



**Journal of the Programme
on Institutional Management
in Higher Education**

**Higher Education
Management and Policy**

EDUCATION AND SKILLS



OECD 

Volume 14, No. 2

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JOURNAL OF THE PROGRAMME ON INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher Education Management and Policy

Vol. 14 - No. 2



ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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- to promote, through research, training and information exchange, greater professionalism in the management of institutions of higher education; and
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Publié en français sous le titre :
POLITIQUES ET GESTION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR

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- Covering practice and policy in the field of system and institutional management through articles and reports on research projects of wide international scope.
- First published in 1977 under the title *International Journal of Institutional Management in Higher Education*, then *Higher Education Management* from 1989 to 2001, it appears three times a year in English and French editions.

Information for authors wishing to submit articles for publication appears at the end of this issue. Articles and related correspondence should be sent directly to the Editor:

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Education Management and Policy
OECD/IMHE
2 rue André-Pascal
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2002 subscription (3 issues):

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Higher Education: Engine of Change or Adherence to Trends? An Inventory of Views¹

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to assess the interaction between higher education and societal development. The question addressed is whether higher education engineers societal change or adjusts to global requirements. The answer is both. However, the impact of higher education is not easy to measure. It depends on the interventions undertaken by the stakeholders: the university, government, private sector, and civil society. These interventions may have contradictory effects. Education based on students' desires can create highly skilled people who may not be required by society. The societal requirements of government, the private sector, or civil society may conflict. These conflicting requirements particularly can become conspicuous when higher education institutions perform in a global network.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to review some theories and experiences on interactions between higher education and societal development in developing countries. These interactions are not unified and constant. On the contrary, the importance and impact of education on development is constantly changing. Some decennia ago the emphasis on education was in terms of its support of economic growth, whereby social issues, such as social security and gender, also became relevant parameters. Later, education for development was analysed in terms of sustainability or self-reliance. Most recently this is done in terms of the global framework.

The focus here is on higher education, assuming that anyone who is studying, for example, at a university has already passed through the educational system, moving from primary school, via secondary school to tertiary education. The con-

sequence is then that, if importance is attached to higher education, this has implications for the quality and quantity of the educational institutions upstream, *i.e.* for the secondary and primary educational system.

The importance of higher education in developing countries can be ascertained from statistics. From 1980 till 1995, the enrolment rate has almost doubled to more than 47 million. In some countries it has gone up faster than the population growth rate. However, compared with the enrolment rate in industrialised countries, though the increase in both countries is about the same, the total number of students is only one-fifth.

The higher education institutions are manifold, with higher vocational training, polytechnics, colleges, graduate schools, universities, post-graduate schools, and distance education. This answers the desire for diversified knowledge and skills in service for public and private interests. There are sufficient examples of students who move from polytechnics to universities in order to improve their position on the labour market. A university training (to obtain an MA, MSc, or PhD) is the end of formal education before entering the labour market. University education means therefore a postponed investment. When university graduates migrate for a short or longer period to enhance their scientific and societal credentials by obtaining a master title or even a doctorate, the results of the investment are, from the point of view of the state, postponed even longer.

This paper reviews the literature on the education-development nexus, in order to assess challenges of higher education for development. Possible strategic interventions of higher education are considered in the national and global context. Developing countries are assumed to aim at educational self-reliance, which requires an appropriate institutional development. Is higher education an engine of change, triggering economic and social development, or rather a tool to be adjusted in accordance with existing social and cultural requirements? Even worse, has it gone out of control, drifting around, subjected to the whims of national and global trends? In other words, is higher education driven by demand or rather by supply?

THE EDUCATION-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS

The importance of education (including higher education) depends on the perception of its functionality: education as a system, as a societal process, as a cluster of organisations, or as a cluster of persons with different roles. Education has, generally speaking, functions for the economy, politics, health sector, social-cultural sphere, or other internal segments of the educational sector (Droogleeve Fortuijn, 1988). The general aim of education is threefold: conserving culture through dissemination, adjusting youngsters to societal requirements, and transforming society. This means that we can identify several objectives, in terms

of what it does to individuals: personality building and cultural forming, but also preparing individuals to become loyal citizens with social resistance. In other words, to develop the new man. According to Amartya Sen, general education gives individuals the opportunity to become “free”, which supports social development (Sen, 1999).

Concepts related to education are manifold. However, three appear in the literature more frequently and will be treated here briefly: 1) human resources development; 2) human capital stock, and 3) knowledge dissemination or technology transfer. In the literature these concepts are often used indifferently, though each is based on a different perception of the interaction between education and development.

As far as *human resources development* (HRD) is concerned, one can identify at least three approaches to the use of education, each with a different aim (Rao, 1996). They do not contradict each other but are rather dots on a continuum with a gliding scale of developmental orientation. The first approach emphasizes human potential and the importance of improving human knowledge, skills, and competencies, to support socio-economic development. Next is the socio-psychological approach, which emphasizes in addition the importance of motivation, attitudes, values, and morals to make the development attempts more effective. And finally, the poverty alleviation approach intends to bring education in line with the aim to alleviate poverty.

However, poverty cannot be explained by one independent variable only. In general terms, it has been widely accepted that access to education is an important measure in the fight against poverty (Mkandawire and Rodriguez, 2000). Most variables, such as education, employment, socio-economic background, and opportunity are interrelated. This makes it very difficult to measure the direct impact of education on poverty alleviation. Several attempts have been made to calculate the rate of return of investing in education. One study came to the conclusion that investments in education and post-school training increase the productivity of individuals (Nicaise, 1996). For higher education in particular such investment is strongly affected by income and socio-economic background.

The second concept on *human capital* became known in the sixties, when it was propagated that investment in education is investment in “human capital”. By investing in education a human capital *stock* would be built up. This in turn would increase labour productivity, advance equity, further technological innovation, and produce a rate of return significantly higher than physical capital. Later education was also seen as supportive to an overall societal development and modernisation. However, education was considered as a whole, not differentiating between lower, middle and higher education. This resulted into a kind of pro-education movement, supported by the larger donors, like OECD, UNESCO, and USAID.

During those years theories were developed based on the modernising power of the educated elite as a critical variable in economic development. However, during the seventies the high expectations of education were not met. It was concluded that education, particularly higher education, did not directly support an increase of production, neither could the economy absorb the output of the educational systems. Social stratification, being associated with higher education, was replaced by the concept of equality as a social good.

Acquired education and training, accumulated as human capital, cannot be considered as solely private property, nor as a collective good. It is rather a combination of both; quasi-collective. Such capital is usually “sold” far below the marketplace, which means that the assumption of maximisation of profit is not applicable. When analysing the impact of higher education it is necessary to simultaneously assess the socio-economic context in which students attend university education. It is relevant to know whether everyone has equal access to higher education assuming sufficient intellectual capability. Access is being restricted “at the gate” not only in terms of finances and socio-cultural threshold, but also “in anticipation” through the mechanism of prejudice, making potential students believe that the curricula and teaching methods are socio-culturally biased.

According to an OECD document, learning, being determined by the human capital information and decision-making system, is the main characteristic of social and economic change. In this view, education takes a central role in coping with change. The question raised in the document is why and how to invest in human capital, and how to use it. The OECD comes to the conclusion that there is a large diversity of institutions and regulations that govern human capital information and decision-making systems in different countries (OECD, 1996).

The problem of loss of human capital is now well recognised. Today there are more than 800 million adults in the world, mainly in developing countries, who still are illiterate. This has a direct impact on enrolment in higher education. Compared with an enrolment of almost 6 000 per 100 000 population in the United States, the enrolment figure in, for example, Tanzania of 21 per 100 000 is extremely low. This in turn has bearing on the individual's welfare level and the state of poverty of the nation. Moreover, due to increasing pressure on individuals and nations to participate in the process of globalisation, there is a danger that whole populations will become marginalised and fall outside development altogether.

The third perception of education is *knowledge dissemination*, or put in another way, *transfer of technology*.² According to this perception, technology transfer always involves human resources development, *i.e.* enhancement of *know-how*, and, when a nation has a target of educational self-reliance, improvement of *know-why*. This

means that education is not only a matter of adopting knowledge and skills, but also of investing in the adaptation capacity by learning how to access and use the world's knowledge. Investment in education should be adjusted according to the desired level of technological development and/or involvement in the international trade of the nation state.

As is mentioned before, these three concepts are strongly related. They are often used indifferently. All investments in developing human resources can be considered as increasing the stock of national human capital, and as such as a new production factor. Following this way of thinking on capitalising of human resources, one can, from an economical point of view, calculate the returns of formal education in terms of present cost for future income. Such calculations, called Human Resource Accounting (HRA), can be made at individual as well as national level.

As far as individuals are concerned, HRA investigates the relationship between education and earnings. For example, in the Netherlands investments in education give positive rates of return. Moreover, variables like intelligence and social background do not significantly interfere with individual' decisions to follow higher education (Oosterbeek, 1992). HRA undertaken at national level can be considered a part of the overall stock of human resources in a nation and be added to the overall national accounts (Van Tongeren, 1999).

Costs and benefits of education are different for individuals, institutions and firms, and nation states. The benefit for individuals is in the form of increasing their future carrier potential, for institutions in the form of cognitive and behaviour skills of their workers. For governments the benefits of education are much more complex and can be described as cumulative and aggregated improvements at national level resulting in an increase of productivity and tax base, and an improvement of social cohesion. Societal concerns, such as discrimination and exclusion, are partially caused by low level of education, poor socio-economic background, unemployment, and underemployment. From the point of view of governments HRD is, therefore, important in demolishing social barriers in the attempt to prevent these dilemmas. Education must be developed in such a way that the potential of human capital is activated and capitalised on, in the first place by the individual, but also by the nation state. The importance of education is based on its ability to make use of these capabilities (Nicaise, 1996; Sen, 2000).

At international level education can result in improving the political and economic position of the nation on the global platform, indirectly giving the same benefits as at national level. The problem with measuring the impact of human resources in quantitative terms is that the output must be forecasted.

Calculating the returns of education in general, and of higher education in particular, is very difficult indeed. In any one country, this could be done by using

household data. For example, an empirical study for Ghana has calculated the returns to government investments in school quality. It has produced estimates of the impact of school improvements on the acquisition of cognitive skills by students. These school improvements are qualitative through better education, rather than quantitative through additional years of schooling. The estimates are combined with estimates of the contribution that these skills make to the incomes of workers. In general, a positive relation is found between increase of educational quality and higher income, better child nutritional status, and a lower number of children per woman. In terms of the impact of cognitive skills on the income of workers, it has been calculated that the benefits have outweighed the costs of improving school quality. However, the study focuses largely on primary education (Glewwe, 1999).

The perception of the functionality of higher education has a repercussion for economic theories. The endogenous economic growth theories from the seventies, including theories about the gap between countries in “the north” and in “the south”, were largely dealing with natural resource development. However, in the last few decades the emphasis has increasingly been put on human resources development. It has been widely recognised that in order to narrow the gap between the industrialised and the developing countries, governments must invest in primary, secondary, and higher education, enhancing the human capital stock. This encompasses many challenges for developing countries.

THE CHALLENGES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The impact of higher education on social and economic development has been underestimated for a long time. The Task Force on Higher Education in Developing Countries, convened in 2000 by the World Bank and UNESCO, emphasises that the impact of education at the micro- as well as at the macro-level is strong. Individuals with better education tend to be more successful in the labour market. Economies with more educational institutions or with higher enrolment rates appear to be more dynamic, more competitive in global markets, and more successful in terms of higher capita income.

The impact of education in general, and higher education in particular, reaches even further. Educated people are well placed to become economic and social entrepreneurs. They are vital to creating an environment that facilitates economic development. Good governance, strong institutions, and a developed infrastructure are all needed if business is to thrive. None of these can come about without the knowledge and skills that higher education provides. The Task Force report, which speaks about the current *knowledge revolution*, emphasises that international knowledge exchange relies on each nation meeting international standards of higher education (World Bank, 2000b).

As has been said earlier, these assets of knowledge and skills, comprising society's *hidden* value, add to society's intangible stock of human resources. Indeed, knowledge and skills are essentially invisible. The relevance and impact of higher education on development are considered differently, depending on the level: the individual level, the level of the national state, or the global level. The relevance of education at these levels can be easily at odds. That is to say, a particular type of higher education can be of importance for an individual's carrier, providing him or her with a better quality of life. However, at that particular period of time it may not have any relevance for the nation, whose government has financed the education. This contradicts the vision of some scholars who are of the opinion that higher education is always favourable to societal development at large.

At an *individual* level, the impact of education is a matter of personality, character, family background, etc. Amartya Sen states that an individual will always develop a certain level of human capability and by doing so has the potential to become "free". He distinguishes between *human capital* and *human capability*.

"The benefits of education (...) exceed its role as *human capital* in commodity production. The broader *human capability* perspective would note – and value – these additional roles as well. The two perspectives are, thus, closely related but distinct." (Sen, 1999, p. 194; italics are mine).

At a *national* level, higher education can support development in several ways. Trained people will occupy public positions at ministries or other public service institutions, such as hospitals, schools, advising committees, political movements, research centres, etc. Higher educated people distribute knowledge through publications, or become trainers themselves. They also can form the new productive cadre in the private sector, allowing enterprises to profit from the well-qualified human resource base. But one could say that a country must first solve its alphabetisation problem, and establish not only a technically qualified labour force, but also a socially qualified one. The present communication facilities allow countries to come to such a stage by leapfrogging, without passing through the evolutionary route. Higher education, however, seems to run behind.

UNESCO's *World Education Report 2000* quotes the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", stating that tertiary education must be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. The report concludes, however, that enrolments in Africa and Asia amount to less than one-tenth of the relevant age groups (UNESCO, 2000, Chap. 3). The report comes with an analysis of the changing vision of the international community *vis-à-vis* Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The new vision has been moving towards two basic themes: education for peace, human rights, and democracy, and education for development. It concludes that both visions of education can be seen today as ultimately directed towards the

same end: to achieve a world which recognises the inherent dignity, and equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family (UNESCO, 2000, Chap. 4).

The same report affirms that the gap between the percentage of higher education enrolments in Africa and Asia, and the one in Europe and United States has widened over the last two or three decades. This cycle of unequal development between developing and industrialised countries, which has resulted in a fractured global order, can only be broken through improving the human resource development. In the future it appears that human capital and technological capabilities will become more important for long-term growth. Also R&D, involving the education of scientists and engineers, must be given an impetus. As of now, only four per cent of the expenditure on R&D in the world is in the developing world, as is fourteen per cent of the scientists and engineers (Sagasti, 1995). In the 21st century, Science and Technology will continue to be essential for achieving sustainable human development.

The public per capita expenditure on higher education between 1980 and 1990 has decreased in East Asia and the Pacific, and has even been halved in Sub-Sahara Africa. In South Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean it has more than doubled during those ten years (Riddell, 1996, p. 1367). Again, the question can be raised, whether higher education has supported national economic development, or economic growth has supported educational development. This means that schools, and universities in particular, could either develop their own policy, or be “used” by government to resolve certain social deficiencies in the labour market. This last could even lead to positive discrimination towards under-privileged groups.

Nevertheless, the role of universities in developing countries is an issue that continues to be discussed. This is partially owing to the idea that the intellectual and physical resources of universities must be placed at the service of the nation. Local governments do support universities by commissioning them contract research, prescribing in-service programmes, etc. This is sometimes a direct result of donor intervention in the education sector, but also an indirect result of interventions in other sectors.

University research institutions can be linked to user groups in the public and private sector. This would stimulate a user-oriented and practical approach. Universities can provide the necessary flexible and innovative institutional framework, when the external environment is supportive in terms of sufficient demand for education, of macroeconomic reform, and of university autonomy respected by the government. These are exactly the constraints higher education is facing. Internal constraints are related to quality and effectiveness of management, and external constraints to demographic changes, government policies, and the

globalisation process including the knowledge revolution. According to the Netherlands Development Assistance Research Council (RAWOO), research for development must always be combined with HRD, institution building, and infrastructure development (RAWOO, 1999).

There is also a correlation between education and demographic aspects. Mortality and particularly fertility are negatively correlated with the level of education, while internal and international migration are positively correlated with education levels (Medina, 2000). This indicates that education policies have an impact on other policies, such as on family planning, gender stratification, social security, and migration. And finally, since it appears that higher public expenditure on education benefits from higher private investments, we can say that public and private investment in education is interrelated (Levy and Clemens, 1996).

In many developing countries universities are the only places where intellectual and scientific resources are preserved. This gives universities a monopoly position as far as intellectual property is concerned. Some view education as the main instrument of preserving and promoting the culture of a country, including political, social, environmental, and other facets which need not necessarily be in line with economic growth (ADB, 1991). In this sense, education in general tends to preserve and stabilise culture (moving within frontiers), while at the same time it is instrumental to cultural change (moving frontiers). This supports the proposition that there cannot be cultural change without education.

In general, universities are regarded as an integral part of the symbolic centre of the core institutions of a sovereign state, just like the army, the bureaucracy, the political institution, etc. It prepares the scientific, technological, and professional personnel required for society and its development. This was particularly of relevance in the post-colonial period. Based on the philosophy "knowledge is power", a university is universally perceived as an essential requisite of any self-respecting modern nation-state, either for functional or for symbolic reasons. From another point of view the modern university is seen as an integral part of an emerging world culture, resulting from increasingly powerful global economic and social forces. As it has been formulated elsewhere:

"Universities are perceived not only as institutions for the preservation and cultivation of national cultures, but also as indispensable instruments for effective and respective participation in an emergent world culture" (Coleman and Court, 1993, p. 3).

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION

Globalisation is a process that is partially uncontrollable and partially can be directed. In this sense it can be defined in passive as well as active terms. Passively, globalisation can be defined as a social process whereby, from a geographi-

cal point of view, social and cultural borders are fading, and people are becoming more and more conscious of this. The consequence is that people are becoming increasingly involved in world-wide dependency networks. In active terms, globalisation can be defined as the process of forging multiple linkages and interconnections between states and societies that together form the modern global system. The consequence of this is that happenings, decisions, and activities on one part of the globe have significant influence on individuals and communities on another part of the globe. Globalisation has several dimensions, each of which plays a part in the process defined above, but which also influence one another. The most important are the economic-commercial, political, institutional, communicative, cultural, social, environmental, and normative-ethical dimensions. In other words, globalisation must be addressed in an interdisciplinary manner.

Both the active and the passive definitions of globalisation clearly signify the importance for all countries in the world of striving for participation on the international political, economic, and social platforms. Contrary to statements made by the anti-globalist movement, some of which are true enough, in general it could be stated that it will harm development of a country if it cannot participate in and stays away from the international circuit of political decision making. But participation requires highly educated people. In this context one could talk about the globalisation of higher education. The effect of globalisation on education can be measured by the degree to which education is shaped by globalisation, and also by the type of educational reform that is required to address the consequences of globalisation (Carnoy, 1999; Hallak, 1998; Riddell, 1996).

One result of globalisation is a more dispersed global division of labour. Since industrial development is no longer the prerogative of the industrialised world, the content and structure of education in both developing and industrialised countries have to be adjusted. Education has to react on the expertise, know-how, and skills that are required by the new types of employment. The comparative advantage of developing countries, which was once mainly based on cheap manual labour, is now based on highly educated, though still relatively cheap, labour. We can say that in the process of globalisation economies are moving towards knowledge-based industries (Alic, 1997).

