HIGHER EDUCATION DYNAMICS

The Professoriate

Profile of a Profession

Anthony Welch (Ed.)

Springer

HIGHER EDUCATION DYNAMICS

VOLUME 7

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THE PROFESSORIATE

Profile of a Profession

Edited by

ANTHONY WELCH

University of Sydney,
NSW, Australia

Springer

A C.I.P. Catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN-10 1-4020-3382-6 (HB) Springer Dordrecht, Berlin, Heidelberg, New York
ISBN-10 1-4020-3383-4 (e-book) Springer Dordrecht, Berlin, Heidelberg, New York
ISBN-13 978-1-4020-3382-7 (HB) Springer Dordrecht, Berlin, Heidelberg, New York
ISBN-13 978-1-4020-3383-4 (e-book) Springer Dordrecht, Berlin, Heidelberg, New York

Published by Springer,
P.O. Box 17, 3300 AA Dordrecht, The Netherlands.

Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in the Netherlands.

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ANTHONY WELCH

PREFACE

What does it mean to be an academic in the twenty first century? Clearly, there is no one answer to this question, as the diversity evident in the following chapters reveals. Elite research universities often tend to join with others of their kind, so that a professor from an elite US institution may well undertake a Japanese sabbatical (if at all) at the University of Tokyo, a UK semester at Oxford or Cambridge, or an Australian semester at the University of Sydney, or perhaps Melbourne. At each, they can expect to have at their disposal well-stocked libraries, replete with requisite books, journals and databases, (many now available electronically), as well as highly regarded specialist peers in their research areas, with whom they can discuss their work in detail. How can this academic lifeworld be compared with that of a member of the South East Asian professoriate, for example, or many in Latin America and Africa, where inadequate wages often necessitate taking on a second job, often at a lower quality private institution (which, however, likely offers better remuneration), and/or perhaps conducting a small business on the side (Welch 2003, Tipton, Jarvis and Welch 2003), and where the lack of basic infrastructure, as well as research training, means that teaching, and perhaps some administration, is perhaps the limit of one's activities?

The story of differentiation, however, is not limited to differences between elite institutions in OECD countries and more modest institutions elsewhere. The strains of stratification are increasingly evident within national systems of higher education, worldwide. Within the so-called advanced countries, for example, institutional differentiation is increasing, with the rise of a small sub-category of elite institutions such as the so-called Russell Group in the UK, and the G8 in Australia. In some cases, notably that of the US, this top-tier category has long been legitimised, in the form of the classificatory scheme published regularly by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. These relatively few institutions compete vigorously among themselves, both for top quality staff and post-graduate students, (including international students), but also make much of their differences, compared to their non-elite cousins. Differentiation also occurs within institutions, particularly regarding the balance of teaching and research. Some elite professors, for example, are effectively research only, (with perhaps a limited number of graduate students to supervise, but with no undergraduate teaching responsibilities, and little or no graduate coursework teaching), while others, usually younger, and often female, are effectively teaching only, with very limited opportunities for research. Equally, salary packages of the professoriate are often highly differentiated, most commonly within elite institutions. When being interviewed some years ago by one of these elite US institutions, for example, the author could not fail to note, with amusement, that a professor of business being sought at the same time by the selfsame university, was being offered a salary three times that

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, vii—ix.

being offered by the Faculty of Education. Such differences are no longer unusual in the US, at least among elite institutions, and are beginning to be replicated, at much more modest levels, in other English language systems. Even the more resistant countries of western Europe, with pronounced social democratic traditions and credos are changing – the recent pronouncement by the German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, for example, of the intention to create at least one or two institutions to rival Harvard, (however unlikely it is to be realized), is yet another instance of an intention to entrench a hierarchy of institutions, within that system.

Such divisions are increasingly common, even within systems that have a shorter history of western-style universities. The Chinese system, too, is now increasingly replicating such hierarchies within its own system. Project 211 and Project 985, for example, have each selected a small number of elite institutions for substantial additional state funding, with the object of creating a few internationally competitive universities within the shortest possible time. Equally, within (and across) Chinese universities, salaries and benefits differ markedly, with professors of business earning perhaps ten times that of their peers in Chinese literature from the same institution, for example, (even before earnings from consultancies are taken into account).

The story, then, is arguably one of peripheries within peripheries. The wealthiest systems, often from English speaking countries, form what might be described as a core, on this account, usually with a sub-set of elite institutions. The latter in particular, especially those in English-speaking countries, compete for the best of the professoriate, in what is now an international labour market for high quality academics, who can teach and research in that language. Western European institutions are beginning to respond, albeit very differentially, to this international contest, with institutions such as Sciences Po in Paris, or some of the Max Planck Instituts in Germany teaching and/or researching in English, to increase their competitiveness, and international profile. The best Chinese universities are also beginning to enter the race, with the Dean of Mathematics at Peking University, stressing to the author, in a recent interview, that when seeking a new colleague, it is no longer sufficient for candidates to be the best in China, that what is required is to be the best in the world. Such lofty ambitions are clearly unable to be mirrored by their country cousins at much more modest institutions with an important regional function, but few major international connections, and without much international research record. Such institutions, and the professoriate that diligently pursue their careers within them, are doubly marginalised, occupying the periphery of the periphery.

Such differences are only increasing, both within and between institutions and systems. In this sense, it is perhaps remarkable that a substantial affinity remains among the professoriate from different parts of the world, and in very different institutions. It is equally remarkable that according to some data, despite the increasing stratification at institutional, national and international levels, the larger proportion of academics still adhere to the values of their profession: given the choice, the majority of those surveyed by the Carnegie Foundation sponsored international survey of the Academic Profession (Altbach et al 1996), indicated that

they would make the same career choice again (although, paradoxically perhaps, by no means all would recommend the career to those considering starting out).

It has been estimated that trade in educational services, worldwide, is now a US$30 billion business, annually. GATS (the Global Agreement on the Trade in Services), and the increasing influence of a more economistic direction for higher education, under pressure from the widening gap between spiralling demand, and the capacity (or willingness) of the state to fund such increases, is likely to further fracture the profession. The following chapters provide a fascinating set of insights into a profession at a time of momentous change. It is to be hoped that the values of good teaching, disinterested research, and the professor as public intellectual, survive such changes, as they have survived other periods of turmoil and ferment.

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ANTHONY WELCH

CHALLENGE AND CHANGE: THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION IN UNCERTAIN TIMES

"Commodified, Virtualised, Globalised and Postmodernised: the professoriate stands at the crossroads of an uncertain future", began an assessment of the profession some five years ago (Welch, 1997). What has changed in the interim, to vary this assessment? The onset of the twenty first century sees the faultlines of an uncertain future becoming increasingly evident among academics: the profession faces a number of substantial challenges[1], for which it is not entirely well prepared.

Not merely is the pace at which knowledge changes in higher education accelerating, accompanied by a bewildering increase in the amount of literature which the professoriate need to assimilate in order to keep abreast of their field, but the very idea of certainty in relation to knowledge is itself under increasing attack, particularly from those who relativise knowledge.

Not merely is there a demonstrated transition in many systems from elite to mass higher education,[2] and a heightened expectation that curricula and pedagogy in higher education should be adapted to suit a more socially comprehensive cohort, but this is occurring against a backdrop of a substantial decline in funding support from governments for higher education,[3] a trend that has led in many universities to substantial retrenchments,[4] significant privatisation,[5] a precipitous decline in academic salary relativities,[6] and heightened perceptions of uncertainty among academics.

The current chapter charts several of these changes in the diverse and shifting world of the academic, providing fascinating insights into how this international profession is facing up to challenges, financial, political, administrative, and geographical, in various parts of the world.

1. THE CORROSION OF THE CANON

As indicated, perhaps one of the more significant changes in the world of academe is the challenge to knowledge itself: "There are no rules by which intellectuals can know what to say or do; nor for the true secular intellectual are there any gods to be worshipped and looked to for unwavering guidance."[7] With hindsight, one can discern in the 1960s a more certain and ebullient world in which, although knowledge was said to be changing quite swiftly, there was a greater degree of confidence about its shape and direction. In part, this was sustained by two factors: the legacy of a rich intellectual tradition stretching back to before the Enlightenment which, *inter alia*, laid great stress upon the potency of science and technology to solve problems both in the social and natural sciences[8]. And secondly, a long and stable period of economic growth in many parts of the world after the end of World War Two. These two pillars sustained a confident world of education, which, as in

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 1—19.

other social sciences, either brashly asserted technocratic modes by which "developing countries" could modernise themselves most efficiently[9], for example, or engaged in positivistic debates[10] as to which mode of natural scientific methodology provided the best technology for research[11]. Increasingly stringent critiques of the technocratic ideology underlying both of these positivistic trends gradually led to more complex understanding of methodological questions, notwithstanding elderly figures still clinging to the wreckage of this earlier faith in the power of technical formulae of one sort or another to solve problems in education, and the social sciences.[12]

More recently, significant attacks on traditional forms of knowledge have been mounted from two overlapping quarters. The first emerged via postmodernism's challenge to the presumed foundationalism of knowledge. In particular, postmodern critiques have entailed an increasing questioning of the often taken-for-granted nature of master narratives and grand theories which purport to explain the dynamics of society (Marxism, Liberalism and the like), and a stinging attack upon the claims of science and technology to form a basis for reason, or social reform. Rejecting all such grand theories as forms of "totalising reason", postmodern theorists have pushed professors in many disciplines to re-examine the often unchallenged basis of their work, and to question the role of theory in explanation of phenomena.

While Lyotard's analysis of totalising reason remains a powerful critique of the claims of modernism, including its emphasis on the performativity underlying the sciences[13], it is perhaps less novel than has often been claimed[14], has also been criticised for its Kantianism[15], and, at least among many of the camp-followers of postmodernity, for its disabling relativism[16] commodification,[17] its textualitsation of difference[18] and a mode of blasé detachment which masks a substantial political conservatism[19].

Once again, however, the self-understanding of scholars in education has not been immune from this debate. Within the field of comparative education, for example, the claims and critiques of this troubled and troubling term postmodernism have been taken up in recent years by figures such as Rust, Paulston, Coulby, Coulby and Jones, and Cowen.[20]

Although there is incomplete consensus among such authors as to the meaning of postmodernity, Coulby and Jones' exploration of the possibilities of postmodernism for understanding European education systems is perhaps one of the more systematic efforts at grounding the theory. As such, it is interestingly cautious, making more modest claims than most. The authors reject the idea that postmodernism reflects any decisive chronological or epistemological break, indeed rejecting any core set of ideas associated with postmodernism. In a sense, this might be expected from representatives of a broad church, whose only unity consists of the rejection of any forms of programmatic reasoning; nonetheless, it arguably leaves readers less than clear as to which qualities associated with postmodernity are useful for understanding the simultaneously fissiparous, xenophobic and nationalistic moments in European education. Or, for that matter, education anywhere else. Is it the idea of "pastiche", the association with post-Fordism, or its pluralism/relativism?[21] The increasing sway that postmodernity holds within the academy is not necessarily contributing to this need for additional clarification. In a

minor but intriguing index of the rise of postmodernity within the academy, a recent book *Buffy the Vampire Slayer and Philosophy*, presses the claim of even this "vampire text" to postmodern status, particularly its role in problematising aesthetic, political, conceptual and ethical taken-for-granteds. It is now perfectly possible to take "Buffy" courses at US universities, that presumably focus on themes such as Postmodernity and the Allure of the Vampire, or the Wolf of Science and the Tyranny of Reason, and which invite students to reflect on "the transitional dissonance of shifting views of knowledge and education and to see themselves on the developing terrain of postmodernity."[22]

At the beginning of the twenty first century, in the face of a substantial lurch to the right in numerous European political systems, and elsewhere, the need for further clarity remains urgent, if often still unanswered. Whatever one thinks of this now sprawling and troubled complex of theory, however, it is clear that the capacity of postmodernism to disrupt conventional assumptions regarding knowledge is a serious issue which continues to confront many in higher education.

2. THE DECLINE OF DISCIPLINE(S)

Postmodernism is by no means the only challenge to the traditional beliefs and practices of the contemporary professoriate, however. Another challenge consists in what has been termed the decline of disciplines. As an example, in recent times, longstanding departments of English have, at times, transformed themselves into departments of English and communication, or cultural studies. Over much the same period, educational “foundations” departments, peopled by philosophers, historians, sociologists and the like have often either shrunk, transformed or, in some cases, disappeared – at least in the developed English speaking systems. In some instances, those who could have often reinvented themselves as specialists in post-compulsory education or policy analysis,[23] or other more practical arts, while more philosophically minded colleagues are actively forging new international connections, or teaching medical or business ethics. What do such transformations mean? At least two elements have begun to change the rationale for subjects, although here again, the trend is most relevant among Anglo-American universities. Perhaps the first is the increasing demand for vocational relevance, on the part of both students and governments, in an era of straightened circumstances in higher education. Given this increasingly utilitarian rationale, evident not merely in the West, but also in China (see, *inter alia,* Yang’s chapter in this volume), academics in “foundations” departments in education, have had to cultivate more practical pursuits, mostly without narrow disciplinary boundaries, as a foundation upon which to maintain their more theoretical interests.

Secondly, newer modes of inquiry such as feminism, multiculturalism, discourse analysis, postcolonial theory, and the modish postmodernity have to an extent usurped the older disciplinary based studies, provoking shrill and at times sensationalist critiques by figures such as Bloom, Hirsch and d’Souza, in defense of the traditional canon of white, western, male knowledge.[24] While quite diverse, the new forms of inquiry are united by being much less easily confined within the

bounds of any single discipline. Equally, fields of analysis such as vocational education and training, multiculturalism, gender studies, or post-compulsory education, are often multi-disciplinary in form. Nonetheless, the simultaneous move away from disciplinary foundations, and towards more practical pursuits, both in Faculties of Education and elsewhere in universities, has done little to advance the interests of scholars in comparative education, for example, (whose scholarship has often been more multidisciplinary, and often more focused upon practical questions of educational reform, in practice), than many of their peers in other disciplines.

3. THE CHANGING FACE OF PEDAGOGY

Traditional forms of pedagogy are also under challenge - from two principal quarters. The first is in the form of new modes of "virtual" pedagogy[25], which may yet assert an arguably more collaborative pedagogical relationship (the so called "guide on the side") over the traditional mode of pedagogy (the so called "sage on the stage"). The advent of what has been termed the Global Information Society,[26] including virtual pedagogies, now means students from any part of the world may access information (whether in the form of formal courses or not), share knowledge, and pose questions and gain advice from another individual (not necessarily an academic) in another part of the world[27]. Not all university academics yet have access to, nor feel comfortable with, this new form of pedagogy, which also poses a challenge to traditional notions of space, in that, potentially, the lecture halls and associated infrastructure of the traditional university are much less necessary to sustain it.[28] The ease with which electronic forms of learning and communication may be used to cross national borders, raises another sense in which space is also under challenge, as Postiglione reveals in his chapter. It must, of course, be admitted that the availability of such forms of technology is mediated by class, gender and ethnic affiliation: nonetheless, even in significant sectors of the third world, access to electronic mail is becoming more broadly available, posing significant issues, particularly for more centralised and authoritarian states, which are concerned to control the free flow of information. Since academics are both more likely to have access to this technology, are more internationalised, (see below) and are keen researchers of all sorts of recondite information, some of which (including in education) may be quite politically sensitive, the profession may be something of an electronic trojan horse in promoting freer international communication, and movement of information.

The second form of challenge to the traditional dominance of high-level teaching and learning by universities is the increasing diversification of education and training, much of which is now taking place in settings outside the traditional university. The post-Fordist intensification of demands for ongoing training and learning is part of the modern promotion of a more flexible workforce. Some implications of a post-Fordist agenda[29] for the academic profession are explored by Janice Currie in this volume; the implications of it are more far reaching however, in the sense that in an increasingly competitive learning context, where learning is often either informal, or modular, and developed and delivered on site, by

commercial and industrial organisations themselves, learning is becoming less and less the exclusive province of universities. The rise of Phoenix university and other such organisations, challenges the traditional university by offering short-term applied courses, offered and taught by mostly part-time staff more known for their practical experience in the industry, than research track record. In turn, Phoenix university, with about 120 campuses in the USA, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Canada, and enrolments totalling more than 100, 000, offers few facilities to either students or staff, that would be found at a conventional university, and restricts its teaching offerings to the vocational: "They do not offer programs in a wide range of subjects but rather focus on targeted, market-driven fields, and have the ability to shift focus based on student demand."[30]

Moreover, teaching staff, who as indicated above, may well have their primary base outside Phoenix university – often in industry – do not enjoy tenure, time allowed for research, sabbatical leave arrangements or other working conditions of the "normal" university. Phoenix university, labelled by some as a "pseudo-university" [31], is nonetheless now the largest private university in the USA, while Jones International University is another such venture, also restricting its offerings to vocational areas such as management, teacher training and business administration.

Modern management concepts and allied practices, such as "learning organisation"[32] "mentoring"[33] and the like, imply that each worker is responsible for improving their skills and learning, and often that of others:

> People in a learning organization feel a deep sense of accomplishment for what their whole organization has been able to achieve and for the contribution their learning has made to the total effort. They feel a sense of responsibility to learn how to do things better, and are proactive in seeking ways to improve what they do.[34]

Universities are often also now learning to compete in procuring external training contracts, and are becoming more flexible in their delivery and packaging of education - but the change is not without strain, particularly among academic staff who resist, or feel less comfortable in the face of such changes to their traditional roles[35]. As the chapter by Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein underlines, traditional didactic forms of pedagogy in higher education are often still dominant, (and not merely in Latin America), often at the cost of more dynamic forms of learning and teaching.

4. THE CHANGING FACE OF STUDENTS

The implications of the transition from elite to mass higher education, with around sixty percent or more of US high school graduates going on to "college", is the fourth challenge to the professoriate, posing new questions and some difficulties for the academic profession. The much vaunted transition from elite to mass higher education problematises traditional curriculum frameworks that must now be adapted to serve a much more comprehensive cohort of students. But how do academics feel about the transition from elite to mass higher education? Data from

the *International Survey of Academic Staff*[36] consistently showed that more than half of faculty in a variety of national contexts believed that access to higher education should be available to all who have qualified, although opinions ranged more broadly as to the preferred proportion of completing secondary students who should be deemed eligible for higher education.[37] With the exception of Australia and Chile, however, the *International Survey* (of fourteen systems of higher education, encompassing both first world, third world, and former communist states) found no more than thirty percent of any country's profession was willing to lower admission standards to enable disadvantaged students to enrol.

In many advanced industrialised countries, (at the least, for example, the USA, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and Australia) mass higher education is already instituted, and thus now embraces a wider and more diverse student cohort, with a wider set of concerns, to which some universities are responding more than others.[38] The re-examination of the cultural mission of the university which is thereby entailed is proving to be less comfortable for traditionally oriented staff, who are wedded to a view that they alone know what content is best taught, and actively resist external liaison and consultations. Equally, changing student priorities may reflect a more instrumental flavour than that preferred by most academics, but this is hardly surprising in an era, in many countries, of historically high youth unemployment. On a brighter note, the *International Survey of the Academic Profession* reported significant levels of satisfaction by respondents with their own students' attainment, although they were much less sanguine in regard to either the oral and written skills or the quantitative and reasoning abilities of undergraduates in general.[39] There was however, no common anxiety reported in regard to standards, with most respondents from most countries indicating that the quality of students now is about the same as five years ago.

5. THE CHANGING CONTEXT FOR THE PROFESSION

It is widely recognised that the international professoriate is both male, and aging. Although national profiles of the profession differ, nowhere among the fourteen nations covered in the *International Survey of the Academic Profession* was the proportion of women academics more than around forty percent and, in at least three of the countries surveyed, no more than ten to twenty percent.[40] The impact of increasing casualisation and reliance upon part-time staff in several university systems may well exacerbate these already biased gender profiles. The average age of the profession was forty plus, with the mean age for most countries being around the mid-forties and, for at least three countries, over fifty.[41]

Despite these continuities, however, other elements of the culture of higher education are shifting quite dramatically, largely as a result perhaps, of trying to harness higher education too closely to the wagon of national economic growth rates, in an increasingly competitive global economy. The increasing dominance of this single-minded agenda is*, inter alia*, leading to widening breaches between the professoriate and university administrators. In the above-named survey[42], in no country were levels of satisfaction at faculty-administration relationships

particularly high, with half or more of the professoriate in a substantial number of countries characterising this relationship as either fair or poor, while more than half of respondents in a majority of countries surveyed endorsed the sentiment that their administration was "often autocratic."[43] This growing fissure is occurring despite increasingly blurred lines of responsibility, particularly evident in the trend towards academics assuming increasing responsibility for detailed program administration and management, which is demanding more and more of their time. Academics themselves are often becoming part-time administrators.

Numerous scholars have characterised these changes as indicative of an internal culture of creeping managerialism within contemporary universities, in which an economistic logic of efficiency and economy prevails, and collegiality succumbs increasingly to more hierarchical modes of decision making. Tighter forms of accountability are further evidence of this cult of efficiency[44], both within and without the institution, and most often measured via quantitative performance indicators. In a telling response, one of the respondents in Currie's chapter characterises this form of accountability as, in fact, more like accountancy.

A further outcome of the cult of efficiency in universities to impinge on academic life has been increasing financial pressures. In the context of a widespread fiscal crisis, (particularly severe in Russia, Israel, and the UK in recent years,[45] but evident among many other states to differing degrees, the effects upon several elements of faculty life have been substantial. Perhaps one of the more insistent pressures is the continuing need to "do more, with less":

> Overall, while being asked by academic administrators and policy makers to do more with fewer resources, faculty are being told they should not be expected to be rewarded - financially or otherwise - for meeting ever increasing demands.[46]

This pressure on resources has taken various forms, many of which have eroded working conditions for the professoriate. An increasingly visible trend is that of a growing mismatch between rising enrolments, on the one hand, and the willingness of governments to fund such growth, on the other.[47] "At the same time, professors in a number of countries are being asked to be more entrepreneurial - for example, bringing in research grants and contracts to the university"[48]

The pressure to do more with less has also seen rising pressure for staffing "flexibility", which in turn has seen traditional rates of tenure decline significantly among academics. The proportion of tenured academic staff in Australia, for example, declined from eighty one percent in the early 1980s to less than sixty percent a decade later[49], while similar pressures led to its abandonment (for all recent appointees) in the United Kingdom, and there is increasing pressure evident in the USA[50]. Currently, almost forty percent of US appointments are part-time.[51]

Declining salary levels are also evident among many national academic populations, most spectacularly among the post-Communist states, where in some instances state funding is barely enough to pay salaries,[52] but is also evident to lesser degrees in the USA[53], Australia[54], and elsewhere. Finally, retrenchment is increasingly thinning the ranks of the professoriate, in countries as diverse as the USA[55], Holland, Australia, and the UK. In the face of these pressures, and

perceptions, it is then surprising to note that a major recent survey of more than 20,000 academic staff in 13 countries revealed no instance where, when faced with the choice, more than 20% of respondents indicated they would not become an academic again.

6. THE CHALLENGE OF INTERNATIONALISATION

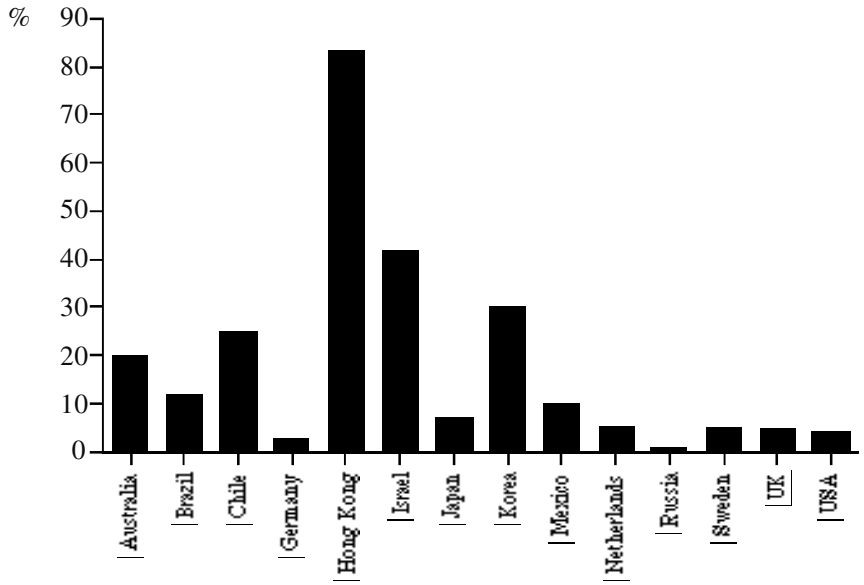
From Protagoras to Paracelsus, (as Welch indicates in the relevant chapter in this volume), the peripatetic scholar is a recognisable historical phenomenon, dating back to the Sophists and Confucius (Kung, Fu-Tse).[56] In the twentieth century, however, the internationalisation of the academic profession was additionally underpinned by a range of factors, *inter alia*, the massification of higher education systems, a degree of convergence in higher education systems, wars, specialist programs designed to promote academic staff exchanges (see Enders and Teichler's careful analysis of the European Union's ERASMUS scheme), greater ease of international travel and communications, and, at least for some, the emergence of English as a dominant medium of scholarship. Notwithstanding these changes, the internationalisation of the academic profession has been less well researched than the phenomenon of international student movement, although this is beginning to change.[57]

Measures of internationalisation of academic staff are varied, although commonly based on immigration statistics, or origin of qualifications. Whichever measure one uses, degrees of internationalisation vary widely. Systems which exist in a context of migration, such as the US, Hong Kong, Israel and Australia, might be expected to score highly on such measures, as against those where the population has apparently remained more homogeneous, such as Japan or Korea; however research shows that the pattern is more complex (Welch 2002). If one adopts the conventional index of "foreign highest degree" as a measure of internationalisation of academic staff, a rather diverse pattern emerges, as is revealed in Figure 1, below.

How does one explain the apparently anomalous finding that Korea is much more internationalised, using this index, than the US, for example? Using the measure "highest earned degree from another country" provides a different result to one based on foreign citizenship among academic staff, since the former figures also include those nationals who have studied abroad. In addition, "foreign highest degree" understates the number of foreign nationals working as academics in a country, numbers of whom may have undertaken their higher degree work in that country, and in some cases may have subsequently accepted a university post. This is indeed the case in the US, where the substantial breadth, depth, general high quality, and instruction in English, of the US system continues to attract the majority of international students, particularly at graduate level. Although significant inroads are being made by other nations, whose annual rate of growth in international student enrolments is now higher than that of the US[58], the US system is still most commonly seen as the destination of choice for international students, numbers of whom subsequently take up faculty positions in US universities. Such individuals are not reflected in the above figures. On the other hand, the Korean higher

education system does not attract such proportions of research students from overseas, but does employ faculty from a range of foreign countries[59]. (Other reasons for differences in degree of internationalisation among academic staff include salary and benefit levels, which means that Hong Kong tends to be a more attractive destination than Brazil, and English as a medium of instruction, which means that systems such as the Japanese[60] or German have a limited range of external sources upon which to draw).

Figure 1: Foreign Highest Degree, by System of Higher Education



Data drawn from *International Survey of the Academic Profession*, Princeton, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Despite these limitations, "foreign highest degree" is a commonly used index of internationalisation, and can be used to investigate differences between academic staff in two categories: "peripatetic" (i.e. those with a foreign highest degree) and "indigenous" (those without). When academic staff are so investigated, a number of salient differences emerge between staff in the two categories.

Perhaps the first of these is gender. Simply put, more male academics were enabled to travel to gain an overseas research qualification than female academics, in almost all of the fourteen systems analysed.[61] While all the fourteen systems exhibited substantial gender differences, (as indicated above), such differences were

more pronounced among "peripatetic" staff, than among "indigenous", in almost all instances.[62]

This difference becomes more important, given the preponderance of "peripatetic" academics in the more senior ranks. The survey showed that more "peripatetic" staff were to be found among the ranks of more senior staff, and when one combines this systemic bias towards academic staff with a "foreign highest degree" with the pyramidal structure of female academic employment, this means that in some of the systems (Korea, Japan, Germany and Holland) very few women were to be found in the senior ranks. Equally, "peripatetic" staff were more commonly employed full-time, and with continuing or tenured status (rather than fixed term contracts), than than were "indigenous" staff. While it does appears that staff with international experience are valued within universities, then, the lesser likelihood of female staff having such experience, means that this factor adds to the gender discrimination already in the system.

Overall, the fact that "peripatetic" staff are more likely to be found in the senior ranks, and in more secure forms of employment, suggests that international experience is valued in universities. Nonetheless, in an era when globalisation is increasingly sundering the world into regional economies,[63] one danger is that the three major emerging trading blocs (broadly speaking, Asia, the Americas, and Europe, each with relevant programs and infrastructure such as NAFTA, ERASMUS, and UMAP, to support staff exchanges,[64]), could too easily become the effective boundaries of most internationalisation activities, as Enders and Teichler warn in the conclusion to their chapter.[65] The extent to which this represents an internationalisation which is genuinely open, is perhaps still a question

7. THE FALL OF THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE DECLINE OF DEMOCRACY?

Some twenty years ago when Alvin Gouldner wrote his *Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*[66], he could hardly have imagined how much the world of the academic was to change over the ensuing two decades. Would he recognise the context for the modern academic: "Commodified, Virtualised, Globalised and Postmodernised"?[67] Nonetheless, some of the theses he articulated and trends he described are still relevant at the turn of the century. His analysis of the burgeoning of the academic proletariat has proved to be particularly prescient, in light of the current widespread use of contract and casual academic staff, and research students, in the interests both of "flexibility", and cost containment. His contention that humanistic intellectuals were more vulnerable to loss of "status ...deference, repute, income and social power" in a technocratic society than their peers from the "technical intelligentsia"[68] has also stood the test of time. Nonetheless, however, the proliferation of knowledge centres described above (whether for purposes of research or teaching), many of which are now well outside the university, has meant that the loss of "exclusiveness and privileged market position"[69] that Gouldner discerned is no longer restricted to humanities professors, but attends the professoriate as a whole.[70]

The loss of exclusivity by academics, however, in no way lessens the need for the profession to speak out on issues of the day; indeed the urgency of the need for the public intellectual has arguably never been greater. In a very real sense, it can be argued that in the face of the massive concentration of international economic and cultural power at the end of the twentieth century, the disabling effects of mass unemployment, the increasing gap between the haves and the have-nots (nationally and internationally), and the increasing replacement of the social good with that of the economic good, in the context of intensified global economic competitiveness, that the centuries old ideal of the independent (but not detached)[71] scholar is a tradition worthy of defence[72].

