society, and to ensuring that HE is more equitable and inclusive (Burke 2012). It is also shaped by the growing diversification of student groups that have resulted from higher education expansion over the later

decades of the twentieth century. In the English context, during the period of the New Labour government (1997–2010), WP gained discursive hegemony, and this discourse has gained momentum internationally. However, as argued above, the discourse of WP is highly contested within and across different national contexts, and there is no one agreed definition. There are also different associated policy discourses, such as *social mobility*, *social inclusion*, *equity*, and the *social dimension* of HE.

As a key part of WP and other related policies, many universities have developed targeted outreach activities aimed at raising the aspirations of children, young people, and mature learners from under-represented and disadvantaged backgrounds. The focus on *raising aspirations* has been critiqued as confusing material poverty with a so-called poverty of aspiration (Burke 2012; Morley 2003; Whitty et al. 2016). There are a number of examples emerging from the UK and Australian contexts where ‘aspiration-raising’ activities have been shown in fact to reinforce rather than overcome cultural and socio-economic divisions and inequalities (Slack, 2003; Sellar, 2013). Furthermore, this policy discourse has ensured attention is paid to individual attitudes, embedded in deficit assumptions and pathologizing discourses, and outside of HE. This has perpetuated problematic assumptions that access, participation, and equity issues are not the concern of universities, aside from providing remedial forms of support outside of the core work of teaching and research (Burke 2012; Burke et al. 2017b).

The focus on *raising aspirations* over-simplifies aspiration-formation, ignoring the ways that aspirations are formed in and through complex structural, social, economic, and cultural inequalities, relations, and identities (Burke 2006, 2012). Yet, the problem is not that students from backgrounds targeted by WP policies lack aspiration but that they are too often denied access to the web of social networks, pedagogical opportunities, educational resources, academic practices, and symbolic and material forms of capital legitimated by institutions such as schools and universities that facilitate high levels of educational attainment and expectation. Some have highlighted that educational aspiration is mediated by students’ attachments to locality and the feelings of belonging and social inclusion that underpin those attachments (see Ball et al. 1995; Gewirtz et al. 1995; Reay and Ball 1997). For example, Reay et al. (2001) observe how HE applicants from working-class backgrounds often stress the importance

of locality and community in their decision-making process and the sense of security, comfort, and familiarity generated through these localized expressions. Ball and Vincent (1998) highlight how students from middle-class backgrounds are often able to draw on both the formal forms of ‘cold’ knowledge available as well as ‘hot’ knowledge—the knowledge available through informal social networks. Students from working-class backgrounds usually do not benefit from access to ‘hot’ knowledge about HE and therefore must rely on official forms of ‘cold’ knowledge, which might be challenging to access and decipher (Burke 2012).

## **REPOSITIONING STUDENTS AS INDIVIDUAL CONSUMERS OF THE HE MARKET**

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Intersecting forces such as globalization, neo-liberalism, and marketization have repositioned students as consumers of the market of HE. This has led to an individualizing focus on student choice about what and where to study, without attention to the contextual and structural inequalities that profoundly shape, and limit, individual ‘choice’. Education is constructed as a set of products that student-consumers choose in relation to their individual assessment of the quality of that product (Reay et al. 2005). Inequalities of gender and other intersecting structural differences are assumed to be eradicated by the market of higher education, in which individual consumers exercise their choice to participate in higher education or not. If they choose to participate, student-consumers then exercise their choice in relation to market principles. Thus the stratification of institutions and its relationship to teaching and widening participation is concealed. Notions of choice are tied in to the discourses of meritocracy and individualism, in which the right to higher education is understood in terms of individual ability, efficacy, potential, and hard work rather than as shaped by structural, cultural, and institutional inequalities and misrecognitions (Burke 2012). Critical scholars have pointed to the dangers of teaching strategies being underpinned by consumerist impulses (Burke et al. 2017b; Williams 2013). In her analysis of the effects of a student-as-consumer model of higher education, Williams traces the way that accountability becomes seen as the ‘hub’ of education, rather than knowledge or learning

(Williams 2013: 53), stating that there is a ‘risk that the focus on measuring the worth of education fundamentally alters that which is important about its content’ (Williams 2013: 54). This creates greater levels of surveillance for staff and students in HE.

Student-as-consumer discourses focus attention on processes of individual transformation of the self into an employable, socially mobile, and productive subject (Moreau and Leathwood 2006). Notions of productivity and becoming productive are foregrounded whilst the reproductive sphere is invisible and unspeakable (Burke and Jackson 2007). This has implications for students’ experiences of HE in relation to the different social location and in relation to the gendering of education, work, and family and reinforces the assumption that university should be *care-less* (Lynch 2010; Moreau 2016). This constructs HE students as young and *free* of a range of other commitments outside of study and there are temporal and spatial inequalities at play that are obscured. It also draws on notions of parents of students in particular ways, leading in some countries to the phenomenon of *helicopter parents* which has both gendered and classed (and racialized) implications. This not only renders invisible that many students *are* parents themselves (which we discuss in detail below) but also constructs parents of students from a particular gendered and classed view and constructs the relationship of higher education to family in restrictive and restricting ways. It perpetuates particular middle-class, white-racialized values of what a *good parent* is and conceals the gendering of parenting, including that discourses of motherhood tend to be constructed through a patriarchal and middle-class lens that pathologizes working-class and black-racialized mothers (Crozier 2009; Skeggs 1997). It positions parents of students as consumers of a market whilst also reproducing and homogenizing the young university student as the *traditional* student in higher education. Increasingly the main focus of these discourses is *social mobility*, which positions students as consumers of a market that will pay a *graduate premium*, without any nuance about the inequalities of the graduate labour market (Moreau and Leathwood 2006).

A major concern is that the student-as-consumer discourses and the *relentless promotion of employability* have placed greater value on gaining skills than on processes of learning and understanding. As Williams (2013: 89) notes:

If studying an academic subject cannot be justified because it makes an essential contribution to our collective understanding of what it means to be human and the nature of the society we live in, it must instead justify its existence in the more mundane sphere of employability.

Burke et al. (2017b) argue that a crucial point is that the ‘demand for [student-as-consumer] satisfaction may be antithetical to education and the development of positive pedagogical relations’ (Williams 2013: 100). The fundamental problem of a student-as-consumer model is that there is little space to challenge assumptions because it is devoid of an intellectual process of transformation, which demands sustained commitment.

HE policy tends to engage with *quality* only in relation to economic rationalism—that is, emphasizing gaining a degree to become an employable, resilient consumer-worker who has the capacity to be continuously flexible in the wider context of precarious, turbulent labour market conditions (Burke et al. 2017b). The focus on external indicators to measure teaching quality does not take into account that students do not pick up ‘learning gains’ as neutral subjects; social and cultural advantages differ in and within student populations across and within different universities. This means some universities may appear to have better *teaching quality* through an excellence framework, but may in fact just be reproducing disparities in terms of student populations and equity (Tatlow and Phoenix 2015).

## FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF THE NEO-LIBERAL, MANAGERIAL UNIVERSITY

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In Chapter 14, we argued that feminism arose out of the civil and human rights movements of the twentieth century and was closely linked with the growth of student participation in HE. One aspect of this feminist project has been to transform women’s lives towards gender and social equality over the last fifty years. As David (2014: 1) argued:

this is fundamentally an educational and pedagogical project: to understand how the current gender, sexual and social structures have come about and to develop the knowledge and wisdom to further that understanding and to transform such relations in the direction of what has become known, in the twenty-first century, as gender and social justice. It has been a project increasingly in universities, as HE has expanded, with changing socio-economic and political systems globally.

Socio-economic and socio-political transformations over the last fifty years are such that education, and HE, is now a key part of the global economy. The notion of *academic capitalism* was a term coined by the American feminist academic Sheila Slaughter with her colleagues Larry Leslie and Gary Rhoades (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004), which has been important in capturing the changing landscape of HE. We ourselves have written extensively about the impact of such changes on equity in higher education and on women in particular (see for example Burke 2012; Burke et al. 2017b; David 2014, 2016a, 2016b). This has included attention to gendered and sexual violence (David 2016a).

## **GENDERED VIOLENCE, BULLYING, AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT**

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Questions about gender and sexual relations, violence against women and girls (VAWG), sexual harassment, and sexual abuse are now more overtly in the public eye, both globally and locally. Such violence against women and sexual harassment are no longer seen as just a problem for the global South but also for the global North. But the roots of such gender-related violence are not adequately tackled and remain side-lined in political discourse. We must continue to argue for a more appropriate form of education for all that tackles issues of gender, gender-related sexual abuse, and VAWG as integral to a proper education for all.

This is what David (2016a) argues in *A Feminist Manifesto for Education*. She addresses the ways in which feminists in the academy have developed analyses of gender and education and, separately, gender-related violence, and considers a research study on how to challenge gender-related violence for children and young people. Funded by the European Union (EU) through its Daphne programme set up specifically for projects about VAWG, this education and training project was based in four universities across Europe, namely in Ireland, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom. ‘Improved knowledge and understanding were essential for “youth practitioners” to better identify and challenge sexist, sexualizing, homophobic or controlling language and behaviour, and know when and how to refer children and young people to the most appropriate support

services' (David 2016a: 40). There have been increasing levels of attention to issues of sexual violence in HE over recent years, as its prevalence has become increasingly visible.

The question of why these issues are now more in the public eye is not clear, although it may have to do with both feminist activism and the transformations in culture, social media, and communications, contributing to new forms of capitalism and the commercialization of gender and sexuality as new forms of sexualization. In any event, there are clearly few political solutions that tackle the roots of this VAWG as forms of abuse of male power, or patriarchy and misogyny. On the contrary, though, David (2016a: 65–6) explains:

gender mainstreaming as a policy notion became more commonplace in the early twenty-first century, in response to growing economic and social demands for women's involvement in employment and politics ... The institutionalization of some feminisms and the mainstreaming of their demands ... effected changes in political rhetoric. Amongst other things, they led to greater attention to the use of sexist and homophobic language ... and they were useful when it came to certain gender politics. However, the institutionalization also brought about a co-optation of many feminist claims ... This is well illustrated by the mainstreaming of the term "gender". On the one hand, the use of the concept made it possible to recognize the socio-cultural norms and values, pressures and incentives involved in constructing gendered subjects and binary, heterosexual order. On the other hand, the term is frequently used to dismiss the necessity of feminist analysis. In fact, it is mostly employed in mainstreaming policies that tend not to be sensitive to central feminist issues in regard to power, hierarchies and difference ... Furthermore, the frequent use of gender-neutral language in laws produces inattention to gendered power relations.

In recent times there have been feminist contestations on campus particularly over sexual harassment among students, and training students to challenge sexual violence and between feminists as academics and students. Some of these contestations are very unfortunate and have become public media debates between waves of feminists on campus, showing how feminism per se has been brought into public disrepute (David 2016b: 174). Yet feminist campaigning has successfully exposed sexual assault or harassment, *rape culture* or *lad culture* on campus although policies remain woefully inadequate, not only for students, but also for women and feminist academics (David 2016b; Phipps and Young 2015). The old liberal-humanist arguments about how universities are spaces for creative thinking and allow for academic freedom and/or freedom of expression are being eroded in the neo-liberal university. Even more importantly, new quasi-legal

notions of radicalization are also having an impact on campus cultures, and constricting and confining socio-cultural debates.