The *World Development Report 1999-2000*, produced by the World Bank, signifies one antagonism of globalisation. It recognises that it has ignited a counter-process: localisation. This process implies an emphasis on one's own culture and roots (World Bank, 2000a). While globalisation is associated with integration and homogenisation, localisation is associated with fragmentation and differentiation. Whereas globalisation tends to support syncretism, localisation emphasises articulation. It is clear that within this context education, and particularly higher education plays an important role. It is assumed that intellectuals are capable of finding a balance between the emphasis on one's own cultural roots, and the importance

of cultural equity. This is important in preventing nationalism or fundamentalism. And if there is something that the recent developments clearly have shown, than it is the significance of this perspective.

Globalisation requires a new type of cadre. From the point of view of the state new managers are needed to handle, adapt, and even anticipate changes. From the firms' point of view technicians and managers are very much needed to fulfil the new tasks resulting from the transfer of new technology. From the societal point of view, a new stratum of intelligentsia is required who can become the *avant garde* of social and cultural change. Such a layer of flexible, progressive intellectuals is indispensable in order to stay in line with global developments. Another relevant issue is the need for maintaining, improving, and/or adjusting not only the stock of knowledge and skills, but also the learning and teaching capabilities (Hallak, 1998).

The apparent distinction between globalisation and localisation has implications for educational planning. Some consider that localisation influences a move towards a more decentralised educational system. This measure may be inspired by the pressure on government to reduce public spending on education. But at the same time it gives more autonomy to schools and universities to develop their curriculum in accordance with their own needs and desires. This, again, can lead to the privatisation of education. Decentralisation will result in more innovativeness, parents' participation, and higher motivation of staff and authorities to improve the standard of education. Consequently this should improve the quality of human resources (Carnoy, 1999).

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE BRAIN DRAIN

A contradiction between individual and national importance of higher education is institutionalised by the so-called *brain drain*. If an university graduate does not find a satisfactory job relevant to his training at home, he may decide to find a job outside his country. Ultimately, however, he may play a role in the global labour market and support the process of globalisation. Directly or indirectly he would then support his home country, either through remittances flowing back to his family members at home, through cultural dissemination of his own culture elsewhere in support of an increasing multicultural globe, or through accepting a high political position in an intergovernmental organisation and lobbying for his own country.³ Economically he could also play an important role through being active in the international business network, or through remigration to his mother-country carrying back suitcases full of international experience.

In other words, the brain drain, predominantly considered as disinvestment, as it may also be in the short term, however, it appears much less disastrous in the *long run*, and can be described as an investment with postponed results. In a study

of the brain drain from India, it has been concluded that, in the first place, higher education must be brought in to concurrence with the requirements dictated by the state of the human resource underdogs, and not by the labour market abroad. Only then can the return of the brains that once drifted away be realised, and only over a longer period (Khadria, 1998).

Another, more recent study, also comes to the conclusion, though from a different angle, that a brain drain does not necessarily need to be detrimental to the mother country. It makes a differentiation between the *ex ante* “brain-effect” (the individual’s advantages of migration that ignite private educational investments) and the *ex post* “drain-effect” (the loss of expertise due to migration). It concludes that the effect is mostly considered to be detrimental to development, but it can be measured as positive if the brain-effect is higher than the drain-effect (Beine *et al.*, 2001).

HIGHER EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT TOWARDS SELF-RELIANCE

At a national level, it is assumed that developing countries, in striving towards self-reliance, aim at accumulating a certain human capital stock. In the frame of sustainability such stock should be maintained and improved. Self-reliance means acquiring the capability for autonomous decision making, exercising full control over one’s own destiny, and using an international perspective in decision-making, minimising the influence of external factors determining socio-economic development. Ideally, a state of educational and technological self-reliance includes selective participation in international technological and economical systems, and the importation of as little technology as possible from abroad, but, if it must, from as many different countries as possible.

In practice a country can never be fully self-reliant due to the wide dispersal of human capital stock, natural resources, and markets. Industrialised countries have tried to solve their dependence problem by complementarity, *i.e.* introducing technological specialisation. In this way self-reliance means the production of certain technologies for export in order to import human capital and other technologies. Many developing countries are still dependent on industrialised countries for their import of human capital. However, “collective self-reliance” in an increasingly interdependent world is a desirable alternative. In order to change from dependence to self-reliance, a country must go through certain phases. They must change from importing know-how to adapting and improving imported know-how into know-why, and they must be able to develop a new human capital stock themselves.

If human capability is seen as a “technology”, being one of the components embodied in humans (in addition to embodiments in machinery, information, and organisation), government, in its attempt to import appropriate technology,

should guarantee that the human capital component is more or less at the same level of sophistication as the other components. Several studies have observed that human and material capital complement each other: higher levels of sophistication (or, in other words, better educated employees) augment the productivity of the material capital (Boeren, 1999; World Bank, 2000b).

The United Nations is also thinking in terms of self-reliance, particularly in relation to the public sector. The UN Expert Group on Human Resources Development in the Public Sector has concluded that, as the civil service has an important role to play in development, full understanding of human resources development in this sector requires an appropriate assessment of the enabling condition for maximum HRD potential. It has identified five conditions which are essential for human well-being and development: peace as a foundation; economy as an engine of growth; environment as a basis for sustainability; social justice as a pillar of society; and democracy as good governance. According to the UN, these conditions must be the basis of an integrated HRD strategy aiming at self-reliance (UN, 1998).

To achieve a satisfactory level of educational self-reliance developing countries must have an autonomous decision-making capability and an indigenous capability to improve their human capital stock. They must be able to adapt, absorb, and master human capital, and they should be able to formulate an educational policy. This means that developing countries require an appropriate standard of higher education, from vocational to academic level. In order to utilise the existing human capital stock, as well as the innovation capacity, in such a way that a certain stage of self-reliance can be achieved, a country has to develop and institutionalise a number of qualities. A prerequisite is the political will of government, as well as of industry, to support improvement of the human capital stock and the creation of a socio-economic climate in which the human capital development can thrive. This entails adequate educational institutions and policies.

CONCLUSIONS

This article assessed the interaction between higher education and development. The question was raised whether higher education engineers social, economical, and cultural change, or adjusts to national and global requirements. It was to be expected that neither of those would be the answer. Interaction between higher education and development takes a different form depending on the level considered, *i.e.* individual, national, or global level. For the individual, education is surely an engine of change and opportunity. If a nation state intends to bring its educational system into line with global developments, it will certainly adhere to global requirements.

At the national level, the relation is interactive. In most literature the opinion is adhered to that investing in higher education is important for developing countries in order to progress as a nation state. Education supports cultural preservation as well as cultural change. Moreover, education can lead to democracy and peace. At the same time, industrial development requires a high level of knowledge and skills, added to the human capital stock. In the frame of globalisation, quality control is also becoming increasingly important. On the other hand, investment in human resources development should be done taking certain priorities into consideration.

Education, in contributing directly or indirectly to societal development, should give extra attention to groups who are under-represented, due to exclusion, like women and rural poor. Moreover, students must be given counselling support to help them choose the most appropriate study in accordance with societal needs and their own individual capabilities. Academic and intellectual freedom should, nevertheless, be respected. Educational institutions, particularly universities, have the difficult task to educate people in such a way that they are made skilled scientists, as well as cultured intellectuals and eventually true cosmopolitans.

In its endeavour to reach a state of educational self-reliance, a country must go beyond the frontier of only developing its stock of know-how. It should also find ways to improve education and research in order to arrive at a satisfactory level of know-why. This will have to be placed in the context of national requirements, which again, should be seen in the frame of globalisation. The levels of individual education and job opportunities are related to the level of national welfare.

In the light of these challenges, universities themselves also have a role to play. They should be encouraged to increase efficiency and effectiveness. This could be partially realised by forcing universities to raise part of their income themselves by collaboration with foreign universities, or by conducting contract research of relevance for the country. These research activities could also be done in collaboration with partner universities and research institutions. Another approach could be to stimulate private initiatives. Public and private investments in education are interrelated, in the sense that higher private investment in education supports public expenditure in the sector.

International co-operation between institutions of higher education is therefore still extremely relevant. Firstly, to support the institutions themselves, but also to help reduce the inequalities in educational development between the industrialised and developing countries. As for the institutional development of universities, it takes many years to achieve curriculum development, the training of lecturers, the development of faculties, management, institutional bedding,

and scholarships. External support is necessary, but most resources must come from within the developing country itself.

Notes

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the International Conference Higher Education and its Socio-Political Context, organised by the Development Research Institute (IVO), 22 March 2001 at Tilburg University, The Netherlands.
2. One theory describes technology as being embodied in four ways: in machines, in information, in organisation, and in humans. These are called “technoware”, “infoware”, “orgaware”, and “humanware” respectively. Technology is always composed of these four components. “Humanware” entails human capital stock (ESCAP, 1989).
3. The importance for a country of having a citizen at a high international position is widely recognised, *cf.* the importance of Kofi Annan for Ghana and Ruud Lubbers for the Netherlands.

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Accreditation and Quality Assurance: The Swiss Model

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ABSTRACT

Accreditation and quality assurance at universities have gained new meaning in Switzerland – as in other European nations – through the concurrent increase in autonomy, new educational institutions offering international courses and the implementation of the Bologna Declaration. With respect to these developments the Swiss government together with the university cantons agreed to jointly establish an Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board which would be responsible not only for accreditation questions, but also for quality assurance and quality promotion at the universities.

The discussions surrounding the creation of an institution, which critically examines quality in the area of higher education, provoked a controversial debate in Switzerland. However, after several months of intensive discussions between universities and political bodies (government and administration) the different points of view eventually led to a model that today enjoys the broad support of all of the parties involved. This model has the following advantages: It focuses not only on accreditation i.e. fulfilling of minimum standards, but also on implementation of quality assurance mechanisms to guarantee sustainable quality development at universities and it provides accreditation for institutions as well as programs.

INTRODUCTION

The problems of accreditation and quality assurance have gained new meaning in Switzerland – as in other European nations – through the greater mobility in the scientific community and the implementation of the Bologna Declaration. Transparency and information about the equivalent of courses of study and diplomas,

as well as their national and international acceptance, are subjects that today increasingly concern educational institutions and funding bodies.

A further reason necessitating a government accreditation program is the explosive development in the area of distance learning. This development fundamentally questions the principle of the public-sector monopoly over higher education. New educational institutions, financed on a private or public base, offering international courses in distance learning increase the need for comparability and expose the requirement for a reliable system of accreditation for institutions and programs, not least for consumer protection reasons. Further, the concurrent increase in autonomy has raised the level of accountability and reporting for the universities toward the political funding bodies. These accountability and reporting requirements not only include due care in accountancy and reporting, but also the introduction and implementation of a quality management system.

On the basis of these prevailing circumstances, the federal government and the cantons agreed to jointly establish an “Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board”,¹ which would be responsible not only for accreditation questions, but also for quality assurance and quality promotion. The necessary legal framework is found in a cooperation agreement between the Confederation and the University Cantons² from December 14, 2000, covering cooperation and joint regulations.³

THE UNIVERSITY LANDSCAPE IN SWITZERLAND

Switzerland's university landscape⁴ currently has nine cantonal universities and two federal technical universities. Funding for the cantonal universities is mainly provided by the cantons themselves; the federal government is responsible for subsidiary funding and footing the bill for the two federal technical universities. Switzerland has, on the whole, a relatively homogeneous high-quality university system. The total number of students registered for studies at Swiss universities is currently around 96 000. Since the 1950s, when only 5% of a given age group attended university, this number has risen today to around 28%; by comparison, 35% to 45% of a given age group attend in the OECD countries.⁵ Universities have been confronted with a veritable onslaught of students, which has created havoc with efforts to keep pace with budgeting and spending. This opening of the universities was and is – and not just in Switzerland but in all of Europe – an expression of the political will to allow an increasing percentage of the population access to the innovative knowledge which is to a large extent responsible for economic and social progress in society.

POLITICAL DEBATE AND LEGAL BASIS

The revision of the Federal Law on the Financial Aid to Universities and on the Interuniversity Cooperation⁶ at the end of the 1990s – *i.e.* before the process

that would lead to the Bologna Declaration had even begun – prompted some in the country to raise questions about quality management in the universities and accreditation of programs and institutions. Despite the fact that institutional quality assurance will take on an increasingly crucial role in the coming years for both parties, universities and political bodies, the concrete outline of the institution to be created as well as its future role and responsibility led to numerous and significant differences of opinion.

The introduction of a “quality supervisory body” by decree from the top down was diametrically opposed to Switzerland’s university culture and provoked a series of controversial debates. The universities were highly suspicious that the federal government wanted to take charge – on-site and under its own auspices – of quality management at the institutions. The institutions, however, regarded this as their all alone responsibility. Finally these fears proved to be unfounded: the government and parliament merely wanted to ensure that a quality management system at the universities was institutionalized through a basic legal framework to provide the best possible positioning for Swiss universities in an international competitive environment.

Subsequent to parliamentary discussions and various hearings carried out with representatives of the Swiss universities in spring 1999, those who provide funding finally came to an agreement to establish an independent “Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board”, which would be supported jointly by the federal government and the “university” cantons. The joint-sponsorship was regarded as absolutely necessary in view of future international cooperation as well as international acceptance of the planned institution.

The complicated legal construction⁷ necessary for this joint-sponsorship resulted in an “interstate treaty” between the federal government and the cantons with universities (Cooperation Agreement between the Confederation and the University Cantons in the Area of Higher Education from December 14, 2000). On the basis of this agreement, the joint Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board and the Swiss University Conference⁸ – the strategic body for the scientific policy of the federal government and the cantons – were established. The Swiss University Conference has the authority to make decisions that are binding on both a federal and cantonal level. Through this, the foundation was laid for a common university policy for both the federal government and the cantons without having to go through the arduous process of changing the constitution.

It was very clear before the beginning of the political debate that the planned Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board would not make accreditation decisions on its own but would merely apply for such to the Swiss University Conference. Accreditation in Switzerland is therefore a process on two levels. The joint Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board, in an initial phase, examines the

requirements for accreditation and makes a proposal to the Swiss University Conference. This body subsequently decides on the merit of the proposal. Decisions taken by the Swiss University Conference can be appealed to an arbitration board especially created for this purpose.

ACCREDITATION AND QUALITY ASSURANCE PROGRAM IN SWITZERLAND

Accreditation

Since the problem of international recognition of university institutions or programs cannot be solved through a university's internal evaluation process, even if this were carried out at a high level, the political funding bodies assigned the task of accreditation to the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board, as its name already implies.

An accreditation process, in essence, consists of three phases. In an initial phase, minimum standards are worked out, which deal primarily with the structures, processes, and results of the university's internal quality assurance efforts (definition of goals, responsibilities assigned to bodies, infrastructure, curricula, research results, inclusion of student body in decision-making processes, etc.) as well as curriculum content. These standards are defined jointly by the universities, the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board, and any other relevant partners (for example, from business or trade associations). The university institutions evaluate whether these standards can be maintained and prepare a report on their own (self-evaluation).

In a second phase, compliance with these minimum standards is examined by independent outside experts. The experts (peers) receive the report prepared by the universities and check the compliance on-site on a random basis.

In a third phase, the experts prepare a report in which they express their opinion about a recommendation for accreditation, conditional accreditation, or non-accreditation. This accreditation applies to a single faculty, department, or program and has a limited life. An accreditation review is not automatically carried out in Switzerland, but rather at the request of a particular private or public institution.

With the introduction of the new university law in 1999 in Switzerland, it was agreed that all existing universities and similar institutions would be regarded as accredited. For a small nation such as Switzerland with a relatively homogeneous university landscape at a high standard, this is unproblematic. However, in the course of the next few years, evaluations specific to particular disciplines will be conducted in which the individual areas can be compared and accreditation tested and reviewed.

In some countries, the accreditation process is primarily focused on compliance with established norms and standards in the area of teaching. Numerous accreditation institutions – in Holland, France, Great Britain, and Sweden – are taking another step and consider both, teaching and research activities. In contrast to teaching, the area of research is primarily results-oriented; questions about procedures and organisation are of a secondary nature. The focus in Switzerland during an initial phase will also be on teaching. It can be assumed, however, that the area of research will not be excluded for very long, since teaching and research are closely linked to traditional European universities, and it is not possible to omit one and still do justice to the other.

Quality assurance

The question of quality assurance, and in this context the term “evaluation” (internal or self-evaluation and external evaluation), has become increasingly present on the campuses of Swiss institutions of higher education in recent years. All Swiss universities regard an evaluation as an important building block in their quality management system and use the results to steer strategic planning.

In addition to self-evaluation, the universities’ internal assessments rely to an ever-greater extent on external evaluations, where national and international peers are invited to critically examine individual elements of the university program. In their development plans for 2000-03, the universities indicated that they no longer planned to use evaluations for specific “spot checks” but to adopt a systematic approach in applying them to the whole system. Although various evaluations have been carried out in recent years, these reports have been only partially published and therefore are available only to selected members of the general public.

The evaluations carried out by the universities on their own behalf do not automatically lead to accreditation, since they focus not explicitly on minimum standards previously established by the government. With respect to their strategic management activities the universities are not primarily interested in meeting such minimum standards but rather in the continual and sustained improvement in the organisation of their own structures and procedures.

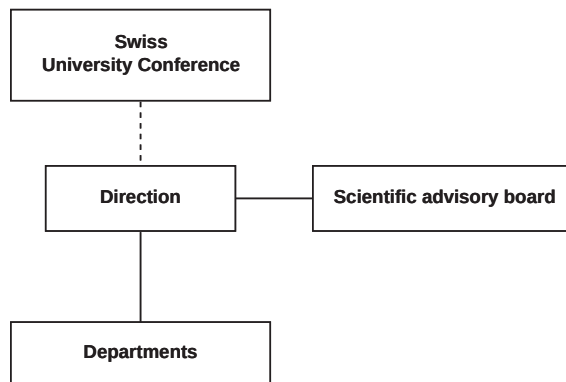
To summarize in brief, it can be said that all of the institutions of higher education have introduced self-evaluation and external evaluations as elements of a quality management system, that these procedures were not coordinated, however, and each institution conducted its own evaluations using its own methods. Because of this divergence, the support and coordination of the evaluations carried out internally by the universities is of uppermost concern for a government quality assurance program as it is foreseen for Switzerland.⁹

This is to ensure that the institution's own evaluations comply with a minimum standard and become more homogeneous in the future in order to increase the usefulness of evaluation results for university policy questions. The Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board understands that its role is that of a partner to the institutions of higher education. It should work closely with the universities and develop skills in the area of quality assurance, which can be directly applied by the partner institutions (service functions).¹⁰

ORGANIZATION OF THE ACCREDITATION AND QUALITY ASSURANCE BOARD IN SWITZERLAND

The Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board is financed and supported jointly – as previously mentioned – by the federal government and the cantons where universities are located. Its organisation and responsibilities are spelled out in the Cooperation Agreement between the Confederation and the University Cantons in the Area of Higher Education from December 14, 2000.

Figure 1. **Organizational Chart**



Organization (see Figure 1): The Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board is made up of an administrative office and a Scientific Advisory Board. The latter includes five experts in the area of accreditation in higher education; two of these must come from outside Switzerland. The Rectors' Conference of the Swiss Universities has been given the task of nominating qualified candidates for the Scientific Advisory Board in order to better tie the universities into the work of the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board. The rectors, however, are not represented on the Scientific Advisory Board, since they are representatives of the organisations to be examined.

The Scientific Advisory Board's task, first and foremost, is to ensure that the evaluation and accreditation procedures used are state-of-the-art and correspond to international standards. It is further responsible for the selection of the members of the subcommittees, which are put together according to specific disciplines. These subcommittees, for their part, are responsible for the development of accreditation standards in their respective fields.