At the end of the 20th century, the academic profession faces heightened demands, internal and external. But these demands are not always what they seem: in the name of accountability, academics have become subject to a form of accountancy (measurement by performance indicators); and in the name of quality, much of academics' time is now increasingly governed by the technology of TQM[73], in which style can overwhelm substance. It is precisely at a time when the profession is increasingly assailed by a growing hierarchy, the growth of a technocratic business ideology in universities, increasingly economistic conceptions of education by governments and others, rigidity, loss of tenure, and the intensification of work caused by the culture of "do more with less", that the role of academics in defending democracy with the *telos* of the social good has never been more important.

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[1] As the late Ernest Boyer pointed out: "It is especially important to understand the views of the professoriate now because academe worldwide faces unprecedented challenges." Ernest Boyer, "Foreword", Philip Altbach (Ed.), *The International Academic Profession. Portraits of Fourteen Countries*. (Princeton, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1996), p. xvi. The fourteen systems to be surveyed were Australia, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Hong Kong, Holland, Israel, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Russia, Sweden, the UK, and the USA.

[2] DEET/OECD, *The Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education*, Proceedings of the Department of Employment, Education and Training/Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development Conference, Sydney, June (Canberra: DEET, Higher Education Division, Occasional Papers Series,1993).

[3] Grant Harman, "Funding Crisis for Australian Universities", *International Higher Education*, 5, (July 1996): 13-14, Imanol Ordorika, 'Mexican Higher Education in Transition: From Politically to Financially Driven Public Policies', *International Higher Education*, 5, (July 1996): 7-8.

[4] Sheila Slaughter, "Introduction to Special Issue on Retrenchment," *The Journal of Higher Education* 64, 3, (May/June, 1993). It has also been estimated by the national union of Australian academics that some 2,000 (academic and general) jobs will have been lost by the end of 1997, in little more than a year (excluding contracts which have not been renewed). National Tertiary

Education Union, "Uni Cuts. Who's Paying?" The Australian [Higher Education Supplement] (May 7, 1997): 36.

[5] Mok, Ka-Ho, "Privatization or Marketization: Educational Development in Post Mao China" *International Review of Education*, Special Issue: Tradition, Modernity and Postmodernity, (In Press), Evgenii Kodin, "The Reform of Higher Education: What we Had, What we Lost, What we Gained", *International Higher Education*, 5, (July 1996): 9-10.

[6] Ordorico (see n 2 above), Simon Marginson, "Academic Salaries in Australia, 1967 to 1990", *Australian Universities Review*, 2, (1989): 14-23.

[7] Edward Said, *Representations of the Intellectual*. London: Vintage, 1994, xii.

[8] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1984, Jürgen Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action*. [Vol. 1] London: Heinemann, 1984, Anthony Welch, "Things Fall Apart: Dis-Integration, Universities and the Decline of Discipline(s). Problematising Comparative Education in an Uncertain Age", Christoph Kodron (et al), *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft. Herausforderung Vermittlung - Praxis*. Köln:Böhlau Verlag, 1997.

[9] Alex Inkeles, and David Smith, *Becoming Modern*. London: Heinemann, 1974, David Mc Clelland, *The Achieving Society*. London: Van Nostrand, 1953, Philip Coombs, *The World Crisis in Education*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968. For a more critical account of the underlying assumptions see Anthony Welch, "The Functionalist Tradition in Comparative Education" *Comparative Education*, 21,1, (1985): 5-20.

[10] Robert Cowen, "Last Past the Post: comparative education, modernity and perhaps postmodernity. In: Comparative Education, 32, 2, (1996): 151-170", Anthony Welch, "Class Culture and the State in Comparative Education" *Comparative Education*, 29, 1, (1993): 7-27.

[11] See, for example, in comparative education, George Bereday, *Comparative Method in Education*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,1964; B. Holmes, *Problems in Education. A Comparative Approach*. London: Routledge, 1965; Harold Noah and Max Eckstein, *Towards a Science of Comparative Education*. London: Macmillan, 1969.

[12] George Psacharopolous, "Comparative Education: From Theory to Practice, or are you a neo:/* or B:/*ist?" *Comparative Education Review*, 34, 3, (August 1990): 369-380.

[13] Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,1984.

[14] See for example, Herbert Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*. London: Sphere Books, 1968, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1974, Jürgen Habermas "Technology and Science as Ideology", *Toward a Rational Society*. London: Heinemann, 1971. Within education, see *inter alia*, Anthony Welch, *Australian Education: Reform or Crisis?* Sydney: Allen and Unwin 1996, 17-22 (Published in Europe and North America as *Class, Culture and the State in Australian Education: Reform or Crisis?)* Berlin/New York: Lang Verlag, 1997.

[15] David Ingram, "The Postmodern Kantianism of Arendt and Lyotard" A. Benjamin (Ed.), *Judging Lyotard*. London: Routledge, 1992.

[16] The so-called "crisis of judgement" in postmodernism leads to the following dilemma: "If the postmodern condition renders reason and tradition equally suspect as authoritative reference points for judgement, then what can be the basis for saying that the standpoint of the spectator is any better than that of the actor?" Ibid, 133. See also Christopher Norris, *The Truth About Postmodernism*. Oxford: Blackwells, 1993, Jürgen Habermas, *The New Conservatism. Cultural Conservatism and the Historians' Debate*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.

[17] Ben Agger, *A Critical Theory of Public Life: Knowledge, Politics and Discourse in an Age of Decline*. London: Falmer Press, 1991, Anthony Welch, *Australian Education: Reform or Crisis?* 18-19.

[18] Peter McLaren, "Schooling the Postmodern Body: Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Enfleshment", Henry Giroux, (Ed.), *Postmodernism, Feminism and Cultural Politics. Redrawing Educational Boundaries*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1991, Agger, 182.

[19] Jürgen Habermas (see in n. 14 above). See also Said's assessment: " What could be less attractive and less true a couple of years after it was all the rage than. Lyotard's account of the "disappearance" of the "grand narratives"?" Said 1994, xv.

[20] Val Rust, "Postmodernism and its Comparative Education Implications", *Comparative Education Review* 35, 4, (1991): 610-626, Rolland Paulston and Martin Liebman, "An Invitation to Postmodern Social Cartography", *Comparative Education Review*, 38, 2, (1994): 215-232; David Coulby, "Ethnocentricity, Post Modernity and European Curricular Systems", *European Journal of Teacher Education* 18, 2/3, (1995), David Coulby and Crispin Jones, *Postmodernity and European Education Systems*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books, 1996, David Coulby and Crispin Jones, "Postmodernity, Education and European Identities in Comparative Education", *Comparative Education*, 32, 2, (1996): 171 - 184, Robert Cowen, "Last Past the Post".

[21] Coulby and Jones *Postmodernity and European Education Systems*, p.3. The criticism of a lack of a criterion of judgement, which renders the voice of the American Nazi Party as legitimate as that of dispossessed American Indians, has also been levelled at the work of Paulston and Liebman, inter alia.

[22] Toby Daspit, Buffy Goes to College, Adam Murders to Dissect: Education and Knowledge in Postmodernity, James South (Ed.) *Buffy the Vampire Slayer and Philosophy. Fear and Trembling in Sunnydale*. Open Court, Chicago and La Salle, 2003, 117-130.

[23] The allusion to the highly regarded British sociologists of education, Michael Young and Geoff Whitty will not have escaped many readers notice, and are taken from one of the starker examples of educational contraction in recent years - but examples from the USA and elsewhere could also be given.

[24] Benjamin Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind. How Higher Education has failed Democracy and impoverished the souls of today's students*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987, Dinesh D'Souza, *Illiberal Education. The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*, New York: The Free Press, 1991. For a useful critical summary of the debate see, for example, William Cope and Mary Kalantzis, "Contradictions in the Canon. Nationalism and the Cultural Literacy Debate", Alan Luke, and Pam Gilbert, *Literacy in Contexts. Australian Perspectives and Issues*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993, Susan Dodge, "Few Colleges have had 'Political Correctness' Controversy, Study Finds", *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 37, 47 (1991): A23-24.

[25] Samuel Weber, "The Future Campus: Virtual or Reality", *The Australian,* (September 1996): 28-30. See also OECD, *Information Technologies and the Future of Post-secondary Education*. Paris: OECD, 1996.

[26] Pasi Rutanen, "Learning Societies and Global Information Infrastructure (GII) Global Information Society (GIS)", keynote speech of the OECD/IMHE Conference, *Institutional Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education*, David C. Lam Institute, Hong Kong Baptist University, (December 1996).

[27] Peter Turnbull, "Conversational Scholarship in cyberspace: the evolution and activities of H-net, the online network for the humanities", *Australian Universities Review*, 39, 1, (1996): 12-15. See also the use of such technology in teaching Middle Eastern Politics, in International Development Programme for Australian Universities (IDP), *Curriculum Development for Internationalisation*, Australian Case Studies and Stocktake. Canberra: IDP, 1995.

[28] "Digital libraries, tele-teaching, teleconferencing, and electronic networking of all sorts profoundly relativise the importance of universities as localised institutions" Weber, (See n. 24 above), 29.
Given steadily rising cost pressures in universities in recent years, and in particular the increasing misfit between rising enrolments and tighter budgetary regimes, it is possible to see a convergence of the pedagogical and the financial in terms of distance and virtual pedagogies. See OECD, *Information Technologies and the Future of Post-secondary Education* (see n. 24 above), 57 ff.

[29] For an interesting, if somewhat utopian analysis, which underlines the need for a more educated workforce, see John Mathews, *The Age of Democracy. The Politics of Post Fordism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

[30] Philip Altbach, "The Rise of the Psuedo Universities", *International Higher Education*, 25, 2001, Pp. 2-3, p. 3

[31] Philip Altbach, "The Rise of the Psuedo Universities", Pp. 2-3.

[32] Laurie Field and Bill Ford, *Managing Organisational Learning. From Rhetoric to Reality*. Melbourne: Longmans, 1995.

[33] Brian Caldwell and Earl Carter, *The Return of the Mentor: Strategies for Workplace Learning*. London: Falmer Press, 1993.

[34] Calhoun Wick and Lu Stanton Leon, *The Learning Edge. How Smart Managers and Companies Stay Ahead*. New York: Mc Graw Hill, 1993,19. See also Robert Howard (Ed.*). The Learning Imperative: Managing People for Continuous Innovation*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1993 and Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi, *The Knowledge Creating Company*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

[35] For a more extensive comparative analysis of job satisfaction among academic staff, see Fiona Lacey and Barry Sheehan, "Job Satisfaction among Academic Staff: An International Perspective" *Higher Education* [Special Issue on the International Survey of the Academic Profession], 34, 1, (1997).

[36] Philip Altbach (Ed.) *The International Survey of the Academic Profession. Portraits of Fourteen Countries*. Princeton: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1996.

[37] Philip Altbach, Ernest Boyer, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession. An International Perspective*. Princeton: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994, 7-8, and figures 7 and 8.

[38] For the need to move beyond the internal determination of university curricula, and to consult effectively with a much more diverse cohort of students, and more widely in society, see "OECD Contribution: Background Report", *International Conference on the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education*. Sydney, (June 1993): 66-72.

[39] Respondents from Sweden, the US, Australia, Israel, and the Netherlands all rated more than half of their *own* students as either "excellent" or "good". By contrast, Chile, the US and Australia all rated satisfaction levels of less than twenty precent in assessing the mathematics skills of undergraduates in general, while staff from the US, Hong Kong, Australia, Chile and Israel all registered satisfaction levels of around twenty percent or less in regard to perceived written and oral skills. *Ibid*., figures 10, 11 and 12, and p. 8.

[40] The descriptive statistics, however, make no allowance for either differences in national samples, or full-time or tenured status, which would certainly make a difference to these figures. In Australia, for example, the proportion of women in academe is far higher among the ranks of untenured and part time staff, than among the better paid and more stable employment categories. The three countries surveyed with at least forty percent of female academics were Brazil, Mexico, and Australia, while at the other end of the spectrum, both Japan, Germany and Korea registered between ten and twenty percent. See Boyer, Altbach and Whitelaw, Figure 1.

[41] Japan and Russia both recorded mean ages for the profession of above fifty; Mexico was the only country to record a mean age of (just) under forty.

[42] The countries/systems surveyed consisted of Australia, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Egypt, Holland, Hong Kong, Israel, Korea, Mexico, Russia, the UK, the USA, and Sweden.

[43] See tables 47, and 45, Boyer, Altbach, and Whitelaw, (1994).

[44] Raymond Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, Anthony Welch, "Education and the Ideology of Efficiency: Some Inter - national Comparisons", *Australian Comparative and International Education Society*, University of Auckland, New Zealand, 1990.

[45] "Fiscal problems for higher education are evident in all of these fourteen countries, with the crises most severe in Russia, Israel and England" Philip Altbach and Lionel Lewis, "The Academic Profession in International Perspective", Philip Altbach (Ed) (see n.1 above), 4.

[46] *Ibid*., p.13. See also OECD, *Information Technology and the Future of Post-Secondary Education*, p. (see n. 24 above) p. 54.

[47] "In most of the nations, the somewhat unprecedented phenomenon of increasing enrolments have been allowed to supersede allocated resources". Altbach and Lewis, 4.

[48] *Ibid*., 4-5. The same pressure is also evident in respect of the increasingly competitive training environment, with which academic staff are increasingly involved.

[49] Barry Sheehan and Anthony Welch, "*The Australian Academic Profession*", Altbach (Ed.) 1996, 60.

[50] Cathy Trower, "News from the Tenure Front*", International Higher Education*, (March 1997): 2-3.

[51] American Association of University Professors (AAUP) "The Status of Non-Tenure Track Faculty", (July 1993) cited in Boyer, Altbach and Whitelaw 1994, (see n.31 above) p. 6.

[52] According to Kodin, the proportion of the Russian state budget devoted to higher education has declined to less than 2% of the state budget, which is barely enough to pay wages and student stipends. "There are no funds for maintaining buildings, for buying books for libraries or replacement of scientific or other equipment, for paying for the electricity, water, central heating, and other utilities" Kodin, p. 9.

In Azerbaijan, too, " the salary of professors in the state and private universities .. remains unrealistically low", Ellie Stimpson, "Changes in Higher Education in Azerbaijan", NIS-HED NET Issue No. 6, (May 1997): 2.

[53] Courtney Leatherman, "Professors' Salaries fail to keep place with inflation", *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 37, 29, (April 1991): A1.

[54] Simon Marginson, "Australian Academic Salaries - Trends and Relativities", *Australian Bulletin of Labour* 17, 1, (1991): 49-72.

[55] Sheila Slaughter, "The Political Economy of Retrenchment: The American Public Research Universities", *Review of Higher Education*, 8,4, (1985): 295-318, See also Slaughter, n. 4 above.

[56] Anthony Welch and Brian Denman, "The Internationalisation of Higher Education: Retrospect and Prospect", *Forum of Education*, 51, 1, (1997), Victor Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates. Greek History and Civilisation during the sixth and fifth centuries BC*. [Second Edition]. London: Methuen, 1973, *Jong Guó Da Bai Ke Quan Shu*, [Greater Chinese Encyclopaedia]. Beijing: Chinese Encyclopaedia Press, 1992, I, 42.

[57] Anthony Welch, "The Peripatetic Professor: the Internationalisation of the Academic Profession" *Higher Education* [Special Issue on the International Survey of the Academic Profession], 34, 1 (1997), C. Goodwin, and M. Nacht, *Missing the Boat. The Failure to Internationalise American Higher Education*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, Don Anderson, *Sources of Australian Academics Qualifications*, DEET, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service [AGPS], 1993, Meredith Baker et al, *The Role of Immigration in the Australian Higher Education Labour Market*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service [AGPS], 1993, Sheehan, Barry , and Welch, Anthony *The Australian Academic Profession*. Canberra: Department of Employment, Education and Training, [Evaluations and Investigations Program], 1996,101-106.

[58] International enrolments in Australian universities, for example, while still modest by US standards, increased by some 350% over the decade 1984-1994, and are continuing to grow vigorously. See Back, Ken and Davis, Dorothy, "Internationalisation of Higher Education in Australia", de Wit, H., (Ed) *Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education*. Amsterdam: European Association for International Education [EAIE], 1995,127. Over the same period, and from a much larger base, international enrolments in US higher education increased by 32%, see Institute of International Education [IIE], *Open Doors*. Washington: IIE, 1995, vii., and Welch, A., "Going Global? Internationalising Australian Universities at a Time of Global Crisis", *Comparative Education Review,* 46, 4, (2002).

[59] Sungho Lee, "The Academic Profession in Korea", Philip Altbach*, The International Academic Profession* (see note 1, above), 104.

[60] Nonetheless, Japan is also beginning to internationalise. See for example, Ruth Hayhoe, "*The International Role of Japanese Universities"* Unpublished MS, Nagoya University, June 1996, and by the same author "Japanese Universities Facing the World" *International Higher Education*, 5, (July 1996): 11-13.

[61] The single and notable exception was Japan, where the proportion of female "peripatetic" staff (11.8%) was almost double that of their male peers (6.2%). Might it be postulated that in Japan, female academics are freer to travel than men, since they are less bound by the expectation of working at a single institution?

[62] With the exception of Germany, Japan and Korea (the three nations with the lowest proportions of female staff), and Russia (where the numbers of peripatetic staff were too small to be useful).

[63] Ohmae, Kenichi. *End of the Nation State: the rise of regional economies.* London: Harper Collins, 1996.

[64] Respectively, the North American Free Trade Alliance, European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students, and University Mobility Scheme for Asia and the Pacific

[65] Anthony Welch, Educational Services in Southeast Asia, *RIAP BICA Project*, Tokyo, Ministry of Finance, RIAP University of Sydney, 2004, Pp. 1-40.

[66] Alvin Gouldner, *Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*. London: Macmillan, 1979.

[67] Welch, Anthony. "All Change? The Professoriate in Uncertain Times" *Higher Education* [Special Issue on the International Survey of the Academic Profession] 34,1, (1997).

[68] Ibid, p. 4.

[69] Ibid, p. 4.

[70] See Jürgen Enders, and Ulrich Teichler, "A Victim of its Own Success? Employment and Working Conditions of Academic Staff in Comparative Perspective", *Higher Education* [Special Issue on the International Survey of the Academic Profession] 34,1, (1997).
[71] See Said's citation of Julien Benda, Said 1994, 5.
[72] See Edward Said, (see n.7 above), and Ian Maclean, Alan Montefiore and Peter Winch, *The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
[73] Total Quality Management, one of the more modish forms of human resource management of the latter part of the twentieth century. For a critique of the overuse of performance indicators in universities, see inter alia, Welch, A., Accountability or Accountancy? Governance and University Evaluation in an Era of Performativity, Arimota, A., (Ed) *Governance and Eval.uation in Universities*. Hiroshima, Research Institute for Higher Education, 2004.

JANICE CURRIE

GLOBALISATION'S IMPACT ON THE PROFESSORIATE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

As we enter the next millennium, we are witnessing protests against globalisation in many different countries.[2] Students, academics, unionists, political activists, members of non-government agencies, and churches are among those protesting the shift towards a global marketplace. This ideological shift towards neo-liberal economic policies tends to privilege certain sectors of the world economy and to be led by the countries of the North, particularly Anglo-American countries. Who are the winners and losers in this move towards a more globalised economic system? Why are some countries choosing to follow this path and others deciding to resist the move towards globalisation? How are globalisation practices affecting universities, especially in the Anglo-American countries, where they are farther down this road than most European countries?

2. GLOBALISATION PRACTICES

Although the term globalisation first appeared in the 1960s, the first author to use it in the title of a sociological article was Roland Robertson in 1985. He defined globalisation as "a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992, 8). Writers, including Anthony Giddens and Malcolm Waters, subsequently have distinguished the economic, political and cultural dimensions of globalisation, while suggesting that economic integration is more advanced than the other forms. The major factor affecting universities has been the economic ideology of globalisation that calls for the primacy of the market. Leslie Sklair (2001) theorises the concept of globalisation as it is practiced within transnational corporations. He argues that the transnational capitalist class (TNC) is not only made up of executives of transnational corporations. It also includes globalising bureaucrats, politicians, professionals, merchants and media owners. The role of globalising politicians and professionals is to sell the slogan of international competitiveness. Sklair asserts, "as a corollary, they downgrade the value of social and community goals locally, as against the constant search for the holy grail of "national competitiveness'" (Sklair, 2001, 8).

There are examples of globalising politicians around the world, expressing concern about the impact of globalisation on their countries; nevertheless, they exhort their citizens to follow the path towards a more globalised economy because

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 21—34.

there is no turning back. In December 2000, former President Clinton said during a London TV interview: "We need to keep opening up our markets; let's not close off opportunities to increase the flow of wealth around the world" (ABC, 2000). John Howard, the Australian Prime Minister, remarked in a more cautious manner on February 24, 2001, just after a landslide victory for the opposition in the state of Queensland: "In a globalized economy you can't turn your back on change and reform. It's going to happen anyway. It's a question of whether you manage change in an intelligent fashion, a sympathetic and compassionate fashion" (Kelly, 2001, 23).

John Quiggin (1998), in comparing market reform in Australia and New Zealand, pointed to privatization, competitive tendering and contracting for public services as those governments' responses to a more globalised economy, which, in their turn, helped to confirm and encourage those trends. These policies were initiated following Reagan's move to the right in the United States and Thatcher's in England. The Australian and New Zealand labour governments encouraged these policies and implemented many of them. The only major task they left to their successor conservative governments was to break the power of the union movement through labour-market reforms. The same policies that affected public sector agencies due to privatization and competition policies impacted on universities in a similar way.

Marginson and Considine studied 17 Australian universities and discovered that all the institutions had become enterprise universities to a greater or lesser extent during the 1990s. They argued that, "neo-liberal policies have been enforced with greater rigour in Australia than in the USA. Fiscal constraints have been tighter and competition reform has been harder" (Marginson and Considine, 2000, 54, see also Welch and Mok, 2003, and Welch, 2002a and b).

Other writers concur with Marginson and Considine about the corporatising of universities and describe how commercialisation has impacted on universities in different parts of the world. Masao Miyoshi writes of the appropriation of the university by industry and how the function of the university has changed to one of industrial management and an "unmistakably radical reduction of its public and critical role" (Miyoshi, 1998, 263).

> From Fichte and von Humboldt, through Newman and Arnold or even Thorstein Veblen, the university was thought of as a part of national culture, national history, national identity, and national governance. The construction and maintenance of the coherent nation-state was at the core of its agenda. (Miyoshi, 1998, 262)

Claire Polster (2000) explores the consequences of corporate links on public universities. She is concerned that academics are drawn into becoming complicit with advancing these links because governments have introduced schemes such as university-industry links and are directing more strategic research and development grants in that direction. Moreover, she warns:

> As for corporate links, they are not an *add-on* to the university, such that after their establishment one has the old university plus these links. Corporate links are an *add-into* the university, which produce the qualitative changes that pervade its multiple and interacting aspects and dimensions including its culture, operating practices, funding systems, reward structures, etc. (Polster, 2000, 183)

What are some of these qualitative changes that Polster is referring to in the above quote? Tudiver (1999) gives a pithy description of the corporate university which is the end result of these types of neo-liberal reforms emanating from global capital:

> Operating universities like businesses changes their essence. Gearing to the market means redefining relevance. Social values that have shaped higher education are replaced by measures of financial viability. Research and teaching are assessed in narrow market terms. Profit becomes the guiding principle for deciding which services and products to offer. … Corporations draw faculty into a search for sales rather than truth, favoring projects with strong market potential over theoretical or basic research. The inherent value of the work is less important than its potential to generate revenue (Tudiver, 1999, 168).

Press and Washburn (2000) report in some detail the way that commercially sponsored research is putting at risk the value of disinterested inquiry in American universities. They describe universities as co-capitalists, embracing market values as never before. However, this is not the case for arts faculties where, for the most part, staff are not engaging with market values. One of the most damaging results is the downsizing of humanities. They quote Engell and Dangerfield who, in their lengthy article for the Harvard alumni magazine, argued that:

> Since the late 1960s the humanities have been neglected, downgraded, and forced to retrench, all as other areas of higher education have grown in numbers, wealth and influence. The authors trace this to what they call the new "Market-Model University," in which subjects that make money, study money, or attract money are given priority (Press and Washburn, 2000, 52).

These examples come from Australia, Canada, and the United States. In contrast, throughout much of Europe, higher education is not as competitive and market-oriented. A university education often is without fees or with minimal fees. In Germany, for example, the constitution mandates that higher education should be free, despite rising pressures for change. Some observers suggest, indeed, that an eventual shift in Europe toward the American model is inevitable. Some movement has occurred toward the Anglo-American degree structure of Bachelor's, Master's and PhDs, in an effort to harmonise degrees within the European Union (De Wit, 2001, Salamanca, 2001).

Despite certain moves toward globalisation practices, it is important to note the differences between the models of higher education adopted in Europe and in Anglo-American countries. Sandra Taylor et al. (1997) argue clearly that all nations do not respond in the same way to globalisation and that specific historical, political, cultural, and economic contexts will influence the way globalisation trends develop in each country. Individual nations and institutions, for that matter, actively construct distinctive responses to globalisation trends. There is no essential determinacy to the ways in which globalisation processes work, since for various globalisation pressures, there are also sites of resistance and counter movements. Richard DeAngelis (1998), for example, finds patterns of Australian and French higher education policy reform to be nearly polar opposites.

Although the rationale given for change is the need to respond rapidly to a changing external environment, especially economic constraints, John Ralston Saul doubts the validity of these claims. He argues that, "globalization and the limits it imposes are the most fashionable miniature ideologies of our day" (Saul, 1995, 20). He fears that universities are slipping into this market-oriented ideology and they are

developing corporate structures to align themselves with specific market forces. As a result of these changes, he is concerned that academics no longer fulfil the role of active independent public critics.

This view receives support from Donald Fisher and Kjell Rubenson (1998) whose study of approximately 1,049 academics and administrators in Canadian universities revealed "an intensification of the current trend toward organisational models that are both bureaucratic, corporate and directed to the market" (Fisher and Rubenson, 1998, 95). They confirmed conclusions drawn by other studies suggesting that academics will experience the following changes: an intensification of work practices, a loss of autonomy, closer monitoring and appraisal, less participation in decision-making, and a lack of personal development through work.

This chapter reports findings from a study carried out from 1994 to 1996 with follow-up interviews in 1997. A team of researchers collected data from academics in Australia and the United States to explore two globalising practices: "governmentality" and the logic of "performativity" as accountability, and corporate managerialism. These intertwined practices rely on accounting language to reshape the university with a business mentality. This chapter examines the impact of these practices on the professoriate at three universities in Australia (Sydney, Murdoch, and Edith Cowan) and three in the United States (Arizona, Florida State, and Louisville). Additional information is drawn from studies and interviews in Canadian and New Zealand universities. There were 153 academics interviewed in Australia and 100 in the United States, representing a range of disciplines and ranks. Approximately one-third of both samples were women. The NUD.IST software program facilitated both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the interviews, but the focus is on observations by academics about rapid changes at their and other universities. As summarized by one interviewee at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, a major concern about allowing globalisation practices to dominate universities involves disagreement over the notion of accountability:

> This notion of accountability again is a concept that has been generated by a wider ideological kind of apparatus. . . . it has become a watchword for financial accountability for public funds per se, and what that has done is to narrow the debate away from issues about representation and styles of decision-making and the nature of democratic institutions, which is the bit that seems to be forgotten in the cost-cutting environment. I would like to turn the notion of accountability back into democratic theory. In the guise of the accountancy kind of version of accountability, it has cut across the substantial democratic foundations of universities.

3. "GOVERNMENTALITY" AND THE LOGIC OF "PERFORMATIVITY" AS ACCOUNTABILITY

In many Anglo-American universities, government ministers or legislators are attempting to increase productivity through regulatory mechanisms, including performance indicators and quality assurance exercises.[3] The Australian Minister for Higher Education, Peter Baldwin, when delivering the *Higher Education: Quality and Diversity in the 1990s* statement in October 1991, was proud to think that he had driven the nation's 36 public universities firmly into the corporate world of quality assurance.

Michel Foucault describes "governmentality" as the modern state's goal of coupling "individualization" and "totalization" (Foucault, 1991, 87-104). Technology has made it possible to develop policies that can regulate and control populations more effectively, and one of the aims of modern states is to mobilize the working classes to adopt the bourgeois ethic that emphasizes the individual life, conceived as an enterprise - the enterprise of oneself. One has the civic obligation to care for oneself and reduce the burden of risk on society, with the self seen as a product that can be maximized for efficiency. Thus, according to Colin Gordon (1991), individuals are developed to have economically useful lives so that they can foster the strength of the State.

Foucault also contributed the "totalizing" concept of "regimes of truth", which proffer one "right way" and are open in that sense only to fundamentalist and closed discourses.[4] A good example is how performance indicators have captivated universities. Anderson, Johnson, and Milligan (1996) describe the use of performance indicators in a number of European countries, Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. Although content (how the index is derived) and efforts to improve performance indicators can be critiqued, their use cannot be questioned (Polster and Newson, 1998). Once performance indicators are set, the formula is put into the computer, the data are entered from each academic and aggregated by department, and funds are distributed accordingly. It is very efficient. No one can criticize the system because it is "objective".

Drawing on Foucault's concept of governmentality, Simon Marginson (1995) and Les Terry (1995) describe power relationships in Australian universities. Terry pointed to quality audits as "one of the key parts of this education panopticon" (Terry, 1995, 9). The quality exercise was a way for the Australian government to "steer from a distance" and to produce indirectly a greater devolution of the quality process and concurrently tighten central control (Marceau, 1993). Local management voluntarily did what the government wanted (Marginson, 1995).