There is an increasingly overt sexualized and laddish culture on campus, particularly, but clearly from above, not only amongst students. This has been the subject of increasing amounts of feminist research to try to make the campus safe for students and for others, including in developing policies dealing with sexual assaults, harassment, and rape culture. Issues of campus safety are, however, only just beginning to be part of more inclusive gender policies internationally. British policies remain muted although there have been some recent institutional responses to developing lessons in *sexual consent* for incoming undergraduate students. This is in contrast to the policies on rape and sexual assault on campus that US President Obama tried to initiate in 2014. Nevertheless, although in the public eye and with official sanction, these remained highly contested questions and few campuses in either the United States or the United Kingdom have developed clear and comprehensive guidelines for dealing with these issues either for students or for academics (David 2016b: 184–5).

## A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF LEADERSHIP IN HE

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It seems clear that currently there is a toxic mix of globalization and changing gender and sexual relations. Louise Morley (2012: 29) argued in the *Times Higher Education* that part of the problem was ‘the cycle of domination of top roles by men in universities’. She continued that it was important to transform that vicious cycle in HE to make education, and HE especially, less misogynistic.

Morley has been a particularly strong critic of developments in the neo-liberal university. In particular she has argued passionately about the moves towards creating new *metrics* (a term that is itself a twenty-first century neologism) and the *numbers game* as a form of *misogyny posing as measurement*. She also suggests that it is important for feminist academics today to consider how to change the *rules of the* (patriarchal) *game* (Morley 2013) so as to have a more gender appropriate future for universities. The contested nature of global changes especially around gender equality in

education, including in HE, means that the ideas have become emasculated rather than feminized by incorporation into neo-liberal global universities.

Yet, as Morley (2011) has shown, most countries of the global North have developed policies for gender equity in the public sphere and education; and many countries of the global South also have developed frameworks for gender equity in public life and HE. Based in her Centre for Higher Education and Equity Research (CHEER) at the University of Sussex, she has conducted many innovative studies of global HE. For example, one study of gender equity looked at two African countries—Ghana and Tanzania—in terms both of widening participation and of how gender is done, undone, and redone in HE via policies, practices, and the micro-political relays of power.

In another study, Morley (2013) argued trenchantly about how new managerialism and the so-called *leaderist turn* in HE, are subverting and reinforcing the *rules of the game* in patriarchal ways. She provided ‘an international review of feminist knowledge on how gender and power interact with leadership in HE ... to unmask the “rules of the game” that lurk beneath the surface rationality of academic meritocracy’. She further argued (Morley 2013: 116–31) that:

curiously, in a culture of measurement and audit in HE, women’s representation in different roles and grades is not always perceived as sufficiently important to measure, monitor or map comparatively ... The data that do exist suggest that women disappear in the higher grades ... This under-representation reflects not only continued inequalities between men and women, but missed opportunities for women to influence, and contribute to universities of the future.

Similarly the late Barbara Bagilhole and Kate White (2011, 2013) undertook two research studies of gender and leadership in HE. In *Gender, Power and Management: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Higher Education*, they put together a most exciting and innovative study of women as feminists in global HE. The book had a long gestation as they developed a feminist network of Women in HE management (WHEM). What they were specifically interested in were the dynamics of women and men working together in HE management teams and how these dynamics worked cross-culturally. Taking an explicitly *feminist standpoint theory* (Harding 1987) approach and locating themselves clearly in the study, they are able to tease out the women’s experiences in the different universities. Women’s participation in HE and in senior management has undoubtedly increased

over recent decades but the effects of neo-liberalism, corporatization, and managerialism have been to confine women to relatively junior positions, and rarely the most senior leadership positions.

Blackmore and Sachs (2007), two critical feminist researchers, also undertook a major international study of how neo-liberal changes were impacting upon forms of leadership and management in different forms of education and HE. Entitling their study *Performing and Reforming Leaders: Gender, Educational Restructuring and Change*, they clearly demonstrated that the concept of gender institutionalizes forms of change and does not necessarily lead to reverses in patriarchal power in educational institutions. What they focused on were the ways in which emotions were handled in education and how this linked with collective feminist work. In a subsequent critical piece, Blackmore (2013) developed her feminist perspective on educational leadership, particularly here with respect to universities. Again, she illustrated the diverse notions of leadership in HE.

## STUDENT PARENTS' FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

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As alluded to earlier, many students *are* parents themselves. In Chapter 14, we discussed how academic cultures are *careless* (Lynch 2010) and seen to be *care-free* (Moreau 2016), as carers are rendered invisible and misrecognized. Student parents as a group represent a magnifying lens to explore the financial issues faced by many students in the context of changing HE and social welfare policies which increasingly construct learners as consumers and expect citizens to *take responsibility* for care. Moreau and Kerner conducted a research project involving ten institutional case studies (all England-based). In each university, they conducted a desk search of institutional policies and interviewed student parents as well as staff based in support services (for a detailed account of the methodology, see Moreau and Kerner 2012). One of their areas of focus was to consider how student parents experience and negotiate academic cultures which are geared towards students with no significant caring responsibilities. They found that financial struggles are a widespread pattern among the student parents they interviewed (Moreau and Kerner 2012, 2015). This feeling is well exemplified in the following quote:

So the financial side of it is huge, yes. I find I am really struggling, constantly worrying about money. I am just hoping that, at the end of this, I will be able to get a good job and not worry about money anymore. (Natalie)

Natalie's account is somewhat unsurprising considering that student parents based in England pay some of the most expensive tuition fees *and* childcare fees in the world (OECD 2011). They also have high outgoings and limited availability for paid work compared with those students without childcare commitments. Their financial struggles are also compounded by the fact that they are over-represented among groups which face economic and social disadvantages, despite being a highly diverse group, including in terms of social class background. They are also more likely than the general parent population to be single parents (Hinton-Smith 2012; NUS 2009).

The financial pressure experienced by student parents and other so-called 'non-traditional' students is also unlikely to decrease as, in England as in many other parts of the global North and global South, the trend since the late twentieth century has been towards the replacement of grants by loans, the rise of tuition fees, and cuts to social welfare provision. Meanwhile, the cost of childcare is increasing at a quicker pace than salaries, meaning that the extant provision is increasingly out of reach for many carers (Daycare Trust 2011). While some financial support is available, eligibility is restricted to specific groups (as in the case of the Childcare Grant, only available to UK/EU undergraduate full-time students in low-income households). The limited financial support available for postgraduate students has two consequences. First, it excludes the majority of student parents (as for example they are in their majority enrolled on postgraduate programmes; NUS 2009). Second, this helps to *open* universities and widen participation at undergraduate level but also reinforces the idea that widening access is about gaining a first degree but not to remain in higher education longer than it is necessary to gain a *graduate job*. Research conducted with this group (Moreau and Kerner 2015) evidenced that student parents often engaged critically with a discourse capping their aspirations, which constructs it as acceptable for a mother (since the huge majority of student parents are women; NUS 2009) to gain a degree, but not to continue studying any further. Another student who participated in the study conducted by Moreau and Kerner commented:

I was just going to say, undergraduate student parents are entitled to quite a large portion of their childcare fees being paid but postgrads aren't ... So it almost seems like a glass ceiling

where it is okay for you as a woman parent to do an undergraduate degree but that's it, you are not allowed to go any further. (Nabila)

In turn, this financial struggle also compounds the emotional struggle many student parents experience (and to which this chapter comes back hereafter). In a quote above, for example, Natalie talks of ‘constantly worrying’. In being a student and a parent, she is taking significant *risks* (Archer et al. 2003), as her own future, and the future of her family, are likely to be considerably affected by whether she will complete her degree and secure a *graduate job*. It is telling here that financial issues were much less prominent in earlier work on mature students and on student parents (David et al. 1993; Edwards 1993). The sense of risk and uncertainty experienced by Natalie and other *non-traditional* students is also compounded by HE policy which encourages access but rarely reviews practices and policies which are geared towards the ‘bachelor boy’ (Hinton-Smith 2012).

This sense of risk and uncertainty is also compounded by the unpredictability of the ways in which support is implemented, through specific policies which are geared towards those without significant caring responsibilities and require that those with caring responsibilities go out of their way to access the support they are entitled to.

It is really hard to get the childcare sorted and the funding sorted at the same time, and then they don't start funding it until after you have started university and then you've got this lapse in the middle, where you have got all this money to pay and no money to pay it. (Jennifer)

The delayed payment of grants or loans was found to be a common occurrence, with some student parents giving up on claiming some of their entitlements due to the complex and lengthy administrative procedures in place and their own *time poverty*. The complexity of the HE funding and social welfare policy landscape appeared difficult to navigate, especially as their multiple identities positioned them at the nexus of several areas of policy intervention, including higher education, social welfare, and employment.

## THE HEALTH AND EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF BEING A STUDENT PARENT

In their research on student parents, Moreau and Kerner (2012, 2015) found that well-being, and physical and mental health issues came up recurrently, consistent with earlier literature identifying patterns of sleeplessness (Marandet and Wainwright 2010) and a high occurrence of depression (Gerrard and Roberts 2006) among this group. The student parents interviewed by Moreau and Kerner (2012) often linked these with their dual status. Despite the likely role that universities played in the ill-being of student parents and other groups with a recent history of HE, participants often felt that the issues they faced were constructed as individual problems and, as such, were beyond the remit of academia. Natalie, for example, explained:

I've been suffering a bit with depression recently, which is a bit of a pain ... the university counsellor seemed to be of the opinion that I just needed to manage my time better and there was nothing really wrong with me and kind of sent me packing.

(Natalie)

As well as poor health, the student parents interviewed by Moreau and Kerner confided about the emotional turmoil they experienced, with many sharing their feelings of guilt. Edwards (1993) argues that such feelings originate from their non-compliance to two *greedy institutions* (Coser 1974) which demand full availability and loyalty. In particular, student parents often talked of 'being torn' between caring, studying, and, sometimes, employment, echoing in this a similar feeling noted in earlier work on working-class students doing paid work (Moreau and Leathwood 2006). Lisa, for example, explained:

I would say I always have a guilt complex about time studying and I never have enough time in the day. I feel guilty that my husband has to play second fiddle to my laptop in the evening ... I guess, the juggling of parenting and you can't split yourself between everybody and achieve everything you want. It is always a compromise.

(Lisa)

As a result, student parents were often constructed within their local communities and families and within academia as being at odds with the figure of the *good parent* and of the *good student*. For example, Lauren explained that:

I don't think I get any support for being a student parent, I would get grudging acknowledgement but it's in this: "Oh yes, I suppose you'd have to go to that wouldn't you?", not really good enough, not really focused on the task. "Come on now lady, you're doing a PhD, where are your priorities?" is what I feel is the line, so you have to pretend and get round it. (Lauren)

They did, however, resist discourses equating *good mothering* and *academic excellence* with full availability and boundary-less dedication. This was achieved through their critical deconstruction of the norms of motherhood or of being a student which underpin the workings of the family and of academia (ironically drawing on the capitals developed, in part, through HE). Some attempted to establish new discourses which construct being a student and a parent as two complementary and mutually benefiting, rather than antagonistic, categories. In some cases, some student parents ended up hiding their personal circumstances. Lauren, for example, mentioned that 'I still feel like I have this guilty secret, that I actually have a family all the bloody time that gets in the way!' This often came at a high price as this meant being treated as a care-free student and resorting to individualized solutions.