The administrative office is responsible for day-to-day management, organizes the evaluations and accreditations to be carried out, and represents the Board at international conferences on accreditation and quality assurance.

Status: The Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board is supervised by the Swiss University Conference. The Conference approves the Board's budget and selects the administrative director as well as the members of the Scientific Advisory Board. The Board's director works autonomously and is not tied to instructions from the Swiss University Conference in his executive operational duties. The placing of the Board under the administrative supervision of the Swiss University Conference was a concession made to address the concerns of the university representatives. The latter felt uncomfortable with an "independent and constantly spreading evaluation bureaucracy".

Core responsibilities: As previously mentioned, the Board submits accreditation proposals to a political decision-making body, the Swiss University Conference. In addition, it carries out the necessary audits of the institutions and programs.

Together with the universities and other partners, it works out the required minimum standards and guidelines, which must be approved by the Swiss University Conference and examined through the accreditation process.

Furthermore, it outlines the requirements for quality assurance at the universities and regularly checks whether these have been fulfilled. This does not serve as a check of concrete results, but rather to verify whether appropriate efforts have been undertaken for the introduction of a quality management system. Parallel to this, the Board works out recommendations for the evaluations that the universities are conducting on their own in order to guarantee a sound comparative basis for the results.

Intensive discussions initially took place about whether discipline-specific evaluations should be conducted or not. Agreement was finally reached that such evaluations could be conducted by arrangement with the Rectors' Conference of the Swiss Universities. Although the universities looked skeptically upon a possible ranking system linked to this, the learning benefits from comparable investigations are undisputed. In addition, the tendency of the media to publish rankings of any kind can be neutralized somewhat through institutional involvement. To keep the "evaluation bureaucracy" feared by the universities to a minimum, discipline-specific evaluations should be conducted in the same discipline

every six to eight years at most. An interval of four to five years seems too short for a small country such as Switzerland with an easily grasped high-quality and relatively homogeneous university landscape.

A further important task is the Board's active participation in international cooperation efforts, in particular the network of European accreditation agencies. The European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), established in 1999 has gained importance with respect to the implementation of the Bologna Declaration and receives direct support from the EU Commission.

A collaborative effort with internationally recognized private accreditation agencies is also conceivable, under which, for example, joint evaluations (joint procedures) are carried out using differing standards, however. Such a process would primarily serve to save a university or a specific faculty from having to conduct time-consuming and repetitive evaluations, and grant it several quality seals simultaneously by fulfilling the corresponding standards.

The Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board may make its services accessible to third parties if it has available capacity. Services to third parties must be invoiced to cover the true costs, however. As part of the increased mobility of the education providers, a series of private suppliers have announced that they would like to receive Swiss government accreditation as soon as possible. The accreditation sought by the educational providers is not coupled to a desire for financial support, but rather serves above all to offer students an educational program that has received an official quality seal of approval.

The administrative office of the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board may also provide information about the accreditation of institutions and programs as well as about which degrees and diplomas – Swiss and non-Swiss – are recognized.

Expansion: The Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board will be successive build up over the next years. The first step encompasses quality assurance and accreditation at the traditional research universities; the second step, at the university of applied science (*Fachhochschulen*). Until 2007, the projected annual budget needs for the first step are around CHF 2.5 million. Around half of this amount is reserved for professional personnel and the other half for national and international peers. In a second step after 2007, plans call for subjecting the entire area of tertiary education to uniform quality assurance mechanisms including both research universities and universities of applied sciences.

COOPERATION WITH THE SWISS SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COUNCIL

In the future, two government organisations – namely the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board and the Swiss Science and Technology Council¹¹ – will carry out evaluations in Switzerland, albeit with different goals and differing pro-

cedures. Whereas the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board's responsibility is to see that certain quality standards for teaching and research in higher education are established throughout Switzerland and that compliance with these standards is subsequently checked, the Swiss Science and Technology Council deals with strategic questions relating to the nation's policies in the areas of science and technology. These affect not only program research but also entire areas of science and institutions, which receive financial aid according to the Federal law of Research (including the Swiss National Science Foundation and academies). The evaluations carried out by the Swiss Science and Technology Council should provide answers to questions about the efficiency and effectiveness of the overall Swiss scientific and technology policy, and provide indications about the strengths and weaknesses of this policy as well. Above all, this serves as a basis for the Federal Council's scientific policy discussions.

There is no way that this institutionalized policy advisory role can be taken over by the planned Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board. It is clear, however, that all of the tasks and clarifications relating to evaluations in institutions of higher education should also be available to the Swiss Science and Technology Council in order to avoid duplication and inefficiency.

THE SWISS MODEL: JOINT RESPONSIBILITY AND GREAT FLEXIBILITY

The discussions surrounding the creation of an institution, which critically examines quality in the area of higher education, provoked a rather lively debate in our federalist country. The controversial standpoints did not only lead to a passionate dialogue concerning the division of authority between the federal government and the cantons in the area of accreditation and quality assurance but also to fundamental questions about the necessity of such an arrangement. These controversial points of view, which were almost impossible to reconcile at the beginning, eventually led to a model that today enjoys the broad support of all of the parties involved. This model has the following advantages:

- *Implementation of quality assurance mechanisms in the universities:* The new legal foundation attaches great importance not only to accreditation but also to quality assurance in higher education. Since accreditation only certifies compliance with minimum standards, continual quality assurance and the introduction of a total quality management system are necessary to guarantee a place among those of the highest quality in a competitive international environment.
- *Mutual exchange of findings and institutional learning:* The Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board is responsible for the coordination and support of the evaluations carried out in the institutions of higher education and has the function of a service provider to these institutions. Thanks to this role,

experience gained in the area of quality assurance can be exchanged and learning processes initiated on a formal basis.

- *Inclusion of all funding bodies and joint responsibility:* All of the university funding bodies are included in the accreditation and quality assurance process. Both the federal government and the cantons have delegated competences to the Swiss University Conference and thus enabled the establishment of a uniform policy without having to make a change to the constitution.
- *Separation of the operational and strategic levels:* The operational and strategic levels are separated. The operational functions in the area of accreditation and quality assurance are the responsibility of the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board. Strategic planning as well as official government recognition, is the responsibility of the Swiss University Conference.
- *Flexible accreditation procedures:* The accreditation process chosen for Switzerland allows for the accreditation not only of institutions but also of programs. Official recognition of institutions has the advantage that already certified institutions can establish new programs on their own without having to apply for accreditation for each. This process was conceived primarily for educational institutions based in Switzerland. On the other hand, it makes little sense for institutions based abroad to be subject to a full and expensive accreditation process when they offer only a few programs in Switzerland. In such cases, only the relevant programs have to go through an accreditation process.
- *Simple organisational structure and uniform procedures for the entire area of tertiary education:* A simple organisational structure (administration and scientific advisory board) and uniform procedures for the entire area of tertiary education was selected due to the small size of the country.
- *Only indirect links between evaluation results and government funding:* In the new Federal Law on the Financial Aid to Universities and on the Interuniversity Cooperation, which regulates the financial assistance from the federal government to the cantonal universities, federal funding is linked (article 11, paragraph 3, lit. a) to a high standard of performance at the universities, which, in turn, is checked by the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board. If this standard is not met, funding can be reduced. On the one hand, this increases pressure on the universities to take quality assurance seriously; on the other hand, a conscious decision was made to not link the results of evaluation procedures to funding levels and thus create a type of ranking system with differing contributions to individual universities. The negative experience from such linkage in other countries kept Switzerland from taking a similar step.

Notes

1. Organ für Akkreditierung und Qualitätssicherung.
2. Cantons which are funder of a university.
3. "Vereinbarung zwischen dem Bund und den Universitätskantonen über die Zusammenarbeit im universitären Hochschulbereich".
4. Federal Office for Statistics: Studierende an den schweizerischen Hochschulen, 1999 (The Student Body Attending Swiss Universities in 1999), Bern, 2000.
5. Federal Office for Education and Science: Revision of the Swiss Federal Law on University Development, Accompanying Report to the Draft Proposal for Approval Procedures, Bern, 1997, p. 21.
6. The Federal Law on the Financial Aid to Universities and on the Interuniversity co-operation regulates the financial assistance provided by the federal government and the cantons as well as the collaborative efforts in the area of higher education.
7. Because of the differing areas of competence between the Swiss federal government and the cantons, the partners to the interstate treaty (cooperation agreement) could lend it legitimacy only through a federal act, on the one hand, and by a concordat from the cantons delegating the authority to make decisions, on the other. The concordat had to be ratified by the cantonal parliaments.
8. The Swiss University Conference is made up of representatives of the political university funding bodies from the federal government and the cantons. The rectors of the Swiss universities are represented in this council by the president of the Rectors' Conference of the Swiss Universities. He or she does not have voting rights, however.
9. With respect to the Cooperation Agreement (article 19, paragraph 3, lit. a), the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board outlines the requirements for quality assurance and regularly reviews whether these have been fulfilled.
10. In order to support the universities in their efforts, the Accreditation and Quality Assurance Board can make available material for evaluation procedures such as questionnaires, basic information on the structuring of evaluations, or lists of suitable experts in the various areas. Further, it can provide organisational support to the universities for certain evaluations, if requested, and organize conferences for an exchange of ideas about ongoing evaluations and optimizing procedures. At the same time, experience collected abroad should be made available through the existing network of national accreditation and evaluation agencies.
11. The Swiss Science and Technology Council is the advisory commission to the Federal Council for matters relating to scientific policy.

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The Future of the Tripartite Mission: Re-examining the Relationship Linking Universities, Medical Schools and Health Systems¹

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ABSTRACT

Despite variation across national contexts, university-clinical partners in any country have similar aims. These are to deliver world-class research, education and health care services, and there are similar tensions.. Health and higher education partners face two central paradoxes: that they are interdependent (require each other to discharge their mission) and independent (managed according to different priorities). Also, partners struggle to balance the demands of two masters (health and education) whose priorities are difficult to square. Traditional ways of organising partnerships are challenged everywhere by the global change in clinical provision, education and research. Despite pressures on its organisational form, the tripartite mission remains a vital pursuit. The way it is achieved needs to be re-examined.

Introducing evidence-based practice and service innovation, translating research into practice, managing a growing knowledge base, and developing new forms of working each require a tripartite approach. Partnerships are not necessarily focused on synergy between missions, meaning the integration of component parts to produce an effect that is greater than the sum of its parts.

This report draws on discussions with leaders of organisations at the interface of health and university sectors on the current and future direction of relationships between service, research and education. It outlines some challenges for those managing the tripartite mission and suggestions for ways to approach these.

CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE TRIPARTITE MISSION

Health/university relationships are characterised by complexity

Managing organisational complexity is an everyday reality for those managing at the interface between health and higher education. They are both complex areas in their own right. Each is politically charged and high on every domestic political agenda. Managing at the interface of these sectors brings added complexity because partners are subject to two sets of demands that routinely conflict. The organisational challenge is to align these disparate policies. There are a wide range of stakeholders including politicians (at local and national level and with health and education briefs), professional associations, the public, science and private sector companies. Each sector is guardian to significant amounts of public investment.

Health and higher education partners have long worked together in pursuing a tripartite mission. This mission has always been complex. It is becoming more so. It can be misleading to think of the partnership as a simple binary relationship between a medical school and a hospital. This is an outdated view and is now far more pluralistic. It is not only medical school staff within the university that work with the health system. Several university faculties are involved. For example nursing, dentistry and professions allied to medicine. Faculties are not always dealing with a single health partner. In some parts of the UK, university departments might have honorary contracts and students placed with more than fifty health care providers.

Because of these trends and others, it has been said that during the last ten years universities have entered an age of “supercomplexity” (Barnett, 2000) in which they are dealing with increasingly diverse agendas and competing pressures (globalisation, regionalisation, e-learning, massification of higher education, entrepreneurialism, technology transfer, and increased student choice within a “market place”). Change is a constant feature of both sectors. The health sector has experienced its own revolution. In constant flux and a political imperative, the health sector in the UK has been described as in a state of “permanent revolution” (Financial Times editorial, November 2001). All this has been against the background of increased resource constraints and a desire for transparency of income streams, outputs and outcomes.

The interdependence between health and education in university hospitals means change in either sector has huge implications. Notwithstanding the national or political context, those responsible for managing medical schools/teaching hospitals are having to deal with manifest tensions in university-hospital relationships, multiple income streams, complex lines of accountability, a variety of

interest groups or “stakeholders”, and the ethical issues arising out of advances in clinical science.

The impact of these changes can be seen in all areas of the partnership, in education for example. Training doctors and health care workers has been and will continue to be essentially an apprenticeship: “on-the-job” training, the practical elements of which can only be carried out in the presence of patients. In the past this symbiotic relationship between university managers, clinical academic staff and hospital managers was based on informal understandings and pragmatic arrangements built up over time, arrangements that worked on the ground.

Formalised targets for each element of this mission have created the need for a more formal partnership: the targets set for research, service and education do not lead to synergy between missions or harmony between organisations accountable for separate parts of the mission.

Because of this, the roles and relationships at the interface of health and education might be described as “extra supercomplex”, in that they have to continually evaluate organisational arrangements to deliver teaching, research and service activity because of discrete strategies in components of the mission. The sheer scale of these changes over the last ten years or so has meant that maintaining a delicate balance of organisational objectives in the partnership is increasing difficult.

The notion of balancing research, service and education was progressively questioned throughout the 1990s – for individuals, academic departments, and entire institutions. It became apparent, for example, that not all clinical academic staff could deliver all three activities in equal measure and with equal success all of the time. This led to the health and HE sectors and institutions questioning where resources were coming from and seeking to disentangle the relationship. In particular, there was concern over whether subsidies were occurring between teaching, research and service elements, either in terms of income streams or staff time.

Is the tripartite mission starting to come apart?

The health reforms of the 1990s that affected almost all OECD countries have created an environment that makes the tripartite mission more complex organisationally. Funding streams and incentives have changed. Both universities and health providers now face much tighter financial constraints, requiring a stronger internal focus. Teaching hospitals are more exclusively focused on service provision than in the past while universities are principally focused on research. There are few institutional incentives for partnership. Policy has been a catalyst for the separation of missions and over time for organisational strategies to point in different directions. But partners are bound together by their mission; it has proved

impossible to divorce. Neither partner can meet their aims without partnership. The relationship is fraught because squaring different priorities seems equally impossible.

The interface between health and higher education is the place where the present meets the future (Dainton, 1981). The mission for university and clinical partners is to create a healthy and creative dynamic between research, service and education. When the organisational objectives of partners are not aligned these can transform into destructive tensions.

Joint working between the health and higher education sectors has been characterised by informal relationships. Times have changes and pressures in both sectors have highlighted the vulnerability of this approach. There is now an increasing desire amongst managers at the interface on formalising organisational relationships to improve alignment and for finding ways to manage the tension between sectors more effectively.

Global drivers for change in the tripartite mission

There are global drivers for change in each element of the tripartite mission. These are faced in every country and include: pressure to reduce the costs of clinical care, to provide more care locally, and to demonstrate ever-improved quality of care; pressures to improve competitiveness and institutional profitability in research; and the reform of medical education with increased patient contact in the early years of the course, simultaneous multi-professional instruction, and a move of teaching into primary and community care.

Clinical service

In health care provision, there is an increasing emphasis on value for money. There are increasing demands on clinical practice, in part fuelled by advancements in knowledge. High expectations are reinforced by political and patient expectations, together with growing importance of the assessment of on clinical competence and mechanisms to manage quality.

Education

There is a growing emphasis on educational outcomes and on interdisciplinary education. Medical schools are developing competency-based assessment, for instance. What do medical students need to practice? Does it vary across countries? If the migration of health professionals is set to increase these will become important international questions. In general terms, student numbers are increasing while funding is not, resulting in a fall in the funding-per-student. Education is expanding into primary care. This makes the role of the medical school less

focused on the organisational relationship with its major acute provider; it has different relationships to manage.

Research

Research has a major impact on university income. Competition for research monies is fierce and high quality research is the only way to increase public funding significantly. Universities therefore have an incentive to prioritise research, focusing on their particular strengths. In the UK, this has led to universities restructuring to create additional research capacity. If posts are lost that are integral to the partner health provider, the university decision can have serious destabilising effects. It has been said that research activity is increasingly becoming dislocated from health system priorities.

The university is increasingly relied upon to lead on the research element of this joint mission. This is because in hospitals there has been less time for research in daily clinical work and decreased funding for patient based work.

This has some cultural implications; on the way young people at the beginning of their career see clinical research. It is not considered an attractive field in which to work for researchers and it does not promote the clinical career of a hospital consultants.

The separation of service and research has wide reaching implications. It is likely to weaken connections between research breakthroughs and implementation into practice. It stifles development. In general, it means that medical science is not focused on daily health problems.

Clinically focused research is needed to transfer recent breakthrough discoveries in molecular biology and genetics. Transferral of the benefits of these insights to patients will not occur until clinical research is seen as a research priority for universities.

Commonalities between countries

The principles of the tripartite mission remain basically the same across international boundaries. Health service providers seek: access to the latest research translating into patient care; a first class health infrastructure to treat a range of conditions; a strong educational culture for students and doctors in training. Higher education providers seek high quality students and teachers, practitioner-based learning, a strong patient base with a range of conditions and clinical settings, and excellent learning support facilities and infrastructure.

Although these objectives are common to the mission the way the tripartite mission is organised differs across countries.

Health and higher education policies differ radically across countries. There are different health systems and funding arrangements; different mechanisms to finance research; different educational curriculum and targets. There are also different national emphases on science and differing health profiles. Each works within quite different policy constraints.

Despite this, the conference found a great deal of commonality despite the pursuit of these aims in different contexts.

The commentary to a greater or lesser extent appears to be a universal story told by health/university partners in different countries. The details change because they are working in different systems and contexts. The global causes of change result in different symptoms in different countries.

Maintaining a tripartite mission in current turbulent circumstances requires much greater active engagement between partners. They need now more than in the past to think about the informational, structural and cultural implications of the relationship. If the tripartite mission is to continue, it will require its partners to rethink the way they organise themselves to meet it.

Why is it so universally difficult to pursue this mission? The systemic reasons have been well covered and are critical. There are also cultural differences, which greater engagement would help resolve.

To an extent, health provision and academic pursuit are different worlds. Bringing them together requires detailed exploration of their common ground. There are different basic assumptions about the aim of joint working between sectors. There is, to some extent, a “them” and “us” culture and without continual engagement this can lead to mistrust and misunderstanding. The two sectors also work in different temporal dimensions. Health is focused on meeting immediate need (and to a lesser extent on medium-term need) and universities on long-term implications and developments. This too can make partnership difficult.

Overcoming the structural and cultural barriers requires greater engagement between health and education strategies.

THE FUTURE OF THE TRIPARTITE MISSION

The essential pursuit of the tripartite mission has not changed – a relationship between service, teaching and education remains critical to national priorities. But the circumstances (social, technological, political and organisational environments) in which it is pursued have changed. The direction of the university/health relationship needs to be reviewed, realigned and refocused on contemporary challenges for the tripartite mission.

Reiterate the tripartite mission

The inter-relationship between education, research and service is becoming more important. This is not always acknowledged and is implicit rather than explicit in government policy. It is becoming more important for a whole range of reasons, such as: the economic contribution of health status, health technology, and biomedical research and start-ups; technology transfer, professional development and innovation in service delivery, and the relationship develops our understanding about how to improve health and health service delivery.

Introducing evidence based practice and service innovation; translating research to practice, managing a growing knowledge base, and developing new forms of working each require a tripartite approach; each are core priorities to the mission.

Given the changing circumstances, the organisational relationship between partners needs to be revisited and thought through from first principles.