This form of governmentality extends from the state to universities and down to individual academics. As governments ask universities to reduce their financial burden on society through privatization measures, individuals working in universities increasingly are being asked to "pay" for themselves and to account for how they spend taxpayers' money, whether on research, teaching, or other activities. A female academic at the University of Louisville described the extent to which legislators are focusing on accountability:

> The latest form we had to fill out was on time management. The legislature wanted to know just exactly how you spent every hour of the day. It asked not only how many hours you are in the classroom, but also how many hours you are in preparation for class, for grading, for community activities, in original research, in writing. It was bizarre. It depressed me because I came up with 60 hours and I didn't report all 60 hours because 1 thought it was outrageous. Then I thought, I shouldn't be working like that! I talked to other people who did the same thing. I started counting my hours and it was so unbelievable that I downplayed the number I was actually working. A lot of people talked about the form and considered what we will have to say next - how long we stay in the bathroom! [laughter]

Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984), in his discussion of postindustrial societies, notes how performativity – with its distinction between efficiency and inefficiency –

privileges input/output equations. He alludes to the effect this can have on universities when he writes, "The criterion of performance is explicitly invoked by the authorities to justify their refusal to subsidize certain research centers" (Lyotard, 1984, 47). He says that the question asked by universities is no longer "Is it true?" but "What use is it?" – which also can mean "Is it saleable?" or "Is it efficient?" (Lyotard, 1984, 51).

Lyotard questions whether this quest to measure efficiency is appropriate in the postmodern world where "science does not expand by means of the positivism of efficiency" (Lyotard, 1984, 54). He argues that the emphasis on performance in a paradigm stressing control and a highly stable system is unrealistic in a world filled with contradictions and instability. In fact, using "positivistic" science in a postmodern world actually lowers the performance level. He ends his book on the postmodern condition with this warning: "We are finally in a position to understand how the computerization of society affects this problematic. It could become the "dream" instrument for controlling and regulating the market system, extended to include knowledge itself and governed exclusively by the performativity principle" (Lyotard, 1984, 67).

One University of Auckland academic referred directly to Lyotard's logic of performativity in discussing the effects of increased supervision and administration:

> It comes back in theoretical terms, to what I call the logic of performativity and the way Jean Francois Lyotard uses that term conceptually that seems to substantiate my experience. Each year, as the years go by, more and more is expected. And it is measured in terms of an input-output matrix and the logic of the system is to expect more, to demand more always.

He went on to describe the New Zealand government's emphasis on building within public institutions "a more flexible performance culture" and developing "a performance management system."

The movement to performance indicators in Australian higher education was foreshadowed in a 1988 White Paper from John Dawkins, the Minister for Education:

> The Government supports the development of a funding system that responds to institutional performance and the achievement of mutually agreed goals. It intends to develop funding arrangements that take into account a range of output, quality and performance measures and will initiate moves in this direction during the 1989-91 triennium. This in turn will require a comprehensive and nationally consistent data base, the continued development of which will be a high priority for the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET). (Dawkins, 1998, 85)

Since 1991, the proportion of government funding based on performance indicators has risen for university research and that is likely to be the case for teaching in the near future. Within institutions, parallel systems of distributing resources based on research and teaching performance indices already exist. In the United States, efforts are under way to measure productivity in ever-greater detail, a trend underscored by an academic at the University of Louisville:

> The central administration is seeing the university as if it were a business, cost efficiency kinds of considerations – Fordism - which is not just an economist's assembly line model but also this idea of a productivity model - judging the quality of what goes on in the university not in terms of what goes on in the classroom but how many students are processed, at what rate and how

> efficient the system is. The intensity of that has grown, as well as the sense that the central administration has to control the faculty.

Attempts by the administration to control the professoriate are reflected in a memo to staff from the Office of the Provost at Florida State University announcing the "redirection" of state funds "mandated" by the 1994 legislature from research, service, and academic administration to teaching. The response of the administration was to demand greater faculty productivity: "In short, we must offer more courses at the higher levels and we must do so without reducing our teaching effort at other levels. So we have asked each dean to prepare a plan for increasing credit hour production in each school" (Florida State University Memorandum, 1994). The memo also asked deans to examine all departmental data for the average percentage of teaching effort and enquired whether any "underutilized" service could be redirected to instruction. Then the 1994 legislature asked the Board of Regents to develop measurable objectives on faculty productivity. One Florida State University academic, commenting on the state's interference, echoed Lyotard's concerns that a performativity culture tends to make universities less collegial and create internal tensions:

> The legislators have tried to micro-manage and it's very clear that over the past 5 years, each year there is some kind of initiative that constrains or in fact structures the faculty collegial process. It seems to me that it's a cardinal rule that each time the legislature tries to improve things around here, they make things worse. The more the legislature and the Board of Regents tries to impose new mandates from the top down, the more it circumvents the collegial process.

From the sample interviewed, there is no doubt that the respondents are experiencing increased accountability. The vast majority — slightly more than 85 percent in both U.S. and Australian universities — said that accountability had increased, and no respondent reported that accountability had declined over the last 5 years. One faculty member of Murdoch University described the effect of this new kind of surveillance:

> I think that our conditions of work are being transformed in ways which involve both much more intrusive policing from the system and also that involve value shifts within the system as well. For the first time this year we had to submit very detailed written statements to our supervisors about the work that we had completed for the previous year and a set of objectives for the following year. There was then a process of direct intervention, which involved changing some priorities, which I would have wished to continue for that year, because of what were seen as institutional priorities. So that's a direct impact, which, from my university experience, has never happened before, and I think it is going to increase in the future. I think Quality Assurance provides another mechanism in addition to the way in which the supervisor system is working, to justify intervention in the way in which people work and attempt to regulate their work and to discipline their work.

In addition to the way academic activities are being scrutinized, there is a perception that information is being gathered without any clear vision of how it should be used. A department chair at the University of Arizona, in response to the question, "In terms of accountability, does that involve more forms to be filled out?" answered:

> Yes! Lord yes! One of the favourite acts of this administration is to have us write more elaborate reports with more numbers that document things we've done, or should do or didn't do or whatever. When I came to this department the first thing I had to do was this huge audit over everything. This report took about a year, and then they threw another one right at me. And then

> another one and another one, lots of committees, lots of wandering around trying to write reports that show we're doing stuff. You don't mind doing that a couple of times but then it really gets frustrating. It's like a monster with an appetite that can't be satisfied and you just have to keep piling it in. So yes, a lot more paperwork in the accountability business in the form of charts, graphs, numbers, counting, reports, committees that have to generate those reports. One's never sure if they're read but they certainly are filed and some of it's pretty redundant.

4. CORPORATE MANAGERIALISM

A number of commentators in Australia, the United States, and Canada have observed a shift in power from academic departments to central administration (see Bessant, 1995; Moodie, 1994; Scott, 1995; Terry, 1995; Rhoades, 1993; Newson, 1992; Berman, 1998; and Marginson and Considine, 2000). This change has been accompanied by a new kind of fundamentalism suggesting managers have all the answers and that answers to managerial issues are to be found in imitating business practices (Rees, 1995, 15-27). Jason Hecht (1994) quotes a University of California, Los Angeles, administrator, "Can a university be run more like a business? You bet it can. ... Most universities can do a significant job of cutting costs through the same reengineering of processes and work that have characterized the best for-profit corporations" (Hecht, 1994, 6). Such corporate managerialism assumes that managers should make the most important decisions and make them quickly, leading to restructured institutions whose streamlined operations give only a few people the information on which to base decisions. Books abound that tell managers how to bring about reforms quickly, and one University of Auckland academic talked about one of these publications:

> If you read Roger Douglas' [former Treasurer in New Zealand] book, *Unfinished Business*, he talks about the politics of successful reform and he articulates a number of principles for successful reform. I can quote them to you off the top of my head. One of them is "institute the reforms in quantum leaps," "big packages neutralize opposition," "once you start the ball rolling never let it stop," "speed is essential, just keep on going," and "consult with the community only to improve the detailed implementation of decisions that have already been reached."

A faculty member at the University of Louisville also noted the rapidity of changes in response to a question about whether bureaucratic tendencies are increasing:

> It seems that bureaucratic tendencies are increasing. The faculty has a lot less control over the institution. There were a number of changes imposed on the faculty: not electing chairs; changing the definition of what we do, making teaching only and research only streams; a post-tenure review, evaluating what you do which could lead to termination; increasing the proportion of faculty without tenure. The faculty met for the first time in donkey's years and voted against these proposals, like 495 to 15 - and these were faculty from all the colleges - the medical school, the law school. They all said this sucks. The Board of Trustees said "we don't care, this is what is happening." There is contempt for the faculty. But also there is a sense that they are running a business. You know when you are running an auto plant, you don't ask the workers how to run the plant, at least in America and if you are running a university, you don't ask the faculty how to run the institution.

In making these changes, management delineates which aspects of decision-making academics can be involved in and which aspects the administration should control. An administrator at Florida State University noted in a memo to one of his deans that, "matters such as curriculum belong to the faculty, but decisions about the

development and monitoring of resource allocations are the responsibility of administration" (Glidden, 1993, 12). This was not always the case in many U.S. universities, however.[5] In May 1972, for example, the Council of the American Association of University Professors endorsed a statement that made it clear that faculty should have a voice in budgetary matters: "The faculty should participate both in the preparation of the total institutional budget and in decisions relevant to the further apportioning of its specific fiscal divisions" (CAAUP, 1973, 170). The statement also emphasized the importance of having an elected representative committee of the faculty deciding the overall allocation of institutional resources.

Budgetary control by faculty in the United States and Australia is declining. Roger Scott (1995) argues that universities have fallen under the spell of public choice theorists who assume the superiority of private-sector approaches to management. The view that universities no longer think of themselves as primarily educational institutions is reflected in a motion passed during a staff association meeting at Australia's University of Newcastle:

> The general perception is that academics are generally excluded from significant decision-making, that a great deal of money is expended on salaries and ancillary costs at senior- and middle-management levels, and that an administration designed to serve the academic function of the university has succeeded in having that function made secondary to managerial imperatives. (Jones, 1992, 40).

A number of respondents said that academic issues are more likely to be decided by collegial processes and administrative issues by managerial or bureaucratic processes. Academics and administrators operating in this way have the potential to work well together. However, it is not always easy to determine what is strictly an academic issue and what is exclusively an administrative issue. Furthermore, there are other factors that are driving academics and administrators apart. As a professor from Florida State University remarked vehemently:

> The university administration is approaching corporate managerialism. If you look at the salaries of administrators, they're paid enormous salaries comparatively speaking; they're in the top 10 percent [nationally] and the faculty is in the bottom 25 percent nationally. There is a lot more of the administrative fiat being passed down to faculty.

Staff at Australian universities also reported rising salaries for administrators and the growth of corporate managerial tendencies. Donald Fisher and Kjell Rubenson (1998) note that, in Canadian universities:

> Privatization continues to be the overwhelming trend. Institutions are changing their practices in order to accumulate power. Our universities are becoming more corporate, more technocratic, more utilitarian, and far more concerned with selling products than with education. Full cost recovery is a major theme. (Fisher and Rubenson, 1998, 96)

Faculty in Australia and the United States are critical of efforts to run the university like a business:

> You want to talk about the one thing that has changed; it is striving to put industrial-driven productivity models into a service and scholarship profession. Productivity models as applied to education are terribly misplaced and terribly abused. They do nothing but promote a labour versus management concept. That's one thing that has been more complicated and different, as I think we have been striving to meet the legislature's push for industrial and production models into the educational process. [Florida State University]

> The central administration has gained more control. The President has attempted to centralize decision-making. He has a business mentality. He's a CEO, a jargon term used in business. A lot of the vocabulary and rhetoric used is deceptive because he may say we want to achieve equity, but there are such disparities between the different units. He suggests that he is looking for some kind of social justice, but I think it is an attempt to run things from the central administration. [University of Louisville]

> Of course, much of the Dawkins agenda was an argument about the lack of accountability of institutions. The inappropriateness of their governance structures demands that they be run much more like business corporations and the "knock on" effect of that right down from reduced numbers in the Senate to the kind of line management universities are adopting. [Murdoch University]

The majority of faculty respondents—73 percent in the United States and 59 percent in Australia—thought that decision-making had become more bureaucratic, top-down, centralized, autocratic, and managerial. Those who said that there was a combination of decision-making styles—19 percent in the United States and 17 percent in Australia—often identified more democratic decision-making at the departmental or faculty level and more bureaucratic and corporate managerial procedures at the institutional level. A minority—6 percent in the United States and 18 percent in Australia—said that decision-making was still democratic and faculty were participating in decisions, while 4 percent in each country said that they did not know enough to comment. Representative quotes from each of the Australian and U.S. universities in the study demonstrate the similarity of changes:

> It is more managerial. It is less democratic as a result. Any sense of a coherent university has been lost by the production of fiefdoms, where the different faculties are run by robber barons who call themselves pro-vice-chancellors and who get motor cars and so on. They are called senior management. It came with the previous vice-chancellor and the appointment of the Boston Consulting Group and the throwing of at least a million dollars at them to produce a bunch of flow charts.... It had almost no beneficial impact, but it gave the green light to restructure or managerialise. [University of Sydney]

> For the worse. More bureaucratic, less accessible, and less responsive to the central mission of the university - students, faculty and the curriculum. Much more responsive to the Board of Regents and the legislature. It's become an outward process rather than inward. We simply become conduits to feed data upward and that's accountability. [Florida State University]

> I'm not sure what they're called. The deans of the faculties come together with the vice-chancellor and the deputy vice-chancellor and the representatives of the major service organisations. Effectively that's where the power is, and then their decisions are passed along to Academic Council, which effectively is a rubber stamp. [Edith Cowan University]

> In the department it is still very collegial, very democratic. At the point of central administration ... it's as autocratic as is possible for the central administration to make it. It maintains a facade of consultation, but the President makes it very clear that he does not feel himself bound by any consultation. ... He made himself chair of the last provost search committee. He said the only thing he was mandated to do was consult with the faculty advisory committee, and that he was not bound by their decision (which previous presidents had considered themselves bound by) nor by the search committee. In short, he could go to someone never considered by the committee and name that person provost. That's about as authoritarian as you can get. [University of Louisville]

> Important decisions are passed down from the top I think. This university has made a decision about extending to another campus at Kwinana. ... I think that was probably one of the least democratic decisions, but it had to be made quickly because we were in competition with other institutions. ... So we were driven very much by outside forces. [Murdoch University]

> It's moving to top-down management on a corporate style that almost deliberately elicits hostile relations. Adversarial, I guess 1 would say. [University of Arizona]

In short, these interviews reveal a shift of decision-making to senior or middle managers at all six Australian and U.S. universities, a trend that intensified over the previous 5 years. However, the Australian universities had not moved as far along the continuum from collegiality to corporate managerialism as the American universities sampled. In contrast, one university, Edith Cowan, was moving from an autocratic base to one that was more participatory—although staff expressed some cynicism that the more devolved structure was giving more power to executive deans than academics.

It is clear that the U.S. universities are experiencing more interference from legislators and members of the Board of Regents, including legislatures demanding that more attention should be given to the teaching of undergraduates. How this is addressed varies, but this study shows that globalisation often has unintended consequences that the universities then have to confront. In discussing similar shifts in Canadian universities, Janice Newson shows that the marginalization of faculty is "rooted in the complex changes that must be understood as more than simply the adoption by university administrators of a corporate style of management" (Newson, 1992, 239-40). She argues that these changes are interwoven with the links between universities and the corporate sector, and that not all academics are opposed to these connections, as many benefit from the increased flow of industry funds into their areas for research and development. There are also those who lose. Sheila Slaughter (1993) has written about retrenchments within U.S. universities, and the simple rule is that those closer to the market are deemed to be sacrosanct and those farther away must battle to survive (Slaughter, 1993, 247-49).

5. CONCLUSION

Globalisation has brought market and business practices into universities, but with serious negative ramifications and significant costs. The subtle ways practices inspired by globalisation infiltrate institutions weakens resistance to the managerialist agenda, requiring Herculean efforts to counteract these changes, particularly in view of daily faculty responsibilities in teaching and research. Yet, without more awareness and organized resistance to the globalisation agenda that links universities to markets, the result will be a greater shift in faculty expectations from "scholar" to "entrepreneur." By examining these practices in familiar proximity to gain a better understanding of the way managers are operating in this new globalisation paradigm, academics then can begin to suggest alternative practices, not only in their own workplaces but also in other public-sector organisations that have already altered their practices to conform to these globalising trends.

Within their recently enhanced roles as chief executives of corporate universities, vice-chancellors and presidents might consider preserving and extending existing fragments of collegial, participatory decision-making. Otherwise, universities and their "clients" are likely to suffer in the long term. Administrators also should consider the effect of using performance indicators on the professoriate. Claire Polster and Janice Newson (1998) suggest the need for research to study the effects of performance indicators on staff morale, on the diversity of teaching formats, and on the breadth of research. They believe that this research would show the deficiencies of performance indicators and indicate that different forms of accountability should be considered. They suggest that a link between democratic styles and accountability is an important one in universities and that accountability embedded in democratic theory has been neglected in favor of financial accountability derived from the corporate sector.

Finally, it is salient to heed the advice of Ken McKinnon, a former Australian vice-chancellor, who advocates that universities be run more like legal partnerships than businesses, with all constituencies—including students, staff, governments, and taxpayers—participating in decision-making. He reminds us that "the university is one of half a dozen institutions that has lasted for a couple of thousand years so that form of governance is not one you would give up lightly" (quoted in Armitage, 1995, 8).

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[1]This study was funded by grants from the Australian Research Council and Murdoch University. I thank them and the 253 respondents who were interviewed and gave me insights into their lives as academics. The research was a team effort that included Lesley Vidovich, Anthony Welch, and Harriett Pears in Australia; and Edward Berman in the United States. I want to thank Paul Snider for research and editorial assistance.

[2] In the years 2000-2001, there were many protests, including those in Seattle against the World Trade Organisation, in Washington D.C. against the World Bank, in Melbourne against the World Economic Forum and in Quebec City against the expansion of NAFTA to the Americas.

[3] A number of writers have critiqued the introduction of performance indicators and quality assurance measures in universities. See Brown and Lauder 1996; Marginson 1995; Bartos 1992; and Polster and Newson 1998.

[4] A good example of a "regime of truth" is economic rationalism, which has captivated many governments in the 1980s and 1990s. Economic rationalism is a neo-liberal, microeconomic agenda that favors the corporatisation and privatization of government enterprises and is based on the concept of efficiency. Inherent in his discourse of economic rationalism is what Gordon has described as the active meaning of laissez-faire – which means a form of deregulation or the devising of forms of regulation that permit and facilitate natural regulation, i.e. removing any government interference. For different views on economic rationalism, see Pusey 1991; and King and Lloyd 1993.

[5] This discussion is not to suggest that there was a golden era of collegiality in Australian and American universities before corporate managerialism began to be practiced. To the contrary, many universities had practices that could be characterized as autocratic, patronizing, and bureaucratic. For example, the head of department who acted as "God Professor" was alive and well in many Australian universities, particularly in the older, traditional ones like the University of Sydney. And converted teachers' colleges (like Edith Cowan University) often had headmaster-types chosen as vice-chancellors who ruled in an autocratic and often arbitrary fashion. However, there were the new alternative universities, such as Murdoch University, established in the 1960s and 1970s that began to break down the hierarchies and created more collegial structures. The 1970s and 1980s in these universities could be thought of as being a golden era in Australia before corporate managerialism arrived.

PETER GEURTS AND PETER MAASSEN

ACADEMICS AND INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will reflect upon the involvement of the academic staff of universities and colleges in a number of European countries in the governance of their own organisations. Certain aspects of the nature of this involvement will be discussed as well as the appreciation of the academics of their own governance activities. In addition an estimate will be made of the costs of the academic involvement in institutional governance processes. The countries included are Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

In the framework of this chapter governance refers to the rules, structures and enforcement mechanisms concerning the academic and administrative decisions made in a university or college. It has to do with the preparation of the decisions, the actual decision-making process and the implementation of the decisions taken. We interpret governance *structures* as "the ways in which an organization divides its labour into distinct tasks and then achieves coordination among them" Mintzberg (1979, 2).

Why is the involvement of academics in institutional governance of relevance for understanding the academic profession? One answer to this question can be found in interpreting a university or college as a professional organisation. Scott (1995) refers to professional organisations as organisations in which professionals take part in the determination of goals and standards. Professionals have in general more power than other categories of employees. They can also be distinguished as regards the aspects of their work they try to control. In this respect professional groups differ, for example, from unions in the sense that they not only want to control their working conditions but they even want to be able to define their own work.

> Professionals seek cognitive control-insisting that they are uniquely qualified to determine what types of problems fall under their jurisdiction and how these problems are to be categorized and processed; they seek normative control, determining who has the right to exercise authority over what decisions and actors in what situations; and they seek regulative control, determining what actions are to be prohibited and permitted and what sanctions are to be used. *(Scott, 1995, x).*

This control-seeking behaviour is also a characteristic of the academic profession, especially in universities. Academics not only want to be involved in the determination of their working conditions, e.g. salary, benefits, and facilities, but they also want to control the definition of their work and profession, inside their own organisation as well as in the wider regulatory, normative and cognitive context. As a consequence, analysing various aspects of the actual involvement of academics in the governance of their own organisations will give an insight into the nature of the control-seeking behaviour of academics and the effectiveness of it.

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 35-58.

In this chapter we will mainly use data from *the International Research Project on the Academic Profession*, published by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching[1] in 1996, for reflecting upon the effects, effectiveness and (qualitative and quantitative) nature of the involvement of academics in institutional governance. In the Carnegie study, research directors from each participating country were involved in the design of the core of the joint questionnaire used. Even though research directors could omit questions from their own country's survey instrument, the questionnaires used in the four European countries were to a large extent identical.[2]

2. GOVERNANCE ISSUES IN UNIVERSITIES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

2.1 Administration versus Governance

In the Carnegie study various items have been distinguished that are assumed to have an impact on the working conditions of academics as well as on the way they perceive their profession. One of these items is administration. Under the main heading of "administration" a number of issues have been addressed, of which the most important are:

1. The degree to which specific decisions are made centrally or decentrally in a higher education institution.
2. The opinion of academics on the governance of their institution.
3. The extent to which academics can influence specific decisions within their university or college.
4. The degree of control academics have over designing their own courses and determining their own research projects.

The first two of these "administration issues" are of an administrative nature, while the third and fourth are academic in nature. We prefer to use the term "governance" instead of "administration" when referring to the set of academic and administrative activities in which the academic staff of universities and colleges are involved.

In order to understand the importance of institutional governance for the functioning of academics in universities and colleges we will report the scores for the four included countries for each of the four "administration" issues included in the Carnegie survey. This reporting consists of the mean scores per issue for each of the four countries and a statistical analysis of the variation of the scores between the countries.[3]

Second, we will analyse the impact of the employment status on the scores. This refers to the difference between those academics with a tenured, full-time position and those who do not have such a position. We assume that tenured, full-time staff are in general more interested and involved in the governance processes at their institution leading to different opinions on these governance processes.

Third, we assume that different types of higher education institutions will have different governance protocols and procedures. Since the Carnegie survey took place in 1992 the institutional arrangements are a reflection of the situation in that year. This implies that we did make a distinction in each of the countries between a university and a college sector. In (Western) Germany the distinction is between the *Universitäten* and the *Fachhochschulen*, in the Netherlands between the *Universiteiten* and the *Hogescholen*, in Sweden between the *Högskolan* with and without research, and in England between the (old) universities and the polytechnics.[4]

In general in each of the countries the universities have a fundamental research task, and have the right to offer Master and Ph.D. degree programmes, while the colleges are more vocationally oriented, do not have an explicit research function, and offer Bachelor and in some cases Master degree courses.[5]

Finally, we will look into the effects of the disciplinary background of academics on their opinions on governance issues (Becher 1989; Biglan 1973a, 1973b). We have used a disciplinary classification that makes it possible to analyse the impact of the discipline in a comparative way.[6] The discipline is assumed to affect both the substance of the academic work as well as the organisation of it. Even though we only cover the organisation of the academic work, this assumption would imply, amongst other things, that the discipline will have a major impact on the way academics perceive the governance of their institution.

How important is "institutional governance" for academics? In other words, how much are they themselves involved in governance processes and how are they influenced by the outcomes of these processes? In the Carnegie questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate the hours they spend per week on teaching, research, service, governance (referred to as administration in the relevant question

Table 1: Involvement of academics in institutional governance

Hours "governance" Per week	Germany	Netherlands	Sweden	England
0	16.4%	25.4%	8.4%	4.5%
0 < x >1	0.7%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%
1 < x > 8	57.9%	54.9%	61.7%	57.8%
8 < x > 20	21.0%	18.0%	22.2%	31.4%
> 20	4.0%	1.7%	5.4%	6.5%
Valid number (=100%)	2575	1424	1026	1853
% missing	8.1%	18.9%	8.6%	4.8%

Legend:
In the first column the numbers of hours spent on governance activities are presented. In columns 2-5 the percentage of the respondents per country who answered the question are indicated. The valid number of respondents per country is mentioned in row 7, while the percentage of respondents missing, i.e. not having answered this question, are reported at the bottom of the table.

in the Carnegie survey), and other academic activities. In table 1 the indicated numbers of hours spent on governance are presented.

In looking at these data carefully, a number of observations can be made. First, the involvement of academics in institutional governance is highest in England, followed by Sweden respectively, with the lowest participation in the Netherlands and Germany (see also table 6). Second, while in England only 4.5% of academics are not involved in governance at all, this figure amounts to over 25% for the Netherlands. Third, only in Germany and Sweden do a (small) group of academics participate in governance just a little, i.e. less than 1 hour per week. Fourth, in all four countries more than half of the academics are involved in institutional governance between 1 and 8 hours per week, i.e. the equivalent of one working day of 8 hours or less. Finally, in England almost twice as many academics as in the Netherlands are involved in governance processes more than 8 hours per week (38% versus 20%).

All in all it can be concluded that the general pattern as regards the time spent by academic staff of universities and colleges on institutional governance differs considerably from country to country, as well as from academic to academic within the four countries.

An indication from another country for this diversity can be found in the Norwegian studies on the developments in university administration undertaken by NIFU in 1991 and 2000 (Gornitzka, Kyvik and Larsen, 1998; Gornitzka and Larsen, 2001). These studies show that the average time tenured, full-time employed academic staff of Norwegian universities spend on administration is between 17 and 18 percent of their gross working hours[7] per week. Remarkably enough the time spent on administration is rather stable. The outcomes of the 2000 study show no significant change compared to the situation in 1991.

How are these differences between countries reflected in the data from the governance section of the Carnegie survey? By looking in more detail on how the four variables mentioned above, i.e. country, employment status, type of institution, and discipline, affect the answering patterns we expect that we can indicate the degree to which each of them is of influence on the respondents' perceptions of and their involvement in institutional governance. The discipline and the employing institution are expected to affect the work of academics most (Clark, 1983). Since hardly any comparative research has been done on the influence of the national context on the working conditions of academics, we are especially interested in the influence of the variable "country".

2.2 Centralised versus Decentralised Decision-making

The respondents were asked to indicate whether certain decisions in their institution can be characterised as "centralised", "decentralised", or a blend of both. In the Carnegie questionnaire it was explained that *"centralised" usually means that key decisions are made by top administrators (or a governing board). "Decentralised" means that such executive decisions are made by faculty of the institution*.

Table 2: Perception of level of centralisation in institutional decision-making

Country/variable	Germ.	Neth.	Swed.	Engl.	C	E	T	D
Key decisions								
Selecting key administrators	1.83*	1.30	2.15	1.20	x	o	o	o
	(1812)	(1243)	(885)	(1701)				
Choosing new faculty	4.17	4.29	3.19	3.30	x	o	+	x
	(2347)	(1598)	(839)	(1821)				
Faculty promotion/tenure	3.54	3.79	3.13	2.01	x	o	+	o
decisions	(2136)	(1535)	(901)	(1738)				
Determining budget priorities	2.40	2.79	2.87	1.80	x	o	+	x
	(2087)	(1383)	(927)	(1759)				
Determining overall teaching	2.56	4.26	3.07	3.47	x	-	+	x
load	(2128)	(1504)	(934)	(1778)				
Setting admission standards	**	**	2.74	3.23	x	o	-	x
for undergraduates			(910)	(1707)				
Approving new academic	3.19	3.72	3.03	2.41	x	+	+	x
programmes	(1743)	(1453)	(914)	(1732)				

Legend

I The figures in columns 2-5 are average scores per country. The respondents could choose on a five-point scale from (1) completely centralised to (5) completely decentralised. We interpret a score of < 2 as centralised and > 4 as decentralised. A score between 2 and 2.5 is interpreted as 'tending to centralisation' and one between 3.5 and 4 as "tending to decentralisation".

* *Reading example*: The figure of 1.83 is the mean opinion of the German respondents on the degree to which the selection of institutional key administrators is centralised in their country. The figure between brackets (1812) refers to the number of valid answers. The score of 1.83 indicates that the selection is perceived as being centralised.

** In Germany and the Netherlands the statement on setting the admission standards for undergraduates was not included in the questionnaire since this decision is made outside the institutions by the central government.

II In columns 6-9 we have indicated the effects each of the four relevant independent variables, i.e. C(ountry), E(mployment status), T(ype of Institution), and D(iscipline) has on the dependent variable, i.e. the perceptions of the academic respondents on where specific decisions are made. With respect to C and D we have indicated whether the differences between the categories of these variables (4 countries and 5 disciplines respectively) are significant on the 1% reliability level. With respect to these two variables an **x** suggests a significant difference, while a **o** indicates that the differences are not significant. With respect to the other two variables we have indicated the positive or negative effects of the variables E and T on the dependent variable, by using the categories tenured/full-time and (respondent coming from a) university as the reference categories. This implies that if the dependent variable has a higher score for tenured/full-time employees (E) or for university respondents (T) the effect parameter has a positive sign; a **o** suggests no significant effect.

As can be seen in table 2 in England, Germany, and the Netherlands the degree of centralisation differs greatly between the seven decision-making areas. In none of these three countries a clear centralisation or decentralisation pattern can be observed.

With respect to Sweden six out of seven decisions seem to be a mixed responsibility of centralised and decentralised decision-makers, while the seventh, i.e. selection of key administrators, is only perceived as tending towards being a central responsibility. As regards the other three countries a closer look at the data reveals a remarkable differentiation between these countries concerning the

centralisation versus decentralisation perceptions. It can be concluded that each national higher education system is perceived to have a typical distribution of authority, i.e. centralised versus decentralised responsibilities, with respect to the seven decision-making areas in question.

In general the English scores suggest that the key decision-making processes are perceived as being somewhat more centralised than the same processes in the institutions in the other three countries. With all mean scores being lower than 3.5 the English academics have the perception that with respect to none of the seven items decision-making is decentralised, with only the determination of the teaching load slightly tending towards being considered as a decentralised responsibility.