## **BEING A STUDENT AND A PARENT: TEMPORAL CONFLICTS**

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While disadvantage is often thought of in financial terms, including in widening participation policies, students from *non-traditional* backgrounds often encounter 'temporal injustice'. Student parents in particular, as articulated above, are faced with the demands of two greedy institutions (as well as often being involved in paid work and having various civic, charitable, political, and religious commitments).

As well as being *time poor*, this group is often left to manage the conflicting demands or *discordant times* (Moss 2004) of the institutions they are engaged in. This also generates the sense of guilt and of *failure* discussed earlier. The conundrum they face in negotiating these conflicting demands is exemplified in the following quote from Moreau and Kerner's (2012) research:

It is a constant balancing act and you can't ever win. If I dedicated as much time to my studies as I wanted to, I would be neglecting my child. If I dedicated as much time to my child as I wanted to, I would be neglecting my studies.

(Katherine)

In particular, the student parents interviewed by Moreau and Kerner (2012) emphasized the fact that both care and academic work are bottomless, as there is always room for doing *better academic work* and for being a *better parent*. In the context of twenty-first century academia, this is further compounded by two discourses: the discourse of the managerial university, which constructs the twenty-first century scholar as available, mobile, and entrepreneurial: a discourse which has extended to students, particularly postgraduate students who are increasingly treated as employees (Macoun and Miller 2014), and a discourse of intensive mothering, with mothers expected to invest considerable time and energy in bringing up their children (Danna Lynch 2008; Douglas and Michaels 2004), with very little support and limited recognition of the middle-class and Western-centric norms underpinning these discourses (Gewirtz 2001; Hill Collins 1994). Both discourses are highly gendered and have implications for carers. For student mothers, this often results in some intense juggling, with very limited time for *self-care* (particularly in the time of single parents) and for engaging in activities not directly related to their studies and to care or paid work. Ultimately, this compounds the well-being and health issues discussed above, especially as, among women who are in heterosexual partnerships, the division of care and domestic work often remains unchanged despite their other commitments (Moreau and Kerner 2015). As summarized by Kelly, another participant in Moreau and Kerner's study:

I don't do anything apart from my children, uni and the house ... there is no time to myself. There is absolutely none. (Kelly)

## TEMPORAL INEQUALITIES IN HE

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Due to changes in the funding of HE, and the increasing responsibility of students to fund their studies through individual tuition fees, students increasingly must juggle study with paid work, as well as their many other commitments outside of study (e.g. as discussed above in relation to student

parents). Thus, HE experiences are increasingly intensified by competing imperatives of study, work, and personal commitments. However, despite significant change, the assumption persists that time is a neutral and linear framework in which all students are equally positioned (Burke et al. 2017a). Indeed, one of the main reasons students from equity groups cite for leaving study is *lack of time* and *time pressures* (e.g. Horstmanshof and Zimitat 2007, cited in Burke et al. 2017a).

Recent research conducted by the Centre of Excellence for Equity in Higher Education has examined questions of time and temporality in relation to student equity, critiquing hegemonic discourses of *time management* that reinforce notions that time is neutral, decontextualized, and disembodied (Bennett and Burke 2018; Burke et al. 2016, 2017a). Bennett and Burke (2018) draw on Adam's (1998, 2004) notion of *timescapes* to consider students' experiences of time and space and how this shapes their ontological orientations to temporality. This opens up ways of thinking about higher education as more than a context, space, or field. As stated by Burke and colleagues (2017a: 12):

The “timescapes” of higher education fields vividly construct our embodied locations and sensibilities of self in time/space. Timescapes are discursive, material, structural and symbolic, are relational and tied to power and difference. They are reshaped through subjectivities and practices but are also connected with institutional structures, cultures and values. We live “timescapes” through our mobility across and between different time rhythms, being and doing, which are always produced in space and time. Timescapes are deeply contextual and linked to formations of personhood and difference. As such, time is not neutral or linear; it is not something that we “have” or “manage” in any straightforward sense and is not only about “clocktime”. Our experiences of timescapes are multiple and fluid, structured by clocktime and institutional and disciplinary schedules, deadlines and terms/semesters. Timescapes are interconnected with a range of different social contexts, organizational spaces and institutions, such as university, work and home. We move across and within the different timescapes that construct our subjectivities, whilst simultaneously we actively construct timescapes through our ontological positions. Our experiences of the different timescapes we negotiate are sometimes fluid, often precarious and deeply shaped by structure *and* agency. The intersections across different timescapes are not necessarily smooth but are often contradicting, clashing and in tension. Such a conceptual understanding of “time” problematizes hegemonic notions of ‘time management’ as simply a set of decontextualized, disembodied skills and competencies.

Such reconceptualization of HE institutions as timescapes sheds light on the problematic assumptions and practices of *time management*. Burke et al. (2016) show the ways that time management works as a neo-liberal, neo-colonial, and patriarchal technology of discipline and control to locate the

problem of equity in individual students' capacity to appropriately and effectively manage their time in relation to institutionally imposed time structures, regulations, and rhythms. The accounts of students studying in universities in Australia and the UK (see Burke et al. 2016 for details about methodology) illuminate how be/com/ing a *good student* is tied to judgements about how a student manages their time, advantaging those students who are familiar with the temporal dispositions privileged in contemporary university contexts and disadvantaging those students who are unfamiliar with higher education timescapes (Bennett and Burke 2018; Burke et al. 2017a). Memphis, for example, is a law student who prioritizes assessment temporalities over tutorials as part of her future-orientation:

I guess I don't come to tutorials all the time—I guess I spend a lot of the time focusing on the assessments and I think the tutorial is not going to help me with the assessments and like why am I bothering ... I could go to class or I can work on this as a home task though and stay at home and work on the task. (Memphis)

In contrast, Josie who is undertaking a Foundation course and is from a working-class background (and who did not complete her course) explains how she navigated the challenges of time and is focused on her presentation of self within immediate timescapes:

Yeah, yeah I did homework yeah, I did it like straight away and handed it in. Yeah so I was assigned readings. I didn't use it [online lectures] because I went to all my lectures, I wasn't game to not go to one. (Josie)

The privileging of future-orientation—often embedded in hegemonic discourses of *aspiration* and *time management* so taken-for-granted in WP policy discourses—subtly ensures the ongoing advantage of those from already socially advantaged backgrounds who have had access to the *rules of the game* of HE and *employability*. Yet the individualizing, decontextualized, and ontic connections of time and temporality work to symbolically reconstruct the problem and responsibility as resting with the individual student who should make the *right choices* (Bennett and Burke 2018). Students who struggle to manage their time *effectively* are thus constructed as lacking capability *rather than as differently positioned to the timescapes privileged in HE*. For example, Leah, a nursing student located in a rural area laments that, because of physical distance, she often encounters difficulty in assessment submission. She perceives this as a fault of her decision to live at home whilst studying:

It's hard to say yes, but I've put myself in this position so, I take full responsibility for it.

(Leah)

This pays no attention to the multiple demands, expectations, and needs at play across different and competing timescapes. Widening participation is reconstructed as simply about providing remedial interventions to identify those students who lack efficient time management skills, compelling them to take short courses that aim to correct their presumed deficiencies. Students are thus seen as docile bodies who require reshaping through student equity interventions designed to subject them to processes of conforming to the dominant discursive time frameworks, in order to be *on time* and to be(come) disciplined (employable) subjects through participating in HE. Time is discursively produced through neo-liberal logics that privilege notions of *clocktime* that are oriented around inequitable structures of capitalist forms of production and being a productive person (Bennett and Burke 2018; Burke et al. 2017a). Feminized and cyclical forms of being *in time* that privilege relationality, reproduction, and domestic and affective forms of labour and subjectivity are marginalized and it is left to the individual student to 'manage' these contradictory timescapes and subjectivities across HE/employment/domestic/unpaid labour, and so forth. The inequities of this are made invisible through the disciplinary discourses of time management. For example, the emotional labour often associated with women of nurturing and sustaining relationships is made invisible and/or excluded from discourses of time management. Yet, Edwards (1993) pointed out over two decades ago that HE and family are two *greedy institutions* that pose dilemmas for women in negotiating contradictory demands on their time with significant implications for their participation in HE. The discourse of time management and the narrowing of time to simple ontic conceptualizations (e.g. clocktime or calendar time) ensure that the *careless institution* is validated in ways that marginalize those with caring commitments (Bennett and Burke 2018).

## CONCLUSION

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In this chapter we have developed a critique of HE policy and its impact on structures and relations of inequality. Drawing on feminist critiques to shed light on insidious inequalities, we have aimed to shed light on the ongoing ways that gendered inequalities continue to intersect with other forms of difference despite decades of HE policy focused on equity and widening participation. Through feminist perspectives, the chapter has shown that neo-liberalism, corporatization, and managerialism (academic capitalism) work together with patriarchy to perpetuate and generate new forms of inequality and power relations. New managerialism, and the so-called *leaderist turn* in HE aimed at gender equity, are subverting and reinforcing the ‘rules of the game’ in patriarchal ways. Indeed, the effects of neo-liberalism and managerialism have been to confine women to relatively junior positions, and rarely the most senior leadership positions. Furthermore, tenacious feminist campaigning has successfully exposed sexual assault or harassment on campus and cast light on how policies have not adequately protected female students and academics (David 2016b).

We have discussed and analysed the emergence of widening participation and equity policies in many countries of both the global North and the global South, often for both social and economic reasons. Yet this is in a context where intersecting forces of globalization, neo-liberalism, and marketization have repositioned students as consumers of the market of higher education, leading to an individualizing focus on student access and participation, without attention to the contextual and structural inequalities that profoundly undermine institutional commitment to equity and widening participation. We have argued that individualist discourses have implications for students’ experiences of HE in relation to the different social location and in relation to the gendering of education, work, and family, reinforcing (patriarchal) assumptions that universities should be ‘care-less’ (Lynch 2010; Moreau 2016) and privileging the productive over reproductive dimensions of social life (Burke and Jackson 2007). This has profound implications for student *and* staff relations to time, which are inequitable and yet constructed as neutral and decontextualized through discourses such as *time management*. Recent research has critiqued *time management* to reveal that students from under-represented backgrounds often encounter *temporal injustice* (Burke et al. 2017a). The chapter has shown the power of such feminist analyses of questions of equity and

widening participation to bring to light the insidious ways that inequalities are reproduced through the neo-liberal, patriarchal university.