Review the delivery of the tripartite mission – towards a mixed economy of teaching, service and research?

It was suggested that the concept of the clinical academic who excels in research, service provision is dwindling. The components of the tripartite mission are becoming more disassociated. There are groups of staff that specialise on each area. The organisation aims to balance the three and understands that it is difficult – if not unlikely – that individuals can achieve excellence in all three. Some institutions (for example, in France) manage the tripartite balance on a departmental level. It is an institutional “mixed economy of teaching, service and research”. Others face obstacles to focus on an institutional balance (as in the UK) because each element is written into an *individual* job plan.

A UK survey by the Royal College of Physicians (2001) showed that on average clinical academic staff were spending 40 hours or more per week on service work. This has a “crowding out” effect on the research element of the clinical academic role. There is simply no time to do it. Those who are most determined work very long hours.

Some medical schools attempt to mitigate the effects of this by agreeing a “package” of outcomes to be delivered by the academic department so that individuals concentrate on, say, two out of the three. There has been discussion in some places of “teaching only contracts”, although (as far as we know) none have been introduced.

Renew the role of the clinical teacher

There was interest from several countries in the possibility of developing an additional career track for the clinical educator. At the moment there are few mechanisms to recognise outstanding teachers. Most of the emphasis of the university is on research. Teaching can become a poor relation in the tripartite mission, it receives less attention by partners than service and research.

There are questions about whether teaching is as highly valued as research as an activity. It is difficult to foster a culture of high quality teaching in a “long hours culture” where service is essential and the rewards for research may appear to be more visible, both for individuals and institutions.

Reengineer the clinical academic career

There are serious questions being asked about the incentives that exist for talented individuals to pursue a career in academic medicine, both in terms of the attractiveness of the career and of financial rewards. In many countries it seems to offer “more work and less pay”. In the past a clinical academic would pursue research in their spare time, even at home. This cultural inheritance and way of working is not attractive for many people. Demands on service mean people have less free time and are understandably less inclined to pursue research in what time is available.

Research relationships

It is critical to minimise the tensions and maximise the opportunities arising from the relationship between basic and clinical research and health services research. Many of the exciting developments in the biosciences require a transactional arrangement in terms of clinical trials, technology transfer and business “incubation”. This means public/private sector links, dialogue/understanding and a joint strategic approach by higher education and health care providers. Strong partnership between the two sectors is critical to the success of many major domestic priorities, yet this is not widely appreciated.

The development of strong research relationships requires some systemic priming – funding aimed directly at developing this relationship. Research priorities are not always aligned. Focusing this relationship requires “joined up thinking” between government departments, the various agencies that commission research and between researchers who deliver it.

Relate the value added by partnership to priorities in health and university systems

People who are unfamiliar with the reasons for the different circumstances of university hospitals do not always understand the value they add to a health system or how its activity relates to central priorities.

Centres have not been universally successful at communicating to others the mission of the partnership. With a few notable exceptions, university clinical centres (outside of North America) have not been good at communicating and promoting their unique activity. Part of the reason the concept of the tripartite mission is understood as marginal is due to the way it is communicated.

What might an outside observer conclude about the mission from listening to a discussion of the issues and tensions in this area? The first message would be that it is complex and confusing. The second would be that things are bad and getting worse. It is no surprise that politicians who are not familiar with the intricacies of particular activities fail to understand the mission or its relationship to the development of health and academic aims. Partners need to focus on the implications of particular elements rather than its intricacies. Politicians tend to see the big picture more clearly than its detail.

The challenge for organisations therefore is to encapsulate the aims of partnership in a positive and practical way. What do university clinical centres do? What is the major contribution of the relationship between the two sectors? What would it mean for the health system if clinical academic activity ceased?

Many of the aspects of the partnership are positive yet are presented as negatives to those on the outside.

It is important to remember that university clinical centres make an enormous economic contribution through partnership between health and universities. They add value through innovation, translating research to practice and in training the future health workforce. Centres are major employers too.

Redefine relationships with the health and higher education systems

What is a university clinical centre? It is not a simple binary relationship between a medical school and teaching hospital, even though these are core components. It involves clinical faculties, professions allied to medicine, and other faculties with an insight on health gain. It involves health providers in network relationships with universities with varying degrees of integration and universities without medical schools.

Change in the academic clinical mission has been so great that we might legitimately ask what is a medical school? Is it the same institution as it was in the

past? Likewise, are teaching hospitals the same? Is the scope of this relationship the same as it was?

The resources required for world class research, such as access to patients – in all their confusing variety, in a variety of settings, with a variety of conditions, using different technology (Blumenthal in Smith, 2001) are dispersed across higher education and health systems. Teaching takes place in more diverse settings, for example. And hospitals deal with a broader range of faculties located in different universities. Specialist centres no longer contain the range of partnerships required. Partnership between health and education involves more partners and has become a more complex relationship.

Given the changing circumstances, there is some value in asking some fundamental questions – answers to which may have changed over time. What are the elements needed for world class education, service and research? Where are they located? What are the relationships needed for these to work effectively?

University clinical centres need to redefine their relationships to form partnerships in primary care and non-medical HE institutions. Successful partnership will increasingly depend on strong network relationships.

Those managing at the interface of health and education are interested in finding ways of organising and working to re-energise the tripartite mission for the 21st century. Future relationships are likely to be more strategic than in the past and based on closer engagement. In the current environment, considered to be more uncertain and turbulent than before, organisation has become itself a key consideration and a critical element in the tripartite mission.

THE WAY AHEAD? PARTNERSHIPS AND NETWORKS OF UNIVERSITY-CLINICAL PARTNERS

As we have seen, partnership is a critical factor in university/health sector relations. It provides a pivotal framework for the education of future health care workers, scientists and researchers, in raising the quality of clinical care, and in translating research into practical improvement. These remain priorities regardless of geographical or historical context. As such university-clinical partnerships are critical levers of change. Many contemporary challenges in health and medicine are central to the university-clinical mission and present great opportunities for partnership. But there is great concern that systemic and political obstacles will make these opportunities difficult to take.

Leaders within university-clinical partnerships have many ideas around organisational innovation and strategy, on ways to focus organisations, to advance our understanding of health and improve it. There are different approaches in different countries, some successful, some not so. There are a many learning oppor-

tunities. It would help partners in different countries if ways could be found to share experience across national boundaries.

What ways exist of managing research and education in a joined up way with health services, of creating a healthy and dynamic tension between them? What are possible alternatives?

Experimentation with models of partnership

There is likely to be a great deal of international diversity on governance and opportunities to learn from each other's experience.

Some models for future working reflect a vision of total integration of health, research and education aims. They bring partners together into a single organisational model.

Whichever organisational model is adopted, transparent mechanisms are needed between organisations to give clarity to the relationship and its expected outcomes. There is also a need for clear definitions of responsibilities and shared mechanisms to discharge them.

In the UK, the government have accepted the recommendations of an inquiry (Follett, 2001) for formal joint arrangements over the management of clinical academics – who are accountable to both organisations. Health and education organisations, accountable for different elements of the clinical academic role, will have to develop robust systems for joint appointment and appraisal.

New structures and processes are needed to facilitate dialogue around planning and to minimise the potential for conflict where funding for academic and service activity comes from different sources and priorities between academic and service partners differ. Initiatives include: joint management boards (as opposed to liaison committees) to implement “joined up thinking” and foster joint ownership; signed agreements which outline joint working arrangements; and project task groups to review, for instance, space usage, research collaboration, financial relationships and staff development and appraisal (Smith, 2001).

Establishing an organisational dynamic between research, service and education

A key challenge for all university clinical centres is to establish an interactive and dynamic relationship that demonstrates learning across sectors and institutional boundaries.

Different institutions have approached challenges in different ways. Some have established “Academic”, “Clinical” or “Health Centres” to provide basic and clinical scientific research alongside clinical units. The institution is dedicated to the understanding of the mechanisms of disease, their investigation and treat-

ment. In these centres, health services research supports this endeavour by examining how services should be delivered in hospitals, primary care settings and the community. It aims for organisational synergy; focused on a single mission. Through interaction between missions, synergy benefits both the health and the university sector by producing value that neither institution could achieve alone.

From an organisational perspective, synergy will be gained from aligning the individual functions of each organisation to point in the same direction. It might include, for example, a joint management board, with representatives of academic and service interests and organisations, joint managerial functions and personnel, and the alignment of academic departments to maximise quality and critical mass.

The Academic Medical Centre at the University of Amsterdam aims to do this through a matrix management structure that integrates clinical and academic staff within clinical specialities engaged in joint service, education and teaching endeavour.

Developing a learning network for university-clinical partnerships

People who work at the health/university interface often feel isolated from the mainstream agenda of health and higher education. Clinical academics are sometimes seen as remote from their academic colleagues. In other faculties, they are seen as closer to the health system than the university. Similarly, teaching hospitals feel that their special mission is not recognised by other parts of the health system. They are seen as very big hospitals in which academics practice and black holes for resources. Partners in virtually all systems find themselves fighting a lonely battle for recognition of how interaction with a partner sector makes their mission unique.

There are few opportunities for people managing at the interface to meet and share experience, discuss trends and think through solutions.

Exploring fruitful parallels and connections is likely to help leaders work through appropriate solutions. It would be useful to identify critical measures of the university-clinical partnership and benchmark these across institutions. As the tripartite mission is a critical endeavour across national contexts boundaries benchmarking could be relevant internationally. Furthermore, its institutions are part of a global community.

Leaders do not want to “reinvent the wheel” when thinking about issues. There are no off-the-shelf solutions because context is critical. But the core issues are similar and those lead organisations working at the interface can learn from each other. A network of international organisations will help partners to think laterally.

Practical ways to develop learning between international centres

The most important finding from the seminar is that the core elements of the university-clinical partnership are the same across international boundaries. Discussion helped crystallise common challenges. The main conclusion is that the 21st Century tripartite mission requires new forms of engagement between health and education to focus organisational strategies on the shared mission. It will be valuable to explore ways of sharing experience and explore ways of benchmarking between international centres. Institutions like Imperial College, Karolinska Institute and Johns Hopkins University compete with each other outside national boundaries.

Universities and their partner hospitals must think globally and act locally. University-clinical partnership is a global enterprise. Partners everywhere have the same aims and are coping with similar tensions. They are also subject to similar pressures across their missions. Paradoxically, despite the internationalisation of their mission, they are also focused on a defined local community.

Because organisations have been largely responsible for pursuing the tripartite mission, discussion of this mission has been more about organisations than about the mission itself. It is important to stress the mission over organisations, to formulate the challenges faced by the mission as well as the organisational complexities in delivering it. It is also important to acknowledge that centres care for a local population and to demonstrate the benefits of partnership to this population.

Organisations across national contexts are thinking of ways to structure relationships. The aim is to manage and achieve synergy between research, service and education – resulting in tangible improvement to patients. Many of the synergies that lead to palpable improvement are achieved in spite of the organisational relationship rather than because of it. As the environment becomes more uncertain, informal relationships are more ineffective. Partners must work closely together to devise ways of creating synergy and making its impact transparent.

Environmental change has challenged the tripartite mission and organisational strategies between partners are not uniformly aligned with it. Current uncertainty about the relationship is an opportunity to think from first principles about the way the mission is managed. Are current governance arrangements structuring relationships on fruitful interaction? How is information shared between one side and the other? How different is the organisational culture across the sectors?

The nature of the organisations working at the health/university interface means that they have few peers and lack support networks. There would be value in exploring ways of networking organisations. Organisations might benchmark themselves against a number of shared priorities.

There are a number of areas of common concern that a network of partners would allow institutions to think about. These include:

- Ways to define clearly the mission of university-clinical partnership.
- Governance of specialist centres.
- Effective ways to manage partnership across institutional boundaries and to explore ways of working in partnership across the whole system, with primary and secondary care.
- Implementation issues.

Notes

1. In August 2001, the OECD's Programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE) hosted a conference to explore the experience of managing at the interface between universities and the health system. Participants met at OECD headquarters in Paris, representing health authorities, teaching hospitals, medical faculties and university institutions in 15 countries. To our knowledge, this is the first time a significant number of senior managers from health and higher education have sat down together to discuss the complexities of managing their interdependent mission.

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Academic Leaders or Corporate Managers: Deans and Heads in Australian Higher Education, 1977 to 1997

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the changing roles and personal characteristics of deans of faculties and heads of academic departments in Australian higher education institutions over a twenty-year period from 1977 to 1997. While deans and heads continued to be academics with superior qualifications and impressive research achievements, the gap between the research records of deans/heads and other academics narrowed between 1977 and 1997 but the gap between deans/heads and professors widened. Deans/heads in 1997 were somewhat less likely than in 1977 to have been professors or associate professors. Work patterns of deans/heads and other academics remained remarkably stable between 1977 and 1997, except that for both works hours per week increased. However, interest by both deans/heads and other academics in administration and committee work declined sharply between 1977 and 1997.

INTRODUCTION

Over recent years, Australian higher education institutions have moved from largely collegial to much more corporate styles of university management. This trend raises important issues about the possible impact this has had on the positions of deans of faculties and heads of academic departments. For example, have there been major changes in the work roles of deans and heads, and in the social and educational backgrounds of those who occupy these posts. Are the new generation of deans and heads more inclined to be corporate managers rather than more traditional academic leaders, with their main loyalties now being more to their vice-chancellors rather than to their academic colleagues? Are senior academics

with exemplary research records still being appointed to the positions of deans and heads, or are new appointments going to scholars of lesser standing but with relevant management expertise?

Through the use of national survey data, this article aims to address particular aspects of these issues and how the roles and characteristics of deans and heads on the one hand and their academic colleagues on the other changed over the period 1977 to 1997. Particular attention is given to social and educational backgrounds, qualifications and research achievements, academic rank, work patterns and work interests, satisfaction and interest in other appointments, and attitudes and values. Unfortunately, because of limitations with the data that were collected for other purposes, only some aspects about changing roles and backgrounds can be addressed.

Traditionally, Australian universities largely followed British patterns of academic governance and management. Professors, usually appointed following external advertisement, headed departments while faculties, whose main responsibilities related to the approval of new courses of study and examination results, were usually led by senior academics appointed by election for terms of two or three years at a time (Moses and Roe, 1990). In the 1960s and 1970s, with major expansion in student enrolments and the adoption of more democratic ideals of governance, the "God Professor" gave way first in departments to systems of rotation of headship amongst professors and then to the election or nomination of heads from amongst senior staff of a department, or in some cases, amongst all staff of the rank of lecturer and above.

Further changes followed in the 1980s and early 1990s as universities moved increasingly from collegial to more corporate styles of management (Meek and Wood, 1997, pp. 24-26; and *Higher Education Management Review*, 1995). First, in many universities, faculties became not only units of academic governance but also major cost centres to which were delegated substantial management and financial responsibilities. Second, elected deans of faculties were replaced increasingly by appointed deans (Sarros *et al.*, 1998), usually regarded by their vice-chancellors more as members of their senior management teams, rather than as spokespersons for faculties. Third, with the development of faculty cost centres, academic departments took on increased financial and resource responsibilities and many universities went back at least partially to a system of appointed rather than elected heads (Sarros *et al.*, 1997). All these changes have meant that deans and heads have increasingly taken on a range of additional financial management, personnel and reporting activities in addition to their more traditional work of academic leadership. On the other hand, since the late 1980s in most universities the financial allowances for heads of departments have been considerably increased while deans generally have been appointed with professorial salaries plus use of fully-serviced motor vehicles and sometimes additional allowances.

Meanwhile, in the late 1960s and 1970s, colleges of advanced education (CAEs) had developed somewhat different systems of academic governance and management. Most CAEs opted for schools rather than departments as their major academic units, with schools being headed by appointed heads usually carrying the salary of a university professor and being responsible for substantial financial management. Within schools, arrangements differed significantly from institution to institution, but frequently larger schools allowed disciplinary groups to be organised under the leadership of senior academics who were either elected or appointed by the Head of School. With the end of the binary system in the late 1980s, those CAEs that became universities tended to continue with the main elements of the advanced education form of academic governance and management.

Recent changes in university governance and management and possible changes in the roles and appointments of deans and heads raise important issues about the operation of higher education institutions and about the academic profession. Compared with two decades ago, what kinds of academics today seek and are appointed to the positions of dean and head? The traditional professorial heads in universities clearly were scholars of distinction, usually with strong research records, and often professors or other senior academics in turn accepted the elected position of dean. But today are deans and heads more managers than scholars? Questions such as these have important implications for academic work and the directions of higher education. Some university vice-chancellors argue that it is not essential for deans and heads to be top class researchers, since it is more important for them to have well developed management and financial skills. But difficulties arise when deans and heads selected primarily because of their management expertise are called on to make judgements about academic directions and priorities.

Other important questions relate to the extent to which female academics have gained access to the position of dean and head, the extent to which foreign born as opposed to locals hold key positions, and the work patterns of deans and heads and their satisfaction with their positions. In addition, there are important questions about values and attitudes, especially the extent to which deans and heads today identify more with senior management as opposed to the academic profession. Previous studies have pointed to the divided loyalties of deans and heads (Moses and Roe, 1990; Tucker, 1992; Sarros *et al.*, 1998; Wolverson *et al.*, 1999b).

For convenience, the paper refers to deans of faculties and heads of departments, although the actual titles of both academic units and their managers varies considerably between institutions, and has done so over the past couple of decades. Major academic cost centres today are known not only as faculties but also as colleges, institutes, schools, divisions and budget centres, while their heads may be styled deans, heads or pro vice-chancellors. Similarly, with systems of two-level academic organisation, base level academic units are also known as

schools, centres, divisions and disciplines, while their heads are variously known as heads or chairs.

DATA SOURCES AND SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS

The data for the paper come mainly from two separate national surveys. The first was a survey of academic and teaching staff in universities and CAEs conducted in 1977 by the Survey Research Centre at the University of Sydney on behalf of the Williams Committee (Committee of Inquiry, 1979), while the second was a survey of academic staff in Australian public universities conducted in 1997 as part of a project on academic work and values funded by the Australian Research Council.

For the 1977 survey, universities and CAEs were grouped in strata based on common characteristics and on this basis eight universities and eleven CAEs were selected (Beed *et al.*, 1977, 2.1; Sowerbutts, 1978). From these, samples of 20% of the total population of university academics and 24% of CAE academics were selected to receive mailed questionnaires. The response rate for university staff was 66.3% and for CAE staff was 59.0%.

For the 1997 survey, a national sample of universities was designed in a similar fashion and in such a way as to allow comparisons to be made with 1977 data. The 36 universities were classified into four strata – “Group of Eight” (Go8) consisting of old established major universities in state capitals; other pre-1987 universities; universities of technology that developed from institutes of technology in the advanced education sector; and new universities developed from other CAEs. Twelve universities were selected, with three institutions coming from each stratum. Samples were selected and questionnaires again were distributed by mail. An overall response rate of 39.0% was achieved.

In the analyses that follow, data for 1977 university and CAE respondents will frequently be considered separately, as will data for the four strata of 1997 respondents. Data for both 1977 and 1997 enable us to identify those respondents who were currently dean or head, and those who had held one or more of these positions in the previous five years. However, while the 1977 data enable us to distinguish between deans and heads, the 1997 questionnaire simply asked whether respondents were currently, or had been, a dean or head. These differences pose some problems for analysis.