To what extent are the mentioned differences between the academics of the four countries the result of cultural and other differences between countries? In addition, can we find indications that variables such as employment status, type of institution, disciplinary background, have a strong effect on the perceptions of the academics with regard to the statements on centralised versus decentralised decision-making? Studying the effects of all four variables simultaneously, the result is that the effect of the country is for all items statistically significant. However, most of the observed variation remains unexplained, implying that unknown variables play a role in the perceptions of academics on centralisation issues.

A second observation is that the explanatory power of the three other variables besides country, however statistically significant they may be, is small compared to the explanatory power of the variable 'country'.

2.3 Perceptions of Institutional Management Matters

An important governance issue concerns the relationship between academics and the institutional management. A number of statements relating to the functioning of specific institutional management and decision-making processes are included in the Carnegie questionnaire. The opinions of the respondents concerning these statements are presented in table 3.

The scores show interesting differences between the countries. The statement *Lack of faculty involvement is a real problem* is the only statement with respect to which all four average national scores are neutral, i.e. they are between 2.5 and 3.5. When comparing the ranking of these average scores with the actual involvement of academics in governance (see table 1) it is interesting that the English respondents tend most to agree with the statement while they have the highest involvement in governance. On the other hand the Dutch respondents are tending most to disagree with this statement while their involvement in governance matters in their institution is lowest.

With the exception of the statement mentioned above, all statements have led to at least one average score that is outspoken. The greatest differences in average scores between countries can be found with respect to the statements *The administration is autocratic* and *I am kept informed about what is going on at this institution*. As regards the first the Dutch academic respondents disagree with the statement, while the English respondents agree with it. This difference in perception

on the autocratic nature of the institutional administration could possible provide an explanation for the differences in opinion between English and Dutch academics on the control over academic policy processes discussed in the next section.

The second statement (I am kept informed, etc.) is rejected by the German academics, while the Swedish respondents tend to agree with it. The German score is in line with the perception of German academics on the poor quality of the communication between faculty and management in their institution.

Table 3: Opinions about institutional management and decision-making processes

Country/variable Statements	Germ.	Neth.	Swed.	Engl.	C	E	T	D
Top-level administrators are providing competent leadership	3.75	3.70	3.13	3.49	x	o	-	x
I am kept informed about what is going on at this institution	3.96	3.28	2.68	3.30	x	o	-	x
Communication between the faculty and the management is poor	2.49	3.26	3.09	2.63	x	o	+	x
The institutional management is often autocratic	2.59	3.56	2.80	2.25	x	o	+	x
Lack of faculty involvement is a real problem	2.82	3.42	3.13	2.72	x	o	+	x
Students should have a stronger voice in determining policy that affects them	2.87	3.62	3.04	2.89	x	+	+	x
The administration supports academic freedom	3.96	**	2.89	2.74	x	o	-	x

Legend:

I The figures in columns 2-5 are average scores per country. The respondents could choose on a five-point scale from (1) agree through (3) neutral to (5) disagree. We interpret a score of < 2.5 as agreement and > 3.5 as disagreement with a statement. A score between 2.5 and 3.5 is interpreted as a neutral score, i.e. the respondents have on average not an outspoken meaning on the statement in question.

** The statement *The administration supports academic freedom* was not included in the Dutch questionnaire.

II For an explanation of columns 6-9, see table 2, Legend II.

Looking at the remaining statements two interesting results are first that the German academics feel that their institutional administration does not support academic freedom. There are no data from the Carnegie survey that might help us to understand this negative feeling.

Second, the Dutch academics do not want to give students a stronger voice in (co-)determining policies that affect them. Given the nature of the governance structure of Dutch universities introduced in the early 1970s in which students have a strong voice in determining *any* institutional policy, the negative feeling of Dutch academics towards giving students more power can possibly be explained by their (negative) perceptions of the effectiveness of this democratic structure. This governance structure was changed at the end of the 1990s resulting, amongst other things, in a far more limited role of students in university decision-making processes

(de Boer, Denters, and Goedegebuure, 1998; Maassen, 2000). In the light of the above mentioned opinions of Dutch academics concerning the role of students in institutional governance, it is not surprising that there were hardly any protests from the side of the academic staff on this limitation.

Finally, it can be observed that the respondents are in general not impressed by the leadership qualities of their top-level managers. The German and Dutch academics disagree, while the English academics strongly tend towards disagreeing with the statement *Top-level administrators are providing competent leadership*.

The general conclusion is that the relationship between academics and institutional management is far from optimal. The data indicate that many academics in the four countries feel that there is a lack of competent leadership as well as a lack of information about institutional matters. In addition communication between academics and management is, with the exception of Sweden, considered to be rather poor, while with the exception of the Netherlands the institutional management is seen as being often autocratic.

The academics coming from England and Germany clearly feel more strongly than their Dutch and Swedish colleagues that the institutional management is often autocratic, while communication with the managers is apparently more problematic in Germany and England than in the other two countries. In which way this perception of the functioning of institutional management can explain the general negative opinions on institutional governance in Germany and England has to be a topic for further research, since this suggestion can not be supported from the Carnegie data-set.

The second part of table 3 consists of a factor analytic index indicating the influence of the four factors *country, employment status, type of institution,* and *discipline*, on the answering patterns of the respondents. This index strongly suggests that the factor *country* has a far stronger explanatory power than the other factors.

2.4 Influence of Academic Staff on Academic Policy-making

The degree to which academics can personally influence the shaping of key academic policy-making is an important governance issue, since the participation of academics in decision-making on academic policies at various levels in their institution can be expected to be related to the commitment of these academics to their institution. While, as can be seen in table 4, the differences in scores between the countries seem to be relatively small, nonetheless the effect of the country is statistically significant.

Table 4: Influence of academics on institutional policy-making

Country/variable Level	Germ.	Neth.	Swed.	Engl.	C	E	T	D
Department	2.90	2.41	2.36	2.34	x	-	-	x
	(2608)	(1692)	(1069)	(1913)				
Faculty/School	3.39	3.49	3.30	3.18	x	-	-	x
	(2657)	(1658)	(1064)	(1908)				
Institution	3.81	3.85	3.46	3.67	x	-	-	o
	(2661)	(1630)	(1065)	(1909)				

Legend:

I The figures in columns 2-5 are average scores per country. In England, Germany, and Sweden the respondents could choose on a four-point scale between (1) very influential; (2) somewhat influential; (3) a little influential; and (4) not all influential. The Dutch respondents were offered a five-point scale from (1) very influential to (5) not at all influential. We transformed the Dutch answers into: $y = (x-1)4/5 + 1$ (with x = old score; y = new score). The interpretation of the score is as follows: very ($< 1,5$), somewhat ($1,5 < x < 2,5$), a little ($2,5 < x < 3,0$), not at all ($> 3,5$) influential.

II For an explanation of columns 6-9, see table 2, Legend II.

However, the variable responsible for the explanation of the most variance is in this case the employment status. Especially at the institutional level the influence of non-tenured staff is minimal. It can be assumed that an explanation for this can be found in the long time it takes academics in general to become involved in institutional policy matters. Non-tenured staff in most occasions simply have not been employed long enough by an institution to have become part of the institutional academic policy networks in such a way that they can exercise influence on academic policy making at the institutional level (see also table 9).

The type of institution or the discipline hardly has an effect on the degree to which academics influence academic policy making. The overall explanation of the other two variables is reasonably high.

2.5 Control over Teaching and Research Activities

The Carnegie questionnaire included a question on the amount of control academics have on designing their own courses and research projects. This question was not part of the Dutch questionnaire. Therefore, only the results of the other three countries can be discussed.

As can be seen in table 5 academics feel that they are in control over the design of their teaching and research activities. The Swedish and English respondents have indicated that they have more control over choosing their own research topics than over deciding upon the substance of their teaching activities.

Table 5: Control in designing courses and research projects

Country/variable Statement	Germ.	Neth.	Swed.	Engl.	C	E	T	D
Free to determine content of own courses	2.40 (2253)	*	2.40 (1004)	2.46 (1788)	x	-	-	x
Free to focus research on any topic	2.34 (2420)	*	1.90 (982)	1.87 (1767)	x	-	-	x

Legend

I The figures in columns 2, 4, and 5 are average scores per country. The respondents could choose on a five-point scale from (1) agree through (3) neutral to (5) disagree. We interpret a score of < 2.5 as agreement and > 3.5 as disagreement with a statement. A score between 2.5 and 3.5 is interpreted as a neutral score, i.e. the respondents have on average not an outspoken meaning on the statement in question.

* This question was not included in the Dutch questionnaire.

II For an explanation of columns 6-9, see table 2, Legend II.

The multivariate analysis suggests that the impact of the employment status and the type of institution is less than expected. The effects of the country and the discipline on the answering patterns, despite these being statistically significant, are hardly relevant since they only explain a minor part of the variation.

3. COSTS OF ACADEMICS' INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNANCE

3.1 Introduction

Earlier in the chapter we gave an overview of the hours academics indicate that they spend per week on institutional governance matters. As can be read in table 1 large differences exist between the four countries as well as between individual academics within the countries. What do these differences mean when it comes to the costs of higher education? How expensive is the involvement of academics in institutional governance?

Next to the questions on governance, questions on salary were also included in the Carnegie survey. Combining data on these two items with data on the background of the respondents enables us to calculate the costs of the time spent by academic staff on governance.

We have used two different ways of making the calculations. The first consists of taking the contract of the academic staff as a starting-point. We assume that full-time academic staff of universities and colleges are supposed to work 40 hours a week and we have taken the number of hours indicated to be spent on average on governance as a percentage of the 40 hours. This percentage is multiplied with the indicated annual salary resulting in the average annual (salary) costs per academic staff member.

The second way is based on the (indicated) actual working hours per week. The included full-time respondents are hired to work 40 hours a week. However, they indicate to that they actually work many more hours per week than 40 herewith

reducing in fact their hourly (salary) costs. As a consequence you can argue that the hours spend by academics on governance are less expensive than they appear to be when taking the contract as a starting point for cost-calculations. One might say that in practice academic staff of higher education institutions produce an output surplus.

In tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 these two ways of calculating governance costs are presented for each of variables used in the first part of the chapter, i.e. country, the discipline, the position and the type of institution. These variables are presented in the first column of each table. In the second column the average number of hours spent on governance as indicated by the respondents can be found for each (sub) variable as well as the total average score per variable. In the third column the reader can find what percentage the average number of hours spent on governance presented in the second column is of the total indicated hours of work per week. In the fourth column the average annual costs per academic staff member of the involvement of academics in institutional governance calculated on a contract-basis (40 hours per week) are presented. Finally in the fifth column the reader will find the average annual costs per academic staff member calculated on the basis of the indicated hours of work per week. Leaving the small differences[8] between the variables that can be read in the bottom row of each table aside, the overall figures show that on average each respondent spends about 6.2 hours per week on governance matters, which is about 13% of the total number of working hours as indicated by the respondents themselves. The average costs of these 6.2 hours are about $7,450 per academic per year when calculated on a contract-basis and about

Table 6: Costs of involvement of academics in institutional governance per country

Country	Average indicated hours per week spent on governance	Percentage of total indicated hours of work per week spent on governance	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (contract-based costs)	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (real time costs)
Germany				
Mean	4.81	10%	$6,065	$5,020
N	2575	2575	2521	2521
Netherlands				
Mean	4.99	10%	$6,045	$4,610
N	1424	1424	1402	1402
Sweden				
Mean	6.86	16%	$8,280	$7,435
N	1026	1026	1008	1008
England				
Mean	8.76	19%	$9,960	$8,400
N	1853	1853	1808	1808
Total				
N	6878	6878	6739	6738

$6,210 when calculated on the basis of the actual working hours as indicated by the respondents. Taking these average scores as a reference point, one can see in each of the tables for which (sub) variable the score is higher than the average and for which it is lower.

Table 7: Costs of involvement of academics in institutional governance per discipline

Discipline	Average indicated hours per week spent on governance	Percentage of total indicated hours of work per week spent on governance	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (contract-based costs)	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (real time costs)
Natural science				
Mean	5.86	12%	$7,275	$5,970
N	1643	1643	1618	1618
Engineering				
Mean	6.62	15%	$8,165	$7,180
N	1042	1042	1022	1022
Health sciences				
Mean	4.86	10%	$6,210	$4,925
N	1057	1057	1030	1030
Social & behavioral sciences				
Mean	6.94	15%	$8,000	$6,825
N	1790	1790	1757	1757
Humanities & arts				
Mean	6.29	13%	$7,205	$5,815
N	1165	1165	1135	1135
Total				
N	6697	6697	6562	6562

Table 8: Costs of involvement of academics in institutional governance per type of institution

Type of institution	Average indicated hours per week spent on governance	Percentage of total indicated hours of work per week spent on governance	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (contract-based costs)	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (real time costs)
University				
Mean	6.03	12%	$7,335	$5,905
N	5534	5534	5416	5416
"College"				
Mean	7.02	17%	$7,915	$7,520
N	1282	1282	1262	1262
Total				
N	6816	6816	6678	6738

Table 9: Costs of involvement of academics in institutional governance with reference to employment status

Employment status	Average indicated hours per week spent on governance	Percentage of total indicated hours of work per week spent on governance	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (contract-based costs)	Average annual costs in US$ per academic (real time costs)
Tenured				
Mean	7.81	16%	$10,230	$8,285
N	3322	3322	3250	3250
Non-tenured				
Mean	4.67	11%	$4,765	$4,215
N	3402	3402	3342	3342
Total				
N	6724	6724	6592	6592

The data presented in tables 6 – 9 confirm that the diversity between countries and between individual academics referred to above is also reflected in the costs of the academics' involvement in institutional governance. The average real costs of this involvement are, for example, in Sweden per academic about 60% and in England about 80% higher than in the Netherlands (table 6). When it comes to disciplinary differences (table 7) the "academic governance" costs in the health sciences are remarkably lower than in engineering and social & behavioural sciences. Also the employment status affects costs significantly (table 9). In contract related costs the

involvement of tenured academic staff is more than twice as expensive as the involvement of non-tenured staff in institutional governance. The type of institution seems to have less influence on academic governance costs (table 8), at least when using the contract as the basis for calculating the costs. As a consequence of the larger number of hours academics in universities work per week compared to their counterparts in the college sector, the difference becomes more dramatic when the real time costs are taken as a basis for the calculation.

We realise that we have to be very careful in interpreting the Carnegie data in this respect, given that they only include self-indicated accounts of time spent on broad categories of activities. Nonetheless, we feel that by relating the data on time spent to the data on salaries we can at least give a rough indication of the costs of academics' involvement in institutional governance.

A more sophisticated approach is needed to understand how the nature of institutional governance *structures* affects the involvement of academics in governance and the costs of this involvement. In the next sections an example of such an approach is given.

3.2 Communication and Implementation Costs

A number of researchers at CHEPS have developed the contours of a conceptual framework for analysing the link between specific characteristics of a university or college governance structure and the costs that are related to these characteristics (Binsbergen, de Boer and van Vught, 1994, 219). In this framework a governance structure is interpreted as an "institution." Based, amongst others, on Giddens (1979), March & Olsen (1989), Rowe (1989), and North (1990), CHEPS' institutional interpretation of organisational governance structure in higher education implies that it can be defined as a social fact consisting of formal as well as informal rules. This social fact is constructed by actors for meeting two rather fundamental requirements underlying every organised human activity, i.e. the division of labour into tasks and competencies (structural differentiation) and the co-ordination of these tasks and competencies (Binsbergen, et al. 1994, 222-223).

For describing and examining differences in organisational governance structures, in other words the differentiation requirement, it is of importance to start with specifying the organisational tasks, the relevant actors involved, and the rules that guide their behaviour. However, these three categories (tasks, actors, and rules) are not enough for comparing different governance structures. For that the co-ordination requirement has to be conceptualised as well.

In the conceptual framework developed by CHEPS it is assumed that every governance structure implies a certain point of view regarding co-ordination. Alternative governance structures can be compared according to the ways co-ordination is achieved in these structures. With respect to higher education the authors take as a starting point "that every form of co-ordination to be found in the real world of higher education institutions can be "scored" on the continuum of co-ordination mechanisms ranging from *planning* to *mutual adjustment*" (Binsbergen et

al. 1994, 231). In addition every form of co-ordination will have its own set of costs and benefits.

With respect to the co-ordination mechanisms referred to above, i.e. planning and mutual adjustment, it can be argued that both are potentially costly. In order to understand their specific cost structure Binsbergen and his colleagues (1994, 231-233) have applied notions from the transaction costs and principal agent approaches (Williamson 1979, 1981). They argue that in each organisation there are co-ordination costs related to reaching agreements (to be called *communication costs*) as well as costs that come from enforcing the terms of agreements (to be called *implementation costs*). It is assumed that in an organisation in which co-ordination takes place (mainly) through mutual adjustment, the communication costs will be high as a consequence of the time that needs to be invested in bargaining, negotiation, consultation, and persuasion. All these different forms of communication imply, amongst other things, that many formal and informal meetings have to take place that take up a lot of time. As is argued by Lindblom (1977, 80): "Transactions…. are costly. Negotiation of an exchange is sometimes more costly than it is worth."

The communication costs of co-ordination through planning will be lower as a consequence of the way in which a planning mechanism routinises and standardises problem solving and decision making processes. It can be assumed, though, that co-ordination through planning leads to higher implementation costs than co-ordination through mutual adjustment. Decisions made and agreements reached through mutual adjustment are to a much larger extent "owned" by those who have to implement them, than decisions made and agreements reached through routinised and standardised planning procedures. The assumption is that the higher the feeling of (joint) ownership with respect to decisions and agreements the easier it is to implement them. Lindblom's (1977, 19) finding in relation to institutional planning that "there can be no denying …. that the establishment and maintenance of authority is often costly", should be cited here.

Based on these considerations two hypotheses have been formulated (Binsbergen et al. 1994, 235):

a. *The more a governance structure of a higher education institution includes a form of co-ordination which is close to the basic co-ordination mechanism of planning, the lower the level of communication costs and the higher the level of implementation costs*
b. *The more the governance structure of a higher education institution includes a form of co-ordination which is close to the basic co-ordination mechanism of mutual adjustment, the higher the level of communication costs and the lower the level of implementation costs.*

In the framework of this chapter we will not present a full empirical test of these hypotheses. However, we do want to examine the extent to which the Carnegie data allow for an exploration of the assumed balance between communication and implementation costs. We will do so by following the operationalisations of

Binsbergen and his colleagues, after which we will discuss the extent to which an indication of implementation costs can be derived from the Carnegie data.

Communication costs can be operationalised by measuring the costs of the total and relative amount of time invested in governance matters. By using the salary data of the academics in question, and by multiplying the salaries by the total, the relative number of hours spent on governance communication costs can be estimated.

Implementation costs are more difficult to calculate. One possibility is linking these costs to agency relationships, resulting in three kinds of costs: monitoring costs, enforcement costs, and residual loss or consequence costs. These three forms refer to: the costs of evaluating an agent's performance; the costs of enforcing an agent's task when he performs inadequately; and the costs when an agent does not realise the principal's goals completely (Binsbergen et al. 1994, 238). Possible operationalisations of these three forms might be the time spent on evaluation and reporting procedures and processes multiplied by salary data on those being evaluated and those reporting (monitoring costs); time spent by managers on control activities, again multiplied by salary data (enforcement costs); and various indicators, for example, the number of conflicts between academics and managers, the time spent on these conflicts and the effects of these conflicts on goal attainment (consequence costs).

Using these operationalisations it can be argued that the Carnegie data on the involvement of academics in governance can be interpreted in two ways if one wants to use these data for analysing implementation costs. In the first interpretation it is assumed that the time academics indicated they spent on "governance" is time spent on reaching decisions (giving an indication of communication costs). In this interpretation we assume that time spent on implementing or enforcing decisions (giving an indication of implementation costs) **is not** included in the time spent on governance. This would imply, for example, that the respondents considered time spent on evaluation and reporting being part of teaching or research activities, instead of governance activities.

In the second interpretation it is assumed that the time academics indicated they spent on 'governance' includes both time spent on reaching decisions and time spent on implementing them. This would imply that time spent on evaluation and reporting **is** included in the time the respondents have indicated to spend on governance.

We do not have any indications for either of these two interpretations applying to the Carnegie data. However, it can be expected that the interpretations of the respondents of the broad answering categories concerning the question on hours spend per week on work (i.e. teaching, research, service, administration, and other academic activities) are such that the answering patterns underlying the Carnegie data include both interpretations. As a consequence, we do not want to present any firm conclusions here. Nonetheless, we do want to discuss the issue of the costs of the involvement of academics in institutional governance activities in the light of the conceptualisation and accompanying hypotheses presented above. For this purpose we will use both interpretations for attempting to test the hypotheses. However, before we can do so we first want to present and discuss the data from the Carnegie survey on evaluation.

3.3 The Evaluation of Teaching, Research, and Services

In tables 10, 11 and 12 some information on the nature and intensity of the practice of evaluation in the higher education institutions of the four countries involved are presented. As can be read in these tables, the differences between the four countries are significant.

Let us first look at the proportion of academic staff being evaluated. While in England 73% of the respondents indicate that their teaching is being evaluated regularly and 71 % that their research is evaluated regularly, the same figures for Germany are 9% and 18% respectively. The Netherlands and Sweden are somewhere in the middle with between 40% and 50% of the respondents indicating that their teaching or research is being evaluated on a regular base. While about 25% of the English respondents have indicated that their service activities are evaluated regularly, this figure is far lower for the respondents from the other countries.

Table 10: Intensity of evaluation of work

Country/factor Activity	Germ.	Neth.	Swed.	Engl.	C	E	T	D
Teaching	9%	49%	47%	73%	x	+	+	x
Research	18%	46%	40%	71%	x	+	+	x
Service	6%	11%	7%	26%	x	o	o	x

Legend

I In columns 2-5 the percentage of respondents per country indicating that their teaching, research, and service activities are being evaluated regularly are presented.

II For an explanation of columns 6-9, see table 2, Legend II.

Apparently at the time of the Carnegie study in England the evaluative higher education institution had become a reality, while the Netherlands and Sweden were approaching such a situation, and Germany still had a very long way to go. In addition, when comparing the intensity of the evaluation of research and teaching, in England, the Netherlands, and Sweden the proportion of the faculty that indicates that its teaching activities is being evaluated is slightly higher than the proportion whose research is being evaluated, while in Germany the figures suggest a different order, i.e. 9% whose teaching and 18% whose research is evaluated regularly.

A closer look at tables 11 and 12, showing by whom teaching and research is being evaluated, gives insight into the multiplicity of the evaluation processes. Is evaluation, as it was traditionally, a process through which academics look at each others' work, or has it (partly) become an process through which managers assess the quality of the activities of academics? Among the possible evaluators mentioned by the respondents we have distinguished the following three groups. First, peers and staff of other departments (the academic evaluators); second, the heads of department and the senior administrative staff (the managerial evaluators); third

students and external reviewers (who can be part of either academic or managerial evaluation processes: students for teaching, and external reviewers for research).

Table 11: Multiplicity of teaching evaluation

Country/factor Evaluators	Germ. (2801)	Neth. (1755)	Swed. (1122)	Engl. (1946)	C	E	T	D
Peers in own department	4%	25%	10%	11%	x	O	+	x
Head of own department	5%	23%	13%	44%	x	O	-	x
Members of other departments at own institution	1%	4%	6%	4%	x	O	o	o
Senior administrative staff at own institution	1%	4%	4%	9%	x	+	o	o
Own students	7%	51%	49%	45%	x	+	+	x
External reviewers	1%	10%	4%	14%	x	+	-	x

Legend

I In columns 2-5 the percentage of respondents per country indicating that their teaching activities are being evaluated regularly by are presented.

II For an explanation of columns 6-9, see table 2, Legend II.

With respect to the evaluation of teaching no clear pattern can be observed. Only in England it seems that the emphasis is on evaluation by the head of department, suggesting that evaluation of teaching is mainly a managerially driven activity. It can be assumed that the initiative to involve students in the evaluation of teaching is also an administrative one. In Sweden and the Netherlands there seems to be academic (peers) and managerial (head of department) evaluation processes going on, without one of the two being dominant. This is in line with the suggestion above that these two countries are somewhere on the way towards a system emphasising managerial evaluation.

Evaluation procedures and processes seem to be rather managerially driven in England where 80% of the researchers are being evaluated by the head of their department and 17% by the senior administrative staff of their institution. Two other striking outcomes are first that in Sweden 40% of the researchers are evaluated by senior administrative staff of their institution, while the comparative figures for the Netherlands and Germany are 13% and 2% respectively. Second in the Netherlands 80% of the academic researchers are evaluated by peers in their department, while the comparative figures for the other countries are 24% (Sweden), 18% (Germany), and 17% (England) respectively. Apparently the research review process in the Netherlands is heavily academically based, while England can be regarded as the

country being most managerially oriented in its research evaluation. Finally, in regard to the use of external reviewers, the data showed that the majority of Swedish researchers (57%) are evaluated regularly by external reviewers, while the comparative figure for the Netherlands is just under half the research population (49%), in England about one third (30%) and in Germany less than one sixth (16%).

Table 12: Multiplicity of research evaluation

Country / Evaluators	Germ.	Neth.	Swed.	Engl.	C	E	T	D
Peers in own department	18%	80%	24%	17%	x	-	+	o
Head of own department	24%	51%	32%	81%	x	o	+	x
Members of other departments in own institution	2%	14%	17%	9%	x	o	+	o
Senior administrative staff at own institution	2%	13%	40%	17%	x	o	+	o
Own students	1%	5%	4%	6%	x	o	o	o
External reviewers	16%	49%	57%	30%	x	o	+	x

Legend
I In columns 2-5 the percentage of respondents per country indicating that their research activities are being evaluated regularly by are presented.
II For an explanation of columns 6-9, see table 2, Legend II.

All in all, our suggestion above that the English institutions are most managerially driven in their evaluation processes followed by Sweden and the Netherlands, with Germany hardly having an evaluation culture at all, let alone a managerial evaluation culture, seems to be confirmed by the data presented in tables 11 and 12.

Both with respect to the evaluation of teaching and research the multivariate analysis suggests that there are not only significant and relevant differences between the countries, but also that having a tenured, full-time position, as well as working at a university increases ones chances of being evaluated considerably. In addition ones disciplinary background has an impact on the chance of being evaluated.

3.4 Two Interpretations of Governance Costs

How can the data on the governance activities of academics as presented in section 2 be related to these data on evaluation in order to get more insight into the issue of governance costs?

Table 13: Respondents' perceptions on governance and evaluation issues per country as indications on co-ordination through planning versus co-ordination through mutual adjustment.

Governance issues	***Germany***	***The Netherlands***	***Sweden***	***England***
Centralised/ Decentralised	Combination	Combination	Blending	Centralised
Perceptions of management	Communicatio n problem and lack of competent leadership	Lack of competent leadership vs management is not autocratic	Neutral	Autocratic
Evaluation intensity	Low	Middle	Middle	High
Evaluation multiplicity	Academic	Academic/ managerial	Academic/ Managerial	Managerial

We want to answer this question by using the factor "country" as an independent variable. In table 13 an overview is presented of the perceptions of the respondents per country concerning a number of governance issues. These issues have been selected because they give an indication on the extent to which the respondents perceive the governance structure in their institution to be closer to the mutual adjustment form of co-ordination or to the planning form. As can be seen in table 13, the English respondents are of the opinion that decision-making in their institutions is centralised, they feel that their institutional management is autocratic, while they also indicate that their academic work is intensively evaluated mainly from a managerial perspective. On the other hand the German respondents feel that institutional decision-making in their case is a combination of centralised and decentralised processes. Contrary to the English respondents they do not feel that institutional management is autocratic, but instead are of the opinion that there is a clear lack of competent leadership in their institutions and that the communication between academics and managers is very poor. Concerning the evaluation of their work as indicated above, German academic work was hardly evaluated at all at the time of the Carnegie survey, and if, it was from an academic perspective. The

perceptions of the Dutch and Swedish respondents suggest that they are somewhere in between the English and German scores. The Dutch scores indicate that the respondents' opinions on the level of centralisation of institutional decision-making and their perceptions concerning institutional management are closer to the German scores than to the English. The Swedish scores in this are perfectly neutral. Decision-making is a blending[9] of centralised and decentralised processes, and the Swedish respondents have no explicit positive or negative opinions on their institutional management. With respect to evaluation the Dutch and Swedish scores are more or less similar. The academic work of faculty in both countries is evaluated, but the evaluation intensity is lower than in England, while the evaluation perspective consists of a combination of academic and managerial approaches.

This overview leads to the following conclusion with respect to the nature of the institutional governance structures in the four countries in question. Of all four, the governance structure in the English institutions has most characteristics of a planning form of co-ordination, while the German institutional governance structure includes most characteristics of a co-ordination mechanism of mutual adjustment. The Dutch and Swedish institutional governance structures are somewhere in between these extremes, with the Dutch structure having more in common with the German than with the English structure. It has to be emphasised that this conclusion is based on the perceptions and opinions of the respondents, and that no formal characteristics[10] of the governance structures in question have been used.

What does this conclusion concerning the perceived nature of governance structures mean when it comes to understanding the cost dimension of the academics' involvement in governance activities? To what extent can the Carnegie data be used for testing the hypotheses on costs? What is the balance between communication and implementation costs in the four countries included?

For answering these questions we want to use the two interpretations mentioned above, i.e. the respondents have either not included or included "evaluation and reporting" activities in the indicated time spent on governance. We will start with the first interpretation, i.e. respondents have not included "evaluation and reporting" time in the hours they have indicated to spend on governance matters. This interpretation would imply that the costs presented in tables 6 – 9 give an indication of the communication costs of the governance structures of the higher institutions in the four included countries. In this case the presented figures show, for example, that the communication costs, i.e. the costs of reaching decisions, are much higher in England and Sweden than in the Netherlands and Germany.

According to the hypotheses presented above we would expect first that the high communication costs in England are the result of the co-ordination mechanism underlying the institutional governance structures being close to the mutual adjustment form of co-ordination. This is not in line with the perceptions of the English academics as presented in table 13 and our conclusion based on these perceptions on the nature of the English institutional governance structure.