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## CHAPTER 27

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# REACTIONS, REFLECTIONS, AND RENEWAL

*The Significance of Higher Education for  
Intellectual, Societal, and Personal  
Advancement*

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STEPHEN CRUMP

## HIGHER EDUCATION/CHANGING TIMES

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ON the doorstep of the third decade of the twenty-first century, we are experiencing a time of largely unforeseen, arguably unprecedented, and definitely at best half-articulated global developments. We are not Luddites. The core of our thesis in this handbook is that change is not only good, it is necessary, it is the foundation of the survival of societies by assisting them to evolve through eras of stability and reform. As Dewey (1950: 150) proposed, society and the individual are necessarily helpful to one another, acknowledging society is ‘one word, but infinitely many things, and “individual” is not one thing’ but a blanket term for an immense variety of dispositions. We pose the same dichotomy for communities and institutions, essentially, but not inseparably, complementary sides of a lived reality.

Erguvan, Parjanadze, and Hirschi ([Chapter 22](#)) explored the meaning of citizenship and examined its relationship with the roles and expectations of higher education (HE) revolving around the promotion of civic good through broad collaboration at the institutional, local, regional, and global levels. While they found the issues complex and dynamic, they concluded that HE continues to contribute to the well-being of the society, and to strengthen global values, through aligning curricula, research, and extra-curricular activities to relevant and meaningful exchanges. This is encouraging as, driven by commercialization, digitization, and globalization, systems of higher education currently are going through the greatest convergence of forces for change since the spread of printing and literacy in their different Asian and European forms centuries earlier.

The current changes may be thought of in terms of four macro shifts: globalization of systems of knowledge acquisition and of institutional identity; demographic expansion in demand and access; new information and communications technology; and changing cost structures influencing societal expectations and control. Seeing education as a major determinant of the capacity of societies to cohere and to evolve under pressures such as these leads to seeing the role of education interwoven with the roles of government, industry, and culture. Drew, Redding, and Harley ([Chapter 10](#)) therefore ask: How does ‘performativity’, that is funding in exchange for performance by a sponsor’s—usually government—metrics affect HE operations across countries? How are such metrics changing? What are the potential implications of being bound by them? And perhaps more importantly, are they the right metrics? Are governments measuring the right things, for instance the encouragement of critical thinking? Drew et al. focus on how, in a world changing in so many aspects, responding appropriately to changes needed for survival whilst keeping their institution cohesive as an organization, is the key to authentic and productive outcomes.

As Phelan, Drew and Yardy ([Chapter 11](#)) argue, continuous technological change in higher education can assist resolving some of the complex challenges but also creates new challenges as complex problems evolve—even as they are being addressed. This is perhaps most clear where changes in ICTs interact with other primary drivers of change such as the introduction of widening participation agendas, increasing precarity of

academic work, and the rise of public accountability systems; all addressed by authors in this handbook.

Societies historically have restructured their responses to changing times and contexts in education through, for example, policy shifts and funding rearrangements. In the case of higher education, there have been recent shifts in student financing, methods of teaching and learning, immigration and employment policies, research funding, forms of accountability, openness to external contributions, and so on. In conceiving this handbook we questioned whether any of these, together or separately, were enough to generate relevant and lasting reforms under contemporary conditions. We recognized, as does van Rooijen ([Chapter 12](#)) that pressures from regulators, peer groups, popular (and populist) rankings, and so on are heavily backward looking. Additionally, we were conscious that each society (East, West, South, North) has its own set of features that have accumulated in distinct histories and traditions, started from different positions, thus are unlikely to restructure processes and institutions in the same way and/or at the same time, even though certain responses appear to be shared globally.

Yet there is no single lens through which to assess, analyse, or make conclusions about what is happening. Jonasson ([2008](#): 15, 16) estimated that, with an average expansion of 5 or 6 million students per year in the decade before 2010, tertiary student populations would double between 2000 and 2020, then double again by 2040 to 400 million students. Jonasson thus suggests that universities seem to have everything going for them but, from the inside, appear torn by strong and conflicting demands made by a multitude of unequal stakeholders.

## DIVERSITY/UNITY

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Our premise is that no one system is *ipso facto* better than any other for meeting this challenge though there are powerful historical, cultural, and political differences worldwide. Van Rooijen ([Chapter 12](#)) remarks how all tertiary education institutions have more in common than what separates them. Van Rooijen goes on to argue that higher education can only thrive if diversity is carefully cultivated but, he warns us, this diversity is actually

more subtle than one might believe and whatever ‘diversity’ is at any one point in time, it has to adjust continuously to macro changes in society in a proactive manner—reactivity, even trying to maintain the status quo, means decay in a sophisticated vibrant ecosystem policy and practice landscape as found in contemporary HE.

So, while we strenuously oppose a ‘one model fits all’ problem-solution strategy, we are arguing that critical thinking is the basis of innovation and change regardless of what any one particular higher education system happens to be, at whatever stage of evolution. Without diversity, societies and institutions stagnate and, as history tells us, disappear altogether when this becomes endemic.

This explains the differences noted above in a different way to an ethnocentric view. Mokyr (2016: 7) explains that the drivers of technological progress and eventually economic performance are ‘attitude and aptitude … the latter determines their success in turning such knowledge into higher productivity and living standards’. As van Onselen (2015) sees it:

Innovation has significant overlaps with higher education because of the intellectual capital coming out of our universities, which plays a vital role in supporting innovative endeavours, by way of research being undertaken or training provided to new entrants to the workforce.

Jonasson (2008: 68) found it ‘difficult to enumerate and classify the many missions that have been attributed to universities’ explicitly or implicitly; yet, society (business, government, citizens, NGOs and so on) expect universities to provide it ‘with ideas and know-how to prepare intelligently for the next steps we are to take. Moreover, we expect the university to keep track of the present as much as of the past to retain the lessons of our history that are absolutely crucial for understanding what is and what will happen’ (Jonasson 2008: 17). And, as Johnstone makes starkly clear in Chapter 19 (Table 19.1) international comparisons of higher education finance provide yet another variable to how diverse the system is, and how fraught this task becomes when resourcing comes into focus. Palfreyman and Tapper (Chapter 8) provide insights into the collegial tradition found in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge that expresses some of the defining features of Whitley’s organizational model, but also offer embellishments. The shifts in British universities in the 1970s and 1980s that underpin the types found in Whitley’s model were driven by legislation

largely reshaping funding regimes and governance. Palfreyman and Tapper suggest that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge remain in relatively sheltered positions from these pressures for change, though not immune.

They provide support for van Rooijen's proposition by demonstrating how 'Oxbridge' has been proactive in responding positively to some of these pressures from research assessment exercises and teaching excellence frameworks. Quick footwork saw these ivy-towered and deeply traditional (but not *acta non verba* conservative) institutions cement their high status reputation for administrative acumen and secure their financial future through high teaching scores. Nonetheless, the expansion of state power over higher education through the intensification of the need to 'publish or perish' noted throughout this handbook posed a challenge to a collegiate model, directly impacting on an academic mission expressed through the core value of small tutorials/supervision.

## ENACTMENTS/INNOVATION

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Complicating matters, institutions of higher education have and have not been innovative—they have changed in their practices and structures yet stayed the same holding on to perceived core ideals. A visibly repeated pattern here is the tension between managing a university as a business under increasing pressure from society for performance, at the same time as having to concede a great deal of authority over the work of employees and clients to globally distributed professional communities, whilst upholding the historical and still-valued mission of universities to be a repository as well as hothouse for ideas and inventions. This is a leadership balancing act requiring almost superhuman amounts of acumen, nous, and charisma.

Calford ([Chapter 23](#)) explores this dichotomy through a case study and focuses on the growth of higher education, government versus HE timeframes, and research logistics and outcomes. He poses the very pertinent question whether transplanting a typical professor from any of the current top-ranked 2,000 or so universities across political and national divides to another institute would substantially affect their daily working life? He answers his own question by stating 'It would not' because expectations of research, teaching, and scholarly development in their field

of expertise, and oversight and defence of quality, are all variations on a common theme—governments that want an educated workforce and innovative research must invest through it.

Calford argues for greater continuity in policy and funding to allow greater relevance and productivity in HE though he recognizes that political frameworks and realpolitik make this an unlikely scenario. Robinson, Twyford, Teede, and Crump ([Chapter 15](#)) report it takes seventeen years for new research in health to find its way into clinical practice, which is alarming enough, but also that things get complicated by the cumulative nature of identified health problems for any one individual—as medical practices advance and multiply there is an increase in the complexity and number of co-morbid illnesses. The alternative is for universities to pull research towards these problems rather than push research down into what they observe is colloquially (and unfortunately) known as ‘the valley of death’ failures of translating laboratory discoveries into practice and policy.

This is as big a problem for government and industry as it is for higher education institutions, given the weight of funding healthcare and research in budgets and human resources, and the time it takes to achieve results. For example, Australia is predicted to be the first country in the world to be free of cervical cancer due to a progressive and well-funded immunization programme, but not for forty years. That is a long lead-time to alter graduate and clinical practice, and research will not stop.

As Whitchurch ([Chapter 7](#)) shows, this isn’t only a challenge at the top of an institution. Her chapter draws on three recent projects involving twenty-three case study institutions in the United Kingdom including 183 interviews with managers at various levels as well as expert witnesses from countries including Australia, the United States, Ireland, South Africa, and Hong Kong. From all three projects there emerged, *inter alia*, issues around the relationship between a diversifying workforce and institutional structures, and following on from this the challenges arising from increasingly devolved management and governance arrangements. One key finding was that the role of middle managers such as heads of department and principal investigators of research teams emerged as critical in interpreting and modulating institutional policy. At the same time there was a growing bottom-up dynamic as staff negotiated the structures they encountered to meet individual strengths, requirements, and aspirations.

As with most complex adaptive systems in the social world, at times of macro change, universities globally display a proliferating variety in the way they go about meeting these conundrums, both human and material/instrumental. Mayhew ([Chapter 20](#)) agrees with us that precise institutional and legal relationships between government and universities differ from country to country and yet all governments wish to optimize the contributions that higher education makes to the nation-state. According to Mayhew, this is complicated, at least in public rhetoric, in that the contribution governments expect universities to make has simultaneously narrowed and become more demanding. In sorting this out, should we look at both what universities are good at, and good for?

A multinational focus provided by Bond and Jing ([Chapter 3](#)), employing the World Values Survey and other relevant multinational indexes, explores twenty-first century skills and socialization in educational experiences through a nation's social systems, and the extent to which these are conducive to innovativeness, cooperativeness, and world-mindedness. They are interested in human capital formation and what considerations need to be accorded given a society's particular historical-cultural legacy and current ecological-social circumstances.

It is these evolving differences that have been the focus of interest in this handbook. We started planning the handbook thinking about what happens when new events come up against old practices, old theories and policies become impotent, existing strategies lose their effectiveness, and expectations fail to be realized in educational and social outcomes. This is a vast arena. In crude terms education is the world's second largest economic activity, after healthcare, and arguably one of the most crucial of the many influences on societal progress. To make sense of such a complex set of phenomena means having a way of defining what 'they'—in this case systems of higher education—are, what they are going through, and where they need to change direction. If we think in terms of Ball et al.'s ([2012: 11](#)) testing of education policy enactments, our conceptual framework was shaped around similar questions:

- How do different higher education actorhoods interpret and enact policy in specific contexts responding to multiple policy demands, with the resources available to them?