In the 1977 survey, 4.0% of respondents in universities said they currently held the position of dean of a faculty and 6.6% said they had held the position of dean in the past five years, while 16.5% said they held the position of head or chairman of their department and 9.9% said that they had held this position in the past five years. For CAEs, 4.4% of a total of respondents said they currently occupied the position of dean or head of school, while 18.0% said they were currently

head or chairman of a department or discipline group. For the 1997 survey, 15.4% said they were a dean or head while 28.6% said that they had held such a position in the past five years.

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

In terms of their social and educational backgrounds, deans and heads in 1997 did not differ to any marked degree from their academic colleagues, and no dramatic changes occurred since the late 1970s except for a marked ageing of the academic profession and substantially increased representation of women.

Deans and heads traditionally have been recruited almost exclusively from amongst academics with considerable experience in the higher education sector, and often in their own institution and this pattern has continued largely today except there is a growing tendency for external advertisement of the position of dean. In both 1977 and 1997, deans and heads on average had spent considerably more years than other academics both as academics and usually in their own institutions. In 1977, for example, university deans had on average 18.3 years experience as academics and 9.5 years experience in their own institution while heads of departments had had 15.7 years experience as academics and 10.3 years experience in their own institution. In contrast, their academic colleagues had only between half and two thirds as much service. In 1997, the pattern was highly similar with deans and heads on average having 17.1 years of service as academics (compared with 12.9 years for academic colleagues) and 12.6 years of service in their own institutions (compared with 9.6 years for their academic colleagues). This overall picture of longevity as academics and as members of their own institutions helps explain the conservative nature of academic leadership and throws light on social relations within departments and faculties. Related to this there has been a decided ageing. While in 1977 some 33% of university deans and 44% of university heads were under 45 years of age, by 1997 only 20% of deans and heads were under 45 years age. A 1995 survey of heads of Australian and American University departments found that the mean for Australian departmental heads was 50.8 years compared with 50.5 years for American heads (Wolverton *et al.*, 1999a, p. 337).

While the academic profession in Australia has been strongly male dominated since its foundation, since the 1970s there has been a decided increase in the proportion of females and more recently a significant move of females into the positions of dean and head. The proportion of women amongst 1977 respondents was 14% in universities and 16% in CAEs but by 1997 females constituted 32% of respondents. In 1977, all university deans and 95% of heads in our sample were male, while in our CAE sample all deans and 88% of heads were male. In contrast, by 1997, 19% of deans and heads in our sample were female, although this was below the overall figure of 33% of female academics.

While initially Australia's academics were largely recruited from abroad, in recent years about 60% have been Australian born while additional numbers have been recruited from local migrant communities. Even then, there has been a strong tendency to recruit considerable numbers of professors and other senior staff from abroad, possibly reflecting concern about maintenance of academic standards and deference to leading international centres of scholarship. In 1977, in both universities and CAEs, Australian born were quite seriously under-represented amongst deans and heads, while academics from the United Kingdom were over-represented. By 1997, however, the proportion of deans and heads who were Australian born was almost identical to that for all university respondents, although UK born were slightly over-represented amongst foreign born in the case of deans and heads.

While initially Australia's higher education teachers came largely from middle and upper-income strata, since at least late last century strong traditions of upward social mobility through education had become well established and many distinguished academics had come from non-privileged backgrounds. Our data show that while over the period since 1977 almost half the academics were recruited from households where fathers held professional or managerial occupations, substantial proportions came from homes with relatively low educational levels and social status. In this regard, there are little appreciable differences between deans and heads and their colleagues, except for a slight tendency for a higher proportion of deans and heads to have had fathers holding professional or managerial positions. Also slightly higher proportions of deans and heads went to non-government schools, although the bulk of both deans and heads and their colleagues had government school backgrounds.

QUALIFICATIONS AND RESEARCH ACHIEVEMENTS

With the recent move away from elected deans of faculties and heads of departments towards formally appointed academic managers, are the new deans and heads academics of lesser academic and research standing than their academic colleagues? The data show this not to be so. Overall, deans and heads continue to be academics of superior qualifications and impressive achievements in research, although the gap in research achievements between deans and heads and other academics has been reduced.

In 1977, about 65% of deans and heads in universities held doctorates and this proportion did not differ greatly from that for the university academic community generally, while in CAEs the relatively small number of appointed deans were considerably better qualified than their colleagues of whom only about 20% held doctorates. By 1997, almost 75% of deans and heads compared to 58% of academics held doctorates. More significant is the data on output of scientific and schol-

arly publications. Table 1 compares the productivity of deans/heads and other staff in both 1977 and 1997. In both years, deans and heads had superior publication records to other academics. But while in 1977 the output by deans and heads was five times that for other staff, by 1997 it was only twice as great. This reduced differential could possibly result from rising productivity amongst academics generally, but alternatively it could be the result of changed selection practices for deans and heads, with increased weighting being given to managerial expertise and achievements, and possibly less to scholarly and research achievements.

Analysis of differences in 1997 data between pre-1987 and post-1987 universities provides important additional information. In pre-1987 universities, the mean number of papers for deans and heads was 59.6 papers and for other staff 30.6 papers, while the differential was less in post-1987 universities – 20.1 papers for deans and heads as opposed to 13.5 papers for other academics. This suggests pre-1987 universities have continued to put more emphasis on research achievements in making appointments of deans and heads.

Further still, in universities both in 1977 and 1997 the research performance of deans and heads was significantly less than that of professors. Amongst our 1977 university respondents, professors on average had produced 43.9 papers and 1.7 books, deans and heads 34.4 papers and 1.4 books and other staff 16.1 papers and 0.6 books, while in 1997 professors had produced 79.4 papers and 4.1 books, deans and heads 49.1 papers and 2.7 books, and other staff 23.5 papers and 1.1 books. What is important to note is that the gap between professors and deans/heads expanded significantly between 1977 and 1997. In the case of papers, in 1977 deans and heads had produced 78% of the average number produced by professors but by 1997 this had been reduced to 62%, while with books deans and heads in 1977 produced 87% of the number produced by professors while in 1997 they produced 66%.

This trend can be explained by possible factors. First, it could be the result of an increased emphasis on other than research achievements in the appointments

Table 1. **Publications of deans and heads, and of other academics**

	1977		1997	
	Deans/Heads	Other academics	Deans/Heads	Other academics
	N = 153	N = 1 731	N = 106	N = 583
Scholarly articles	26.4	5.9	49.1	25.02
Books	0.8	0.3	2.7	1.1

Source: Author.

of deans and heads. Second, possibly by 1997 professors with strong achievements in research were less attracted to the positions of deans and heads. A third possible explanation for the decreasing gap between deans/heads and other academics over the twenty-year period and the growing gap with professors could be that, because of increasing work demands, deans/heads publish less while in office. While we have no data on this, Wolverton *et al.* (1999a and 1999b) found Australian university heads to be more productive in office than their American counterparts, with Australian heads producing 11.6 scholarly papers and 0.9 books while in the position of head compared to 5.9 papers with 0.6 for American heads.

ACADEMIC RANK

Closely related to qualifications and research achievements is academic rank. In 1977, as demonstrated in Table 2, some 95% of university deans and 71% of heads were either professors or associate professors. At the same time, while almost 90% of heads of schools in CAEs held the equivalent of professor or associate professor positions, the far less important position of head or chairman of department in about 60% of cases was held by a senior lecturer or lecturer. By 1997, about 70% of deans and heads were professors or associate professors while another 22% were senior lecturers. However, there were clear differences between the four types of universities. In particular, Go8 universities and other

Table 2. Deans of faculties and heads of department by rank (percentages)

	Professor	Associate Professor	Senior Lecturer	Lecturer	Associate Lecturer	
1977						
University						
Deans	75.0	18.2	4.5	Nil	Nil	N = 44
Heads	50.3	20.8	23.4	5.1	0.5	N = 197
CAE						
Deans	81.1	8.1	5.4	5.4	Nil	N = 37
Heads	6.7	30.4	37.1	22.3	Nil	N = 224
1997						
Go8 universities	61.1	27.8	8.3	2.8	Nil	N = 227
Other pre-1987 universities	35.0	27.5	25.0	10.0	2.5	N = 200
Universities of technology	26.7	46.7	26.7	Nil	Nil	N = 117
New Universities	26.7	20.0	40.0	13.3	Nil	N = 145
Total	41.5	29.2	21.7	6.6	0.9	N = 689

Note: The 1977 survey of CAE academics used the terms Head of School instead of Professor and Principal Lecturer instead of Associate Professor.

Source: Author.

pre-1987 universities were much more inclined than universities of technology and other new universities to have faculties and departments led by professors and associate professors. While in Go8 universities almost 90% of deans were professors and associate professors, in new universities 53% of deans and heads were lecturers or senior lecturers. This later figure raises important questions about the quality and experience of academic leadership in new universities.

WORK PATTERNS AND INTERESTS

Despite a marked increase in the range and demands of their managerial functions, the work pattern each week of deans and heads has remained remarkably stable since the 1970s, except that deans and heads as well as their academic colleagues now spend more time each week in work activities. As indicated in Table 3, in both 1977 and 1997 the allocation of time differed to a marked extent between deans and heads and their academic colleagues. In both 1977 and 1997, deans and heads spent between 23 and 27 hours per week on administration and committee work, and correspondingly less time on teaching, marking, teaching preparation, laboratory classes and research. In both years, deans and heads also worked each week four to five hours longer than other academics. However, somewhat curiously, the time given by deans and heads to administration and committee work decreased slightly between 1977 and 1997.

While in both 1977 and 1997 deans and heads spent close to half each work week on administration and committee work, they still had a reasonable degree of

Table 3. Estimates of time spent on work activities during semester (percentages)

	1977		1997	
	Heads/Deans N = 154	Other staff N = 1 730	Heads/Deans N = 106	Other staff N = 584
Lectures and tutorial groups	4.78	9.01	5.30	7.92
Marking students work (including exams)	1.70	4.79	2.74	4.75
Preparation of new courses, lectures, tutorials	3.72	7.75	3.30	7.12
Laboratory classes	0.97	3.52	0.77	1.50
Student appointments	2.64	3.79	3.31	3.90
Administration	18.66	3.91	17.32	6.19
Committee work	8.19	2.04	5.73	2.47
Research and writing papers, books, etc.	3.33	6.03	8.62	11.02
Other professional community activities	5.02	3.15	5.77	3.80
Total	49.51	43.99	52.87	48.68

Note: The totals above are less than the sum of the various columns. This is because respondents provided information on hours spent on each type of activity as well as a total number of hours.

Source: Author.

involvement in teaching and research. In 1977, deans and heads spent over 11 hours in teaching and related activities, 2.6 hours in consultation with individual students and 3.3 hours in research and writing while in 1997 they spent 12 hours on teaching, 3.3 hours on student appointments and 8.6 hours on research and writing. However, compared with other academics, deans and heads in both 1977 and 1997 were more involved than other academics in postgraduate teaching. In 1997 while deans and heads on average supervised five research students, other staff supervised only three.

Despite their heavy involvement in administration and committee work, somewhat curiously deans and heads see this as the least interesting part of their work, and their interest in these activities declined appreciably between 1977 and 1997 rather than increasing as we might have expected in view of increased responsibilities. For example, as indicated in Table 4, in 1977 about 23% of university deans and heads and about 31% of CAE heads and deans found administration to be interesting or very interesting while in 1997 only about 14% rated administration as interesting or very interesting. Admittedly deans and heads in both 1977 and 1997 not only showed more interest than their academic colleagues in administration and committee work but generally they showed greater interest in key academic activities of teaching, consultation with individual students, and research and writing.

**Table 4. How interesting do you find each of the following activities?
Percentages of 1997 respondents who rated activities
as “very interesting” or “extremely interesting”**

	University		CAE	
	Deans/Heads	Other Academics	Deans/Heads	Other Academics
1977	N = 215	N = 944	N = 256	N = 552
Administration	22.8	8.0	30.5	12.0
Committee Work	9.1	7.2	21.0	13.5
Teaching	88.4	83.5	91.4	90.1
Consultation with individual students	83.7	77.3	81.9	81.3
Research and writing	90.7	89.4	70.1	66.7
1997	N = 104	N = 578		
Administration	13.5	7.5		
Committee Work	11.6	8.8		
Teaching	85.7	82.4		
Consultation with individual students	79.1	74.3		
Research and writing	90.4	84.9		

Source: Author.

Even more of a puzzle is the fact that, in 1997, 50% of the deans and heads said that they found administration very boring or dull, while 41% gave a similar rating to committee work. These ratings may reflect genuine dislike of administration and committee work but it might also be a reflection of traditional academic values in dislike for managerial work. Another possible explanation is that for many high performing academics both administration and committee work do not generate the same degree of intrinsic interest as do academic activities, particularly research and writing.

Another important trend is that over the twenty-year period not only did the interest of deans and heads in administration and committee work decline but also a similar trend occurred with respect to their academic colleagues. Two possible explanations suggest themselves. First, over the twenty year period, administration and committee work has clearly become more onerous and time demanding, with a marked increase in reporting and monitoring requirements, and an expansion of the work of deans and heads especially in financial management. Second, since the 1970s, both administration and committee work have come to be more widely shared amongst all academics, with the result that tasks that were once the exclusive domain of senior academics are no longer seen to be so attractive to both senior and junior staff.

SATISFACTION, MOBILITY AND INTEREST IN OTHER APPOINTMENTS

Over the twenty year period, academics appear to have been highly satisfied with the academic components of their jobs, although at the same time they often have been critical of various aspects of the environment and working conditions. Not surprisingly, criticisms of government policy and working conditions were much stronger in 1997 than in 1977 but, in comparison to other academics, deans and heads demonstrated greater work satisfaction and less inclination to move to another position.

Respondents in 1977 were asked how satisfied they were with their jobs. Amongst university staff, 91% said that they were "very satisfied" or "satisfied", while only 7% said they were "dissatisfied" and only 2% they were "very dissatisfied". Amongst CAE respondents, 89% were "very satisfied" or "satisfied" while about 9% said that were "dissatisfied" and 2% "very dissatisfied". Overall, deans and heads showed an even higher level of satisfaction than their academic colleagues. In fact, in 1977 all university deans and 94% of university heads said that they were satisfied or very satisfied.

The same item was not repeated in 1997, but in that survey about three in four respondents said they were satisfied with the courses they taught while 62% rejected the proposition that, if they had their time over again, they would not be an academic. For deans and heads, the percentages were almost identical on the

first item but higher on the second. The Carnegie survey of the early 1990s produced similar results for academics generally, with 77% of Australian academics saying that they were satisfied with the courses they taught and 66% disagreeing with the proposition that if they had their time over they would not become an academic (Altbach, 1996, pp. 15-17).

Data on mobility and interest in other appointments provides additional insights into satisfaction. In both surveys, respondents were asked whether they anticipated that they would be applying for another position outside their current institution in the next three years. What is notable in both 1977 and 1997 is that while about one third of respondents answered yes, less than 20% of deans and heads did so. This suggests that deans and heads felt more committed to their institutions, but it also may be influenced by the fact that many deans and heads were closer than other academics to retirement.

Respondents in both surveys were also asked about the attractiveness of other positions. Overall, the responses show remarkable consistency both for deans and heads on the one hand and their academic colleagues on the other. While the most attractive option for all academics was another higher education appointment at a higher salary, which points to a high degree of satisfaction with academic employment, in both 1977 and 1997 heads and deans showed less interest in other appointments, even at a higher salary.

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

Discussion of values and beliefs and how these have changed over time is limited somewhat by the questionnaire items used in the two national surveys. The attitudinal items in the 1977 questionnaires were designed primarily to collect information of possible interest to the Williams Committee, while in 1997 the questionnaire focused primarily on how the environment for academic work had changed, particularly related to new approaches to institutional management and funding, the introduction of full-fee courses, and a new emphasis on commercial activities and entrepreneurship. Because of these limitations, this section of the paper will consider only 1997 data.

Two key questions need to be raised about the attitudes and values of deans and heads today. First, through their management work and leadership roles, do deans and heads develop somewhat different attitudes and values to their academic colleagues? Incidental evidence suggests that many deans and heads develop more managerial than academic attitudes, especially related to matters of institutional governance and higher education policy. Second, once an academic occupies the position of dean or head, do they maintain a more managerial than academic orientation when they return to teaching and research?

In the first place, our data indicate that deans and heads make somewhat different judgements to academic colleagues about their own institutions and departments, no doubt resulting from greater access to information and to faculty-wide and institutional perspectives. In 1997, respondents were asked to rate a number of aspects related to their department. As Table 5 demonstrates, deans and heads rated all aspects higher than other academics, with differences in judgements being most marked in relation to quality of students, collegiality, and academic standards of teaching. Moreover, on all aspects, deans and heads gave higher ratings than other academics.

Deans also have different perceptions on how various factors impact on academic work. Respondents were asked to rate factors that may have had an adverse affect on their work over the past five years. Current deans and heads gave higher ratings than other staff to budget cuts, increased paper work, loss of staff, income generating activities and restructuring and former deans and heads largely agreed with these views, although over time there had been some moderation of their managerial perspectives.

With regard to institutional governance and management, on a number of issues current deans and heads differ from their academic colleagues and seem to be closer to a senior management view. For example, deans and heads agreed more strongly than other staff with the proposition that student assessment of teaching is of great importance, they seemed less concerned that contract staff are treated differently to other academics, and were less inclined than other academics to say that an increased number of fixed term contracts for academics are unjustified. Meek and Wood (1997, p. 84) found that 47% of deans in their sample agreed that setting new directions is unduly constrained by too many academic staff holding tenured positions. We also found that deans and heads tended to be

**Table 5. With reference to your department how do you rate the following?
Percentages of 1997 respondents who replied “high” or “very high”**

	Deans/heads	Other academics
	N = 105	N = 578
Morale amongst staff	26.9	20.9
Quality of teaching	68.1	62.7
Loyalty of staff of the University	28.9	27.6
Research Performance of staff	40.1	39.3
Academic standards in teaching	68.5	61.5
Collegiality	45.7	38.2
Quality of students	41.1	32.6

Source: Author.

less supportive than other academics that there should be open entry to universities and agreed more strongly that opportunities for female academics have improved recently, but are less inclined to say that their institution had too many administrators. On the other hand, on issues related to traditional academic values deans and heads share broadly similar views to their academic colleagues.

With regard to national higher education policy, deans and heads seem much closer on many issues to what we would expect to be the views of senior managers, and certainly they often held different views to their academic colleagues. Table 6 compares the views of current deans and heads with their academic colleagues on a range of higher education policy issues. On a number of issues, deans and heads took different views from their colleagues. Almost 40% of deans and heads, for example, in 1997 thought the controversial differential HECS (Higher Education Contribution Scheme) to be a good idea compared with only about 30% of academics. Similarly deans and heads were more supportive of the policy that coursework postgraduates should pay fees, and of the ideas that Australia has too many universities and that with increased competition some universities may need to close.

Analysis of data indicates a close measure of correspondence between the views of current deans and heads and those who had held one or other of these

Table 6. **Percentage of 1997 respondents who “agree” and “strongly agree”**

	Deans and heads	Other academics
	N = 103	N = 575
Differential HECS is a good idea	38.3	30.9
Higher education must serve national economic goals	41.3	34.8
Coursework postgraduates should pay fees	40.9	31.3
Australia has too many universities	52.3	39.2
Public accountability of universities is emphasised far too much	48.5	45.4
With increased competition some universities may need to close or merge with others	67.6	57.4
Multinational companies should be allowed to offer university courses and grant degrees	5.7	11.3
Further public investment in higher education is vital to maintain Australia's comparative advantage	92.4	91.2
I favour a student voucher system for universities	14.3	17.2
Quality has suffered because of increased enrolments	75.2	74.6
Private providers should be able compete for government higher education funds	9.6	17.2
I oppose the Government's plan for full-fees for some domestic undergraduates	58.1	64.7

Source: Author.

positions in the past five years. For example, in response to the proposition that student enrolments should increase only if funding is available, some 86% of current deans and heads agreed as opposed to 82% of former deans and heads and about 74% of other staff. Similarly, both current and former deans/heads largely agreed that research funding should be more concentrated and that overall performance should determine departmental funding and their views differed considerably from those of other respondents.