A second expectation on the basis of the hypotheses would be that if the communication costs are high the implementation costs are low. This would imply that English higher education would have the lowest implementation costs and German and Dutch higher education the highest. Unfortunately, the Carnegie survey

did not include a question on the actual time spent on evaluation and reporting. However, as was presented in section 3.3, we do have information on the intensity and multiplicity of the evaluation of the respondents' teaching, research and service activities. The picture emerging from tables 10, 11 and 12 is clear. Teaching and research activities are more intensively evaluated in England than in the Netherlands and Sweden, while these activities are hardly evaluated at all in Germany. Service activities are overall evaluated less than teaching and research activities, but also with respect to services the evaluation intensity is highest in England. Leaving Germany aside for a moment, the data on the multiplicity of teaching and research evaluation indicate that in the English institutions the evaluation of teaching and research is more managerially driven than in the Netherlands and Sweden. Also these data are not in line with our conclusion concerning the nature of the institutional governance structure that would lead us to assume that monitoring costs would be lowest in England and highest in Germany and the Netherlands, while the data suggest almost the opposite situation. All in all it has to be concluded that the Carnegie survey outcomes are not in line with the theoretical expectations expressed in the two hypotheses. Consequently this either implies that we have to reject the hypotheses and the theoretical assumptions on which they are based, or we have to conclude that the first of the two interpretations, i.e. the respondents did not include "evaluation and reporting" time in the hours they indicated to spend on governance, is incorrect. In the latter case the second interpretation, time spent on evaluation and reporting is included in the indicated hours per week spent on governance, might help us to interpret the Carnegie data correctly.

If time spent on evaluation and reporting is included in the indicated time spent on governance the data presented in tables 6 – 9 do not allow us to draw separate conclusions concerning the communication costs of the governance structures in the four countries. However, the data presented in tables 10 – 12 do give an indication on parts of the implementation costs, i.e. those costs connected to evaluating the teaching, research and service activities of academics. These data indicate that the costs of evaluating (or monitoring) academics are highest in England and lowest in Germany, implying that the English governance structure is closest to a form using planning as the coordination mode, while the German structure is more mutual adjustment based. This is in line with our conclusion concerning the nature of institutional governance structures in the four countries.

4. CONCLUSION

The data presented in this chapter reflect the significant differences between countries when it comes to the way in which the governance of universities and colleges is regulated. In addition the data show many striking differences in the effectiveness and efficiency of the governance structures, at least as perceived by the academics working in higher education institutions. While the differences refer to the governance activities concerning the conditions under which academic activities have to be undertaken, a major similarity is the amount of control academics feel to have over their basic teaching and research activities. In other words, referring to

Scott's description of the control-seeking behaviour of professionals (Scott, 1995, x), while academics feel to have a high level of cognitive control, their perception of the level of normative and regulative control they have concerning their working environment is relatively low. The latter is despite the amount of time spent on governance activities consisting to a large extent of activities related to regulative and normative issues. Nonetheless, despite the low level of control and the accompanying general dissatisfaction with their involvement in institutional governance matters, as a consequence of the nature of their profession and the professional organisation in which they are working, academics still seek to be part of institutional governance. They will not withdraw to the cognitive part of their professional working environment. Academics want to be involved in the governance activities in their professional organisations, i.e. universities and colleges, but they do not like the results of their involvement. It can even be argued that the more academics are involved in institutional governance activities, the less they appreciate the results of their involvement.

Even though we cannot emphasise enough that we have to be careful in interpreting the Carnegie data in the way we have done in this chapter, we do want to draw one major conclusion concerning the link between the nature of institutional governance structures and the costs of the involvement of academics in governance activities. Our conclusion based on the Carnegie data is that the overall costs of the involvement of academics in institutional governance activities is higher in governance structures that are based on a coordination form of planning than on a coordination form of mutual adjustment. We realise that not all governance-related costs are included in our analysis, and we also are aware of the fact that we are not basing our conclusion on formal structures and empirical functioning of these structures. However, we do feel that the perceptions of academics concerning the governance dimension in their professional working environment provides a valuable and important basis for an interpretation of the effectiveness and efficiency of their involvement in this dimension. This includes, in our view, the costs of the involvement.

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[1] In addition to the four European countries mentioned, the following countries were included in the study: Australia, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, Hong Kong, Israel, Japan, Mexico, South Korea, Russia, and the United States.

[2] A complete report describing the outcomes of the project as well as the specific details of the administration of the study in each country is available at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Altbach, 1996).

[3] In the reporting of the data we do not present a mean total score for the four countries altogether since the samples are only representative for each country separately. We consider the national data as being representative for the higher education system of the country in question, even though a different sampling method was used in each country (see: Boyer, Altbach, and Whitelaw, 1994).

[4] We have to keep in mind that while in West Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden the structure of the system has not changed much since 1992, in England 1992 marked the end of the binary system.

[5] For our analyses the starting-point is that the binary structures found in each of the four countries are comparable. This implies that we assume that despite the mutual differences between individual universities (intra- as well as inter-nationally), and the mutual differences between the colleges (intra- and internationally), in our study the universities as well as the colleges can be treated as one sector if we want to analyse the impact of a type of institution on specific governance issues.

[6] We have distinguished five disciplinary categories, i.e. engineering, science, medicine/health sciences, social/behavioural sciences, and humanities/arts.

[7] Gross working hours refers to the total number of hours academics work per week according to their own estimate. For Norway the average number of hours tenured, full-time employed university academic staff indicate to work per week is about 50.

[8] These differences are caused by the different levels of non-response per variable.

[9] Blending in the Swedish case means that only one of the included decision-making processes is perceived to be centralised while all the others are neither seen as centralised nor as decentralised. The term combination used for the Dutch and German cases indicates that some decision-making processes are perceived to be centralised and others decentralised.

[10] As indicated above, with respect to such formal characteristics one could think of the *tasks* of the organisation, i.e. university or college, in question, the relevant *actors* involved, and the *rules* that guide their behaviour. Binsbergen and his colleagues (1994, 239-245) have undertaken an empirical exploration of the formal characteristics of institutional governance structures of Danish and Dutch universities through describing and analysing the organisational tasks of establishing new study programmes.

TAKEKAZU EHARA

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE IN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, higher education institutions around the world have faced significant changes. Immense changes are also under way in Japanese universities, a direct consequence of the simplification and broadening in 1991 of the Standards for the Establishment of Universities Act. In October 1998, the University Council, a powerful deliberative body established by the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1987 to discuss and consider concrete approaches to higher education reforms, submitted a comprehensive report titled "A Vision for Universities in the 21st Century and Reform Measures: To Be Distinctive Universities in a Competitive Environment."

According to this report, Japanese universities are now urged to take more drastic measures promptly in order to meet social expectations in the early 21st century, although they have already taken reform measures in response to the Council's previous various reports and have made considerable progress (The University Council). As for the improvement of the administrative structure, they recommend (1) the establishment of a new independent and autonomous structure that is open and active enough to meet current social demands, (2) the establishment of a whole-university administrative structure with the president at the centre, (3) listening to public opinions and clarifying their responsibilities to society and so on. This is because reforms in the curriculum, in the evaluation system of universities' educational and research activities, and in a variety of other areas cannot succeed without the effective management of universities.

This article will compare Japanese and U.S. faculty perceptions of university governance, as the changes in Japanese universities after 1991 are basically modelled on the American system, where the role of governments in relation to universities has generally been less directive than in Japan.[1] The American system introduced market principles, reduced government responsibility in university affairs, and encouraged competition among universities to increase productivity. Japan followed these measures including the introduction of periodic accreditation procedures, state and federal versions of which are used by U.S. universities for purposes of self- monitoring and self-evaluation.[2]

In view of the influence of the American system on Japan's universities, this study examines the consistency between U.S. and Japanese faculty opinions regarding (1) the location of university governance authority, (2) faculty influence on university governance, (3) university governance and decision making, (4) academic freedom, and (5) governmental interference in higher education and academic affairs. In addition, the views of faculty from public and private institutions in both countries are compared. The data are from the Carnegie

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 59—69.

Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's International Survey of the Academic Profession, which was carried out in 1992-93.[3]

1. WHERE DOES THE AUTHORITY OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE LIE?

Differences in university governance depend on who holds decision-making authority. In a completely centralised system, all executive decisions would be made by the administrators or the governing body, while faculty would control decision making in a completely decentralised system. In reality, of course, governance arrangements lie somewhere between these extremes, with the holder of authority depending on the nature of the decision at hand.[4]

Table 1 shows faculty views on the extent to which authority is centralised in a number of areas. Determining budget priorities and selecting key administrators are perceived as quite centralised, with the significant exception of Japanese public universities. In contrast, faculty input is valued in personnel matters, such as hiring new faculty and promotion and tenure decisions (except in Japanese private universities). Decisions on undergraduate admission standards, determining overall teaching loads, and approving new academic programs lie somewhere in between, suggesting that both administrator and faculty opinions are important.

Table 1. Percentage of respondents who answered "centralized" to survey questions regarding governance arrangements

Type of University	Selecting Key Administrators	Choosing New Faculty	Making Faculty Promotion and Tenure Decisions	Determining Budget Priorities	Determining the Overall Teaching	Setting Admission Standards for	Approving New Academic Programs	Total % N
United States:								
Public	79.2	15.0	30.5	88.4	55.1	62.7	51.4	41.2 (2,195)
Private	86.1	21.0	33.0	87.1	51.1	67.2	43.5	23.6 (1,258)
Japan:								
Public	8.6	13.4	16.8	37.2	14.4	22.0	25.4	16.6 (884)
Private	79.3	47.5	54.9	85.8	41.5	51.6	47.3	18.6 (988)
Total:	68.6	21.8	33.2	79.1	44.8	54.4	44.5	100.0 (5,325)

But while the location of governance authority barely differs between public and private universities in the United States, this authority is seen as decentralised in Japan's public universities and centralised in its private universities, with the latter resembling U.S. institutions.[5] Moreover, the majority of faculty responding that personnel decisions are centralised are from Japanese private universities. Japanese public universities are extremely decentralised, however, with faculty decisions carrying more weight than those of administrators. Less than 40 percent of faculty answered that governance is centralised on every issue, with the highest percentage

being the determination of budget priorities (37.2 percent). In American universities and Japanese private universities, faculty perceive the selection of key administrators as highly centralised compared with 8.6 percent at Japanese public universities. This is somewhat surprising given that the Japanese Ministry of Education decides the total budget for each public university and that the appointment of president, vice-presidents, deans, and directors of major institutes depends on legal notification by the Minister of Education following their election by university staff at each institution.

2. FACULTY PROFILE

Academia continues to be a male-dominated profession in the United States and even more so in Japan.[6] As table 2 shows, while 30 percent of U.S. faculty are female, Japanese faculty are overwhelmingly male, especially in public universities.

Table 2. Selected demographics of faculty (%)

Type of University	*Gender*		*Age*				Academic Rank	
	Male	Female	39 or Younger	40-49	50-59	60 or Older	Professor	Other
United States:								
Public	69.9	30.1	22.1	34.1	29.0	14.8	38.1	61.9
Private	69.4	30.6	23.8	33.0	26.1	17.1	32.9	67.1
Japan:								
Public	96.9	3.1	11.6	36.1	35.9	16.4	52.7	47.3
Private	87.8	12.2	8.9	30.4	33.2	27.5	57.6	42.4
Total	77.6	22.4	18.2	33.5	30.3	18.0	43.0	57.0

Full professors constitute 30 percent of full-time American faculty and 50 percent of full-time Japanese faculty. In the 1970s, faculty positions in American universities were divided almost equally among full professors, associate professors, assistant professors, and full-time lecturers and others. However, with a decline of the latter category, full professors, associate professors, and assistant professors each constitute around one-third of university faculty. In contrast, professors and associate professors in Japan each account for 50 percent of the faculty. Moreover, there are more professors at public universities in the United States, while Japan has more professors at private institutions.

Although the Carnegie survey targeted full-time faculty, U.S. universities have employed more part-time faculty since the 1970s, and Japan's universities also have turned to this practice to help with teaching as can be seen in table 3.[7] Despite being less economical, full-time faculty are often assumed to provide a more coherent academic community and to be more accessible to students.

Table 3. Working conditions at affiliated institutions (%)

	Working Time			Terms of Employment					
				Indefinite Contract without	Contract for	Other	Paid Position outside Institution		
Type of University	Full-Time	Part-time	Tenured	Full Tenure	Fixed Period	Contract	Full-time	Part-time	None
U. S. A. :									
Public	88.4	11.6	63.9	10.1	17.7	8.3	1.9	8.1	90.0
Private	90.0	10.0	54.3	14.2	22.6	8.9	1.1	8.6	90.3
Japan:									
Public	99.9	0.1	95.9	2.5	0.9	0.7	0.6	37.3	62.1
Private	98.5	1.5	91.7	3.9	3.6	0.8	1.3	33.4	65.3
Total	92.5	7.5	72.0	8.7	13.5	5.8	1.4	18.1	80.5

While the term "tenure" is infrequently used in Japan, faculty members in effect receive tenure once employed as associate professor or full-time lecturer, making their positions extremely stable. Tenure guarantees the status, rights, and employment of professors as long as they do not neglect their duties. This tenure system also guarantees the pursuit of knowledge and the freedom of its diffusion (Mix, 3-4; Rosovsky, chap. 10; Whicker, et al., 8-18). More than 90 percent of Japanese faculty say their job is guaranteed until retirement. In practice then, Japanese faculty are tenured and attain a position of stability at a fairly young age. In addition, many more Japanese faculty than their U.S. counterparts work part-time at other universities. In fact, more than 30 percent of Japanese faculty do such part-time work.

By contrast, tenure is more defined in the United States, where it is given to faculty of associate professor rank and above at most colleges and universities, other than at many 2-year institutions. Whether full-time lecturers and assistant professors achieve tenure, a matter of life or death for a faculty member's career, hinges on the probationary period that lasts 3-7 years (Amey, 1623-34; Takagi, 133-35, 140-41). The expressions "publish or perish" and "up or out" (you are either promoted or else have to change universities) aptly reflect the position these faculty members are in.

Another difference between Japanese and American faculty lies in their attitude toward teaching and research, as table 4 demonstrates. In Japan there is also a big difference between public and private sectors. Teaching-oriented faculty are a minority in Japanese public (15.3 percent) and private (38.5 percent) universities, while more than 60 percent of U.S. faculty at both public and private universities are teaching-oriented. Furthermore, only 1.5 percent of faculty in public universities and 5.3 percent at private universities in Japan are primarily interested in teaching, compared with 27.3 percent at U.S. public universities and 26.3 percent at private universities.[8]

Table 4. Teaching and research orientation (%)

Type of University	Primarily Teaching	Both, but Leaning Toward Teaching	Both, but Leaning Toward Research	Primarily Research
United States:				
Public	27.3	37.3	28.6	6.8
Private	26.3	33.7	33.5	6.5
Japan:				
Public	1.5	13.8	60.3	24.4
Private	5.3	33.2	50.7	10.8
Total	18.7	31.8	39.1	10.4

3. SATISFACTION WITH UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE AND FACULTY INFLUENCE

The Carnegie survey revealed that more than half of the American and Japanese faculty overall are satisfied with their jobs. Positive responses tended to be higher in the United States, with faculty at private U.S. universities expressing the highest overall satisfaction. American faculty are most satisfied with the courses they are assigned to teach, with negligible differences between those in public and private institutions. Faculty expressed stronger satisfaction regarding the opportunity to pursue one's own ideas, job security, and relationships with colleagues than regarding prospects for promotion. The lowest degree of satisfaction (23.9 percent in public and 31.7 percent in private institutions) involved the management of institutions. For Japanese faculty, the opportunity to pursue one's own ideas (72.8 percent in public and 66.8 percent in private institutions) was rated highest, followed by security and courses assigned. The lowest degree of satisfaction, as in the United States, pertains to the way institutions are managed (25 percent in public and 34.2 percent in private institutions). In short, more than 70 percent of both Japanese and American faculty are dissatisfied with the governance of their universities.

4. FACULTY INFLUENCE ON GOVERNANCE

Sixty-five percent of the faculty in both countries say they had personal influence on administrative decisions at the department level. At the institutional level, however, only 34 percent of faculty report having influence. Comparison of faculty influence on governance among the four types of universities shows that personal influence at the department level is weakest in Japanese private universities. The U.S. faculty answering “somewhat influential” or “very influential” personally in shaping key academic policies at the department level was 68.8 percent in public and 71.9 percent in private institutions, compared with 62 percent in public and 49.3 percent at private Japanese universities. It is interesting that although governance is regarded as extremely decentralised by faculty at Japan’s public universities, personal influence is not as great as one would anticipate. In other words, while faculty

decision making as a group at Japanese public universities is respected, personal influence at each organizational unit level is not especially strong.

5. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADMINISTRATORS AND FACULTY

Just under half of Japanese and U.S. faculty overall (46.2 percent) believe top-level administrators provide competent leadership, while 52.3 percent believe the administration is often autocratic. The highest percentages of faculty who believe top-level administrators provide competent leadership (75.5 percent) are at Japanese private universities. In stark contrast, only 35.7 percent of U.S. public university faculty often regard top-level administrators as competent. The group that most believes their administration is autocratic is U.S. private university faculty: 61.9 percent. By contrast, only 26.9 percent of faculty in Japanese public universities, the group that most departs from this view, share this perception.

Many faculty desire improved communication with administrators, with only 38.4 percent of faculty overall indicating that they feel informed about what is going on at their institutions. Overall, 44.4 percent believe communication between the faculty and administration is poor (Schuster et al., p.7-8). This dissatisfaction is highest in Japanese private universities but is not regarded as much of a problem in Japan's public universities. Only 25.2 percent of faculty in Japanese private universities believe that they are kept informed about what is going on at their institution, while 34.8 percent of faculty in Japanese public universities believe that communication between the faculty and the administration is poor.

With the exception of faculty in Japanese public universities (19.7 percent), more than 40 percent of faculty consider their lack of involvement in decision making a serious problem. However, it is not necessarily the case that creating more opportunities for faculty participation would increase faculty satisfaction. For example, while faculty consider expanded participation important for the university's management and administration, there is also resentment that too much of their time is spent in this way (Floyd, 6-7; Williams et al., 633; Ehara, *Gendai*, 196-97).

It is interesting that, although many faculty members want greater involvement in decision making themselves, only 31.2 percent overall believe students should have a stronger voice. It could be argued, however, that democratic involvement in decision making should not be limited to the professoriate and that others, especially administrative personnel and students, should have a formal voice in university governance (Boyer, 246). It is an interesting paradox that some faculty who defend their right to be involved in decision making are not willing to extend the same right to others.

6. GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

University governance is influenced by external groups such as governments, political parties, and interest groups. In Japan, Article 23 of the constitution guarantees academic freedom, the opportunity to pursue one's own ideas. In the United States, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP),

established in 1915, has been the strongest force protecting academic freedom (Slaughter, 73-100; Hutcheson, 8-10; Kurokawa, 111).

Nearly 70 percent of Japanese and 65.9 percent of U.S faculty overall report that administrators at their institutions support academic freedom. Moreover, 78.4 percent believe that they are free to determine the content of their courses, 88.1 percent say they can research any topic of special interest, and 80.4 percent are positive about academic freedom being strongly protected in their country. It would appear that there is no major difference between American and Japanese faculty opinions in this area, although a slightly higher percentage of Japanese faculty credit administrators with supporting academic freedom than their U.S. counterparts.

Faculty in Japan and the United States are somewhat critical of governmental interference, with only 13.1 percent overall believing that the government should define higher education's overall goals and policies, and 38.6 percent stating that government interferes too much. A significant difference exists between the views of U.S. and Japanese faculty on government influence, however. Few American faculty expect the government to be responsible for higher education policies (11.5 percent in public, 7.3 percent in private institutions), nor do many find governmental interference to be much of a problem (34.5 percent in public, 32.4 percent in private institutions). More Japanese faculty expect the government to be responsible for policies (19 percent in both public and private institutions), and also many more are critical of governmental interference (54.8 percent in public, 41.7 percent in private institutions).

One reason for these differences is that American higher education was founded on free market principles, which most Americans favour, not only for higher education but also for society as a whole. As a result, political interference by federal and state governments is seen as an infringement of university autonomy and academic freedom. Furthermore, when competition among universities on the basis of academic results is hindered, this is perceived as negatively affecting the development of higher education (Rhoades, 1992, 583-92; Clark, chap. 8, esp. 264; Berdahl and Mi11ett, 215-38). In Japan, by contrast, the government played a key role in the establishment and development of modern universities and has come to exert a strong influence on university governance (Altbach and Selvaratnam, chap 3). It is worth noting that faculty in Japanese public universities are more critical of governmental interference than their private counterparts.

Almost ten years have passed since the Carnegie survey was conducted. One of the common denominators of higher education changes worldwide during this decade has been the gradual loss of institutional autonomy (Schugurensky, 296). In the United States external forces that lead universities to become more managerial and market oriented, and to increasingly emphasize accountability, translate into increased demands on faculty. These structural changes in universities are transforming faculty's teaching and research, and are pushing faculty beyond traditional roles (Rhoades, Changing, 44-45). In Japan it seems that the government leads universities to apply the same measures. More faculty in both public and private Japanese universities are gradually becoming interested in teaching and promoting industry-university cooperation. However, fewer faculty show interest in the improvement of administrative structure. Faculty in public universities, in

particular, will face serious confusion as to their roles and identity, and are generally opposed in their heart to the government's policy, which facilitates the privatization of public universities in the near future (Arimoto, 102-103; Iwasaki and Ozawa, 4-5).

7. CONCLUSION

This examination of university governance perception reveals both important similarities and differences between systems and types of institutions. First, more than half of the American and Japanese faculty are satisfied with their jobs as a whole and are least satisfied with the way institutions are managed.

Second, the governance at Japanese public universities is decentralised, with faculty decisions respected over those of administrators. In contrast, governance at Japanese private universities is centralised and resembles American universities overall.

Third, while Japanese public universities' governance may appear decentralised compared with American universities, where administrators including the governing board and university president possess considerable authority and decisions by public university faculty as a group are respected, individual faculty influence is not particularly strong at any level.

Fourth, improved communication between administrators and faculty is generally desired, especially at Japanese private universities, where three-fourths of the faculty believe top-level administrators provide competent leadership but are dissatisfied with their contact with these administrators. In contrast, faculty in Japan's public universities, despite viewing administrators as autocratic, rate communication between the two groups much higher. Furthermore, although more than 40 percent of faculty overall in both countries (excluding those from Japanese public universities) favour more faculty involvement in decision making, increasing such opportunities would not necessarily result in greater satisfaction, as participation can also prove burdensome.

Fifth, a majority of faculty overall believe that administrators and faculty should control university governance, an attitude that ignores the need for formal channels to permit staff, students, and other university members to express their views.

Sixth, faculty are generally positive about the state of academic freedom. However, faculty in both Japan and the United States express some concerns about government involvement in determining academic policies, although this is especially true for faculty at Japanese public universities.

Finally, faculty in both systems believe that administrative work negatively affects their teaching and research. Although administrative work may have become an unavoidable duty for faculty, the majority of the professoriate regards such activity as troublesome and trivial and a detriment to teaching and research, their primary responsibilities. It may be that this dislike of administrative work lies at the root of criticisms of university governance.

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[1] See Bowen and Schuster, 21. For more on the characteristics of the American model of universities, refer to Ehara, *Daigaku*.

[2] See, e.g., The Ministry of Education, Science, Sports, and Culture, Government of Japan, 73-84; Kitamura, 28-33; Aoki, 223-39; and Stufflebeam, 2534-38.

[3] The countries surveyed were the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Russia, Israel, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Australia, Japan, Korea, and Hong Kong. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was responsible for publishing a version of the questionnaire in each country and for making sure the organization responsible for implementing the survey in each country mailed their own language version of the questionnaire to faculty members. In Japan, this was the Research Institute for Higher Education at Hiroshima University, and the research representative was Professor Akira Arimoto from Hiroshima University. Of the questionnaires mailed, 19,486 were returned (40.6 response rate): 3,529 from the United States (46.5 response rate) and 1,889 from Japan (47.2 response rate). For an outline of this international survey, refer to Boyer, et al.; Altbach, *International*, 669-677; Teichler, esp. 458-59; and Arimoto and Ehara, 28-38. I reanalyzed the original data from the Carnegie Foundation's International Survey of the Academic Profession. The calculations for the reanalysis were all done at the Kyoto University Data Processing Center. Data reanalyzed consist of 4-year higher education institutions. Data from the United States were weighted in order to avoid response bias. Cross tabulations were be used to illustrate the analysis, and, all tables are significant at the 1 percent level.

[4] See Boyer et a1., 21-22. However, as Clark argues, such a dichotomy as bureaucratic/collegial does not necessarily serve well, since there is much else to highlight if analysis is to stay reasonably close to reality (Clark, 108).

[5] The governance at Japanese private universities is relatively similar to that at both public and private American universities, as far as the data reanalyzed here clarify, although Clark describes the private sector in Japan as bearing similarities to the American private sector: e.g., trustees, relatively strong campus administrators, etc. (See Clark, 131). To be precise, Japanese public universities are very different from the other three types. In this article, public universities in Japan consist of national public institutions established, funded, and operated by the national government.

[6] However, it must be noted that the low percentage of female faculty and junior faculty in Japan, as shown in table 2, is not wholly representative. The Carnegie study undertaken in Japan sampled the more senior ranks where neither female nor junior faculty are prominent.

[7] See, e.g., Gappa, 15-21; Gappa and Leslie, 337-340; Altbach, International, 321-323; National Center for Education Statistics, 239; and Ooe, l6-17.

[8] The rate of teaching-oriented faculty in Japan (27.5%) is the second lowest among the countries in the Carnegie survey (the Netherlands being lowest at 24.8%) (Ehara, Research, 139). Birnbaum accounts for the emphasis Japanese faculty put on research by saying that universities in Japan after World War II modeled themselves on the prestigious prewar universities that emphasized research over teaching unlike the prewar non-university teaching institutions of less repute (Birnbaum, 5). In prewar Japan the majority of prestigious universities were imperial universities. Postwar public universities established on the basis of prewar public non-university institutions tried more eagerly to model themselves on those universities than their private counterparts. To this day, in Japan research legitimates the faculty role, in particular, at public institutions.

ANTHONY WELCH

FROM PEREGRINATIO ACADEMICA TO GLOBAL ACADEMIC: THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF THE PROFESSION

The itinerant scholar, like the wandering minstrel, has become a recognised motif in literature, over a period of centuries: seeking new knowledge, and students, or finding refuge from more hostile environments, academic and political. Many centuries before the common era (BCE), and periodically ever since, philosophers and alchemists pursued their life's work in many different cultural contexts, often at great risk. At times, they were persecuted for their unpopular views, or by those who sought to profit from their knowledge and skills; even at times, by those who wished to prevent the wider world from gaining the advantage of new knowledge. Thus such major and often fascinating historical figures - Protagoras, Kung, Fu-Tse (Confucius), Paracelsus, Ibn Kaldun, Galileo.

In the twentieth century, however, and more recently in the face of the widespread transition from elite to mass higher education (DEET/OECD, 1993), at least among industrialised nations, the internationalisation of academic staff has evidently become much more widespread and important, especially but not only, among those in the English language scholarly community. Indeed the rise of English language university programmes in countries such as France, Germany, and Sweden, and even in China, where current Ministry policy dictates that some fifteen percent of university courses should be taught in a foreign language, (most commonly English) underlines the importance of the English language as one base for extending internationalisation programmes.

As indicated, staff internationalisation is most strongly present among the most developed systems of higher education, (although by no means universally, as will be seen below). Now, however, it is not uncommon to find even provincial universities in China with ambitious plans for internationalisation, that extend to specific staff programmes (Welch and Yang, 2001; Yang, 2002). Greater academic mobility has been underpinned by swifter international transport and the rise of global communications networks in recent years, but also been provoked by rises and falls in international economic conditions, specific strategies to create a leading-edge department (Nasar, 1998), or to reverse brain drains (Choi, 1999; Welch, 2001; UNDP, 2001), as well as major social revolutions and upheavals during the

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 71—96.

twentieth century, including for example the Soviet Revolution, the rise of Nazi Germany, and associated regimes (Schuster, 1994).

The International Survey of the Academic Profession provided a unique opportunity to study the phenomenon of internationalisation among academic staff in the systems of higher education surveyed. While international traffic among tertiary students has been much studied (RIHE, 1989; Welch, 1988; Williams, 1982, 1984; Weiler, 1984; Welch and Denman, 1997; Shinn, Welch and Bagnall, 1999; Welch, 2002b), internationalisation of academic staff has been less well analysed, despite scholars from many regions becoming increasingly mobile (National Science Foundation, 1987), following their research interests (Goodwin and Nacht, 1991), answering advertisements for specialist teaching staff in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* or the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, or pursuing a better life in another country (Bundesminister, 1992; Saha and Atkinson, 1973; Baker et al 1993; von zur- Muehlen, 1983; Hawkins, 1992).

The politics of internationalisation among academic staff are often, however, complex and difficult. Well known examples, such as that of Princeton University's tempting of the best and brightest mathematicians from Germany and Austria in the 1920s and 1930s, as part of its strategy to forge a world-class department, are well known, and the results impressive (Nasar, 1998). Now, however, universities in many countries are seeking to extend processes of internationalisation, including of their faculty, (Goodwin and Nacht, 1991; Kunz, 1991; Central Connecticut University, 1990; Flack, 1987, Shiqi 1986, Blumenthal et al., 1996,Yang and Welch 2001, Welch and Yang 2001; Yang, 2002). Expressed benefits include, *inter alia*, an important additional source of qualified staff with which to replenish an aging teaching profession (Baker, 1993), at a time when whole cohorts of the profession are approaching retirement in a number of countries (the average age of American teaching staff surveyed was almost 50, for Israel 51.5, and for Russia 63). Beyond this, the broadening of perspectives on teaching, learning and scholarship, the incorporation of specific cultural and scientific skills not generally available in the host context, the building of tolerance and understanding among staff and students, the revitalising of language instruction programs, and the capacity both to attract more international students, and are also commonly cited rationales. While the benefits may be substantial, the costs may also be significant (Chronicle, 1987), including in the wider sense, while the ideological dimensions of internationalisation cannot be ignored (Toh and Farrelly, 1992; Welch, 1988, 2002b; Weiler, 1984). Moreover, parochialism, prejudice and institutional inertia can often continue to perpetuate a situation of no-change, or to defeat specific proposals to internationalise systems and institutions. Indeed experience suggests that not all universities could readily tell which, or how many, of their staff (or students) reflect an international background. (AUCC, 1979, 77 *et seq;* Welch, 2002b).