- How, and in what ways, do contextual factors affect the ways in which these actors enact, ameliorate, and/or re-contextualize policies, expectations, and shifting missions?
- How might differences in these enactments be explained and inform future actorhood?

## MODERN TIMES/HARD TIMES

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On just one day in early March 2018, several events signalled social regression: the President of the United States (re)introduced tariffs for steel and aluminium turning back the clock on decades of effort towards freeing up trade around the world. This same day, the Prime Minister in the United Kingdom revealed the date (March 2019) her country would formally leave the European Union undoing decades of work towards a unified continent after long histories of internal conflict. This same day, Xi Jinping announced an amendment to the Chinese constitution to abolish the ten-year term limit, allowing him to be named President for Life, an amendment passed at the Communist Party of China Congress a week later.

This same day the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, announced he now has an arsenal of supersonic nuclear missiles that can reach anywhere on earth and cannot be shot down, undoing decades of work to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons that came close to reality, and starting World War Three, in the early 1960s. This same week the first 5G phone call was made in Barcelona, triggering the capacity for a staggering transfer of data with an estimated 25 billion devices in use by 2025 and ‘the average connection not made by a person at all’ (Griffith 2018: 27).

On top of this 24-hour unscripted revolution, a reasonable working hypothesis is that we are already in World War Four (WW4), this time being fought silently and invisibly in cyberspace with massive state-sponsored intrusions into industrial, military, financial, educational, medical, and personal databanks that not only provide access to state secrets, as in conventional wars, but also to information about every living person who has access to IT on their laptops or phones. There is nowhere to hide in this form of warfare; no safe houses, no refuge or sanctuary.

WW4 is seen as a war being waged in and through the dark web— invisible, anonymous, almost untraceable, and definitely unstoppable. Universities struggle to hide and protect the privacy of their students and employees, safeguarding data they allow to go on the ‘cloud’ (someone else’s server, often hosted in countries that do not share laws that apply in the home nation), and bringing the risk of intellectual property theft depriving them of the benefits of years of human and capital investment in their own institution. The costs for constantly upgrading the security of hardware and software are enormous and a drain on the core mission of education and research.

## CHANGES/DISRUPTIONS

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The challenges faced in higher education are thus specific—but not discrete or atomized—expressions of the challenges being faced by pluralist democracies as the geopolitical shape of the world reorders itself. There is nothing deterministic or prescriptive about this reordering, and a lot of self-serving myths about nation-states in the West, East, North, and South bear little resemblance to the daily realities and lived experiences of their citizens, institutions, and rules of law.

One of the central motifs in what our authors are telling us about these changes is that it is not only global change on a *scale* never seen before but also in the *pace* of change, driven by an unrelenting technology-based Fourth Industrial Revolution that is altering our lives, work, communication, interpersonal relationships, and sense of identity in ways we barely understand, before things change again with, for example, the introduction of 5G mobile communications noted above. Peters and Jandrić describe the impact on work, and therefore education ([Chapter 24](#)), as an example where old explanations and accounts (in this case human capital) fail to serve societal needs, and permit the destruction of more jobs than technology creates.

They offer a new account around the notion of ‘*homo collaborans*’ which, they argue, is made possible in a digital university, something van Rooijen ([Chapter 12](#)) argues is just as important for student support systems as for new approaches to learning and teaching. This is reason enough to

say we need to be thinking about and preparing for technological unemployment, given the pace of the replacement of human activity by artificial intelligence via, for example, robots and remote computer-controlled business activities, including huge mining trucks, logistics, driverless buses/cars, asset management and distribution, down to delicate medical procedures and wars fought not by humans but with drones (in the air or under water) and computers/AI.

High levels and iniquitous types of digital disruption paradoxically embody the need for higher levels of skills in the workforce including research skills and critical, divergent, creative thinking which fits neatly into the trend of credential creep already underway. While there might be fewer jobs to go around in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, those that remain or are generated anew might require a PhD as a minimum for universities and nations to be competitive in the innovation/disruption race.

In a detailed case study of disruption in an earlier era, Krishna and Chandra ([Chapter 25](#)) present an account of how Nehru's vision of social, economic, and national development for India was achieved through a policy that encouraged a broad-based institutional structure for education in science, training in technical skills, and specialized engineering institutes. They point out that even though India inherited a number of colonial scientific organizations often networked with eminent British metropolitan universities, India opted for MIT as a reference model.

This was largely successful and earned India the reputation of producing world-class engineering graduates. India's Institutes of Technology are currently ranked fourth in the world coming in after Stanford, Harvard, and Berkeley in running alumni unicorn start-ups—i.e. firms valued at US\$1 billion or more, but Krishna and Chandra suggest that, from an overall perspective, the research and innovation potential in the higher education sector in India is underutilized, perhaps too focused on the technical as opposed to the general (in contrast with the MIT ideal), and so needs to be more inclusive of all forms of further and higher education. They also raise the important issue of the boundaries of influence, citing the connections of the great Indian IT universities to Silicon Valley.

## COMMON/PUBLIC GOOD

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Peters (2016) alerts us to three events that threaten stability in the current world order: climate change, financial uncertainty, and the rise of alternate, for example Islamist, ‘states’ in various locations around the world with their attendant retreat from pluralism and secular law. Peters demonstrates how these three examples encapsulate the complex nature of broader global change including the unprecedented weakening of the type of society that has evolved based on liberal democratic institutions—not just in the West, Japan being an example of a shift from imperial rule to a constitutional monarchy, legally headed by an elected prime minister, as Redding notes in Chapter 2.

It is important to recognize that this phenomenon of instability includes weakening from within some of those societies, as in the withdrawal from the common good in much of what the Trump presidency in the United States appears to stand for, and has enacted so far in areas such as healthcare, financial regulation, industrial relations, and immigration. There are complex reasons for the convergence of dramatic shifts in the world order as illustrated above. We agree with Peters’s (2016: 863) assessment that ‘in each case, the crisis belongs to a larger set of global problems, and appears resistant to easy political, scientific, or diplomatic solutions’.

By way of explanation, some of these shifts benefit from a degree of scrutiny: Brexit was a democratic vote to be respected and enacted and rested on both historical and current determinants; corruption has been significantly reduced in China; the United States has been losing jobs to cheaper labour elsewhere for years; and Russia’s economic growth, albeit autocratically structured, has triggered a new confidence as a whole about Russia’s place in the world. Perhaps then there is a deeper malaise, one requiring a philosophical perspective, a rethinking of humanness that resists the prevailing darker logic shaping who and what we are. We will return to this point at the end of the chapter.

However these seismic shifts can be justified or excused, alone and together they are of such a scale and significance they require urgent, powerful, dramatic, and far-reaching shifts in the way higher education is conducted that leads to a reshaping of the impacts of what universities do for individuals, local communities, regions, and nations globally. As an example, Brexit, and China’s rethink of foreign investment, were like tectonic fault lines shifting in and between nation-states and institutions rupturing years of productive and successful internationalization of courses

and student exchange, as well as research collaboration (see Rizvi and Gajendra Nadarajah, [Chapter 17](#)).

Our fear is that higher education, in common with much of industry and politics, was unprepared for ruptures like this, and of this scale of magnitude. Concomitantly, we believe human agency has the capacity to learn from experience and thus to leap over short-sighted and narrowly ideological obstacles. Redding ([Chapter 2](#)) proposes that the more a society contains individuals who can think for themselves, and thus reach informed judgements and persuade others of them, the greater each society's capacity to adjust to changing and increasing complexity. This capability both holds a society together while adjusting its workings to enable evolution and continuity.

## EDUCATION/TRAINING

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This handbook is based on three key issues: the role of HE in societal progress, the current state of radical changes affecting the HE sector globally, and the challenges always (and especially now) of managing at the top in a university. In addressing these themes, our authors have drawn out a series of sub-themes that provide useful guides to further reflection and, perhaps, action where possible and practical. Many of the issues raised by our authors are quite pragmatic—‘What do I do today, here and now, despite this whirlwind of remodelling that needs longer-term strategies?’—but all address this dilemma with deeper unravelling of what is at stake and which ways we can turn.

One of the longest standing debates in education, going back at least to Ancient Greece, is the question of what an educated person is. Plato asserted that education should uncover what each person is good for but, as Dewey (1944 [1916]: 309) alerts us, failed to envisage ‘the infinite variety of capacities found in different individuals’. To this day, some people are streamed to be trained, others educated, for projected (but not always chosen) adult occupations. Indeed, some European countries (Germany, the Netherlands) boast about this. This false dualism has muddied thinking on this issue and shaped a hierarchical, status driven, artificial division between the two that so far has defied resolution through harmonization of

types of knowledge and learning. Dewey (1944 [1916]: 309, emphasis in the original) argued ‘Education *through* occupations consequently combines within itself more of the factors conducive to learning than any other method.’ But too many societies largely keep them apart.

Robinson, Twyford, Teeude, and Crump ([Chapter 15](#)) provide a case study in work- integrated learning and research in graduate practice that echoes earlier concerns about technological disruption, funding, and increasing collaborative partnerships, not just academic ones. In their case study, the emphasis is on increasing human well-being and building social capital, as a way of giving expression to more equitable access and participation in health systems. An immediate question is whether higher education health students are trained or educated? Are they following a vocation, a calling, learning practical workplace skills or primarily theory, or a workable and appropriate mixture of both? As Quay ([2016](#): 1026) observes, occupations are not ‘generally perceived as broad experimental units of life but rather as adult jobs’.

Burke, David, and Moreau ([Chapter 26](#)) express a concern that there is greater value being placed on gaining skills than on processes of learning and understanding when employability overshadows a focus on intellectual processes. Keep ([Chapter 13](#)) reports on this as the ‘gospel of vocationalism’ that crowds out consideration and appreciation of the wider benefits of learning, and of the broader roles of universities. He adds that the evidence increasingly points to significant issues about the levels of demand for graduate skills in the economy and with how well those skills are being utilized in many workplaces. Mayhew ([Chapter 20](#)) points out that governments need to think very carefully about the nature of pathways from compulsory education into the labour market taking into account factors such as the location of learning, level of qualification, and duration of courses.

It is worth reflecting here about early principles, and how to consider current practices in the light of them. Newman’s ([1873](#)) *Idea of a University* (originally in a lecture of 1852), though clearly uninformed by subsequent cultural and social changes, and illustrative of the male-dominated context at the time of writing, nonetheless has unsettling relevant application now, to all.

The man who has learned to think, and to reason, and to compare, and to discriminate, and to analyse, who has refined his taste, and formed his judgment, and sharpened his mental vision, will not indeed at once be a lawyer, or a pleader, or an orator, or a statesman, or a physician, or a good landlord, or a man of business, or a soldier, or an engineer, or a chemist, or a geologist, or an antiquarian, but he will be placed in that state of intellect in which he can take up any one of the sciences or callings I have referred to ... with an ease, a grace, a versatility, and a success, to which another is a stranger. In this sense, then ... mental culture is emphatically *useful*.