CONCLUSIONS

The article has attempted to throw light on the changing roles and backgrounds of deans and heads over the period 1977 to 1997, and also to compare deans and heads on these two dimensions with their academic colleagues.

Deans and heads today do not differ greatly from their academic colleagues in terms of social backgrounds and since the 1970s there have been no marked changes. While in 1977 Australian born were under-represented amongst deans and heads in universities and over-represented in CAEs, by 1997 the proportion of Australian born was almost identical to that for the academic community. Deans and heads come from similar family backgrounds to their academic colleagues, except that a slightly higher proportion of deans and heads went to non-government schools and had fathers who held professional and managerial positions.

While there has been a recent move in many universities to the appointment rather than election or nomination of deans and heads and to place increased emphasis in selection processes on management expertise experience, deans and heads continue to be academics with superior qualifications and impressive research achievements. However, the gap between the research records of deans/heads and other academics has closed considerably since the 1970s whereas the gap has increased between deans/heads and professors. In 1977, deans and heads had published about five times as many scholarly papers as other academics while by 1997 they had published about twice as many. While in 1977 university deans and heads had published about 90% as much as professors by 1997 they had published only 66% as much.

Deans and heads in 1997 were somewhat less likely than in 1977 to have been professors or associate professors. In 1977, some 95% of university deans and 71% of university heads were either professors or associate professors whereas in CAEs 90% held equivalent positions. In 1997 some 70% of heads and deans were professors or associate professors, whereas 28% were senior lecturers or lecturers. However, more important in 1997 there were striking differences between different groups of Australian universities with Go8 universities being more likely than other universities to have faculties and departments led by professors or associate professors.

Despite increased emphasis on the managerial functions of deans and heads, their work patterns remained remarkably stable between 1977 and 1997. Over this period, deans and heads have continued to work about four to five hours more per week than their academic colleagues. Deans and heads in both 1977 and 1997 spent between 23 and 27 hours on administration and committee work (compared with 6 to 9 hours for other academics) and correspondingly less time than other academics on teaching, marking, teaching preparation, laboratory classes and research. While carrying heavy administrative duties, deans and heads in both 1977 and 1997 spent some 11 to 12 hours per week on teaching, although this tended to be more at the postgraduate level than for staff generally. Curiously, while deans and heads spent considerable time on management duties, relatively few of them rated administration and committee work as interesting. Further, their degree of interest in administration and committee work has declined sharply between 1977 and 1997.

Deans and heads in both 1977 and 1997 appeared to be more satisfied than other academics with their jobs. Not surprisingly, in 1997 they were more involved than other academics in consulting and new entrepreneurial activities.

While deans and heads share broadly the same academic values as other academic staff, they differ in important respects on judgements about their own institution and on their views of various issues about institutional governance and national higher education policy. Further, those staff who had held the position of dean or head over the past five years appear to have maintained many of the orientations of deans and heads on these issues.

In many respects the findings are somewhat puzzling, especially as much greater differences might well have been expected between 1977 and 1997. The findings also raise important questions for further investigation. For example, what has been the influence of the increasing gap between the remuneration levels of ordinary academics and deans? Are the remuneration packages for deans sufficiently attractive to lead some impressive scholars to seek these positions, especially in view of the increasingly unattractive salary levels for Australian academics generally? Such a trend could help explain why many heads and deans today rate their interest in administration and committee work relatively lowly, especially compared with academic work, and why many deans and heads continue to carry major teaching and research loads despite the increasing pressures of administrative work.

The findings raise a number important policy issues for the future with regard to university management and the academic profession. Of these, two deserve special attention. First, it has been noted that the gap in research achievements between deans and heads on the one hand, and their academic colleagues on the other hand, has narrowed but the gap between professors and deans and heads

has widened. If this trend continues, it is likely that an increasing number of deans and heads with less impressive academic records will be heading academic units and will be called upon to make academic as well as management decisions. This raises issues about decisions on future academic directions of institutions, and also about the future of the academic profession. Second, with deans and heads becoming increasingly regarded as members of senior management and increasingly sharing the views of senior management on key issues, social relations in faculties and departments seem likely to change, with increased gulfs developing between deans and heads on the one hand, and their colleagues on the other.

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Transformation of Universities in the Czech Republic: Experiences of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen

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ABSTRACT

The position of Czech universities at the beginning of the last decade of the 20th century is briefly described and specific features are emphasized. The academic staff was faced with new challenges as new developments in Czech society took place. Participation in different international programmes and opportunities to obtain relevant information about trends in higher education in Europe and the world have been of crucial importance. This assistance together with changes in home legislation has accelerated the transformation process in Czech higher education.

The main part of this paper is an attempt to summarize the response of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen (UWB) to the outside world as shown in its development plan. Using UWB as an example of a medium-sized university, the paper describes the process of analysing this university's potential and its external environment, which led to the formulation of the university's development plan. In implementing this plan the main aim is to change the attitudes of the staff (both academic and non-academic). Positive results and barriers yet to be overcome are presented.

The objective of this paper is to show how universities in the former socialist block are responding to the challenges facing society today. Universities in these countries are in a special position which differs from that of universities in EU countries for historical reasons. The University of West Bohemia in Pilsen is used as an example to illustrate both the new challenges and the ways in which Central and East European universities have been responding to them.

In order to understand the present situation at universities in Central and Eastern Europe it is necessary to give a brief account of their recent history and to explain their development between the most important milestones. There is, needless to say, an essential difference between the situation in which universities in the West became aware of the need to respond quickly to the changing needs of society and the situation in which institutions of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe have found themselves faced with the same problem. In addition to the challenges of the knowledge driven society and globalised economy these institutions have to deal with the legacies of the recent past. In spite of a number of common features there have always been and still are differences among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This paper should therefore be understood in the first place as an attempt to summarise Czech experiences.

Before the Velvet Revolution in 1989 the structure of Czech higher education was very simple: after a school-leaving examination taken at one of several types of secondary school students could continue their education at an institution of higher education; all of these institutions offered five-year courses with the exception of medical faculties which offered a six-year course. There were altogether 23 institutions of higher education with 73 faculties in the Czech Republic; it does not have to be emphasised that none of them were private. Some special secondary schools, *e.g.* technical, also provided further education in the form of courses of shorter duration, usually two-year. On the whole, higher education was rather uniform. The same fields of study offered by different institutions of higher education had to be taught according to the same, centrally approved curricula. The numbers of students to be admitted to institutions of higher education were also determined by the Ministry of Education in such a way that of the 18-year old population 14.2% received higher education. Due to the rigid organisation of courses the average duration of studies exceeded only slightly the official duration mentioned above. “Unemployment” was a term not used in Czech legislation as the planned economy of that time guaranteed job opportunities to all graduates even if these opportunities were not always fully appropriate to their qualifications. Full employment presented by the representatives of the former regime as one of the great advantages of the socialist system was in fact “hidden unemployment” due to inefficient organisation and the low productivity of labour.

From this brief description it is quite obvious how much our universities in the recent past differed from the idea of a modern university of the entrepreneurial type. The basic characteristic features of higher education of that time can be summed up as follows:

- Insufficient number of institutions providing higher education.
- Minimum diversification concerning the type and duration of study.
- Lack of differentiation in the content of studies enforced by uniform curricula.

- Minimum links with Western higher education.
- Insufficient language skills of both students and staff.

The first important milestone in the development after 1989 was the Higher Education Act, which came into force in 1990. Under this Act institutions of higher education were granted autonomy and conditions were created for the establishment of new institutions of tertiary education. As a result, several new universities were founded and the number of faculties increased substantially. The assistance offered by the European Union and its institutions was essential to the implementation of all these changes in higher education. A special role was played by the TEMPUS programme and also by our co-operation with CRE and OECD. Thanks to this programme and these institutions our staff had ample opportunities to become acquainted with recent trends in higher education in the Western world. Student and staff mobility in both directions became a catalyst for positive change. The end of this first ten-year period was marked by the second Higher Education Act, which came into force in 1999, and also by a long-term strategy for the development of Czech higher education formulated in response to the Bologna Declaration. The present situation in Czech higher education resulting from the changes implemented in this period can be characterised as follows:

- There are 28 universities and other institutions of higher education with 115 faculties in the Czech Republic; of these five are private institutions.
- There are 168 colleges of further education.
- 39% of the 18-year old population are receiving higher education.
- Life-long education is gaining ground.
- There are 162 study programmes accredited by the Ministry of Education; universities are responsible for the content of these programmes and for their division into study fields.
- In addition to the traditional Master study programmes there are now also two types of Bachelor study programmes – a “serial” or Anglo-Saxon type of programme (upon receiving a Bachelor degree students can continue to study for a Master’s degree) and a “parallel” programme (*i.e.* a programme which runs parallel with the traditional five-year Master programme but is much more practically orientated; the possibility of studying for a Master’s degree is limited to students who have met certain additional requirements).
- Universities are now enjoying a high degree of autonomy; there are still limitations concerning their entrepreneurial activities.
- Student mobility has increased considerably – around 1% of UWB students are spending a part of their studies abroad.

- Staff mobility is enriching the teaching (through the presence of foreign academic staff and through the experience gained by the Czech staff) even for those students who cannot go abroad.
- The standard of higher education management is now much higher than it was ten years ago.

In spite of all the positive changes implemented over the past ten years there still persist a number of problems that are a serious obstacle to the development of modern universities respecting market principles in education, research and development. These include:

- Traditional thinking and resistance to change among older and middle-aged staff, sometimes shared even by the young generation.
- The language barrier which is being overcome very slowly due, among other things, to inconsistencies in the organisation of language teaching and in some cases also to the inherited emotional opposition to the compulsory teaching and learning of a language that is not the students' mother tongue.
- The disproportion between the needs of tertiary education and the financial resources of the state, which is felt all over the world but is magnified where the state is relatively poor (at present the Czech state is spending 4.5% of its GNP on this sector and the GNP share per one citizen of the Czech Republic is twice smaller than the average share in EU countries).
- The reconstructed and gradually developing enterprises are slowly becoming additional sources of finance for higher education institutions thanks to contractual research and technology transfer.
- The academic community is suffering from a shortage of young staff; this shortage is very difficult to overcome due to relatively low salary levels and the inadequately functioning housing market which is a serious obstacle to staff mobility.

The beginning of a new period in the development of Czech higher education coincides with the beginning of the millennium and is marked by the new Higher Education Act of 1999 and by the implementation of the ideas of the Bologna Declaration. Although a number of problems are still persisting, the overall situation is now much more similar to that in EU countries than it was ten years ago.

Using Clark's well-known triangle, the vertices of which are the state, the university and the market, we can depict the development of universities not only in the Czech Republic but also in the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Universities fully controlled by the state under the communist regime developed into institutions enjoying extensive, sometimes quite unrestrained autonomy in the first years following the collapse of the Soviet bloc; at present, all their activities including education and research are increasingly influenced by market forces and they are

gradually being transformed into institutions of the entrepreneurial type. The fact that the problems we are now solving are similar to those being solved by universities all over the world is very encouraging for us and the information and know-how which these universities are ready to share with us are very helpful and stimulating.

Even if this development is desirable and inevitable, it is necessary to ponder on the content of the concept of a university of the entrepreneurial type but not to yield to the temptation of making a fetish of it. This danger is considerable especially in former socialist countries where “market” often had a pejorative flavour but was regarded as a panacea for all problems after 1989. It is our firm belief that universities are an integral part of a rapidly growing educational, research and development market which is being globalise (and to a large extent is already global). As part of the market, universities have to rapidly begin to behave in an entrepreneurial way. This does not mean that they should completely abandon Humboldt’s idea of a university – on the contrary, they must continue to meet the needs of various groups of people and institutions and fill education with humanistic values. Examples of such groups and institutions are the state, various communities such as the European Union and, last but not least – in a very abstract sense – humankind with its ingrained search for knowledge.

Thus, even if we call the university that we are trying to develop a university of the entrepreneurial type, in our understanding this university should include all the above mentioned features, *i.e.* it should be successful in the existing market; thanks to this success it should then be able to satisfy the desire for knowledge and in this way to contribute to the humanisation of society.

I would now like to concentrate on the situation and experiences of our university. With its 12 000 students it represents a medium-sized institution. One of its characteristic features is the wide spectrum of disciplines its faculties cover; these include mechanical and electrical engineering, natural sciences and economics as well as law and the humanities. Although the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen was established as late as 1991, the history of the institutions that merged to form it is much longer as both of them, *i.e.* the Pilsen Institute of Technology and the College of Education, were founded soon after World War II. I believe that in this as well as in many other respects the course we have taken is very close to the recommendations given by Clark (1998) while respecting the above mentioned specific conditions in Central and Eastern Europe.

The second development plan in the ten-year history of our university has been conceived as preparation for the transformation of the university into a university of the entrepreneurial type. A special team appointed by the Rector of the University and guided by professional advisers spent half a year of very intensive work analysing a number of areas that play an essential role in this transformation. A list and brief descriptions of these areas can serve as an example of an approach already partly verified in practice.

DEFINITION OF THE AREA OF “ENTREPRENEURSHIP”

It is essential to make a fundamental decision on the area of “entrepreneurship”, *i.e.* on that part of the segment of the education, research and development in which the university is able and willing to actively participate. Universities of the traditional type usually cover all these areas. Definition of the main areas is not sufficient in itself; a detailed segmentation of these areas is also of great importance. Examples of such a segmentation include:

- Technical and economic education at both Bachelor and Master levels.
- Legal and arts education at both Bachelor and Master levels.
- Research and development including the contribution of PhD students to research.
- R&D transfer to enterprises.
- R&D transfer to public administration.
- Life-long education.
- Complementary economic activities which are not part of the main area of university activities.

EVALUATION OF THE MARKET IN INDIVIDUAL SEGMENTS

In order to be able to evaluate the market in the above mentioned segments it is necessary to define the corresponding customers. In the area of education these customers may include:

- Students.
- Future employers.
- The general public (in life-long education).
- Enterprises (in retraining).
- Parents of students.
- International students.

In the area of research and development these customers may include:

- National grant agencies.
- Enterprises.
- Postgraduate students.

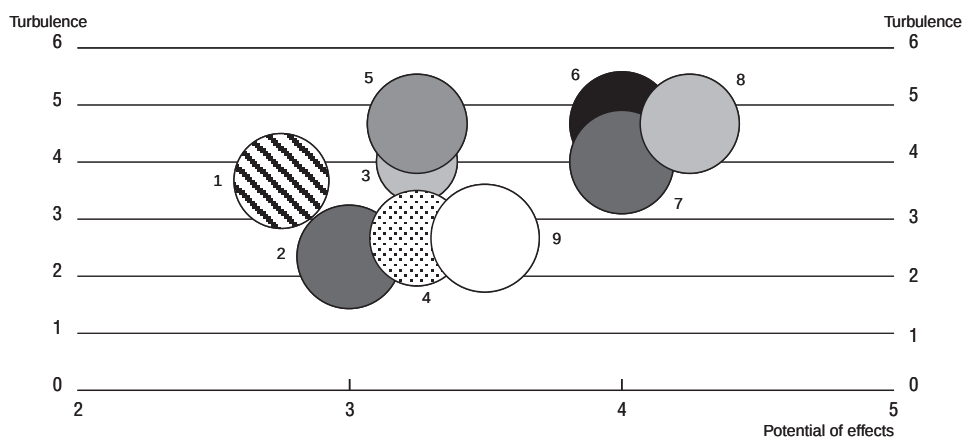
The last group of customers consists of:

- The region.
- The state.
- The university staff.

MARKET TURBULENCE AND POTENTIAL

Characteristic features of the university market are its turbulence and potential. Turbulence is understood as the possibility of sudden changes, the influence of competition and substitutes, and the changeability of demand. The potential of possible effects includes the availability of grants, the possibility of expansion, costs, etc. Figure 1, in which the diameter of the circle corresponds to the internal conditions for success in the corresponding market provides a very good basis for making strategic decisions on future transformation steps. The University of West Bohemia in Pilsen has a very strong position in the area of R&D transfer and further education thanks to the rapidly developing sector of small and medium-sized enterprises in the region and to the demand for further education due to the restructuring of industry, the growth of the service sector and last but not least to the demand for education that was not satisfied in the past.

Figure 1.



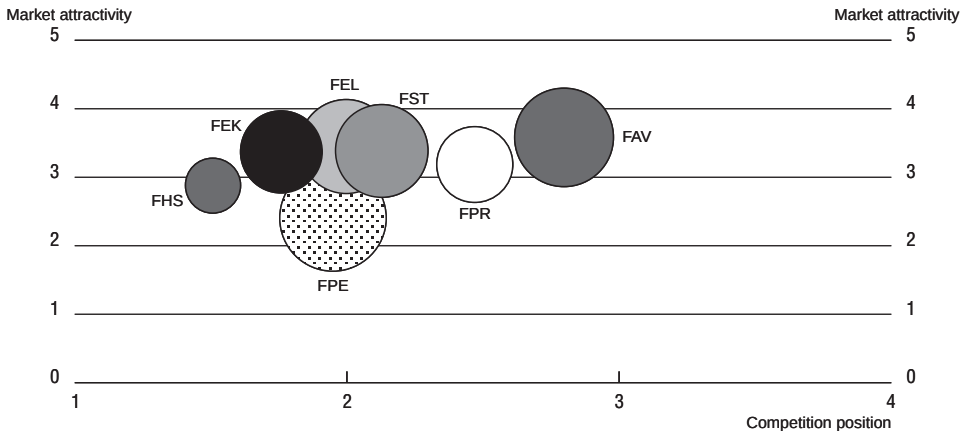
Source: Author.

PORTFOLIO ANALYSIS

By the portfolio we understand the faculties which are, in accordance with the current legislation, responsible for the implementation of the educational process and for their R&D activities. It is, however, also possible to understand the portfolio as consisting of *e.g.* departments or institutes. In order to be able to evaluate it properly, we need an expert estimate of the attractiveness of the faculty markets

and of their competitiveness. By attractiveness we mean *e.g.* prospects of market growth, the strength of competition, barriers to entering the entrepreneurial scene, etc. The result of such an analysis in graphic form is given in Figure 2. The circle diameters correspond to the shares of the individual faculties in the present market.

Figure 2.



Source: Author.

STRENGTH WEAKNESSES ANALYSIS

The aim of this analysis is to improve the competitiveness of the university and its parts. For this purpose it is necessary to identify the internal factors influencing their performance and to evaluate both the present state and the importance of these factors. In this way we can obtain the most critical factors characterised by the biggest strategic gap between reality and importance (so-called GAP). It is generally accepted that for most universities in Central and Eastern Europe the following factors are the most critical:

- Ageing staff whose qualifications (certainly their language skills) and attitude to modern trends and to change in general were negatively influenced by the former regime under which they spent their most productive years; moreover, little attention is paid to staff development and it is difficult to recruit talented young staff due to rather low salaries.

- Gaining additional funding (in addition to the funds obtained from the Ministry of Education) from various sources through such activities as *e.g.* technology transfer, life-long education, distance learning, etc.
- Elimination of ineffective processes and rapid introduction of new processes, overcoming of conservatism and developing the ability to take reasonable risks.