Beginning with a brief sketch of selected historical antecedents of contemporary forms of internationalisation, data from The International Survey of Academic Staff is subsequently analysed to examine the internationalisation of academic staff, while other relevant literature is used to illuminate associated issues of cultural interchange and penetration. While the more tangible benefits of internationalisation of academic staff may be very real, less tangible effects include the greater and freer

flow of ideas and practices, and the potential to breakdown insular and narrow canons of practice and ideology.

Paralleling the recent increase in internationalisation of universities in recent decades, however, has been the growth of globalisation effects on higher education systems (Currie and Newsom, 1998; Welch, 2002a; Currie, 2002), and in particular on university internationalisation. It is argued below that globalisation and internationalisation intersect in powerful ways, but that each pulls in very different directions (Welch, 2002b; Yang, 2002). Emphasis on the former can lead to internationalisation being defined in instrumentalist ways - leading to a concern with immediate economic gains and narrow or shorter term, utilitarian schemes. If so, it is unlikely to yield maximum benefits, for staff, students, institutions or systems. Emphasis on the latter leads to a broader definition, based on values of mutuality and reciprocity, which it is argued, are more likely to achieve broader benefits for individuals, institutions and systems (Welch, 2002b; Yang, 2002; Yang and Welch, 2001). Caution is urged in this delicate and complex area of cultural relations. Some analysis of the legal and political dimensions of the internationalisation of academic staff is undertaken below, while selected policy recommendations are advanced, and the relative strengths and merits of internationalisation and globalisation are assessed.

1. MOBILE MUFTIS AND MAGISTERS: HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

The movement of scholars has underpinned the spread, development and re-incorporation of ideas across political and geographical boundaries for at least two and a half thousand years, and not merely in the West. The Sophists were perhaps the first peripatetic teachers, in the fifth century before the common era (B.C.E.): "they were the first to travel about and give lessons for pay" (Ehrenberg, 1973, 338). The Sophists, ".. (were) professional teachers of middle class origin,.. (who) educated the young sons of the wealthy and noble", (Ehrenberg, 1973, 338), and came from all over the Greek - speaking world. Often concentrating on rhetoric and political education, they plied their trade widely, basing this peripatetic lifestyle on the view that aretê (moral perfection) could be taught. This stress on the power of teaching and education derived from the view that human being was malleable: at least implicitly, training, argument and education could take place anywhere, dependent only on a master and interested students. Another lesson emerging from the example of the Sophists, is that their rise was in part a product of war, and the social changes that it wrought. The older generation, having suffered war and pestilence, partly gave way to the younger generation, including the Sophists who provided the new education upon which these hopes were based (Marrou, 1956).

The Arab World equally provides powerful early examples of internationalisation, beginning with the prophet's own early injunction to "Seek knowledge, even if you have to go to China." Later, before, during and after the twelfth century renaissance, Islamic scholars such as the roving ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980-1037), ibn Kaldun (1332-1406), al-Ghazali (1058?-1111), and the peripatetic ibn Rushd (Averroes, 1126? –1198) have been credited with the introduction, not merely of specific advances in the natural sciences (including optics, chemistry,

astronomy/astrology, and mathematics), medicine, and philosophy (Jolivet, 1988), but also of the lecture and the disputation, twin pillars of higher learning in East and West, at least two centuries before they came to be used in the first Western universities (Makdisi, 1974, 1981). Indeed, the shattering of the traditional bounds of the mediaeval Quadrivium was largely due to the inclusion of subjects such as those listed above, "sciences particularly cultivated by the Arabs" (Jolivet, 1988, 126). While much traditional historiography long resisted acknowledging the West's substantial intellectual debts to Islam, and of each to Persia (Nakosteen, 1964), more recent scholarship has led to a broader acceptance that

> "Not only did Islam share with Western Europe many material products and technological discoveries; not only did it stimulate Europe intellectually in the fields of science and philosophy; but it provoked Europe into forming a new image of itself. Europe .. belittled the influence of the Saracens, and exaggerated its dependence upon its Greek and Roman heritage. So today, an important task.., as we move into the era of the one world, is to correct this false emphasis and to acknowledge fully our debt to the Arab and Islamic world." (Watt, 1972, 84)

Many mediaeval Muslim scholars from the West, particularly southern regions such as Spain, Sicily, and southern France, travelled to the great Arabic knowledge centres such as Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo[1] (Nakosteen, 1964), and to Cordova in Spain in the fourteenth century, while Peter the Venables spoke respectfully, before the end of the twelfth century, of the quality of "Saracen" libraries, full of learned tomes "that Christians have gone in quest of.." (Jolivet, 1988). It is also likely that the scholarly works of the mid ninth century scholar Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, and an ambassador at the court of the caliph al-Muttawakil in the mid ninth century, (where he would have been introduced to the *khalif,* the sic-et-non method later attributed to Abelard), were known in Europe. Somewhat later, in the twelfth century, scholars were translating Arabic books into Latin in places such as Toledo (Jolivet, 1988), while Spaniards already lamented that the best young scholars were neglecting the study of Latin for Arabic.[2] A final example is that of the history of the University of Montpellier, long acknowledged as having been dependent both upon fugitive Islamic inhabitants from Maguellone, and Spaniards who had "long resided among the Moors" (Rashdall, 1936a, II, 120).

Within the ancient Chinese world, too, specific antecedents to contemporary internationalisation can readily be discerned. Indeed, in Book One of the famous *Analects* we read the following: "To have schoolfellows come from distant states – is it not a pleasure?"[3] Indeed, Kung, Fu-Tse (Confucius, 551-479 BCE) himself provides an early example of a peripatetic scholar. His work proceeded from the principle that he could teach all, including those who lived in neighbouring countries, and indeed Confucius travelled around several parts of the Chinese world, accompanied by some of his students.[4] Somewhat later, during the period of the warring states, the famous scholar Meng K'o (Mencius, ?372-?289 BCE), born in the small principality of Tsou, began to travel, at the age of around forty, to neighbouring states such as Lu, Wei, T'eng, Sung, and Ch'i. Even before his period of peregrination, however, his fame as a scholar was sufficient to entice Duke Wen of T'eng to travel to Tsou to seek Mencius's advice, an event followed some years

later, upon the Duke's accession to the throne of T'eng, by his sending the court tutor Jan Yu, to seek Mencius' advice on principles and practices of good government (Liu, 1955). Mencius' fame as a scholar was so widespread, indeed, that he was able to acquire considerable wealth, and it is to him that we owe that quintessential expression of internationalist values in education, the so-called "Third Delight": ".. and the third delight is to have talents from all parts of the world, and educate them"[5]

The Mediaeval era in the West provides a further antecedent example (Le Goff, 1993). The incorporation of Arabic scholarship alluded to above, and the re-incorporation of Aristotelian and Neoplatonist thought (Haren, 1985) into the twelfth and thirteenth century world, proved to be of fundamental significance in freeing learning from the "halter.. of the allure of authority" (Burnett, 1988, 152). Indeed, as was illustrated above, "many of the most fecund new arrivals in the Latin 12th century hail(ed) from the Arab world" (Dronke, 1988, 3, see also Makdisi, 1981).

Several further structural features of the mediaeval university underpinned the extent of internationalisation during the middle ages, some of them persisting into the era of modern institutions of higher learning. Notwithstanding the substantial impact of Arab learning, the first was the "relativ große Homogenität" (Flasch, 2000, 140) provided by the Christian worldview, and in particular, elements such as the *licentia docendi*, or *jus ubique docendi*[6]: the right granted by either the corporation of masters themselves, as in Bologna, or at times by Popes, for example by Gregory IX to masters of the University of Paris in 1231, to teach anywhere in the Christian world, in return for their pledge of obedience. Christian unity was by no means complete, however: indeed an important spur to the development of new universities was the intermittent, and often regional, turmoil of the 13th and 14th centuries, (such as the Papal schism) and the migratory response that this engendered (de Ridder Symoens, 1992, 289). Indeed, it has been argued that: "half the universities of Europe originated in migrations of this kind from older universities" (Rashdall, 1936b, 570). Some new institutions, notably Prague, were consciously designed as national institutions (Le Goff, 1993), so as to "strengthen the kingdom by attracting scholars from the outside" (Rudy, 1984, 28).

The increasing diversity brought about by the establishment of regional universities in the 14th. and 15th. centuries, was not as great as it might have seemed, however. The fact that all of them taught in Latin (Flasch, 2000) which formed in general a "überrerregionalen Kommunikation" (Flasch, 2000, 150) of the mediaeval west, comprised a further unifying feature of the mediaeval university, meaning that many academics could pursue a *"peregrenatio academica"*, plying their trade at more than one western institution, while indulging mediaeval men's "love of travel" (de Ridder Symoens, 1992, 280). Hence Aquinas, for example, a southern Italian by birth, could be found in Cologne, and often in Paris.

The third unifying element was, of course, the structure of the educational system itself, notably the curriculum of seven "artes liberales, comprising the Trivium of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, and the Quadrivium of Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy".

Many centuries later, the intellectually fertile Weimar era, and more particularly its aftermath, provided another powerful reminder that academic mobility is often a response to political exigencies. The constriction of intellectual life, and often outright persecution, of nineteen thirties Nazi Germany, and Austria, led to the watering of foreign soils with a rich flood of intellectuals, often Jewish, who injected new talent and ideas into American, and other, universities (Gay, 1970; Patkin, 1979; Bartrop and Eisen, 1990; Pearl, 1985; Nasar, 1998).

2. A NEW ERA FOR INTERNATIONALISATION: POST WAR EXPLOSIONS

The post WWII era has sometimes been characterised as one of a threefold explosion in education: of knowledge, expectations and aspirations (Holmes, 1965), although clearly the specifics differed from place to place. Nonetheless, in the face of these explosions, many of the systems of higher education included in the *International Survey*.. expanded massively over recent decades, presaging a move in many industrialised countries from "elite to mass higher education" (DEET/OECD, 1993). Rising demand and dramatic growth, however, was not always matched by efforts to produce sufficient highly skilled indigenous teaching and research staff. For this and other reasons (Schuster, 1994), the internationalisation of the profession has increased apace, at least in absolute numbers if not always in proportions. In the USA, for one example, the proportion of foreign post-doctoral employees in science and engineering, increased from one-third in 1979 to two-fifths in 1985 (National Science Foundation, 1987, xii), and current indications are that many departments in such areas could not survive without highly skilled labour from abroad. Just as the internationalisation of the higher education student population (Overseas Students Trust, 1979; Maiworm et al, 1991; Toh and Farrelly, 1992; Welch and Denman, 1997; Shinn, Welch and Bagnall, 1999; Welch, 2002b) has increased over recent decades, so too academic staff have often become more internationalised (Anderson, 1993); indeed it is argued below that there are some important parallels. Nonetheless, as is shown below, there are clear limits to internationalisation; and some of the largest and most mature higher education systems are poorly internationalised.

The *International Survey* .., developed under the aegis of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, was the first major systematic international survey of academic staff. The survey, of some 20,000 academic staff in 14 countries, was based on an agreed stratified random sample, weighted in favour of large teaching and research establishments. With the exception of Russia, Israel, and Hong Kong, where for a variety of reasons the sample was around 400, sample sizes were around 1000 or more.[7] Several indicators of internationalisation were used in the International Survey, including proportions of academic staff who had their highest degree from another country, the extent of their international connections, and perceptions of the importance of such links.

In cross-cultural and international research, data-gathering and interpretation is a difficult and delicate exercise (Øyen, 1990). Explanations are either circumscribed by caveats, or relevant and significant cultural differences are often parenthesised in

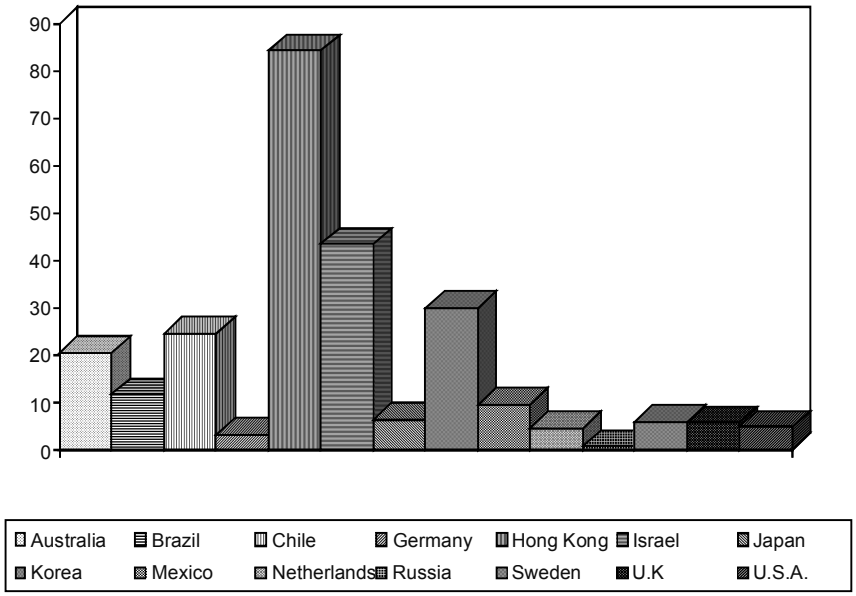
favour of simplistic generalisations which pretend to be universal. Meta-analysis, which often simply aggregates data from many different research contexts in different cultures, in quest of a larger sample and supposedly more generalisable result, is one of the more egregious examples (Young, 1984), but quantitative investigations, even when based on sophisticated multiple regression, have at times been said to be inadequate to explain intercultural research data, especially the reality of local cultures, which can be a powerful *explanans* (Hempel, 1966) of differential outcomes (Purves and Levine, 1975). This survey data is also subject to some similar reservations, although care has been taken, where possible, to include relevant contextual and cultural factors in presenting and explaining the results. Although care was taken in data gathering, and analysis, to make the categories of analysis as comparable as possible, ideally, a more methodologically complete account of the phenomenon of internationalisation of academic staff would involve much more triangulation, especially of ethnographic data. Other international investigations of the changing nature of academic work (Currie and Welch et al, 1996) should yield complementary data.

3. STAFF CHARACTERISTICS - FINDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SURVEY

The extent of internationalisation in each system surveyed was initially surveyed, as was which systems were the principal exporters, and importers, of academic labour. Some tentative explanations of the trends are presented. Subsequent inquiries examined several significant features of the survey data, using a standard measure of international status, based on the locus for the highest degree attained (that is, whether gained at home or abroad). Gender characteristics of survey staff were also investigated, revealing significant differences between international and home-grown staff, henceforth "peripatetic" and "indigenous" respectively. Which disciplines were more or less internationalised revealed striking differences among the nations surveyed? Forms of employment, and rank, were also analysed for differences between "peripatetic" and "indigenous" staff. The issue of international contacts was investigated using a variety of different measures- producing both clear national differences, and differences between the two sub-populations. Such differences were also found for job satisfaction and teaching versus research orientation, although clear trends did not emerge on all of these variables.

Figure 1 reveals the extent to which academic staff obtained their highest degree in another country. Clearly, this is not the same as a measure of foreign citizenship among academic staff, since the above also includes nationals who have studied abroad. In addition it would understate the number of foreign nationals working as academics in, for example, the USA, which attracts large numbers of international graduate students, some of whom subsequently attain academic jobs in America. Nonetheless the measure is an important, and oft-used, index of internationalisation.

Figure 1
Percent 'Foreign' Highest Degree, by Country



The degree of polarisation in the results that are summarised in Figure 1 merits some explanation. It can be hypothesised that countries which either have featured a major immigration program over many years, such as Israel and Australia (Kalantzis et al 1990), and/or systems which use international recruitment as a major source of staff in a rapidly expanding higher education system (such as Hong Kong), tend to be high on the scale, while countries which are either more ethnically homogeneous (Japan), do not use English as a language of instruction, and/or have a small range of countries to draw upon which speak their language (Germany, Russia, Sweden, the Netherlands), have low or stable rates of growth at university level (Germany, Sweden, Russia), are major producers and exporters of academic labour (USA, UK), or cannot offer salaries or research opportunities which are perceived to be competitive with Europe and America (Chile, Brazil) tend to be much lower. This low/high bifurcation compares with other research on the extent of foreign teaching staff in higher education (Baker et al, 1993; Newman, 1986; Saha, 1979; von zur-Muehlen, 1983; AUCC, 1979).

Major importers of academic labour may now be compared with major exporters. As expected, the data reveal that the major producers of academic labour, especially those who teach in English, are by far the most dominant. The USA is by far the largest single exporter of academic labour, supplying six of the systems surveyed with more than 4% of their staff, and three of those with 18% or more (Korea, Hong Kong and Israel). The next largest exporting country was the UK,

which although much smaller in its influence, nonetheless produced more than 5% of the scholars in three of the countries surveyed (Australia, Hong Kong and Israel). Beyond these two, the pattern became somewhat more diffuse although both France, and to a lesser extent Germany, contributed more than 1% of the degrees of staff teaching in at least three countries surveyed.

4. INTERNATIONALISATION AND GENDER

Investigations of the "peripatetic", and "indigenous" sub-groups, revealed more pronounced gender differences among the former. Indeed, with the exception of Germany, Japan and Korea (and Russia where the numbers of peripatetic staff were too small to be useful) all other systems displayed more pronounced gender disparities for this category than for the "indigenous". Although gender disparities were marked among the whole population in each nation surveyed, what this suggests is that the opportunity to travel and study abroad actively discriminates against women academics. Men take more opportunities to travel and study than women, or are more enabled to do so. Interestingly, "peripatetic" women were better represented among the higher ranks of academic staff than "indigenous", arguably confirming that international experience is valued within institutions.

In most systems surveyed, the ratio of "peripatetic" to "indigenous" was considerably higher for female than male staff. In Australia, (relatively high overall on the peripatetic scale), 22% of all female staff fell into this category, compared to 37% of all males; in Brazil, (generally low), 8.8% of women were "peripatetic", compared with 13.0% of men. Examined by rank, greater disparities between "peripatetic" and "indigenous" were confirmed for female staff throughout most systems. Japan, where the proportion of female "peripatetic" staff (11.8%) was almost double that of their male peers (6.2%), was the most divergent[8]. Does this indicate that, in Japan, women can "afford" to travel more than men, since they are valued less, and are less bound by the traditional cultural expectation that academic staff will work at a single institution without interruption? Perhaps, since the only other countries in the survey to manifest a similar, if less marked pattern, were Korea, where female employment status is also particularly problematic, and the Netherlands where female academics were almost entirely absent at the most senior levels[9]. These systems were among the most gender-segregated of all academic workforces.

5. DISCIPLINES AND INTERNATIONALISATION

Which disciplines or clusters of disciplines were most "peripatetic"? Here the three highest and lowest areas/disciplines for each system were surveyed. Recognising the profound disparities in rates of internationalisation in Figure 1, a complex picture emerged, with striking differences. For Hong Kong, many disciplines exhibited peripatetic scores of over 80%, while Russia displayed many disciplines with no peripatetic cases at all. Both of these systems however, were amongst the smallest, with fewer than 500 staff surveyed: little therefore can be surmised from individual

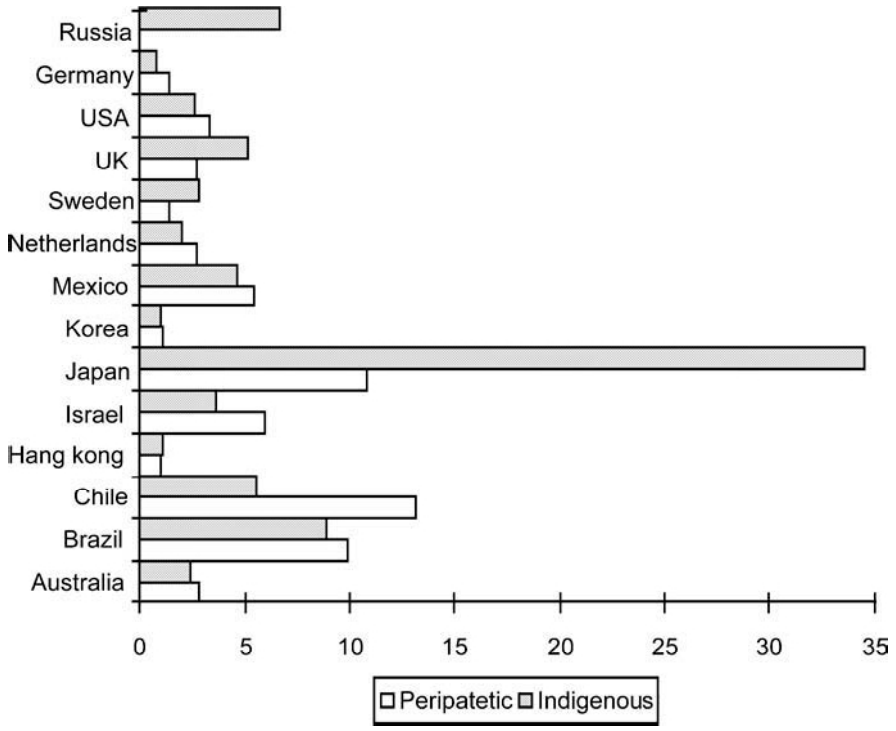
disciplinary samples of less than twenty. More surprising, perhaps, was that the three least peripatetic disciplines in both the UK and the USA rated below 3%, which partly sustains Goodwin and Nacht's (1990) charge of "missing the boat" in internationalising US higher education. Overall, business academics were by far the least likely to have gained their highest degree internationally, while health, technical and education academics also rated poorly. Of disciplines which most consistently rated highly, examples emerged from both of C.P. Snow's two cultures' (Snow, 1959): computing science and physics; humanities and social sciences.

6. INTERNATIONALISATION AND FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT

The data also shed light on the types of employment relations experienced by the two sub groups of staff surveyed. In almost all systems surveyed, "peripatetic" staff were much more likely than "indigenous", to be employed full-time. Apparently, international experience is still valued, or is undertaken by more privileged or high-flying groups of staff. In some systems, full time "peripatetic" staff outweighed part-time by 10 to 1 or more, and the ratio was usually at least 6 to 1. The differences among "indigenous" staff were much more modest, although in cases such as Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan, numbers of part-time staff were too low to make analysis worthwhile, while in Russia peripatetic staff were too few to make analysis meaningful.

Comparisons of "peripatetic" and "indigenous" staff were also made according to types of contract, with a division being made between staff with tenure or indefinite contract, and those with fixed-term contracts or other types. Of "peripatetic" staff, almost all countries, with the exceptions of Korea and Japan, showed a pattern whereby tenure or indefinite contract was from three to thirteen times more common than fixed term or contract status. Among "indigenous" staff, such ratios were generally smaller, from somewhat more than two to rather less than six. The results are shown schematically below in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Staff Ratio, Continuing v Contract



Among nine out of twelve systems studied[10], the ratio of continuing to contract among "peripatetic" staff was somewhat greater than for "indigenous" staff. The divergent cases may well reflect the particularities of the history and culture of specific systems. For example, the Japanese data may well be explicable in terms of the expectation in that country, that academic staff, as with other workers, will spend their career at one institution. This may well disadvantage those few who leave Japan to study abroad (including, as was shown above, significant numbers of women). Detailed knowledge of the sample is important here: previous surveys showed that foreign staff in Japanese higher education were almost entirely non-tenured, at least at national and public institutions. Much higher proportions of both tenured and "regular untenured" staff existed at private institutions (RIHE, 1981, 18). It is also probable that there may be a larger proportion of language instructors (or other activities perceived as "lower status") among the peripatetic staff, who may experience a higher turnover rate than other categories of staff (RIHE, 1981, 17). Equally the U.K results may be partly explicable, in terms of the differential impact that the abrogation of tenure under the Thatcher government has had on academic

staff in recent years. Did British staff who left the UK to study abroad have to cede tenure in order to return? Were recent foreign staff working in the UK ineligible for tenure? Caution also needs to be exercised in interpreting the Brazilian data, since many (female) academics, especially at middle and lower levels, have more than one teaching post, often at different institutions. Without knowing which institution the respondent is referring to (presumably, the principal one), one cannot ascertain how much this trend might have affected the data on this item. Finally, the extent to which the survey was answered only by more senior staff[11], or by women, who represent some 40% of academic staff overall in this survey, but are often less well represented at senior levels, may affect representativeness.

Despite such caveats, however, it was found that "peripatetic" staff were more likely to be among the senior ranks than their indigenous peers. Several systems evidently preferred peripatetic staff, who congregated in the more senior ranks, particularly at higher ages, often over 40 or 50. Australia, for example, generally high on the peripatetic scale, showed an increasing tendency to favour such staff at the higher ranks, especially in the age-ranges 40-60[12]. Mexico, comparatively low on the peripatetic scale (see Fig. 1), showed a somewhat similar pattern, favouring "peripatetic" staff at the higher levels, especially over the age of 40. Other systems which ranked low on the peripatetic scale, however, such as Sweden and the USA, showed different trends. Although numbers and proportions were small in each case, Sweden showed a distinctly uneven tendency to favour "peripatetic" staff at higher levels, whereas the US system showed a slight tendency to favour this category at middle and higher levels, particularly among older staff.

7. INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

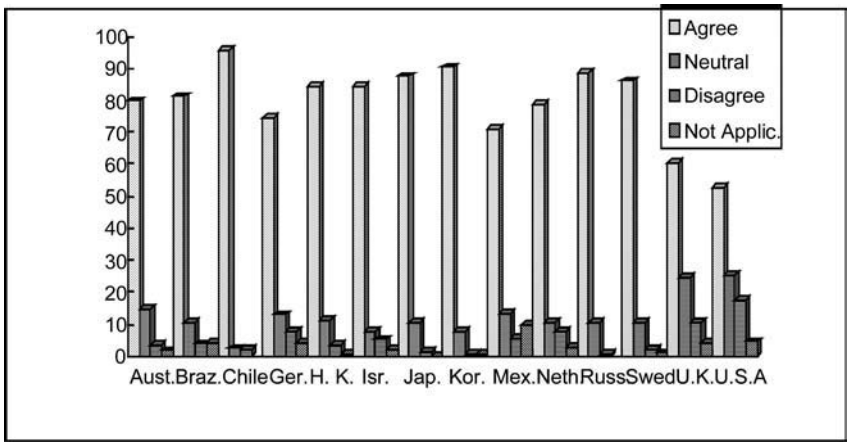
The data revealed that staff designated "peripatetic" participate at a higher rate (often as much as twice), in international activities such as attending international conferences, and maintaining contacts with scholars overseas. In Australia, the participation rate in international professional societies by "peripatetic" staff was .69, compared with .49 for "indigenous" staff, while the rate for publication overseas varied similarly - from .59 for the former group of staff to .39 in the latter group. In some third world systems, differences were even larger, with "indigenous" rates of participation on the former measures in Brazil all recorded at less than .2, while for "peripatetic" staff the range was from .5 to .6.

How does one explain these differentials? Does possessing a higher degree from another country indicate substantial interest in international activities, which then issues in continuing professional activities? Are staff with a foreign higher degree more aware of international research? Or do those with foreign degrees perhaps represent a social stratum with more "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1973, 1977, 1974, 1983), able to sustain more international professional activities? In an era where international higher degree study is increasingly paralleled by higher and higher fees, especially in the major English language nations that host most foreign study[13], this could well be the case, but it should be recalled that the academics surveyed often averaged fifty years of age or so, hence their international degrees were largely

gained before the current era of higher fees. Perhaps the relationship between studying abroad and other forms of international scholarly activity is collinear, although this does not explain of itself the higher rates of international publication by "peripatetic" scholars. If possession of a higher degree from another country, however, especially from a prestigious institution, indicates more symbolic power, this may be of assistance in one's career. The survey findings on rank lend some credence to this hypothesis.

One other source of data was attitudes towards the value of international connections. Scholars were asked on a four point Likert scale to express the extent to which they felt that international connections (with other scholars) were important. Although all nations recorded favourable responses to this item, as might be expected, significant differences were also recorded. Whereas most nations recorded a rate of agreement of 80% or higher, there were some notable exceptions, as shown in Figure 3[14].

Figure 3.
Attitudes to maintaining foreign connections



The USA, and to a lesser extent the UK, appear to value foreign contacts far less than any other system surveyed, a fact bemoaned by several US respondents, some international: "USA academics are very ethnocentric for the most part", and "at this institution the absence of an international vision is a major problem". Again this bears out Goodwin and Nacht's critique to some extent: "One observer described the professoriate on his campus as the 'bastion of reaction', and on the subject of international travel, we suspect that this generalisation may be of wide application". (1990, 59) Moreover, it arguably bears out similar results about the lack of international influence on American society, in other cultural arenas, as is argued below.

When "neutral" and "not applicable" responses are removed and the remaining "Agree" and "Disagree" responses weighted accordingly, the proportion of U.S.

respondents disagreeing with the importance of internationalisation rises to 25%, while the UK registers 14.7%; all other systems recorded less than 10%. The very low value placed on international contacts in the USA, however, may be both a product of the weight of that university system, together with associated research opportunities and publications outlets, and of certain traditions of isolationism and perceptions of self-sufficiency. Other countries which registered slightly less than the mean for the agree category (79.7%) included Mexico (71.2%), where it is possible that some concern about larger and more powerful neighbours may have been influential, especially given the ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) some years ago; and Germany (74.7%), where reunification and the fear of migration from former communist Eastern states were (and remain) divisive issues.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, staff with international experience had a generally more positive attitude to the maintenance of foreign contacts. There were one or two exceptions, notably Hong Kong where it is possible that "indigenous" staff saw foreign contacts as important, at a time of greater uncertainty and transition (Postiglione, 2002, in this volume), whereas "peripatetic" staff may feel less affected. The USA showed the most dramatic difference between staff categories, with "indigenous" staff revealing much less interest in foreign contacts than staff who had studied abroad.