(Newman 1873: 133)

The sharp insight here is in the final sentence; knowledge based on critical thinking is the foundation to personal, institutional, and social growth. A consequence of this idea today, is the importance of research in defining once more the ‘idea of a university’, and as we conclude in the final chapter, the appropriateness of universities themselves seizing that agenda.

## KNOWLEDGE/SCHOLARSHIP

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Robinson, Twyford, Teede, and Crump ([Chapter 15](#)) provide a case study where research capabilities and workforce skills are shaped into what they call knowledge mobilization, something they agree is often absent from undergraduate degree and/or health-related workforce development programmes. Barnett ([Chapter 18](#)) notes the overall decline of scholarship in universities, being replaced by forms of research in which scholarship plays only a small part. He argues that scholarship is seen as out of step with expectations for empirical substantiation of knowledge claims, marketable and able to demonstrate impact in research measurement and university ranking scores. Yet, scholarship offers, as well as reasoned debate, the locale for exciting and creative networks of interdisciplinarity that reforms to higher education presume to exist or would be easy to bring back into existence. Barnett is hopeful for the latter.

On the other hand, Tomassi ([Chapter 21](#)) provides a convincing case study (Coventry University) of how ongoing cooperation between stakeholders such as industry, HE institutions, research and development centres, local government, and communities allows for the creation of networks that stimulate knowledge and information exchange. She suggests these forms of collaboration beyond the institution may also lead to a better quality of life, referencing this handbook’s premise that very little

improvement occurs in isolation. Epperson, Baron, and Amrhein ([Chapter 16](#)) point out that community engagement and interdependence of this magnitude contrasts with the traditional vision of university autonomy, but might aid the construction of an image of universities as embedded and trustworthy institutions that allow for broader community and regional spaces for critical thinking, not just by/for academics; but, in a globalized environment, it is not always obvious where to identify partners and stakeholders.

## EQ UITY/GENDER

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A problem more tightly situated within universities is that of social and gender justice in higher education, and the policy implications of widening participation. Burke, David, and Moreau share authorship of two chapters (14 and 26) covering these issues, presenting powerful new research on how changing contexts profoundly reshape lives. Bravely, they share their own histories to present a view of how, despite the privilege academic employment offers, they remain marginalized by structural inequalities, the dominance of men in leadership positions, and thus a lack of visibility. They contend that claims that universities have become gender-neutral institutions are premature and make things worse by assuming the problem has gone away.

David, Burke, and Moreau point out in [Chapter 14](#) how the shift in full-time university enrolments by sex and faculty has been dramatic, with the gender balance shifting to 54 per cent women and 46 per cent men by 2012 in the United Kingdom, something they acknowledge is a remarkable achievement. However, they signal very strongly that this was only one struggle won because feminism and egalitarianism are not in contention. They argue that the interconnecting structures, systems, practices, discourses, and cultures of higher education are complicit in the social and cultural reproduction of inequality and exclusion.

There are connections here with class, ethnicity, language background, sexuality, religion, and other factors likewise influencing subgroupings of male academics, often linked to academic fields of teaching and/or

research, often an expression of patriarchy, power, and privilege drawing on privileged educational background and higher status cultural capital.

## JUSTICE/JUST

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As Burke, David, and Moreau explain in [Chapter 26](#), despite decades of higher education policy focused on equity and widening participation, gendered (female, male, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual) inequalities continue to intersect with other forms of difference. Garrison ([2008](#): 161), also drawing on Judith Butler's ([1990](#)) work as well as that of Sullivan ([2001](#)), takes up Sullivan's point that discursively constituted bodies, while contained and coerced, can also use these discourses to be enabled and empower free agency because they are discourses subject to reconstruction.

David, Burke, and Moreau ([Chapter 14](#)) reflect on how institutional practices require staff and students to perform their 'self' in particular non-emotional care-less and non-collaborative ways, foregrounding so-called rational thought over emotional, connective, and/or personal dimensions. Perhaps this was not always so. Barnett ([Chapter 18](#)) reflects on the disappearing form of academic life and work that seemed to inhere care, steadiness, a measured pace and rhythm, intrinsic virtues, and something of an inwardness of own academic space—a world that was predominantly male—that is now unloved in a world of metrics and mistrust.

Garrison ([2008](#)) sees here a danger if in making our expression interpretable to others—individual or institutional—there is not at least a sympathetic understanding shared about verbal gestures and bodily signs.

The vicious irony is that those who have their emotions dismissed, and perhaps redesigned, in certain conversations, and here I am thinking particularly about the discourse of power may never have the chance to acquire the requisite range of resources required to make themselves clear. While hard to detect, this is perhaps the most vicious and effective form of oppressive power since it allows the excluded other to internalize not only thoughts but also feelings and images of her or his own incapacity.

(Garrison [2008](#): 169)

Put bluntly, the meanings constructed between speaker/speech and hearer/audience, intersecting with gender, race, class, and other identities, can yield ugly consequences when systemic and when repeatedly distorted by the interests of power. Sometimes it is senior female academics who

willingly invoke an administrative patriarch or matriarch to preserve advantage (see Garrison 2008: 182 footnote 12) or do so face-to-face or over emails or social media/shared apps. Yet pluralistic democracies are embedded in many different contexts that not only allow but often require actorhood with people different from ourselves, contexts and actions that challenge accepted identities and attributes such as engendered rules of emotional display. As Garrison teases this out, he asks us to be open to transgression of norms that just might be transformative of self and the world.

Here we are exploring not the diversity between nation-states and higher education institutions but the diversity between selves, different lives, different vocabularies, different plot lines, tropes, and styles: ‘What matters is not diversity *per se* but the transformations that arise because of diverse transactions’ (Garrison 2008: 176). Perhaps Tomassi’s ([Chapter 21](#)) case study of Coventry is an example of active relationships based on knowledge exchanges between partners that impress upon each of them the need to deepen their experience, which further strengthens and expands the partnerships?

Bond and Jing ([Chapter 3](#)) approach equity through the lens of ethnocentrism, which they see as similarly problematic in the social dynamic of disrespect and division it may set in motion. They argue that a sense of one’s identity includes many elements, subjectively and socially defining oneself, or being defined by gender, ethnicity, mother tongue, and social class; arguing that a wider identification as a global citizen is both emergent, adaptive, and essential in the twenty-first century.

## EAST/WEST/NORTH/SOUTH

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Donleavy and Chen ([Chapter 5](#)) provide a very interesting iteration to Whitley’s hollow category of higher education, using recent trends in East and West governance to suggest there are two kinds of ‘hollowness’ and that Chinese higher education systems are one of the varieties of a global system. China has experienced more than 2,000 years of stability relatively briefly interrupted by often revolutionary change at a number of key historical points. These historical periods of change, mostly arising from

within, and driven by scientific innovativeness and an educated/civil society, as well as by winds of change, often through a ‘peasant’ revolt, are the foundation of both strong imperial/state/national control.

After a sharp and incisive critique of the level of control exercised over Chinese universities by the Chinese Communist Party, Donleavy and Chen remind us that Chinese universities are well on their way to becoming internationally renowned research institutions, responsible for a host of recent inventions and innovations that have materially benefited people worldwide. While the majority of these benefits have come from the sciences, engineering, and like disciplines, the impact on scholarship of tight state control through a dual leadership system (president responsibility led by the Party) has been muted by the sheer size of the Chinese student body and the degree of devolution and autonomy still allowed to Chinese universities for localized decisions.

There have nevertheless been uncompromising limitations put on Chinese academics and students, including in Hong Kong, that many in the West find unacceptable; but Donleavy and Chen point out that the mechanism that has allowed a hollowing out of academic freedom in Hong Kong, despite the 1997 Basic Law exemptions, rests on a convenient reinterpretation of the earlier British rule whereby the Hong Kong Chief Executive is also Chancellor of all higher education institutions. Under that earlier tradition the Chancellor role remained symbolic. Now it can be interpreted as active, and thus controlling, without changing the law. They also offer the perspective that the micro-management of Chinese academics is not dissimilar to what they characterize as the corruption of traditional academic values in the West, suggesting the managerialist and corporatist turn of higher education for academics in both contexts has reshaped universities into knowledge factory corporations where there is little tolerance of the freedom to speak out about one’s employer or to engage in discourse that might damage the brand value of one’s institution.

Yet there are powerful external forces on universities to be more transparent and open, and to re-express the core values of scholarship and critical thinking. Rizvi and Gajendra Nadarajah ([Chapter 17](#)) provide case studies of how the rationales for forging transnational collaborations have expanded greatly in recent decades, now focusing not only on teaching and information exchange but also on research. An emphasis on research collaborations generates a globally distributive system of knowledge

development and dissemination that is founded on regularized, ongoing, and symmetrical transnational links. Research networks among universities are created as a way of sharing income, resources, and effort. In this context, the limitations of a factory corporation model noted above come sharply into view and are counterproductive.

Rizvi and Gajendra Nadarajah argue that while most national systems of higher education advocate transnational research collaborations, the rationales they provide are often tied to the role of higher education within shifting geopolitical objectives. Not surprisingly, therefore, the challenges they face in establishing and coordinating programs of research collaboration are linked not only to the major characteristics of their systems of higher education but more importantly also the broader objectives of their foreign policies. A case study exploring how and why the Australian system of higher education has increasingly sought to develop research links with Asian universities illustrates the challenges faced in this strategy.

Gudkova, Pikos, and Gumińska ([Chapter 6](#)) review the changes occurring in Poland's tertiary education system, considering the differences between public and private Polish universities. They identify a milestone on 12 September 1990 when new legislation on higher education aimed to encourage academic freedom and institutional autonomy, endorsed fees for selected types of studies, and made it possible to establish private tertiary education institutions. This drove significant changes of both qualitative and quantitative nature in the demand for education services. The authors studied the mission statements of public and private higher education institutions in Poland and found references to thirty elements, especially society, research, practice, cooperation with the external environment, entrepreneurship, and internationalization. Yet in many cases there were no distinctive elements making universities stand out, and aspirations were not clearly highlighted. This is a challenge in the context of vigorous change in Europe and elsewhere, yet a decreasing demographic for enrolments in Poland.

## HOLLOW? HALOED? HOPEFUL?

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If we return to Whitley's model, how will the hollow, the state-chartered, and the corporate institutions respond to these pressing conundrums?

- (1) If hollow institutions are very limited in their authority and capability to act independently, this will require smart state steering of policy and practice (at least intended policy), something familiar to Scandinavians but less elsewhere, even in the OECD world despite extensive interventions?
- (2) If state-chartered institutions are limited in some aspects of operations like 'core activities', 'academic careers and rewards', and 'organization-specific goals' then to what extent can 'considerable' control over recruitment, research and teaching, and allocation of resources ameliorate the dead hand of bureaucracy on the former three actions and actors?
- (3) For corporate institutions, with high levels of control over selection and promotion of staff, students, and sources of financing, to what extent can this offset limitations to how it conducts core activities which, by definition, should be the first activity to control?