ANALYSIS OF COMPETITION

Competition is a rather unusual concept as far as universities and institutions of higher education in general are concerned; in the present situation it is, however, a very necessary concept. As its use in education is very new, there is great resistance to it – as if competition was contradictory to academic ethics.

The following institutions can be regarded as competitors:

- Other universities in the home country and abroad – both in the educational process and in R&D.
- Other institutions of tertiary education – in the Czech Republic these include in the first place colleges of further education, which are developing very rapidly and which will soon demand the right to award Bachelor degrees.
- Private institutions of higher education.
- Other institutions offering non-traditional forms of education (life-long education, distance learning or virtual universities).
- Research institutions, such as the Academy of Sciences.

It is necessary to keep emphasising the positive content of the concept “competition”, which does not exclude co-operation and which motivates the universities to improve the quality of all their activities.

The aim of this analysis of competition is to define the ways in which a university can succeed in the competition with other universities. A highly promising way is the forming of alliances – franchising colleges of further education is a suitable form of such alliances.

PROGNOSIS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

An important principle in the modern strategic management of an enterprise is the so-called management from the future. This means that it is necessary to work with a prognosis of the state of the environment in a span of ca ten years, to monitor the development of the environment with the help of descriptors and to respond to it in time. In the case of universities this approach is absolutely neces-

sary as there is a long interval between the design of a product and its sale in the market. The steps to be taken can be summarised as follows:

- Definition of the areas of the environment having a decisive influence on the university.
- Structuring of the areas.
- Formulation of numerical descriptors and alternatives of their future development.
- Creation of consistent scenarios by means of special techniques.
- Definition of the consequences of these scenarios including an economic model of these consequences.
- Proposal of adequate strategic measures.

The following are examples of areas exerting influence on universities:

- Structure of industry and services.
- Development of information technologies.
- National policy in education and in R&D.
- Political and economic situation.
- World trends in science.
- Development of the given region.
- Culture and style of living.
- Recognised values of life.
- Development of international contacts.
- Demographic development and migration.

The alternative forms of development in the individual areas can be easily imagined in the light of present developments as well as future prospects. The entry of the Czech Republic into the European Union, changes in the Union itself, immigration from Eastern Europe, the rapid development of the Internet and multimedia, changes in the industrial structure in the Czech Republic as well as in the West Bohemian region, accompanied by the growing number of small and medium-sized enterprises – these are only a few of the factors that may influence the situation of individual universities, such as the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen. A university must direct its strategy towards the most probable development scenarios but at the same time it must be ready to respond to different developments.

ECONOMETRIC MODEL

The econometric model represents the impact of the formulated scenarios. As universities in the Czech Republic are allocated funding from the state budget according to the numbers of their students, the basic econometric indicator is the number of students in the individual programmes and forms of study that the state is ready to fund. Some other indicators are as follows:

- Money spent on technology transfer by both the state and enterprises.
- Funding of life-long education from the EU projects and budget.
- Funding of life-long education from private sources.
- R&D grants.

CUSTOMERS AND VALUES RECOGNISED BY THEM

For customers (see above) it is necessary to define the values that they recognise including the modifications that can be expected in the chosen scenarios of the development of the environment.

CHOICE OF STRATEGY AND DEFINITION OF CORE COMPETENCES

This step is the culmination of the preceding steps. It is necessary to choose a strategy which has the highest degree of prospective effectiveness and which is sufficiently resistant or at least adaptable to possible alternative scenarios. It is also necessary to be aware of the risks connected with the implementation of this strategy. Every strategy includes core competences which ensure sustainable competitive advantages. Examples of these competences are as follows:

- Selection and training of tailor-made graduates.
- Co-operation with their potential employers.
- Commercialisation of R&D results creating additional sources of funding; a part of this funding can be used to increase salaries and thus results, among other things, in the creation of better conditions for retaining and recruiting highly qualified staff.
- Forming effective alliances in education and in R&D.

Internationalisation, although very important, has not been mentioned so far as a special area. It is important and must therefore be included in all university activities as it is also a basic feature of the above mentioned core competencies. Graduates must be prepared for the international contacts of their future employers who may be foreign firms; international co-operation in R&D is now a matter of course and alliances with foreign partners seem to be quite a realistic prospect.

DEFINITION OF THE VISION AND MISSION OF A UNIVERSITY STRATEGIC GOALS

The vision, mission and quantified strategic goals are an extract of the results of the above described preparation of the transformation of a university. They present the university to the outside world as an institution unique in what it is offering and include all that the academic community have to agree on if the development of the university is to receive the necessary impulse to drive it forward. To define these concepts was very unusual at Czech universities in the past; the acceptance of and identification with them is a great challenge when creating the entrepreneurial culture of an institution as described by Clark (1998).

OPERATIONALISATION OF STRATEGY

This is a very important step; whether the activities mentioned above will result in the qualitative changes and in the transformation of the university depends to a great extent on a consistent implementation of this step. It is necessary to design intermediate strategies in the form of projects which will ensure the development of the core competences. The project form is essential because it makes it possible to name the team who will implement the project, to determine quite unambiguously who is responsible for the implementation, to define objectives that can be easily evaluated for both the whole project and its stages, and to set deadlines. The participation of as many staff members as possible in the design and implementation of the strategy is one of the most effective ways ensuring to positive changes in the university culture.

Examples of such projects include:

- Identification of key processes.
- Development of ways of improving communication.
- Development of external relations.
- Design and implementation of a strategic and managerial information system.
- Development of human resources.
- Development of professional competence.
- Design and implementation of a system of life-long education.
- Development of the offer of study programmes.
- Commercialisation of R&D results.
- Assurance of R&D quality.
- Assurance of the quality of teaching.
- Optimisation of economic processes.

All projects must meet the five requirements of successful transformation described by Clark (1998). These are:

- Strengthening of the management.

The system of electing, for clearly defined terms, academic administrators (vice-rectors, deans) who are responsible for certain areas of the activities of the university (academic affairs, R&D, faculty management) is, from the long-term perspective of an entrepreneurial university quite unsuitable for several reasons: these administrators cannot devote themselves fully to their managerial tasks as they are also expected to continue their engagement in education and R&D, their return to full-time teaching and research after one or two terms of office is difficult, it is not efficient to entrust academic staff, totally unprepared for managerial tasks, with managerial duties and to replace them, when they have acquired the necessary knowledge and skills, with new, equally unprepared staff.

A good solution to this problem is the professionalisation of senior management through the introduction of so-called academic related officers who take over the everyday managerial tasks while the rector, vice-rectors, deans and vice-deans are responsible for the overall strategy and have the role of a board of governors. The implementation of this system is very difficult as old traditions are always difficult to overcome. Moreover, the establishment of several new positions requiring relatively high qualifications is financially very demanding. Nevertheless, the change seems to be necessary if we want to achieve greater managerial efficiency. The areas in which this change has already taken place are showing positive results.

- Creation of an organisational structure.
- Diversification of financial sources.
- Stimulation of members of the academic community.
- Creation of an integrated entrepreneurial culture.

The last two requirements, *i.e.* the stimulation of the university and the creation of a desirable culture, are two of the most difficult tasks for our universities. This has been shown by the sociological research carried out as part of the preparation of the UWB strategy. The problems connected with the staff have already been discussed in the introduction to this paper; here it can only be stated that the research has confirmed the problems mentioned above, especially a lack of desire for change. A positive finding, however, has been the change in the attitudes of those staff members who have actively participated in the preparation of the development plan. Experience thus gained has shown that it is necessary to form relatively large teams who prepare and work on projects; in this way we should be able to create a “heartland” of a critical size which will ensure the

implementation of the transformation. If the transformation is to be successful, it is necessary to follow the generally recognised principle “there is no management without evaluation”; applied to the university this means that it is necessary to analyse the university culture at regular intervals and make full use of approaches verified in enterprises.

SUMMARY

Thanks to the autonomy gained after the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and in spite of the difficult economic situation Czech universities have, to a large extent, overcome problems inherited from the past.

Some problems connected with the staff structure still persist.

The awareness of present challenges is comparable with that at other European universities.

An effective response to these challenges seems to be the transformation of universities into universities of the entrepreneurial type yet still respecting the role of universities as a source of knowledge and the continuing humanisation of society.

A suitable tool for such a transformation is an in-depth analysis, which is the basis for a development plan exploiting methods currently used by enterprises.

The key factor for achieving success is the implementation of projects which are based on the development plan and which involve a large number of university staff.

The involvement of as many staff as possible is the best way of achieving positive changes in the university culture; this, in turn, is a necessary prerequisite for the positive development of the whole university.

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Reform in a Fragmented System: Higher Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina

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ABSTRACT

The 1992-95 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina created deep ethnic divisions in already-fragmented university structures, where individual faculties possessed considerable academic and financial independence. The faculties, in turn, in the Humboldtian tradition, were composed of semi-autonomous "chairs" and institutes. This level of the organisation had gained added autonomy in the Communist period from the distinctive Yugoslav "self-management" principle, intended to empower operating units. This fragmentation at institutional level is compounded in present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina by the absence of any effective national-level planning and control of higher education.

Post-war reform efforts by international agencies have addressed some of the problems of this fragmented structure. But they have not taken sufficient account of the differences between the academic principles on which the universities of Bosnia-Herzegovina are founded and those of the Anglo-American tradition, from which models of managerial reform are typically taken. Through a better understanding of the universities' long-established organisational frameworks, it may be possible for aid projects to help achieve enhanced institutional managerial effectiveness and to reverse some of the more damaging effects of multi-level fragmentation.

INTRODUCTION

Fragmentation is the predominant characteristic of higher education in present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina. In a country still recovering from a bitter war and divided socially and politically between three ethnic groups, the universities have themselves in some cases split along ethnic lines, creating intractable problems of academic effectiveness and organisational efficiency. In all cases, the universities

are also internally fragmented, being collections of largely independent faculties, which themselves provide only weak management in respect of the “chairs” (*katedra*) and institutes of which they are, in turn, composed. The chair structure means that academic disciplines are themselves often dispersed within the universities.

Not only are institutions and disciplines fragmented, but so also are policy and funding responsibilities for higher education. There is no national higher education system as such: as a result of the 1995 Dayton Accords and Paris Peace Agreement which brought an end to the war, education, including higher education, is a cantonal responsibility in the Bosniac/Croat “entity” (known as “the Federation”). As a result, each of the five universities there is funded by its local cantonal ministry of education. There is also a Ministry of Education, with negligible powers, for the Federation as a whole. The two universities in the Serb entity (the Republika Srpska, or RS) are funded by the RS Ministry of Education (Phare, 2000; World Bank, 2000).

As part of the continuing international assistance effort for Bosnia-Herzegovina, both the World Bank and the European Commission are operating programmes to support and modernise higher education. The higher education models these agencies have in mind are, I argue, Western ones, effectively Anglo-American, implying well-integrated organisational frameworks with strong central managements. But the pre-war, relatively effective Yugoslav university system, of which Bosnia-Herzegovina formed a part, was based on the quite different chair/faculty model (Council of Europe, 1999). The expectations of both academic and administrative staff operating this model are different to what would be found in an institution operated along Anglo-American lines. Current reform efforts are therefore seeking to apply modern management approaches in an organisational model implying fragmentation into faculties and chairs; in a recently-fragmented institutional pattern; in a fragmented structure for control and funding; all set in the context of the after-effects of a bloody and destructive war.

This paper will analyse these issues in more detail, and will suggest that a better appreciation of the organisational implications of existing university structures is important in achieving effective reform.

BACKGROUND TO REFORM

The civil war (or war of aggression, depending on your point of view) in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992-95 was the most devastating result of the break-up of federal Yugoslavia. Figures are imprecise, but estimates of deaths range from 150 000 to 350 000, with some two million people becoming refugees (out of a pre-war population of just over four million). The extended siege of the capital, Sarajevo, alone led to some 10 000 deaths. Some 7-8 000 Muslim civilians were massacred by Serb forces at Srebrenica in July 1995, by far the worst single atrocity in Europe

since the end of the Second World War (Dizdar and Kemal, 1996; Malcolm, 1996). Throughout the country, destruction of buildings and infrastructure was extensive.

The Dayton Accords and the subsequent Paris Peace Agreement, signed in December 1995, established Bosnia-Herzegovina as a sovereign state composed of two entities and three constituent people: the predominantly Muslim Bosniacs and the Bosnian Croats occupying one entity, and the Bosnian Serbs the other entity. The complex post-war ethnic divisions which Dayton fixed mean that, in what became the Bosniac and Croat areas, most administration takes place at cantonal, or sub-cantonal, levels, as it is not possible to reach consensus on many matters on the basis of larger – and thus multi-ethnic – areas.

This fragmentation follows through to the universities. At the end of the Communist period, higher education in Bosnia-Herzegovina comprised the major University of Sarajevo, founded in 1949, and the smaller Universities of Banja Luka, Tuzla and Mostar. The latter three universities were established as part of a 1970s Yugoslav higher education expansion programme, which saw a doubling of student numbers in Bosnia to 60 000 in the decade to 1980 (Samolovcev, 1989; Dizdar and Kemal, 1996).

At the end of the war in 1995, the University of Sarajevo split in two, with a larger, effectively Bosniac, university occupying most of the pre-war university buildings in Sarajevo; and a smaller Serb-dominated institution, known as the University of Srpsko Sarajevo. The faculties comprising this institution are spread across some 250 kms in the eastern part of the RS. In the south of the country, the University of Mostar split into two small institutions, one Bosniac and one Croat.

The table below shows the fragmented and unbalanced nature of current provision. (It also shows that student numbers have yet to regain the level of 20 years ago.) The University of Sarajevo accounts for nearly half of total national provision – yet is funded by its local canton (although it is the one with the largest tax-base).

University	Academic Year 2000/01, FTES (part-time at 0.25)
Sarajevo	23 158
Tuzla	6 954
Mostar east (Bosniac)	1 798
Mostar west (Croat)	3 760
Bihac	2 492
RS universities (2)	14 100
Total	52 261

Source: Farrant and Temple, 2001.

Tuzla is pre-war institution of a reasonable size and with growth potential, given its location in an industrial city. The two Mostar universities are clearly sub-optimal, and political and funding constraints mean that for both growth will be

difficult. Bihac is a former technical training college which has been designated by its canton as a university. Its growth is constrained by its physical remoteness in the far west of the country, and by the limited population and financial resources of its locality. The data for the two RS universities (the data are not separable) cover one quite large (about 10 000 students) and well-established pre-war university at Banja Luka, the RS capital, and the smaller post-war University of Srpsko Sarajevo.

The only body in Bosnia-Herzegovina which tries to take a national over-view of higher education – other than the various international agencies – is the Higher Education Co-ordinating Board, established in 2000 on the initiative of the World Bank and the Council of Europe (World Bank, 2000). This body has no legal or resource-related powers, and acts broadly as the representative voice of the universities – what would in other countries be the rectors' conference. Ethnic divisions on the Board limit what it can achieve: as with all organisations with more than a purely local remit, each ethnic group effectively holds a veto (Phare, 2000) – a constitutional understanding which is all the stronger for dating back to Yugoslav times, when an understanding arose of a “one of each” appointments system for public jobs (Malcolm, 1996, p. 204).

ORGANISATIONAL FORM OF THE UNIVERSITIES

Clark, in his study of national higher education systems (Clark, 1983), considers “the continental mode” as one of the main distinctive ways in which higher education is organised around the world. This mode is based on the two great nineteenth-century European university traditions: the Humboldtian university from Germany, and the Napoleonic university from France. Both traditions, in different ways, considered the university to be at the service of the state; in return, the state undertook to fund the university and, in the Humboldtian model, to safeguard academic freedoms. As in twentieth-century developing countries, the university system was seen in much of nineteenth-century continental Europe as a crucial contributor to national identity, economic development, and social modernisation, and was accordingly controlled by the state authorities in detail (Neave and van Vught, 1994, p. 13; Mazower, 2000, p. 109). This is a conception distinct from the Anglo-American model, which emphasises university autonomy and seeks to distance the university from the state – even though the university may be state funded. (This difference in philosophy did not prevent the Anglo-American university from borrowing extensively from the Humboldtian tradition, notably appropriating its disciplinary and research emphasis.)

For Clark, the continental mode's key organisational feature is an “authority structure that expresses primarily the interests of two groups: senior professors and officials located in a state ministry, two relatively small groups in the vast con-

glomeration of interests found in modern nations" (Clark, 1993, p. 126). In terms of university management, these groups would not see their interests being served by having "a separate administrative class and have simply elected deans and rectors as amateur administrators on short appointments and easy recall". Bureaucracy working down, says Clark, "meets oligarchy working up, and neither powerful group has been interested in creating an autonomous third force in the middle". The universities of Bosnia-Herzegovina lie squarely within Clark's continental mode, being based on the classical Humboldtian model and exhibiting its lack of professional management.

The structure of the Humboldtian university is "built around the autonomous chair holder with his (*sic*) private research institute and his acolytes" (Perkin, 1984). Clark has argued that historically the main reason for the persistence of the university as an organisational form has been its flexibility, its ability to adapt to new intellectual patterns by adding or subtracting departments (Clark, 1984). The Humboldtian university offered a variant, as it grew by proliferating new professorships in new disciplines or sub-disciplines, rather than expanding the roles of existing chairs or otherwise reorganising. This was initially a strength, leading to a disciplinary and research focus when other university systems were more generalist and teaching-based. Members of the University of Berlin, von Humboldt's own creation, gained 27 Nobel Prizes in the period up to 1939 (de Rudder, 1999). It was the obvious model for Yugoslavia, creating its own national university system after 1918; and in any case, it had inherited the same tradition through its oldest university, Zagreb, which had developed as an Austro-Hungarian state university (Samolovcev, 1989).

Despite its strengths, growth in the Humboldtian university tended to lead to a sprawling structure, difficult to manage even if the central university administrations had been stronger than they were. Perkin (1984, p. 35) argues that its diffuse structure caused the system to slow down, and that "the rigidly separate and isolated research institutes, each under the personal control of a single professor, may have discouraged new blood, innovation and competition". Clark also identifies this chair-based organisational structure, in contrast to the Anglo-American departmental structure, as a restraint on change (Clark, 1983, chap. 6). Taking a slightly different line to Perkin, he argues that the chair structure, with academic staff in small groups around an individual professor, limits the adaptive capacity of an institution. This is because, Clark suggests, the multiplication of chairs fragments decision-making capacity, and institutional growth over-burdens the individual chair-holders: "chair power is dysfunctional as well as undemocratic". The chair structure may therefore create organisational systems problems as well as human relations ones.

The chair and the faculty continue in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the basic university organisational form. Yugoslavia's early split with the Soviet Union meant that,

unlike many countries in Eastern Europe, the Soviet approach of developing industry-specific institutes (Zajda, 1980) was not pursued. As a result, the main Yugoslav universities, including Sarajevo, expanded during the Communist period with new chairs and faculties being added, rather than there being created a large number of separate specialist institutions, as happened for example in neighbouring Romania (World Bank, 1996, p. 71). This also meant that there was less experience of institutional change.

Clark observes that the chair system provides “a narrow base for comprehending and managing a modern discipline” (1983, p. 187). A particular example of this difficulty to be seen across Eastern European universities today is the fragmentation of disciplines: for example, a university with an applied mission may have three or four chairs in the same pure discipline, each of a few people, each located in a different applied faculty. In a report analysing this problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina, this structure has been described as a “chaotic mosaic ... leading to unnecessary duplication ... causing increased expenditure and unevenness in quality of education and [poor use of] space” (Karabegovic, 2001). But the extent of the difficulties encountered in recent years by those seeking to reform the chair system in the German universities indicates the change-resistant nature of the Humboldtian university (Bollag, 1998; Enders, 2001).