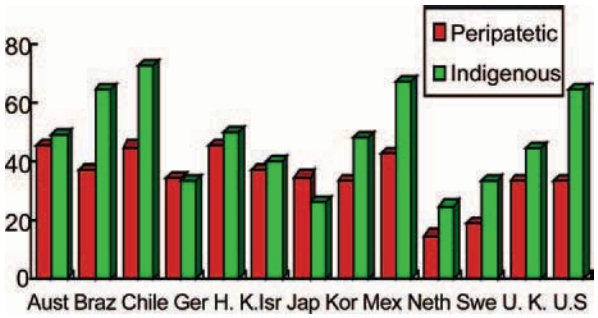
8. INTERNATIONALISATION AND JOB SATISFACTION

Does having a foreign higher degree correlate with differing levels of job satisfaction, or different estimations of the importance of one's discipline, institution and department, relative to "indigenous" peers? One might expect that significant experience of other systems of higher education might lead, if anything, to a lower estimation of the relative worth of one's current institution; and in the case of the USA, and Israel, this pattern of response is evident; however there is no overall trend of this kind. Indeed, there is no overall pattern for these dimensions, but there are some interesting questions raised, that are worthy of further investigation. Could it be that the depredations of the "Thatcher" years in higher education have left a greater mark on "indigenous" staff in the UK, who may have endured longer in the system, or not have experienced another, and fewer of whom indicated job satisfaction (less than 50%) than "peripatetic" staff (almost 60%). Or is the result explicable in terms of the national origins of "peripatetic" staff in UK universities? Why is it that "peripatetic" staff in Sweden are so dramatically less satisfied (37.5%) than their "indigenous" peers (61.5%), (a finding that is sustained by a finding on another item which found that a far greater proportion of "peripatetic" staff intended to leave their institution than their "indigenous" peers?) Could it be simply a matter of individual failure to adapt, or does it bespeak a failure of institutions to adapt to staff with different backgrounds and expectations? At least one of the handwritten comments from a Swedish respondent to the survey may provide some insight, citing a "devilishly musty local patriotism" which inhibited mobility, and acceptance of difference.

9. INTERNATIONALISATION AND TEACHING V RESEARCH PREFERENCE

In this area, expressions of a primary interest in either teaching or research were supplemented with responses "leaning" towards one direction. Figure Four shows that, in almost all cases, "peripatetic" staff favoured research far more strongly. When pro-teaching responses were aggregated, some systems displayed almost twice as strong a teaching preference among "indigenous" staff than among "peripatetic", with most systems showing a difference of one-third or so, while "peripatetic" staff reveal a consistently higher interest in research than their indigenous peers[15].

Figure 4.
Staff who favour Teaching, by category



Taken together with the corresponding data on research preference, this data shows a relatively consistent pattern. Indeed it may well be that research opportunities were one of the more significant rationales for the relocation of "peripatetic" staff.

10. THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONALISATION: FINANCIAL, POLITICAL, LEGAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

The instances analysed above, both current and past, reveal that academic mobility is often provoked not merely by intellectual choices, but also by international events, (including wars, and ethnic persecution). Moreover, it was shown that degrees of internationalisation differ substantially across systems, while possession of a foreign higher degree is associated with significant differences in academic life. Legislative provisions, too, differ from one system to another: foreign teaching staff were prohibited from being appointed as regular faculty members at national and public universities in one system surveyed as late as 1981 (RIHE, 1981, 21), while in France it has only become possible relatively recently. Several contextual issues which together affect internationalisation are now briefly reviewed, drawing upon literature from various international skilled personnel exchanges. An attempt is made to draw out some implications.

Firstly, however, why should institutions of higher education internationalise? Are there not more pressing targets to achieve, offering a more direct and tangible return on one's investment? The hard-pressed modern CEO (President or Vice Chancellor) in higher education may reasonably evaluate internationalisation in this light, given many competing claims on often very finite resources, within a generally restrictive budgetary climate. Indeed, Altbach and Lewis recently characterised this context as something of a fiscal crisis in higher education. (Lewis and Altbach, 1996). In many systems surveyed, heightened concerns about the continued provision of a range of basic teaching and research functions, threaten internationalist agendas. (See Goodwin and Nacht, 1990). In other cases, however, internationalisation (at least of students, many of whom now pay substantial fees) has sometimes been, *inter alia*, a means of regaining financial security (Cassell and Cassell, 1987; Welch, 2002b).

The adoption of financial goals as the major rationale by institutions and governments, however, has been shown to significantly distort programs of internationalisation (Weiler, 1984; Welch, 1988; Williams, 1984; Toh and Farrelly, 1992). But not all forms of internationalisation of staff pose such financial barriers: bi-lateral exchange schemes are a means to internationalise without some of the major overheads (EC, 2002). Bonuses may include new skills and different approaches brought by international scholars, better international research networks, or enhanced communication skills. Nonetheless a certain level of costs is inevitable, and staff internationalisation should not be subsidised by entrepreneurial ventures in the "international student market"; all the more so, in a context where numbers of institutions have ventured, and lost. Where "the quality of the experience is high and the cost to the institution is low" (Briscoe, 1991, 63), decisions may be simple, but costs and benefits should not be seen in merely economic terms. Staff are often more attuned to cultural differences after such an experience, or have gained new insights into the teaching process (Clack and Joynson, 1992), or feel refreshed and less susceptible to burnout (Calhoun and Long, 1982, 103). Providing international experience for staff therefore, becomes more a form of investment in human resource development.

Another barrier may consist in the nature of specific international exchanges, as well as the nature of academic work. More flexible exchange schemes have been called for in the past, as well as for "new forms of cooperation" (Stephan, 1985), based on the unity of teaching and research, and on collective research strategies developed via a close knowledge of the research context (Annabi and Poloujadoff, 1989). The increasing complexity of academic work, and the increasing role that academic staff play in management (Currie and Welch et al, 1996), may impede academic staff from fully exploiting international opportunities.

The process of cultural adaptation can be a long and arduous process, albeit genuinely rewarding in the long run. Consider the two following perceptions, by the same participant:

> "At times life as a Fulbrighter in Turkey proved so difficult and frustrating that I only half jokingly referred to myself as a 'halfbrighter' for having come in the first place." ..

> "Obviously my Fulbright in Turkey was well spent. I probably learned more about international relations there than an army of armchair scholars could in a lifetime. Maybe even of greater importance, however, living, learning and surviving in another culture, gave me a confidence and strength of purpose that will serve me well for the rest of my life." (Gunter, 1982, 21- 22)

Differing expectations or perceptions is an oft-repeated motif of international exchange (Lee, 1983, 25). Teaching and researching in a different cultural context can heighten perceptions of difference, but can also provide a forum for their resolution:

> "..when confronted with a fresh and wholly different perspective, we are forced to inspect those assumptions, and we may find that they contain the seeds of flexibility and personal growth" (De Carbo, 1987)

Unfamiliar cultural forms can be a challenge, at times for all involved. A visitor's manifestations of professional confidence, for example, can be perceived as arrogance or patronising behaviour by hosts (George, 1987). Pre-service orientation programs (Roeloffs, 1986), or cross cultural training, may help to avoid misunderstandings or inappropriate behaviour, but are often not undertaken (Lee, 1983, 23). While value clashes persist (Keim, 1992), or set limits on change and cross cultural interaction (Porter, 1987).

Problematic situations occur when epistemological, pedagogical and other assumptions are not re-examined, a situation more likely to persist if staff lack cross-cultural experience.

> "Time honoured and demonstrably successful ways of training superintendents of schools for US school districts become patently irrelevant in training ministerial or para-statal planning officers for Tanzania or Sri Lanka; theories of the market as the basis of economic decision making serve poorly where markets are either artificial, nonexistent or externally determined; venerable models of public management prove unable to cope with the tremendous differences between urban and rural areas in underdeveloped countries.." (Weiler, 1984, 170)

Failures to re-examine either the taken-for-granted knowledge base, or pedagogical style often results in fundamentally inappropriate forms of teaching and learning, which may do more harm than good (Toh and Farrelly, 1992). Flexibility, respect for difference, prior intercultural experience, and a degree of self knowledge are important assets in such interactions (Eastman and Smith, 1991).

Legal and political issues are a further neglected dimension. Program reports are often descriptive, neglecting the ideological dimensions of such national programs (Cooper, 1992). A closer examination of such schemes as DAAD (Roeloffs, 1986) or the Fulbright program, provide illustrations of ways which legal and political issues coalesce. Embassy or government officials associated with such programs have on occasion attempted to intimidate, or to threaten the employment situation of scholars who were seen as transgressing program norms (Knight, 1987; Academe,

1985). On other occasions, denial of a controversial visitor's travel request, submitted in order to take part in an academic debate, may transgress legal norms such as those which may enshrine the principle of free speech (Antonini, 1987).

Lastly, the commercial dimensions of academic mobility are another neglected aspect. The pace and direction of what has been called "Brain Drain" (Karadima, 1982; Schuster, 1994) is often influenced by such factors, although as we have seen Korea and Taiwan have successfully sought to reverse this tide, largely through the offer of incentives (UNDP 2001, Welch 2004a). Other countries such as China, are attempting to emulate these results, attimes with less success (Yang, 2002; Welch and Yang, 2002). Robert Macnamara is once reported to have said "Brains are like hearts, they go where they are appreciated." The economic force of this simile must also be acknowledged, given that some academics are attracted, at least in part, by better remuneration packages, (although hopefully this is not the only sense in which Macnamara's term "appreciated" should be understood).

At another level, the commodification of international higher education, evident in the increased establishment of twinning and joint-degree arrangements, and 'offshore' programmes, and campuses, often in Asia, by universities from Australia, the UK, and the USA, is also having a profound impact on academic mobility. At least for some, teaching experience, now regularly encompasses periods of intensive instruction in Singapore, China or Malaysia. Concerns about the parity of such programmes, and of student experience, as well as the impact on academic work, have been voiced in the USA, UK, and Australia, but are often overwhelmed in the rush to expand such programmes. The passage of GATS, and the enthusiastic endorsement of trade in educational services, by both WTO and the OECD, inter alia, has given further strength to this process of commodification (OECD 2002, 2004, Welch 2004b).

11. CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Peter Gay's excellent study of Weimar culture outlined the paradox of the "insider as outsider": such paradoxes, as indicated above, are at times not without personal, political, administrative, and financial, costs. However, the examples discussed above also often reveal substantial, if sometimes intangible benefits, for both individuals and institutions.

In an era of increasing financial strictures, in higher education, the temptation for institutions to withdraw from international activities, and simply concentrate on core teaching and learning activities, may perceive international staff programs as a needless expense or an indulgence. When "substantial cuts in higher education aid have already been made" over the last decade, and "federal support for .. research is diminishing" (Carnegie Foundation, 1985, 6-7), in a number of countries listed in the survey, the temptation may prove irresistible. The last two decades represent an era of a widening gap between ever-rising enrolments, and the capacity or willingness of governments to fund such expansion. This rise of what has been called economic globalisation in higher education (Welch, 2002a and b; Currie, 2002, in this volume), has also had a significant impact on the character of

internationalisation on campus, and risks containing internationalisation policies and programmes within the straitjacket of economics and the bottom line, thereby severely inhibiting wider benefits.

Nonetheless, moves to curtail or abandon internationalisation may well prove short-sighted. The contemporary world is increasingly interdependent, economies and polities are interconnected in more and more powerful ways. Trade practices in one area of the world have direct impacts upon other areas, international investment strategies are a major source of economic influence, while decisions on nuclear energy, or defence, are often of direct concern to far distant countries.

Higher education systems are no more exempt from such relations than other arenas of national cultural identity. Governments, however, still often continue to see universities as national icons, and important sites of national self definition and cultural preservation, not merely in such areas as language, history and politics.

The international ebb and flow of academic personnel, never just affected by purely intellectual concerns, as was seen above, has now been affected by the rise of free trade agreements, including regional agreements such as NAFTA (now FTAA), the EU and APEC and the like, several of which support specific academic mobility schemes (such as ERASMUS/SOCRATES, NAFTA and UMAP). The cultural arena has gained greater significance since the signing of the worldwide GATT agreement in mid December 1993, and even more notably, the Global Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 1995. The service industries are a growing part of the economies of many GATT signatories, yet the international trade in services does not reflect this growth. National barriers to increased international trade will be reduced as a result of these agreements, but it remains to be seen just what impact such reductions in trade barriers may have on the international flow of service sector workers, including academic staff.

In such an increasingly internationalised context, it is at the least very important to know and understand our neighbours, partners, and at times competitors. Contemporary examples illustrate the potential, the variety, and the complexity of proposals for international cooperation, which may have an impact on the internationalisation of the academic profession. Australia's current efforts to enhance its integration in the Asian region demand both an enhanced understanding of its partners' trade and economic contexts, and a more sophisticated appreciation of associated political, religious and social traditions (Fitzgerald, 1997; Welch, 1998). The Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC), initially proposed by Australia, represents a specific initiative which bears future monitoring, while the University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP) scheme is one of direct relevance to that region. Greater economic integration among Mexico and Canada and the USA is another example - which gives greater impetus to closer study of regional affairs and to the internationalisation of academics. Thirdly, Germany's re-unification has necessitated re-examinations of its foreign diplomacy, with more academic links with central and east European regions, some of which are scheduled for full EU membership within the next few years. Indeed, the greater integration of Europe, and the centripetal and centrifugal pressures on the state to which Europe has been witness in recent years (Welch, 1993) gives new urgency to scholars' attempts to understand a changing and at times volatile international situation. Such

a setting poses profound questions of cultural understanding, and cultural dominance and penetration. It also underscores the need to enhance our knowledge of other cultures directly, including through academic exchanges.

The contemporary volatility of international political and economic conditions, not merely in the middle East and Central Asia, underlines the urgent, profound need for knowledge and understanding of international events and contexts. International academic exchanges, of various kinds, can help, not merely to enhance specialist knowledge of other countries in specific fields, but also to break down national stereotypes that are often served up by major national or international media conglomerates, especially in times of crisis. Even international electronic mail networks used by academics to sustain academic contacts, can achieve something of this purpose, yet are no substitute for direct and sustained face-to-face dialogue. Arguably, then, internationalisation may represent the ninth challenge or tension point for the American university (Carnegie Foundation, 1987), and for other systems of higher education.

Schemes such as DAAD, ERASMUS, NAFTA, Fulbright and UMAP are important mechanisms to sustain internationalisation, which could be adapted to introduce change. One equity strategy highlighted by the data, might be to make more international opportunities available to women and, by implication, other minority staff. Some of the individual handwritten comments made on individual Survey responses supported this prospect. If, as is shown in several systems surveyed, foreign experience is valued in terms of career opportunities, the provision of enhanced opportunities for such staff could be one useful means towards more equitable forms of employment.

The implementation, or extension, of incentives for staff to research and teach abroad, either through the provision of financial incentives within the institution, or through revisions to the taxation system, is another prospect, one which has been adopted in Israel. Incentives could also be implemented within institutions, in the form of added weight given to foreign experience for promotional or other purposes.

As was seen, expense is often cited as an impediment to the extension of staff internationalisation, both by institutions and governments. Formal sabbatical programs which encourage staff to spend their sabbatical leaves abroad may be relatively more expensive if travel grants are correspondingly higher for staff who avail themselves of the opportunity to travel abroad. Multi-lateral programs, such as the European Community Action Scheme for the mobility of University Staff (ERASMUS), and UMAP may be less costly.

Another finding from the research data was that “peripatetic” staff were more strongly motivated by research than their indigenous peers, and it was argued that this could be a significant rationale for their relocation. If so, this could be taken into account in institutional and national planning to attract international scholars.

If “modern societies run on talent”, (Carnegie Foundation, 1985), academic labour forms a significant part. International academic mobility has costs and benefits that extend far beyond the economic. Personal and social benefits may be significant, and the reward to societies which encourage intellectuals from abroad can be rich indeed, as the historical instances alluded to above indicate. Indeed part

of the problem here is that richer nations can too easily "poach" academic labour from other contexts from where it is sorely missed.

To quote an anonymous survey respondent:

> "Productive interaction between individuals from a wide and diverse background (cultural and economic) is a necessary part of relieving world tensions."

Regrettably, however, intercultural relations, of which the internationalisation of academic labour is an example, can be based on widely different assumptions (Welch, 1993), many of which are not based on mutuality and reciprocity (Welch, 2000). Indeed "dependence" was specifically mentioned as one product of internationalisation, by a Chilean respondent. Although cultural tolerance and mutualistic relations between cultures are often piously rehearsed in institutional policy documents, or in bi-lateral or multilateral staff exchange programs, how often are they implemented in reality?

Higher education can have an important role to play in breaking down cultural barriers, in terms of emphasising our international interdependence, our "connectedness to the world" (Fullan, in IDP 1995, 71). Although higher education is only one arena in which this debate is played out, and the internationalisation of academic staff only one aspect; nonetheless, given the prominent role of intellectuals in terms of opinion formation, and the cultivation of future leaders in society, its role is too important to ignore. Internationalisation is too important, to be still seen as marginal or an "add-on", which can either be dispensed with in the face of financial stringencies, or not supported throughout institutions, and paralleled by changed values and practices (de Wit, 1995, 20-25).

12. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, under the aegis of which the International Survey was conceived, in making research facilities available for the original version of this study.

Thanks are also due to Academic Consultant to the Project, Professor Phillip Altbach, who provided helpful comments on an earlier draft, as did Dr. Jürgen Enders, of the Gesamthochschule/Universität Kassel, now of CHEPS in Twente, the Netherlands.

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[1] " In some of them food and lodging, writing materials and other aids were provided for the convenience of those who came from distant lands in pursuit of knowledge." Nakosteen 1964, 66.

[2] "Where today can a layman be found who reads the Latin commentaries on the Holy Scriptures? Who is there who studies the Gospels, the Prophets, the Apostles? Alas! the young Christians who are most conspicuous for their talents have no knowledge of any literature or language save the Arabic; they read and study with avidity Arabian books; they amass whole libraries of them at a vast cost, and they everywhere sing the praises of Arabian lore. On the other hand, at the mention of Christian books they

disdainfully protest that such works are unworthy of their notice. The pity of it!" (Makdisi, 1981, *The Rise of Colleges. Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West.* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. 240). See also Nakosteen, 68.

[3] Confucius (1997) *The Analects of Confucius* (Transl. Huang, Chichung), Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 47. It should be noted that the character translated in this edition as 'schoolfellow' is that for 'friend', which is the translation often used by other translations. See, for example, the Wordsworth World Classics (bi-lingual) Edition of the Analects, (1996), 3.

[4] Confucius lived in Lu Guó, now part of modern China, but travelled with his students to the countries of Sung, Wei, Chí, Chên, Tsái, and Chú to seek a role in ministering government elsewhere (Jong Guó Da Bai Ke Quan Shu, 1992, I, 42). China only became unified under dynastic rule in 221 BCE.

[5] the first delight is that both parents are still alive; the second is not feeling guilty when facing Heaven and Earth.

[6] This practice too, was preceded by some centuries, by the Islamic practice of granting a licence to transmit, the so-called ijaza. (Makdisi 1984, 1990)

[7] Problems in Egypt's data meant that it was not available.

[8] The Japanese sample did not include the more junior ranks of academic staff, where (it might be supposed) women might have more opportunities.

[9] It should be noted here that the Dutch data only embraced universities. HBOs, structurally similar to the German Fachhochschulen, were surveyed separately, and the results are not included in this analysis.

[10] Once again, the Russian data were not incorporated fully since the number of 'peripatetic' staff was too small.

[11] See note 9, above.

[12] This pattern may well decline as younger academics are less likely to have gained research degrees overseas.

[13] Of the top five host states for foreign study, three are English language nations (USA, UK, and Australia). For the actual, and relative, growth in the numbers see Welch 2002b.

[14] It should be noted here that the German sample focused on Universities much more than Fachhochschulen, and excluded institutions from the former German Democratic Republic (GDR).

[15] With the exception of Russia, where the numbers of peripatetic staff are too low to allow their inclusion.

JÜRGEN ENDERS AND ULRICH TEICHLER

ACADEMICS' VIEW OF TEACHING STAFF MOBILITY

The ERASMUS Experience Revisited

1. INTRODUCTION

For more than twenty years obstacles and incentives for academic staff mobility have been on the European agenda in the field of higher education. One of the main reasons for the persistence of this topic was and is the fostering of communication and cooperation among European higher education institutions and academia in order to contribute to the advancement of knowledge, the renewal of academic teaching and European integration.

During the 1970s, an emphasis on the development of concerted policy of mobility in Europe, on removing legislative and statutory obstacles on the national level, information issues and financial matters (Council of Europe, 1973) could be observed. During the 1980s studies showed a trend towards bottom-up approaches and a higher degree of decentralisation in dealing with the issue of academic staff mobility (Council of Europe, 1985). Promotion of academic staff was given momentum by the setting up of ERASMUS and COMETT while removal of barriers for staff mobility was dealt with primarily at the institutional level with support being expected to come from national government and regional authorities. During the 1990s we find growing activities to set the research agenda on academic mobility and international cooperation in higher education (Smith et al., 1994; Blumenthal et al., 1996) and an increase in surveys and evaluation exercises (Teichler et al., 1990; Bunt-Kokhuis, 1994; Kreitz and Teichler, 1995; Enders, 1998; Teichler, Gordon and Maiworm, 2000). These studies provide a more informed view on the experiences of mobile or peripatetic (Welch, 1998) academic staff, their views on the issues and the problems they encountered before, during and after being abroad. There results can at times contrast with prevailing policy recommendations addressed to the supranational, national and institutional level. In this article the major findings of a survey study among academic staff who had received ERASMUS support for a period abroad in the academic years 1998/99 will be presented.

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 97—112.

2. ERASMUS TEACHING STAFF MOBILITY: THE PROGRAMME AND THE INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The promotion of academic staff mobility has been one of the key areas of the ERASMUS programme since its inauguration. The support of staff mobility is provided within the framework of inter-institutional cooperation. This reinforces the concept that international exchange of academic staff is not just a support for occasional individual interactions, but rather a part of regular co-operation whereby individual teaching visits should promote co-operation in general. In the former ERASMUS years, networks of departments of higher education institutions (Inter-University Cooperation Programmes (ICPs)) were provided with financial support to organise the mobility of students and staff, curriculum development, and intensive programmes. Recipients of direct support from the Commission were single departments in each ICP. These coordinating departments were responsible for the allocation of the budget among the partner institutions and departments, as well as for the financial accountability *vis-à-vis* the Commission. In 1995 several former educational programmes and actions (ERASMUS, LINGUA, EURYDICE and ARION) were integrated, revised and supplemented, and new programme components were established (notably COMENIUS and OPEN and DISTANCE LEARNING) under the umbrella of SOCRATES.

With the implementation of SOCRATES, the former "department approach" was replaced by an "institutional approach", i.e. the counterparts of the Commission are now the administrative centres of the higher education institutions. Each institution is requested to apply individually for financial support and can be awarded an "Institutional Contract" from the Commission for a maximum of three years.

However, the transition from the department approach to the institutional approach took place only two years after the launching of SOCRATES. During the interim period, the support of Inter-University Cooperation Programmes was continued. Altogether, 2,673 ICPs were approved in 1995/96 and 2,483 in 1996/97. The Institutional Contract was introduced in the academic year 1997/98. The number of approved Institutional Contracts totalled 1,479 in the academic year 1997/98, 1,624 in 1998/99, and 1,764 in 1999/2000. The increase in the number of ICs is mainly due to the fact that institutions from certain Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries became eligible for participation in ERASMUS in 1998/99 and 1999/2000.

3. PARTICIPATION OF COUNTRIES AND TEACHING STAFF MOBILITY

The number of countries which were eligible for ERASMUS support increased during the first phase of the SOCRATES programme:

- In 1995/96, 1996/97, and 1997/98, only the 15 Member States of the European Union and three countries of the European Free Trade Area (EFTA), i.e. Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway, were eligible.
- In 1998/99, the pool of eligible countries grew with the inclusion of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Slovak Republic, as well as Cyprus, thus increasing the number of eligible countries to 24.

- In 1999/2000, a further extension took place by opening ERASMUS to higher education institutions in Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Slovenia. Thus, the number of eligible countries grew to 29.

Most universities and other large institutions of higher education in eligible countries participate in ERASMUS. The highest number of ICs was awarded to French institutions (about 20%), followed by Germany (about 15%), and the United Kingdom (about 11% of all awards).

The growing cooperation between institutions from EU and EFTA countries on the one hand and the CEE countries on the other is underlined by the fact that two-thirds of the Institutional Contracts in 1999/2000 cover institutions from both regions. Information provided in interviews suggests that the TEMPUS programme played a major role in establishing the ties that facilitated a rapid integration in SOCRATES.

With the launching of SOCRATES, support for teaching staff mobility increased. The number of "expected" mobile teachers grew from 13,866 in 1995/96 and 12,755 in 1996/97 to 30,486 in 1997/98, 34,035 in 1998/99, and 40,891 in 1999/2000. Greater teaching staff mobility was expected to provide a European dimension for non-mobile students and to contribute to curricular innovation. Unfortunately, no figures on the actual numbers were available at the time this study was carried out. Thus, the actual development is not yet known. According to estimates, the "take-up rate" dropped to about 20-25 per cent.

On average, each new or renewed Institutional Contract comprised 22 "estimated" mobile teachers. Only small numbers, i.e. between 1 to 10, were named in 38 per cent of the contracts, between 11 and 50 grants in 34 per cent, and more than 50 grants in 12 per cent of the Institutional Contracts. By and large, the average number did not change significantly during the period under study. Theproportion of institutions which did not apply for teaching grants fell from 20 per cent in 1997/98 to 12 per cent in 1999/2000.

According to the countries named in the application, about 60 per cent of mobile teachers come from the five largest Member States of the European Union: 14 per cent each from Germany and the United Kingdom, 12 per cent from France, 11 per cent from Spain, and 9 per cent from Italy. Most of the other countries received only between 1 and 2 per cent of the grants. The distribution of expected teaching staff mobility by host country shows a pattern that is similar to the distribution by home country. Without intervention through selective awards on the part of the Commission, the proportion of academic teachers going to and coming from individual countries is fairly balanced. However, some countries are under-represented, notably the CEE countries.

Some priorities of teaching staff flows reflect those of bilateral cooperation arrangements: Academic staff members from CEE countries are often inclined to teach in Germany and less often in the United Kingdom. Finland is a favourite host country for academic teachers from Estonia, whereas Romanian and Bulgarian academic teachers go to France. The distribution of academic staff members from EU and EFTA countries by host country, however, is more widespread. This might

be a result of more than 10 years experience of student and staff exchange within the ERASMUS programme. Nevertheless, significant differences are found at the regional level: there is a disproportionately high exchange of teaching staff among Southern European countries (France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy), while exchanges among Nordic countries are rather limited.

4. THE SURVEY

The launching of SOCRATES was expected to change the role of the departments and academic teachers within ERAMUS in five ways:

- The administrative responsibility for student mobility was transferred from the departments and networks to the administrative centre of higher education institutions.
- The leadership of the higher education institutions became more strongly involved in reflecting upon and determining the strategic options for European and international activities related to ERASMUS.
- The teaching staff mobility component of ERASMUS was enlarged.
- ERASMUS support for various components of curricular innovation was widened and diversified.
- Both teaching staff mobility and curriculum innovation were expected to serve non-mobile students to a greater extent than in the past, when it was mainly mobile students who were taken into consideration.

Therefore, the academics' experiences and views are a key source for information on the programme. A questionnaire survey "Experiences of Academic Staff Members in the Context of ERASMUS" was undertaken in 2000 in the context of the Socrates 2000 Evaluation Study (Teichler, Gordon and Maiworm 2000). It aimed to contribute to the understanding of:

(a) The changing role of academics in the transition from the network-oriented former ERASMUS to the institution-coordinated ERASMUS under the umbrella of SOCRATES,
(b) conditions, activities and impacts of teaching staff mobility,
(c) the overall assessment of the ERASMUS programme by the academics.

The study aimed to gather information on the experiences and views of two groups of academics: those who are in charge of the coordination of ERASMUS in their institutions or departments, and those who are mobile teachers. It was obvious that the two groups overlap: hence, a third group could be formed with those who are both ERASMUS coordinators and ERASMUS-supported mobile teachers.

The study was based on the responses by 1.666 persons who were ERASMUS mobile teachers in 1998/99, i.e. 57 percent of questionnaires distributed to academic staff members with the help of a selected number of higher education institutions. Some of the questions had been included in surveys 10 years ago on the experiences of ERASMUS teaching staff (see Kreitz and Teichler, 1997; Enders, 1998). Hence, it is possible to measure some changes in the experiences and assessments over time.

This article is based on an overview on the ERASMUS teaching staff experience published in the context of the major report of the SOCRATES 2000 Evaluation Study (Teichler, Gordon and Maiworm, 2000).

5. MAJOR FINDINGS

5.1. Profile of the Participating Teaching Staff

According to the survey, ERASMUS mobile teachers in 1998/99 were 47 years old on average, i.e. roughly the same as those in 1990/91 (46). The average age of the academics surveyed recently who have some coordination function for ERASMUS within their institution at the department level was 48, i.e. exactly the same as that of ICP local directors in 1991/92. Actually, however, the age spread had grown substantially in recent years: about two-thirds of the 1998/99 cohort were aged between 36 and 55, a little more than 20 per cent were older and a little more than 10 per cent were younger.

The respondents to the recent survey had been employed at their institution for about 15 years on average. In addition, they had been professionally active for more than 7 years, with almost two-thirds in other higher education or research institutions.

- 34 per cent were full professors,
- 46 per cent were in other senior academic ranks,
- 18 per cent were in academic middle/junior ranks, and
- two per cent stated that they currently held an administrative position.

94 per cent of the respondents were employed full-time, and 89 per cent had a permanent contract. Again, these data only differ marginally from those of previous surveys.

31 per cent of the mobile teachers and 34 per cent of the coordinators of ERASMUS were women. This proportion is substantially higher than that of the mobile teachers in 1990/91 (18%) and of ICP local directors in 1991/92 (20%). Women involved in teaching abroad and in other ERASMUS-related functions were slightly younger on average than men active in ERASMUS and were less often full professors (27% as compared to 37%).

The respondents stated that they had good knowledge of two foreign languages on average:

- Almost 90 per cent spoke English (excluding those from institutions where English is the home language),
- Almost half spoke French, including the majority of Flemish-Belgian, as well as the majority of Portuguese and Spanish respondents,
- A quarter spoke German, including the majority of Danish and Dutch respondents,
- About one-eighth spoke Italian and Spanish, among the latter of which were the majority of Portuguese respondents,

- One in 14 spoke Swedish, among whom were the majority of Finnish respondents for whom Swedish is a minority home language.

The respondents came from various fields of study: 8-15 per cent from languages and linguistics, engineering, social sciences, natural sciences, business studies, and humanities.