Overall, are we getting, or likely to get in the near future, more effective universities, 'effective' partly measured by competing more successfully nationally and internationally, 'competition' defined as the (significant) generation of high level expertise in elite labour markets as well as scientific knowledge, both of which underpin a thriving knowledge economy? And how is this to be measured when diversity is a virtue and thus comparisons between institutions, and types of institutions, become increasingly difficult and less meaningful? How is it to be measured when there is little touchstone between the measurements themselves, and the differing use of and attribution to such measurements between systems of higher education and national systems of government? Finally, is this diversity the catalyst for bringing into focus and being what is needed in the 2020s, or will such diversity only further unhinge the social and economic contracts between education and the state, whether in Europe, the Americas, Asia, the sub-continent, Africa, or the Middle East? This is what Whitley ([2012](#)) grapples with in his exploration of national conditions and their varied organizational actorhood in respect to reform and accountability as factors transforming universities, or not.

## WHIMPER?/WILLING?

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Where does this leave us? Written 100 years earlier than the similarly transformative decade we now face, following the trauma and destruction of the First World War, T. S. Eliot's poem 'The Hollow Men' attempts to intellectualize the 'wasteland' the world seemed to have become. Like T. S. Eliot's 'hollow men', will twenty-first century actorhood be hampered by 'dried voices' that can only whisper, will it be a 'paralyzed force', a 'groping together' (Eliot 2009: 67–70)? Or, will agents of change in higher education find the time and strength to transform what needs doing into actions, concepts into concrete objects, intentions into positive and sustainable impacts?

In the way contemporary higher education is being shaped for the 2020s, there is a hint of horror in what lies ahead. But universities have proven resilient for nearly 1,000 years so we do not see a 'whimper' or a 'bang' as inevitable but rather a broadening and deepening of the resurgence of will, spirit, and commitment already underway. Bernstein, nearly thirty years ago, wrote that we must

resist the temptation to be seduced by 'arguments' of necessity, destiny, or ineluctable decline. We must resist those essentialist stories of the history of Western rationality that see it as *only* ending in hidden forms of violence and despairing nihilism. For then we would surely be enclosed in the darkness of forgetfulness and betrayal.

(Bernstein 1991: 5, emphasis in the original)

The antidote is unconstrained understanding achieved through moments of living together in solidarity and hope. As for Dewey, the question needs to shift to something like 'what difference does our experience today make with respect to what we do tomorrow?', not necessarily what the present tells us about achievement in the future (Bernstein 1991: 316), partly because our experiences are so iterative. As participants, actorhood in higher education means 'our critiques and affirmations are always tentative, fallible, open to further questioning' (adapted from Bernstein 1991: 319) but they are not meaningless. Like Bernstein, we believe in the human capacity to adapt, grow, learn, evolve, and improve, the very capacity that underlies the ability of societies to do the same.

## PRACTICAL?/PRAGMATIC?

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We suggest that context is everything and we neglect taking this into account at our peril. In [Chapter 2](#), Redding depicted a number of contexts that incentivize adaptiveness under the umbrellas of ‘openness to critical thinking’ and ‘shared fundamental values’: socialized virtues enacted, knowledge diffusion, public debate, lifelong learning, expert opinions, research applications, preserving civilizational heritage, and societal openness. In these contexts, one-sided intellectualism is a dead end, not only for educational thought and practice, but also for the evolution of our differing cultural, religious, economic, social, political, and other organizational systems, though there is no crystal ball revealing what they might be.

Seigfried ([2008](#): 145) offers the ‘pragmatic method’ as a way of moving forward, because it does not start with deterministic hypotheses for resolving given problems. Rather, the pragmatic method starts with reflectively determining the parameters of the problem in a way that engenders fruitful investigation, so that we ‘understand how the problematic situation has come to be problematic from many and various points of view’ allowing a conjoint, at least partly shared, touchstone in thoughts and actions. This seems, to us, the foundation of actorhood that is productive, sustainable, amenable to change as well as resilient and robust.

We cannot jump out of the firing line of change, but we can alter the line of sight. Our handbook is exactly what it says it is, a book ‘at hand’ for reading, reflection, critique, and possibly insights into our own actorhood and the things we do, manage, work on, and share. Nothing can be prescriptive in such exciting yet maddeningly uncertain times. Sitting atop the hierarchy of a higher education institution has never been so perilous nor so challenging, yet we envy those who hold positions of leadership whether in administration or research, or (even better) both.

Continuing sagas around gender, identity, respect, education versus training, hegemony, validated knowledge, ethics, and pragmatism have echoed down each century into the next, with the decade facing us a testing ground of our resolve and capacity to turn visions into reality regardless of location on this diminishing (culturally and linguistically) earth. Universities on their own cannot change societies, but societies cannot

change without universities. What the future shape of higher education might/should be is but one human dilemma in a kaleidoscope of contemporary dilemmas, each as complex as the other; but, without the preservation of critical thinking at the core of what universities do there is little hope for understanding and exploiting that complexity for common public good in any arena of the world we all share.

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## CHAPTER 28

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# MAINTAINING THE CONTRIBUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION TO SOCIETAL PROGRESS

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GORDON REDDING, STEPHEN CRUMP, AND ANTONY  
DREW

## INTRODUCTION

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THIS handbook has been prepared at a time of great turbulence in the world of higher education (HE); a time of major realignment of the forces that have shaped societies and economies throughout the past two centuries of various Industrial Revolutions. These earlier forces are now losing their influence under the new pressures driving globalization and information access. As a consequence, and stated in its most basic sense, universities are losing control of the agenda. Change is sweeping over them.

In an earlier existence the world of universities was one in which scholars had high status, and related high discretion to interpret what would be beneficial to society, and to deliver it in ways they considered appropriate. This occurred in many cultures. There can be little doubt that historically this influence was positive, perhaps even crucial, in most societies. The influence on individuals in those days was often channelled narrowly to a select subgroup of students, although it spread widely in the

society at large in other ways, as it still does. Now that access by individuals to unlimited information is virtually free in most societies, and the use of it to develop knowledge is easier for those inclined to work at doing so, the balance of influence has shifted. Some shifts are visible. Some are below the surface. Not all are likely to prove benign.

Part of this realigning of forces has been the rise of new demands. Individuals and societal institutions both private and public need to face the implications of working in, and with, information-based societies. Governments need to face the cost implications of the growing dependence on learning in such ‘knowledge’ economies. Universities now deal with issues driven by norms derived from competitive business efficiency, of reliance on technical innovation, and of concerns with financial prudence. Their freedoms of choice are in decline.

In the parallel universe of business, banking has been almost entirely redesigned. Retailing is now in damaging turmoil as channels of distribution reform into shapes never seen before. Airlines change structures and processes to survive under new patterns of demand. Manufacturing robotizes. Service industries have customers doing most of the admin work. Goods are rarely now made in one place. The tipping point of 1990 will come to be seen historically as equivalent to the earlier one of 1830 when the reordering of entire socio-economic systems was kick-started by new technologies. Now the radical innovation is not a new form of energy, as in 1830; it is a new freedom to access and use information.

Information is not, however, knowledge, as much Internet trivia, base-minded public debate, and celebrity-valuing shows. So a larger challenge remains. It is, in responding rationally to these forces, not to throw the baby out with the bathwater; not in other words to divert resources and purposes away from serving the deeper, crucial, intangible but largely un-advocated needs of society. HE has always had two remits: to foster a society’s capabilities that firstly allow it to adapt to change, and secondly to remain stable and cohesive in doing so. These come to be interpreted in the classic distinction applied to HE ‘outputs’ between merit and worth. Merit is assessable human capability acquired by individuals. Worth is the expression and application of such acquired understanding to the benefit of a society’s unifying social, cultural, economic, and political values and practices.

Many of the policy issues now pressing on universities are driven by the seductively measurable forces surrounding merit. Few policy debates are concerned with the inconveniently unmeasured forces surrounding worth. While most university heads see universities not as a societal problem but as parts of a solution, the problem remains in many societies of a need for greater consensus about what is wanted from HE in a changing world and why. It would be logical for universities to be proactive in this re-calibrating of purposes. It is this debate that requires full exposure and maximum attention to reasoned but fully contextualized debate. What society says it *wants* may not always overlap completely with what a fuller judgement would say it *needs*. Measured variables about seemingly tangible issues often tell only half the story. And the largely unmeasurable factor of worth (as opposed to supposedly measurable merit) contributes significantly to a society's ability to find a viable future. In that context it is in its role as a society's brain that HE's value should be seen.

This never previously encountered context of both radical and poorly understood change has tended to leave university and government policy makers, not surprisingly, without a clear agreement as to how they should best respond. Research on it is regularly described as partial and inconclusive. Judgements as to its implications vary widely. Such is not unusual in societies as they struggle with complex changing forces at global scale. The wide range of views on HE is typified by the arrival of two completely opposed books in the week of writing this concluding chapter. One from Princeton University Press by Bryan Caplan (2018) is entitled *The Case against Education: Why the Education System is a Waste of Time and Money*. It argues from US experience that (i) only a small minority of students are eager to learn, (ii) the vast majority of teachers are seen as uninspiring, and (iii) the vast majority of 'deciders' 'think they have done their job as long as students obey' (Caplan 2018: 259). Caplan judges the university system to be hollow and its 'supreme defect' is that there is 'way too much' of it (Caplan 2018: 1). The argument is that its essential use for most students is to provide 'signalling' whereby studying irrelevancies still raises income by impressing employers. In that case 'Cut-backs enrich the world by conserving valuable time and resources' (Caplan 2018: 5).

Opposing this across a very wide gap is David Willetts's (2018) book from Oxford University Press, entitled *A University Education*, and based largely on UK experience. It begins by celebrating the global growth of

universities from 500 in 1945 to over 10,000 now in UNESCO's HE database. Willetts (2018: 45) remains a committed believer in the expansion of learning, the number of universities, and, therefore, of students. Above all he argues for the personal growth that students derive from the HE experience.

Standing as it were centrally in this debate are long-term philosophers of HE such as Ronald Barnett and Stefan Collini expressing ideals of scholarship and of education needing to go much deeper and wider than training. They are in tune with Kant's dictum that societal quality rests on the availability of people who do not have to rely on the minds of others, but have learned to think fully for themselves. A common denominator across the wide gap just noted is a shared *ideal* that higher education should be not primarily a matter of utilitarian signalling, but rather personal growth of the kind cited by Willetts from the foundational 1963 Robbins Report (UK Government 1963) on HE in the United Kingdom. This stated four aims: (1) instruction in skills, (2) promotion of the general powers of the mind on a plane of generality, (3) advancement of learning, and (4) transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship.

These same ideals run through the accounts in this collection. The handbook's design was consequently set around the following ideas:

- (1) Each society will have its own ways of socializing its children to become valued members.
- (2) The value of educated people to a society lies in their contribution to the society's capabilities, technical and moral, to adapt to change and to remain cooperative.
- (3) Much of the ability to achieve the widespread use of these capabilities will rest on two forms of autonomy: individuals who can think for themselves and communicate convincingly to others; and academic freedom so as to leave open the acquiring of wider understanding and its transmission.
- (4) Restriction of either of these abilities, or bias towards one form of learning at the expense of others, will result in the hollowing out of universities and diversion from the core purposes of education, these latter being aspirations in the interest of societal progress.