The pattern in Bosnia-Herzegovina (in common with the rest of former Yugoslavia, and with some other countries in the region) of yet further fragmentation of universities into largely autonomous faculties, each with essentially total control over its own academic and financial affairs, adds considerably to the difficulty of implementing institutional change (Council of Europe, 1999; Littlewood, 1999). In former Yugoslavia, the distinctive approach of “self-management” applied to all organisations a consensus method of decision-making, involving both a workers’ council and what would now be called the organisation’s stakeholders. In the universities, this “self-management” normally occurred at sub-faculty level (Samolovcev, 1989), meaning that both faculty and central university managements were even weaker than in the usual continental mode institution.

The Humboldtian structure, we have seen, tends to create a set of human relations and decision-making problems. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, fragmentation at both university and faculty levels adds a further set of problems which might be described as ones of cohesion. These include a reluctance for staff to work together in teams; to transmit information around the institution; to commit themselves to particular courses of action, and then to work to implement them systematically (Farrant and Temple, 2001). These difficulties all present barriers to improving management in the universities, and are related to the chair/faculty structure and the resulting lack of corporate identity, exacerbated in this case by the further levels of fragmentation described here.

REFORM IN PRACTICE

The reform programmes for higher education in Bosnia-Herzegovina funded by international agencies, primarily the World Bank and the European Commission, do not clearly acknowledge and plan to take into account the distinctive heritage of the continental mode. Rather, managerial improvements consistent with the Anglo-American mode are generally proposed. Thus, the World Bank seeks stronger central university managements which can undertake strategic planning, together with “efficient governance” (World Bank, 2000, p. 13) – by which the Bank does not, presumably, mean senates controlled by senior professors on the continental pattern. The European Commission similarly speaks of the need to “induce effective strategic planning” and to establish “proper legal/regulatory frameworks and governance for each university” (Phare, 2000, p. 15). These aims, unexceptional to those familiar with Western higher education models, are not part of the experience of those who have worked only in a state-controlled university system, originally conceived within the continental tradition, and elaborated within a non-democratic polity.

While the re-integration of the universities which split after the war is part of the international agencies’ objectives, this is dependent on wider political and constitutional changes affecting the post-war settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina generally. Support for integration of the universities internally – a necessary prerequisite for introducing managerial changes on the Western model – is also given as a more immediate objective of the international agencies (World Bank, 2000, p. 7), but the practical implications of, for example, increasing the authority of rectors at the expense of that of chairs, are not examined. This lack of analysis of the fine structures of the universities is consistent with the view that Western managerial approaches can be introduced without undue difficulty.

The extent of the difference between proposals conceived with a Western university model in mind, and the reality of higher education management in Eastern Europe, can be gauged by examining the implications of introducing strategic planning, one of the key aims stated for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and one commonly stated for most higher education reform projects in the region (World Bank, 1996; 1998). For strategic planning to become a reality, a clear institutional mission needs to be articulated, implying a concept of reaching decisions corporately which is unfamiliar to the continental mode university. Then, a planning team needs to gather information and data to provide the basis for the strategies which will deliver the vision set out in the mission statement. As we have seen, the university will have few staff used to working in a team of this kind, and the data will in many cases have to be specified and collected for the first time. Once these difficulties have been surmounted, the issue of organisational change affecting the chairs and faculties, which only acknowledge limited university authority, has to

be addressed if the strategic plan is to be more than a public relations exercise. Even this superficial analysis, of a single reform objective, indicates the distance between a statement of intention based on one organisational model, and the reality of achieving changes in institutional behaviour in a different model.

The tendency of international agencies to present higher education models from one (normally, Western) organisational culture for adoption by another has been noted in other settings, both elsewhere in Eastern Europe (Tomusk, 2000) and in Asia (Weidman, 1999; Billing and Thomas, 2000), for example. The “cognitive dissonance” produced by the presentation of proposals for change, which call for the new attitudes and organisational structures noted in the strategic planning example above, would be difficult enough to cope with in any setting. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, further levels of complexity also have to be taken into account.

I have considered how the Humboldtian structure creates a change-resistant academic organisation, the chair, as the “basic unit” (Becher and Kogan, 1992). The faculty within which chairs are located is in Bosnia-Herzegovina the essential institution-level organisation. The university itself has often played little more than a ceremonial role. At all these three levels, management (in the Western sense) is weak or effectively absent. The relative lack of institutional change during the Communist period, noted above, may also have contributed to this managerial weakness, as may the “self-management” approach by further diluting institutional authority. To continue Becher and Kogan’s four-level structural analysis (the individual, the basic unit, the institution, the central authority), we come to a further problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the top level.

In the Bosniac/Croat Federation, this top level is the university’s local canton. Higher education is therefore localised in terms of policy and finance, although it appears that pre-war attitudes allow students freely to enter universities in cantons other than their own. There are benefits from this degree of localisation – a degree of responsiveness to local needs, for example, that is not typically found in Eastern European universities, and the avoidance of a cumbersome capital-city bureaucracy (Farrant and Temple, 2001). But this fragmentation of what would nearly everywhere be a national-level responsibility means that academic standards vary widely – even to the extent of there being serious questions as to whether degrees awarded by particular universities at certain periods carry any credibility (Karabegovic, 2001) – and that the normal benefits of even a loosely-coupled system are hard to achieve. The efficiency gains to be expected through a normative funding system, for example, cannot readily be achieved with only one institution in each funding model: although it would technically be possible to overcome this problem by using sophisticated benchmarking techniques, this does not currently seem to be a likely outcome.

BUILDING ON TRADITION

How, then, should the traditions of the universities in Bosnia-Herzegovina be taken into account by aid agencies wishing to enhance the impact of assistance aimed at improving the effectiveness of higher education? How should efforts to improve effectiveness connect with the need to counter institutional fragmentation?

The first step should be to analyse more closely the existing university structures, and to see to what extent these can be made more effective, while respecting the historically-important academic principles which underlie them. This analysis could lead, for example, to the merger of a number of chairs and institutes in related fields. As well as contributing to institutional re-integration, benefits of such a move could be enhanced academic strength and breadth, helping to overcome some of the widely-noted difficulties of narrow curricula, lack of interdisciplinary teaching and research, overly-didactic teaching styles, and related matters (Council of Europe, 1999). We may reasonably conclude that, because they are endemic to the region, these problems are related to the common, combined effects of particular institutional structures and of managing change in former Communist states (Darvas, 1997). That is to say, addressing the underlying structural problems is likely to help deal with the more apparent, curriculum-related, ones. Some initial steps were in fact taken to try to deal with these academic dysfunctions in the Yugoslav republics in the 1980s (Samolovcev, 1989), but reform was no doubt overtaken by more urgent problems resulting from the collapse of the Federal state.

Reform effort at the basic operational level needs to be supported, though, by top-down change from the institutional level: otherwise, local improvements are likely to spread only slowly across the system. The introduction of a centrally-directed quality management system across the university would be a promising start to top-down change. A small, carefully-selected and trained team, having the support of the Rector and Deans, could be given the task of introducing an academic quality assurance system, based on self-evaluations carried out in the re-structured chairs/institutes. This would have the benefits of simultaneously strengthening university-level management, which would now have a new, crucial role (Brennan and Shah, 2000, p. 16), and of forcing the chairs/institutes to appraise their work critically. The self-evaluation focus would be consistent with the autonomous aspects of the chair tradition – although the element of external accountability would be unfamiliar and would need sensitive handling. Once a new system of this kind had been introduced, other university-level changes could more readily follow, in internal resource allocation, and in developing strategic planning processes, for example (Billing and Temple, 2001). These changes, by strengthening institutional managements, would all work usefully in the direction of reversing the fragmentation of the universities.

As these changes would emerge in an organic, rather than an imposed, way, there would be a greater possibility of them being sustainable. An approach on these lines would be consistent with the finding that educational innovation is taken up most successfully when it is responsive to local circumstances, achieves local commitment, and is introduced through non-complex programmes (Neave and van Vught, 1994, p. 17).

What is often found instead, however, in programmes intended to improve the management of higher education is a set of technical changes: new computerised management information systems are a popular choice. These are then introduced without examining the underlying structures which will determine the lasting impact of innovations of a technical nature. It is suggested that the contrasting approach set out here, examining critically and building on established academic traditions, will prove to be the more effective. The fragmented nature of higher education in Bosnia-Herzegovina calls for reform efforts to build on the positive aspects of the system, to enhance institutional effectiveness and encourage the integration of institutions and the system in which they are placed.

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Book Review

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As the Welsh Assembly follows Scotland in reinstating (to some degree) student means-tested grants, it is timely to consider **Nicholas Barr, *The Welfare State as Piggy Bank***. Barr looks at social insurance and pensions before tackling education, where he argues for State provision in relation to schools but Market provision for tertiary education: students are “impressively well-informed – a savvy, streetwise consumer group” and hence “students are more capable than central planners of making choices that conform with their own needs and those of the economy”.

Chapter 12 is on “Designing Student Loans”, which, in Barr’s view, should not be subsidised, and for the same reason that in the next Chapter (“Financing Higher Education: The Options”) he argues for significant tuition fees being charge: “Since higher education is disproportionately consumed by people from better-off backgrounds, the system benefits the best off most. Both macroeconomic feasibility and distributional equity therefore suggest that a large system of higher education requires public funding to be supplemented on a significant scale from private resources.” Otherwise, as a result of regressive taxpayer subsidies “the taxes of truck-drivers pay for the degrees of old Etonians”: a situation which Barr sees as “immoral”.

Market interest should be charged on loans and the savings from ending this inefficiency of “spreading interest subsidies thinly across all students” used to provide a targeted subsidy for “those for whom access is most fragile, and those whose subsequent earnings are low”: such indiscriminate interest subsidies are “inefficient, expensive, and unfair”. The level of loan should be sufficient to cover all living costs and the higher tuition fees proposed, thereby reducing student dependence on parental support and also reducing the complexity of the loan system.

Barr reviews the international experience of mortgage-type loans and income-contingent loans: United States, United Kingdom, Holland, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand. In the process his Table 13.1 usefully reminds us of OECD spending on higher education: average 1.5% of GDP, with Australia at 1.5, France at 1.1, Germany at 1, Holland at 1.3, Sweden at 1.7, United Kingdom at 0.7 (*sic*), United States at 2.0. Similarly, he notes that the recent fuss in the United Kingdom about tuition fees at *circa* GBP1 000 pa is “slightly suprising: free tuition for all undergraduates was a fleeting event only between 1977 and 1998” (charging was the norm until a kind Old Labour Government made a present of university education to well-off families!).

Barr regards Australia and New Zealand as most nearly having got right the financing of higher education, but as veering off course recently: the US system is over-complex, but “broadly right”. His test for a good system is one which has “flexible tuition charges” and “income contingent loans” which thereby redistribute “from today’s middle-class (who lose a fraction of their tuition subsidies) to tomorrow’s least well-off (who, with income-contingent loans, do not repay in full)...”. And, if student debt is then syndicated and bought by the miners’ pension fund, “a gnarled, wizened retired miner could be living off the sweat of a young London or Wall Street financial analyst, [which would indeed be] a pleasing inversion of the usual arrangement”.

But, if universities charge fees like any other service provider, what stops them charging excessive amounts to cover their management inefficiency? This intrigues **Ronald G. Ehrenberg, *Tuition Rising: Why College Costs so Much***. As an economist, academic and university administrator (Cornell) he asks why private US universities “have such a difficult time holding down their costs and why their institutes cannot behave more like businesses” (see his web-site at www.ipr.cornell.edu/rge/page/ronshome.). As with private health-care and UK private school fees, US private university tuition fees increase well above general consumer prices: a Cornell education now costs each year half the annual of income of the average American middle-class family, compared with one quarter in 1980. The “ticket price” is ever higher; but some students pay much less in reality, and all get more spent on them than they pay because endowment is also used to cover the burgeoning costs.

Why do costs run away? Partly it is an “arms-race” (as fuelled by over 300 consumer guides to US higher education) to provide the most lavish facilities so as to attract the best students and faculty; partly “shared governance” (collegial management) means weak cost control, especially in relation to academic salaries (not a problem in US State institutions and in the United Kingdom!); partly it is the cost of researching Big Science; partly it is the ending of a compulsory retirement age for tenured faculty which means oldies need to be bribed off the payroll by being offered costly emeritus professor benefits; partly it is IT and Library

costs, parking spaces, air-conditioning, college competitive sports, student residences and campus catering... Ehrenberg analyses them all.

Will any market leader US university ever end the arms race? Princeton, Harvard and Yale have the endowment and alumni-giving to continue to ride the spiral of ever-increasing costs, but Ehrenberg thinks others “will face some very difficult trade-offs” and that “something will have to give” in terms of financing faculty salaries, student financial support, campus facilities, research. Moreover, if endowment income is not used more for financial aid to ensure increasingly equal access for students, then the private US universities “will be almost ‘asking’ to be regulated”. (This is the same issue of whether, say, Eton deserves charitable status and all the attendant tax relief if it charges fees of £15K *pa* and has few *fully* subsidised pupils: can it pass a test of charitable status being based also on the relief of poverty rather than merely the provision of education to the rich?)

Next **Duke Maskell and Ian Robinson, *The New Idea of a University***. They argue that something has gone deeply wrong in UK higher education: the very ethos of the university has been subverted. Liberal Education has been replaced by a sham based on an “uneducated” official idea of the utilitarian and vocational university.

The authors well recognise that the book is a “little polemic”. They start by challenging the view that higher education just must be good for the economy, arguing that taxpayer subsidy has created “the grotesquely bloated system” of 125 or more UK universities as “a creation of wastefulness”. They use the Dearing Committee Report (volumes 7 and 8 by academic economists) to assert that there is not any *convincing* economic argument for expanded higher education; they explore Newman’s concept of a Liberal Education, and his *The Idea of a University*, invoking also Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* commentary on the value of education through the creation of Mr. Collins; then they tackle Sir Ron Dearing, as the “Son of Mr Collins”, whose Dearing Report “will prove in centuries to become a sort of archaeological record of the clichés current amongst the English great and good in the Summer of 1997”.

They dissect the new university as a “training in skills” (“pretentious waffle”). They tell us how to run a new university: teach, in courses, with aims/objectives/goals and in modules (the Newman tree of knowledge becomes “a bunch of twigs” or “a shopping mall”) which are total quality controlled, while giving Firsts to the customers and undertaking research into “great heaps of nothing”. Then they take a swipe at the dumbing-down of “A”-levels, at the Inspection industry, and at the “fraud” of “pseudo-vocational” degree courses.

It comes as no surprise to be told on the dust-jacket that the authors “*were* both full-time academics” (emphasis added).

Now for a rather more upbeat analysis of the current UK university system: **Peter Scott** (ed.), *Higher Education Reformed*. This is (yet another) “millennium” volume: challenge in a turbulent (“white-water”) environment means a struggle to survive and the need for the traditional university to undergo a “sea-change”, or be “re-formed”... So, we get a series of chapters aimed at helping us not only to survive, but even to thrive in the new decade, century, millennium.

Sheldon Rothblatt kicks off by defining the “Modern University” in terms of research, differentiation, quality control, governance and autonomy, the search for revenue, and the lack of “both affection and envy” with which the university of 2001 is viewed compared with that of 1901 when one of “the great achievements of the nineteenth-century university” had been “its ability to draw boundaries around itself, actually and philosophically”. Chapters follow on: strategy and management, the corporate university, globalisation, the impact of IT, the future of research... Let me concentrate on just three themes: the collegiate way, the student as a consumer, and the academic profession.

Also let me return to “the collegiate way” when I review the last book, and comment now on the two other issues. John Randall (he of QAA fame) writes “A Profession for the New Millennium”: “Is university teaching a truly professional activity?”. He expresses doubt: we have no “explicit code of ethical conduct that is the defining characteristic of a profession”, and we should have one at least in relation to teaching duties to the student since [nineteenth-century] models of professional [self-] regulation that assume a producer-defined service offered by a self-employed sole practitioner no longer accord with reality. The professional service entity now plays a role equal to that of the professional individual.

This leads to David Robertson’s “Students as Consumers”. The consumer-student will become the centre of the millennium university: “Student choices and student behaviour overall will drive institutional responses in all but the most prestigious and well-funded research institutions.” The elite universities, with a middle-class intake, will remain residential – and become highly expensive: “... higher education will become the principal means by which elites will purchase their exclusivity. Under such conditions, the elite universities will become part of the “privacy industry” along with securitized housing estates, exclusive holiday clubs and private clubs”. The HE market will be “lucrative” for those HEIs able to command a premium fee, and those able to contain costs: many in the middle will be squeezed into bankruptcy as the discerning student-consumer exercises consumer-sovereignty and consumer choice, opting for quality at a price or “the economy version”.

Rothblatt comments that a variation on the theme of HE as a service industry is the product differentiation and niching by way of the growing resurgence of the American collegiate forms of liberal education, not only in the United States but

also in Germany and Holland. This US dimension is addressed in the next book: **Mark B Ryan, *A Collegiate Way of Living: Residential Colleges and a Yale Education***. Ryan discusses the adaptation of the Oxbridge college to the American context: see also Rudolph, *The American College and University*; Duke, *Importing Oxbridge*; O'Hara, "How to build a residential college" in *Planning for Higher Education* [2001, 30(2) 52-57]; and Tapper and Palfreyman, *Oxford and the Decline of the Collegiate Tradition*.

Ryan, however, links to Randall and Robertson above when he concedes that faculty interest in "the collegiate way" is limited to those (few) academics willing to be masters and deans of such colleges: teaching, still less the student learning experience, apparently comes at Yale a very poor second to research productivity. That said, Ryan's book rather tails off into, for British tastes, a somewhat "preachy" tone, with chapters on "Heart and Intellect" and "The Spirit of a Residential College".

Finally, **Buckingham at 25: Freeing the Universities from State Control, James Tooley** (ed.). Perhaps Buckingham is the nearest we have to a US private liberal arts college: does it have a future within UK Higher Education as now a nationalised industry?

The collection of essays is interesting as a hymnal in praise of "independent sector": "... government control is the enemy of freedom... State control of universities is damaging to standards..." Graham Hills launches a broadside against ineffectual university leaders: "It is difficult to describe a collection of vice-chancellors... a hot bed of cold feet... [as they collectively] sit on their hands." Hills calls (as ever) for proper fees. Diana Warwick, however, gives the United Kingdom equivalent of an essay written by a committee with cold feet and sitting on their hands; while Kenneth Minogue tells a tale of the collapse of academic culture as independent institutions are "reduced to mere instruments of national policy... The servility of universities, at least in aspiration, is complete... [academics] now find themselves miserably emeshed in bureaucratised impotence". Duke Maskell calls for "massive cuts in university funding by making massive cuts in the number of university places" (back to his analysis of the Dearing Report referred to above); Niall Ferguson backs him up on the more means much worse line.

Other essays provide the answer: to leap free with one bound, to charge tuition fees at a meaningful level in terms of giving at least some United Kingdom HEIs the income needed to remain global players, to privatise HE and to end the Faustian bargain with the State. All good knockabout stuff, but one suspects that, in another 25 years, "the Buckingham experiment" will still have had no imitators and it will remain "a small [private] minnow in the large pond of [public sector] higher education in Britain" even if it has set itself "the challenge of the future": "expanding the independent sector of higher education and transforming attitudes to it." Happy Birthday, Buckingham.

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PRINTED IN FRANCE
(89 2002 02 1P) ISSN 1013-851X – No. 52551 2002