The editors adopted a framework, given in [Chapter 2](#), that in essence identifies the role of university education as catalytic to the growth of societal capabilities. It carries out this role in two domains. Internally, during the processes of educating students its work is designed to be transformative of individual competences: knowledge and know-how based in scholarship; critical thinking and communication; and the sharing of moral ideals. In the second domain where HE's influence is external, processes may be less directly obvious and may work over a long period as catalysts in fostering a society's adjustments. These latter processes are of a kind that make it possible to move a society forward to a better condition, including constantly redefining *better*. They may be thought of as three forms of influence. One is applied scholarship, invention, and criticality. Another is social fusion and shared ideals. The third is the set of morally legitimate incentives to adapt, as for instance with a creative business bourgeoisie seen as virtuous. By having these catalysts available it is then easier for a society to meet the ultimate criteria for stable progress: that it can remain innovative; and in doing so remain cooperative as a social system. Stable and positive societal change has historically tended to be accompanied by such conditions and the transformative capacity they foster. Such transformations have also tended to rely on the inspiration of scholars, in any culture, or others inspired by scholarship.

The writers of chapters in this handbook were asked to address specific aspects of this schema, not in a way that restricted their accounts within tight boundaries, but which provided the issues they addressed with context and gave the total a deliberate shape. Upon reading them we conclude that there are certain widespread and growing weaknesses within HE that such a framework illustrates.

Prime among the weaknesses is the risk of universities becoming *hollow*, that is, with academics losing the autonomy that protects their freedom of thought and expression. The metaphor also suggests an absent centre, a missing lodestone towards which things gravitate. In social psychology this would be a set of principles governing conduct, a way of defining an organization's *soul*. Most obviously in the academic world this has been a complex of ideals: scholarship, freedom of thought and expression, duty to serve society, responsible care for students, professional standards of enquiry, and collegiality. Because a university is, by its very name, a federal structure it has not until recently, in a changing world,

needed a more specific banner of its own to wave, except that of being host to many discipline-based interpretations of the above.

There is now a widespread sense that the *soul* of many universities is under threat, and that their legitimacy as the primary catalyst for societies to rethink themselves is being weakened, or left as a vacuum. We will now consider how and why this is happening.

## WHAT CAN ERODE A UNIVERSITY'S ABILITY TO STAND FOR SOMETHING WITH WORTH?

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In the broadest of terms the answer to this question is that a university might inadvertently sell its soul, without replacing it with an equally legitimate new one; equal that is in commanding societal respect for its contribution. Its members might not fight to protect the core principles. They might in reality have lost the option to do so, as occurs commonly in authoritarian states, or more insidiously in democracies under cost-cutting, role redesigns, erosion of tenure, new performance criteria, and new utilitarian missions. The move in many places towards massified HE, without thinking fully through the process or the aims, can lead to the transformation of centres of scholarship into job factories where credentialism replaces *higher* education. To witness the waning of earlier norms of scholarship, criticality, and respect for knowledge is to see a form of decadence, as the original ideals are eroded and replaced, usually with more pragmatic rationales.

Such tendencies are now widespread, given the power of the forces that drive their injection into universities. New technologies such as the Internet, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), blended learning, flipped classrooms, and new forms of control based on revenue-seeking and New Public Management, leave many universities without choice. Industry demands specific forms of talent. New societal demands on the sector are politically supported. Student habits and expectations drive demand for means of earning a living, and high fees exacerbate that. The cost-efficiency of new processes, and the significance of cost, allow little room for debate. Certain aspects of modernity have arrived and are insistent. A consequence is that many universities have little choice but to make claims with market

appeal, and to take attention away from the fading ideals no longer deliverable at earlier levels of quality or quantity.

## WHAT SHOULD ANY UNIVERSITY STAND FOR?

---

Despite their seeming homogeneity at first glance, universities remain essentially artefacts of their societal culture, and inside their workings are assumptions about the nature and use of knowledge that are embedded in the distinct form of reality that each civilization constructs for itself. Borrowing or transferring across these differences will always encounter their subterranean effects. So too will the adjusting and reformulating of their strategic rationales be constrained by what each society sees as worthy. Although much is universal and makes up the currency of most exchange in teaching and learning, a crucial part is not shared and will always be a subtle expression of societal culture.

In the light of that caveat it is not possible to determine *precisely* a universal rationale for universities, but it is possible to delineate in the abstract certain core features in the progress of the human species that will themselves be interpretable society by society on local terms.

It was argued in [Chapter 2](#) that human progress rests on achieving a balance between (i) forces in a society that encourage it to adapt to changing circumstances, and (ii) forces that keep the society together as a stable social system. For this balance to be kept in a changing world requires that a society foster a readiness to read change and adjust to it. For this force to work, strong historical evidence indicates that openness in knowledge exchange, and intellectual rigour in criticality, are essential. The second part of the balancing act, that of people remaining cohesive, has been best achieved historically by the sharing of societal ideals of cooperativeness. Locally embedded reinterpretations of such universal forces at work were given in [Chapter 2](#) from China, Japan, and Europe, and aspects of them in other societies are visible throughout the handbook.

So, what a university stands for at this abstract level is the fostering of a society's capacity to adjust itself to change, and to remain cohesive as a society. Again in the simplest of senses, the role of the STEM subjects

(science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) is to support the former, and the role of the humanities is to support the latter. For them to act in a balanced way requires logically that they are in sympathy with each other and not in contention. Uniting them are the notions of criticality, intellectual rigour, scholarship, interflow, and societal duty. As C. P. Snow once observed about these two cultures, members of either should know both the second law of thermodynamics and the plot of Hamlet. MIT was founded, and still functions, to foster the interflow of the two academic cultures. Such are *de facto* the ideals of HE in its most legitimate expressions anywhere.

## **WHAT MAY BE LEARNED FROM OTHER SECTORS OF SOCIETY UNDERGOING RADICAL CHANGE?**

---

In the middle of a firestorm of multiple significant changes surrounding HE, it is not easy to see the larger, longer perspective. All sectors face this dilemma. Many are knocked sideways by it as we have suggested above in the examples of banking and retailing. Other effects are less visible but perhaps even more potent: the loss of personal privacy; the decline in capitalist legitimacy due to rising inequality; the individualization of risk that destroys the stability of the traditional career. Forecasting trends is a nightmare of unpredictability, and a zone of common failure for any analysts trapped in a narrow perspective.

Under such uncertainties it is perhaps salutary to observe successful approaches, so as to learn from them. These come from the comparative capitalisms literature for the simple reason that in the business sector the drive to adjust is made urgent by the pressures from investors who have a choice over where to leave their capital. Adjustments to a changing world are therefore concertinaed in business and can provide lessons from dealing with many of the same forces as HE has faced over the same timeframe, but for HE with less immediate threat to existence.

Adjusting to change in the corporate world works successfully as long as response is founded on deep knowledge of significant changes and how

their influence works. It would also normally be shaped by knowledge of what competing institutions are doing if their response might influence one's organization. Options are normally worked out in the form of taking opportunities, or warding off threats, or both at the same time. Distinct organizational capabilities become bases for strategic fostering. But choosing from the options needs insight into an organization's embedded capabilities, and so the feasibility of carrying out change, and the likelihood of its being what is needed. But such principles within strategy work are only half the story. The other half is the engagement of the organization's collective intelligence and willingness. Given the federal and internally competitive nature of universities, this latter becomes a serious test of the organization's cohesion, as the 'herding of cats' metaphor suggests. Strategy in a federated meritocratic professional bureaucracy is a challenge to hierarchy.

## **WHAT RESPONSE IS JUSTIFIED?**

---

In crafting new strategies for the radically changed university world, the following points may be usefully borne in mind.

- (1) The cohesion of the body of faculty within itself, and with the administration, can be enhanced by the adoption of a conscious policy of binding the federal units within an overarching ideal relevant across the total. Such an ideal could express a vision of the contribution of the total to society.
- (2) Such a fusion can be based on the cross-fertilization possible when (stated simply) the arts and the sciences are seen as beneficial to each other, and their interrelation beneficial to the student experience and its later expression in society.
- (3) Current large studies in industry by the World Economic Forum ([2016](#): 20) show that the features most valued by employers now begin with complex problem solving, cognitive abilities, and social skills, and that the technical skills are of lower priority. They also suggest (2016: 32) that new cross-functional roles are emerging requiring technical and social and analytical skills, and that the

'highly siloed training' found in most university systems dividing the humanities and sciences may need rethinking. In making this point it is feasible to see from their larger argument that the humanities are not being downgraded since they foster the increasingly crucial cognitive and analytical skills. Similar studies reported by Dennis Ahlburg (2018) across twelve countries, of attitudes to the value of STEM subjects and of the humanities also show that cognitive and *soft* skills acquired in the humanities are now overtaking technical skills in the labour market as the nature of firms changes towards greater reliance on coordination of varied skill inputs. These changes are recent as industry adjusts to the information and globalization revolutions, but the trend could well prove significant in the longer term.

- (4) Stating ideals openly, and then living up to them, becomes one of the best ways of legitimizing the authority of university leadership, on the assumption that the crafting of such statements has been achieved by discussion and negotiation.
- (5) A seizing of the agenda on behalf of society is the living out of a university's reason for being.

The above thoughts are intended as general statements and would need grounding in the realities of specific universities, their rationales, their constituents, and their environments.

## SOME MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

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This handbook stresses the need to see HE in a wide context, and so we regularly assert the importance of the kind of strategic thinking that serves large-scale obligations, and that avoids adjustments that might narrow the aims. The difficulties of defining and implementing such strategies are fully acknowledged, but there are some specific managerial implications that may be extracted, and that we state here in simple summary form for consideration as possible priorities.

- (1) Several parts of the senior executive role are manageable using straightforwardly accessible information about finances, staff performance, competitive forces, and market reputation. These can be deceptive if taken as completing the picture. In addition to these is a perhaps more crucial responsibility, that of maintaining a spirit of willing cooperation among the members of the organization—especially between the professional academics and the administrators. This is because this joint body of people would ideally share the immediate knowledge, inventiveness, sense of responsibility, and core ideals of scholarship, that are crucial to the collegial crafting of any future direction. Such subtle but vital managerial challenges do not easily fit in the simplified world of quantification in goal-setting and they unfortunately may lose their priority in consequence.
- (2) The key *societal* need for the fostering of action based on the communicative exchange of critical thinking remains a challenge for universities. Such societal habits need to be cultivated. But instead the faculty time and processes needed for such cultivating can give way to understandable pragmatic demands for more instrumental professional and technical education. These latter demands have grown at a time when labour market logics—and not just in academia—are moving away from lifetime employment and predictable careers for individuals, so making faculty motivation more problematic.
- (3) The use of new technologies for communication, if it has potential for maintaining the core university remits of full societal contribution including criticality, is still largely work-in-progress.
- (4) The funding of answers to the growing demand for access to HE, as for instance through student loans, is also work-in-progress.
- (5) The response of certain one-party states to curtail academic freedom while biasing funding towards politically neutral STEM subjects will predictably lead to two imbalances: a general hollowing of their own academic worlds; and an increased pragmatic reliance on the borrowing of external ideas for selective importation.

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