5.2. Tasks and Functions within ERASMUS

The decision to visit and lecture at another institution of higher education and offering some lectures - sponsored by the ERASMUS programme - is, as a rule, not an issue to be decided suddenly or by any individual. Usually, links between the co-operating departments have emerged prior to the visit, student exchanges within the programme may have indicated some need for teaching staff exchange, or mobile academics might have been involved in the support of student mobility for some period before they decided to offer courses at the host institution.
Of all those with a coordination function for ERASMUS who were surveyed (70 per cent of the respondents),

- 11 per cent stated that they had primarily a function of coordination at the central level of the institution,
- 64 had a coordinating function in the department, and
- 25 had other coordinating functions.

About half had been in charge of these activities for five or more years. Another quarter had been involved for 3 to 4 years. Only about one quarter had taken over these functions within the last two years, i.e. since ERASMUS came under the umbrella of SOCRATES.

Asked about their specific coordination tasks, over three-quarters stated that they were involved in selecting their own students for participation in ERASMUS, and advising incoming students. Almost two-thirds reported that they participated in preparing their own students for the period of study abroad, and establishing partnerships with other institutions. Half the coordinators were involved in organising staff mobility. About one-third were responsible for general programme administration. About one quarter each gave special lectures for incoming students and were involved in curriculum development activities. Finally, 20 per cent participated in the preparation of intensive programmes.

Almost two-thirds of the academics involved in ERASMUS-related coordination functions received technical assistance from their institution and more than half said they received administrative or secretarial assistance. 12 per cent saw a reduction in their teaching load and 6 per cent received additional remuneration. Academics undertaking coordinator functions within ERASMUS had spent on average five hours a week on this function within the previous two years, i.e. in the framework of SOCRATES. Academics in charge of ERASMUS coordination functions before the launching of SOCRATES had also spent about five hours a week on these tasks. This suggests that the move towards SOCRATES has not contributed to a reduction

in the administrative work load for those academics who continue with their coordination functions at the central or department level, or in respect to specific tasks and actions.

5.3. Problems Faced Before Going Abroad

In 1990/91, ERASMUS support for staff mobility was foreseen for a minimum period of one month. In reality, however, half of the academics surveyed went abroad for at most two weeks. The reports provided by ICP co-ordinators in the preceding years already showed that academic staff could not easily take up the opportunity of a teaching period abroad. Difficulties in interrupting teaching assignments at the home institutions, family commitments, incompatibility of academic themes to be taught abroad to those usually taught at home and conflicting schedules were among the problems mentioned. In addition, administrative matters and the insufficient level of the grant were stressed as underlying problems which often caused the envisaged exchange to be shortened or not realised at all. This survey provides respective views from those who were directly concerned.

Four problems, that might be linked to each other, were stated most often by the respondents:

- little financial support provided by the Commission (45%),
- heavy workload in the preparation for the teaching abroad period (35%),
- interrupting teaching and research commitments at the home institution (33%), and
- finding replacement staff (28%).

Other academic, administrative and social problems are mentioned less frequently as being serious.

Since the list of problems was identical to that presented to academics who were mobile in 1990/91, respective comparisons can be made. They show that the average frequency of problems stated remained constant. Hence, the percentage quoted for each item varied at most by 6 per cent (see Kreitz and Teichler 1997, 28-30). This suggests that the conditions for a temporary teaching period in another European country under the auspices of ERASMUS have not improved between the early and the late 1990s. This is all the more surprising, because some problems are more serious if the period of teaching is not very short. However, as will be seen below, the teaching periods abroad were much shorter on average in the late 1990s than in the early 1990s.

As Table 1 shows, most mobile teachers from Central and Eastern Europe state less frequent serious problems in realising teaching staff mobility. As long as the problems rest predominantly with the home institution and country, the academic teachers from CEE countries cite less serious problems than their Western European counterparts. Obviously, the motivation for participation is so high in CEE countries that obstacles are more easily overcome.

Regarding the Western European countries, Italian and French academic teachers see the least obstacles to teaching staff mobility. In contrast, Swedish and British

academic teachers very often state serious problems. While British academic teachers stated difficulties in interrupting administrative commitments at the home institution and heavy workload for preparation of teaching abroad, academic teachers from Sweden most frequently mentioned difficulties in interrupting teaching or research commitments. This could reflect both a lower appreciation of teaching abroad and a stronger commitment to regular teaching and other services than in other European countries. Swedish mobile teachers refer to social and family issues far more frequently than academic teachers of any other European country.

Table 1. Difficulties Encountered When Organising a Teaching Period Abroad by Selected Countries and Country Groups (percentages)*

	Country of home institution						*Total*
	FR	*IT*	*SE*	*UK*	*Other EU and EFTA*	*CEE*	
Difficulties in interrupting teaching or research commitments at the home institution	21	29	50	45	35	23	33
Difficulties in interrupting administrative commitments at the home institution	13	14	18	28	15	11	16
Problems interrupting career advancements	13	5	14	6	7	0	7
Finding replacement staff	23	17	38	29	32	15	28
Administrative matters regarding leave of absence	5	10	10	13	11	1	10
Academic problems with host institution prior to the visit	6	5	9	5	8	7	7
Administrative problems with host institution prior to the visit	2	0	5	8	6	5	5
Linguistic problems	17	9	14	19	8	4	10
Social/family difficulties	9	11	29	13	10	0	10
Little financial support provided by the SOCRATES programme	33	46	59	49	46	36	45
Heavy work-load for the preparation of a teaching period abroad	22	28	30	44	39	19	35
(n)	*(80)*	*(76)*	*(20)*	*(99)*	*(519)*	*(78)*	*(873)*

Question 3.1: To what extent do academic staff members from your institution face the following problems when organising a teaching abroad period?
* Points 1 and 2 on a Scale from 1 = "Very serious problems" to 5 = "No problems at all"

The same question was posed to academics undertaking ERASMUS coordination, who did not teach abroad. They considered that the problems were far more serious than those who did teach abroad.

Support for teaching mobility is frequently mentioned as a problem; therefore, the mobile teachers were asked to provide information about the sources for funding their teaching period abroad. A comparison between the information provided by the teachers who were mobile in 1998/99 and those who were mobile in 1990/91 suggests that the proportion covered by the ERASMUS grant has dropped. In the early 1990s, the ERASMUS grant covered about 70 per cent of the costs incurred, but only about 61 per cent in the late 1990s. Thus, we observe a decrease in the proportion of costs covered by ERASMUS while the scale of the programme considerably increased.

Most of the gap, however, was covered by the home institutions. Thus, the contribution from the mobile teachers themselves remained constant at 19 per cent on average (see Table 2).

Table 2. Coverage of Additional Costs for the ERASMUS-supported Teaching Period Abroad – by Country Group (mean of percentages)

	Academic Year	
	1990/91	*1998/99*
ERASMUS grant	69.8	60.5
Special support from home institution (excluding salary)	3.6	11.0
Support from host institution	6.9	7.2
Your own money	19.1	19.5
Other	0.6	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(n)	(626)	(695)

Question 3.6: How did you cover the additional costs (i.e. any addition to the costs you would have had if you had not gone abroad) for your ERASMUS-supported teaching period abroad ?

5.4. Duration of Teaching Period Abroad and Integration in Course Programme

Mobile teachers supported by ERASMUS funds in 1998/99 spent on average just over 8 days in the host country. Actually, almost 60 per cent spent at most one week abroad. In 1990/91, in contrast, the average period abroad was 24 days, and only 24 per cent stayed in another European country for at most one week (Kreitz and Teichler 1997, 22-23). This drop in the period spent abroad probably reflects a composite mix of problems, among them decrease in financial support covered by the programme, difficulties in interrupting commitments at the home institutions, academics' reluctance in spending longer teaching periods abroad. In the late 1990s, academic teachers from Central and Eastern Europe spent, however, a longer

teaching period abroad on average than their Western European colleagues (see Table 3).

Table 3. Duration of Teaching Period Abroad – by Country Group (percentages and mean)

	Country group		*Total*
	EU and EFTA	*CEE*	
Up to 5 days	25	9	24
6 - 7 days	36	31	35
8 - 10 days	20	19	20
11 days and longer	19	41	21
Total	100	100	100
(n)	(784)	(74)	(858)
Average duration of teaching period abroad	8.0	11.0	8.3

Question 3.3: Description of your ERASMUS-supported teaching periods abroad in the academic years 1995/96, 1996/97, 1997/98 and 1998/99.

The extent to which academic teacher mobility is integrated into the regular study programme at the host institution was addressed in two ways. First, the respondents were asked to define the role of the teaching staff at the home institution and possibly at the host institution. The answers indicate that:

- About one quarter of the respondents were mobile within the framework of a regular reciprocal exchange of staff,
- about one third was mobile within a regular, but unidirectional programme, and
- more than one third was mobile in a setting where teaching mobility has remained occasional.

The Central and Eastern European institutions of higher education have established about twice as many reciprocal exchanges as the Western European institutions (36% of CEE teachers as compared to 21% of Western European academic teachers were mobile in this framework).

Second, the mobile teachers were asked to state whether their courses were part of the regular programme at the host institution, whether they were compulsory, and whether students were awarded credits. Half the mobile teachers stated that all the courses they taught were part of the regular course programme at the host institution. One third reported that some courses were part of the regular programme, and one sixth that none of their courses were incorporated into the regular programme. 37 per cent of 1998/99 mobile teachers, reported that all their courses were compulsory for the students at the host institution, some courses were compulsory in 36 per cent of the cases, while 27 per cent reported no courses as being compulsory. Similarly, host students obtained credits for all courses in 36 per cent of the cases, for some courses in 29 per cent of the cases, while no credits were awarded in 35 per cent of the cases.

A comparison with the answers to the same question put to the 1990/91 teachers (Kreitz and Teichler 1997, 39-40) shows that the integration of mobile teachers' courses into the host programme has not improved over time. The proportion of mobile teachers who experienced no integration at all remained constant. The increase in the "some courses" response suggests that a greater number of mobile teachers offers an open lecture or a short course which is not part of the regular programme in addition to a regular and compulsory course, even though the teaching period abroad was shorter than the average length reported in the earlier survey.

5.5. Perceived Impacts and Overall Assessment

In order to identify the impacts of the teaching period abroad, mobile academic staff were asked to assess the impact of teaching staff mobility on the mobile teachers themselves, on mobile and non-mobile students, and on the home departments. The ratings turned out to be most favourable as regards the impacts on the mobile teachers themselves. Most mobile teachers believed that the teaching period abroad contributed to the improvement of their international and intercultural understanding, helped them to become familiar with other teaching methods, and was valuable for improving their research contacts.

But most mobile teachers did not believe that teaching abroad had a substantial impact on their career prospects (Table 4), with the exception of those from Central and Eastern Europe, who expect that it will have a positive impact.

As regards the mobile students, the academics stated that teaching staff exchange contributes substantially to the guidance and advice of the students while abroad. They perceived a lesser impact on the academic and administrative study conditions at the host institution. Again, the mobile teachers from Central and Eastern Europe perceived much more positive impacts in respect to all the three dimensions addressed in the questionnaire.

Most mobile teachers also believed that the non-mobile students at the host institution developed a better international/intercultural/European understanding by being taught by mobile teachers. Also, about half the academic teachers believed that the non-mobile host students became familiar with subjects that were not taught at their home because of teaching staff mobility. They perceived a weaker impact as regards the students' experiences of teaching methods.

A major issue of the overall assessment of ERASMUS is the quality of learning. Therefore, the academics surveyed were asked to state how students from other European countries performed in comparison to the home country students.

Table 4. Impacts of Teaching Staff Mobility – by Country Group (mean)*

	Region		Total
	EU and EFTA	*CEE*	
On mobile teachers			
Enhancement of international/cultural understanding	1.9	1.6	1.9
Becoming familiar with other teaching methods than those generally used at home institution	2.3	1.8	2.2
Improvement of research contacts	2.3	1.8	2.3
Improvement of career prospects	3.3	2.3	3.2
(n)	(1,343)	(122)	(1,465)
On SOCRATES-supported students while abroad			
Guidance/advice during the study period abroad	2.4	1.9	2.3
Better academic conditions at the partner institution	2.8	2.0	2.7
Better administrative conditions at the partner institution	3.0	2.2	3.0
(n)	(1,312)	(111)	(1,423)
On non-mobile students at the host department			
Becoming familiar with teaching methods not used at the host institution	2.8	2.5	2.7
Learning subject matters not regularly taught at the host institution	2.6	2.3	2.5
Better international/-cultural/European understanding	2.2	1.7	2.1
(n)	(1,239)	(115)	(1,354)
On the home department in general			
Improvement of the quality of teaching and learning in general	2.9	2.1	2.8
Improvement of the international/intercultural/European dimension of curricula	2.4	1.8	2.3
Greater use of foreign language literature by staff	3.0	2.0	2.9
Greater use of foreign language literature by students	3.0	2.2	2.9
(n)	(1,291)	(120)	(1,411)

Question 4.4: How do you rate the impact of SOCRATES teaching staff mobility you experienced at your department or got to know regarding the partner departments?
* Scale from 1 = "Very strong" to 5 = "No/very limited"

Table 5. Changes in the Institution and Department During the Last Five Years by Country Group (percentages)*

	Institutional survey			*Academic survey*		
	More/ better	*Same*	*Worse /less*	*More/ better*	*Same*	*Worse /less*
International cooperation in research	63	36	2	68	30	2
International student exchange	91	7	2	83	12	5
Academic support for outgoing students	-	-	-	69	28	4
Academic support for incoming students	78	21	1	70	28	2
Administrative support for outgoing students	-	-	-	73	24	3
Administrative support for incoming students	85	14	1	72	24	4
Foreign language provision for your students	61	36	3	49	46	5
Language training for incoming students	67	31	2	56	41	3
Recognition of academic achievements acquired abroad by your own students	80	20	0	65	32	3
Visits/teaching assignments by foreign scholars	71	27	2	55	39	6
Courses taught in foreign languages	49	48	3	41	54	5
Co-operation with partner institutions on student academic and recognition matters	-	-	-	64	32	4
Co-operation with partner institutions on curricular issues	73	25	2	50	45	5
Co-operation with partner institutions on administrative matters	56	41	3	37	57	6
Financial support of your university to SOCRATES-related activities	-	-	-	45	38	17
Ties/links with region, industry etc. regarding SOCRATES	30	66	4	24	69	7

Question 4.1: If you compare your institution and department today to 5 years ago, do you note any changes?

* Points 1 and 2 on a scale from 1 = "Considerably more/better now" to 5 = "Considerably less/worse now"

Generally speaking, they stated that there was not much difference between the students from the various European countries and their home students.

The views differ to a surprisingly small extent according to country. Students from Denmark, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden are rated slightly better than average and Italian, Portuguese and Spanish students slightly worse than average. But the ratings by Irish, Italian, Norwegian, British, and most Central and

Eastern European academic teachers of their host students' performance was slightly better than average.

Finally, the academics were asked to assess the changes they have observed at their institutions and departments as regards international and European activities in the past five years. Most perceived a substantial extension and improvement in almost all matters related to student mobility and international research cooperation. Positive assessments also dominate with regard to language training, teaching staff mobility, and curricular issues, although less markedly. Better ties with the region are not very visible.

On average, across the various subjects, the Romanian, Czech, and Greek respondents reported the greatest improvements over the years. In contrast, the ratings of the Belgian, German, Irish, and British respondents were somewhat more reserved. Differences according to field of study were marginal.

Almost the same question was posed in the institutional questionnaire. A comparison of the responses shows that those who answer from the institution's point of view rate the changes of the international and European environment more positively than the academics themselves (see Table 5). Positive ratings by academics are almost 10 per cent lower on average. The single variable where academics were more enthusiastic than their administrative colleagues was in relation to improvements in international research cooperation, i.e. the only subject which lies outside the domain of ERASMUS.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Certainly, one of the main objectives on the supra-national level for encouraging academic mobility within the European Community is the wish to re-inforce and strengthen European integration by increasing international academic cooperation between Member States and introducing a European dimension into curricula and academic teaching and learning. European Community programmes such as ERASMUS denote an increasing awareness of the strategic role which academic mobility and cooperation plays in this context. This explains the increased attention devoted to the opportunities given for, and potential pitfalls involved in, intensified academic mobility. First-hand experience of academic staff is, obviously, of special interest in this context.

The European educational programmes studied are obviously successful as great mobilisers: ERASMUS has given new impetus to higher education in Europe since 1990 and continues to do so under the umbrella of SOCRATES, though with less sense of novelty.

The survey on academics in charge of ERASMUS-related coordination functions - at the central level of the institution, in their department, or in respect to specific issues - shows that most of those who were active at the time of the survey had been involved for many years.

The number of mobile teachers supported by ERASMUS has increased from less than 1,500 in the early 1990s to about 7,000 in the late 1990s. During this period, the average duration of the stay abroad for teaching purposes was reduced from 24 to

about 8 days. This drop in the period spent abroad probably reflects a composite mix of problems, among them decrease in financial support covered by the programme, difficulties in interrupting commitments at the home institutions, academics' reluctance in spending longer teaching periods abroad.

Although a short stay abroad may cause fewer problems regarding the regular tasks at home, the 1998/99 mobile academic teachers reported serious problems in organising a teaching period abroad just as frequently as those eight years earlier. The fact that Central and Eastern European mobile teachers report substantially fewer problems than Western European mobile teachers, and the fact that non-mobile persons with ERASMUS-related coordination functions report greater problems as regards teaching staff mobility than their mobile colleagues, leads us to conclude that the general climate of support for teaching staff mobility is not very favourable in most Western European higher education institutions.

The conditions for teaching in another country have changed little, while the extent of integration of the courses - in terms of being part of the regular programme, being compulsory and securing the award of credits - was unchanged. The mobile staff take on other ERASMUS-related tasks as frequently as in the past. And the mobile teachers report problems experienced during their teaching period abroad, just as frequently in the late 1990s as they did in the early 1990s. There are no indications that the role of teaching staff exchanges has changed from primarily serving the mobile students, to playing a greater role for the non-mobile students and in curricular innovation.

In the early 1990s, the ERASMUS grant covered 70 per cent of the expenditures for the teaching period abroad. Recently, this share fell to 61 per cent, but the home institutions appear to have almost made up of this difference.

Mobile teachers rate the impact of teaching staff exchange positively. They value their better intercultural understanding and the opportunity to become familiar with other teaching methods. They underscore the role of teaching staff exchange in providing guidance and advice for the home institution's students during their stay abroad. And they believe that teaching abroad is valuable for the non-mobile students in contributing to intercultural understanding and in providing the opportunity to learn subjects that are not taught at home.

There are no indications that academics play a more important role in ERASMUS, nor that the conditions and activities of teaching staff mobility have improved over time. There are no indications that teaching staff exchanges will become more important for the non-mobile students and curricular innovation. Yet, it is viewed positively as one of the many elements that contribute to a greater role of European and international aspects.

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LAUREL BORNHOLT, MILLICENT POOLE & JOHN HATTIE

HOW SATISFIED ARE WOMEN AND MEN WITH THEIR ACADEMIC WORK?

The Impact of Gender, Discipline, Area and Academic Rank in Australia

> *Lives are enacted in a particular social and historical context which must be accounted for if the life course of the individual is to be understood. Individuals change and develop and so do the social institutions which limit and constrain them, i.e. the person and the context are an interactive and dialectic relationship (*Poole & Langan-Fox, *Australian Women & Careers*, 16).

The integration of various work activities, and how we see aspects of our work within the social contexts of the workplace, provides a powerful approach to understanding current trends in the careers of women and men (see for example, the work of Poole & Langan-Fox; and Savickas). This approach to career development is applied here to the nature of academic work in Australia. The study builds on recent reports by Altbach et al. in the *International Study of the Academic Profession,* of the activities and attitudes that are inherent in the multifaceted roles of an academic. For instance, recent research by Lacy and Sheehan and by Poole and Bornholt outlines the work of academics as researchers, teachers, policy-makers, administrators and consultants. The main question addressed here is - What factors contribute to satisfaction with academic work?

Research studies and indeed our own experiences suggest that the nature of academic work varies considerably among salient social groups - for academic men and women, in discipline areas of arts-humanities, social sciences and sciences, and across academic ranks. The main argument is that the diversity of experiences and expectations within these social groups provides the various contexts within which the notion of academic work has meaning.

1. THE GENDERED NATURE OF ACADEMIC WORK

In recent years, a wealth of research across many professions outlines the broad similarities and specific differences in how men and women see their work. McGowan and Hart suggest that women are more likely than men to consider their decisions and themselves with respect to workplace teams, at the risk of sacrificing personal desires such as salary demands, and to feel overly responsible for their work and inter-relations among others in workplace. Within a life-role frame of reference, Poole and Lanagan-Fox show that career occupies a more central position within the life course for men than women in that men are seen as more career-oriented. Although the research seems inconclusive about our need to strike a

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 113—131.

balance between work and family obligations (both men and women desire to spend more time with family), Goh suggests that women tend to pay the greater price.

The recent focus on *academic work* in studies across several countries also suggests substantial commonalities for women and men in their academic activities and attitudes, with some differences in orientation towards specific aspects (see for example Poole, Bornholt & Summers). Accumulated research indicates that women tend to spend more time teaching and value teaching more (e.g., Davis & Astin; Stiver Lie & O'Leary; Poole & Bornholt; Wunsch). Other studies suggest that women spend more time in clerical administrative activities (e.g., Davis & Astin; Olsen, Maple & Stage; Bagilhole; Limerick & Lingard), and tend to be more concerned with intellectual and social development of students (e.g., Olsen, Maple & Stage; Poole & Bornholt; Wunsch). Men seem more oriented toward research and publication (Sheehan & Welch; O'Leary & Mitchell; Toren; Billard) although findings are inconclusive about research productivity (see Davis & Astin). According to Farley, older men tend to dominate university management and governance with easier access to resources and facilities, and participate more in international activities (see Lacy & Sheehan). Men are also more likely to express overall satisfaction with academic work; and Lacy and Sheehan show that satisfaction varies on specific issues. For instance, in Australia, academic women are more satisfied than men in the courses they teach, yet men express more satisfaction with job security, as an interaction effect between rank and gender regarding specific aspects of working conditions such as opportunities for sabbatical leave.

The nature of academic work experienced by men and women is explored here for the two major social groupings within universities - academic rank and discipline areas. It is worth pointing out that there seems to be little support for socialisation theory in this context. Women do not become more socialised into values, attitudes and behaviours that are communal in nature, and men do not become more socialised toward a sense of agency (see Bakan; Eagly; and Mason). On the contrary, academic work is considered in light of explanations of gendered satisfaction with work that is based on structural theory and the importance of social roles.

Structural theory suggests that observed differences are not directly attributable to gender. Instead observed differences are attributable to factors that co-vary with gender, mainly due to segregation by gender of jobs in organizations (see Gutek; and Kanter). This means that the men would have greater opportunity to experience satisfaction, because they have a sense of agency within enriched structures. In impoverished structures, women would realistically tend to experience communal outcomes (such as pleasant peer relationships) which they may then learn to value. In such gendered work contexts, the nature of the work would vary considerably. Within Social Role Theory about the work context, Eagly suggests that it is role salience that determines values, attitudes and behaviours. This means that where gender roles are salient, the values, attitudes and behaviours vary for men and women. If not, then variations in values, attitudes and behaviours would suggest that social groups other than gender may be salient. The two social groups that are considered to be most relevant to academic work are academic rank and broad discipline areas. The enriched opportunity structures that are experienced by

medical practitioners illustrate this idea quite well. The stringent requirements, education and training suggest the impact of social status roles rather than gender salience alone.

1.1 The Impact of Academic Rank

Although studies in the broad context of the work place indicate that levels of job satisfaction generally increase with seniority, the effects are found for specific aspects rather than general trends, and surprisingly few studies have examined the impact of rank on the nature of academic work. Enders and Teichler, for instance, found that satisfaction with academic work was higher for Professors than middle level and junior academic staff, in an international study with academics in Germany, England, the Netherlands and Sweden. A study by Holden and Black with psychologists in medical schools also showed that satisfaction with work was higher for senior tenured psychologists who were full-Professors rather than associate or assistant Professors, but only for particular aspects of academic work. These included professional autonomy, promotion opportunities, professional development and clinical activities. It would seen that higher job satisfaction with academic rank draws on specific aspects of academic work rather that one common attitude across a range of academic activities.

1.2 Variations among Discipline Areas

Recent research with Australian academics by Lacy and Sheehan showed that satisfaction with aspects of academic work also varies among discipline areas. For instance, more than half the academics from visual and performing arts consider their salary good or excellent compared with only a quarter of academic from the sciences (although this may relate to outside earning potential). Academics from the humanities, social sciences and education, compared with academics from engineering and sciences, were far more likely to express satisfaction with courses they teach, and a sense of job security was higher for academics in engineering. However, academics in education felt less secure in their jobs and less satisfied with promotion prospects. This raised the question of what contributes to satisfaction with academic work, and whether the discipline areas provide substantial variations in context.

1.3 The Main Issues

In summary, previous research suggests that gender is salient to specific aspects of academic work. Such gendered distinctions are set against substantial commonalities in the activities and perceptions that constitute academic work. The present study extends the question of salient social categories in the workplace to discipline areas and academic rank. The proposal is that roles played by Australian academics in the arts-humanities, social sciences or sciences, and across academic ranks, underpin the satisfaction that women and men express about their academic

work. The main issue is whether the nature of academic work has a similar meaning for these groups of Australian academics.

1.4 A Brief Description of The International Survey

A large sample of Australian academics (*N*=1420) responded to the 1993 *International Survey of the Academic Profession* by Altbach. Academics were sampled from higher education institutions that offer at least baccalaureate degrees or equivalent. The two-stage stratified random design sampled institutions and then academics (Altbach, 671). The sample included women and men, respectively, at each academic level in Australian Universities: Level A Associate Lecturer (8.2%, 4.6%), Level B Lecturer (17,4%, 21.1%), Level C Senior Lecturer (6.2%, 22.3%), Level D Associate Professor or Reader (1.5%, 10.6%), and Level E Professor (1.1%, 7.0%). Academics were from three broad discipline areas of arts-humanities (12%), social sciences (34%), and sciences (54%). The moderate response rate of 40% compared favourably with sampling from other countries in the International Survey. Sheehan and Welch in 1996 (p.64) report that the sample was representative of the population of Australian academic in terms of rank, discipline, gender and age, although contract and casual staff tended to be under-represented.

2. A GENERAL MODEL OF ACTIVITIES AND ATTITUDES THAT CONSTITUTE ACADEMIC WORK

The International Survey of the Academic Profession was quite extensive in content. The survey had 80 multiple-part items under several headings. These included: working conditions, teaching, research, community service and consulting, governance and management, internationalization, and general issues about higher education & society (see Altbach, 683-703). For ease of comparison, the responses to these items were re-coded to a common five-point scale from (1) low to (5) high. The middle or most frequent response was substituted for missing data. From these items we created factors to characterise the complex nature of academic work. Results show that academics' responses to the survey items formed internally consistent sets of items (alpha coefficients 0.56 to 0.88). Evidence from Exploratory Factor Analyses was also convincing. Each set of items accounts for a single factor, based on the percentage of variance explained (39.2% to 89.8%) and from the consistent patterns of factor loadings.

Survey questions are described in previous studies of the gendered nature of academic work (see Poole, Bornholt & Summers; Poole & Bornholt). These items asked about academic activities as well as academics' perceptions of their work. For example, sets of items asked about teaching activity at undergraduate and postgraduate levels (e.g., How many different undergraduate courses/ subjects/ units do you teach?). Perceptions of teaching included the circumstances (e.g., Teaching is influenced by the number of courses I am assigned). Research activity asked about productivity (e.g., the number of articles published in academic books or

journals in the last 3 years) as well as the perceived value of research (e.g., Research activity is important in staff evaluation at this institution.)

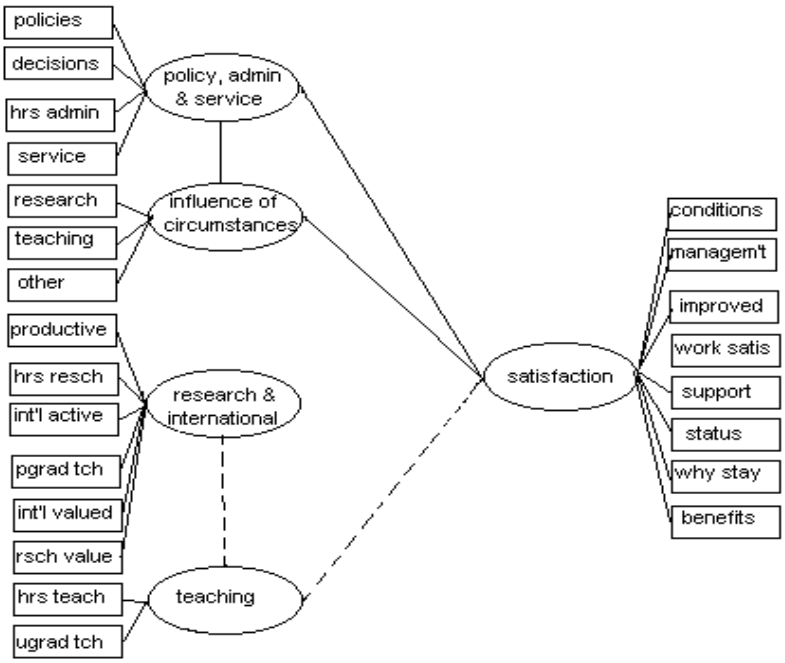
We created a general model of academic work to ask about contributions to satisfaction with academic work. Second-order factor analyses bring together similar activities and attitudes, which allows for a more powerful test of the proposed model for women and men, across academic ranks, and discipline areas. The model of *Policy, Administration & Service* is used here to demonstrate the analytical strategy. The initial proposal was that four underlying factors act as indicators of similar activities that we called *Policy, Admin & Service.* These are (a) Influence over policies, (b) Levels of decision making, (c) Administration, and (d) Community Service. The issue here is to what extent the responses of academics support the proposed model of four indicators of one underlying construct, based on Confirmatory Factor Analyses. According to Hoyle, the criteria for the goodness of fit of proposed models to data suggest that the proposed model fits quite well.

Aspects of Academic Work		*Activities and Attitudes*
1.	Policy, Administration & Service	My influence over policies Levels of my decision-making Amount of administration Community service
2.	Cross-influences of Roles	Research, teaching and service roles
3.	Research & International Involvement	Research productivity Research hours International activity Teaching post-graduates International attitude Value of research
4.	Teaching Undergraduates	Hours of teaching Attitudes to teaching undergraduates
5.	Satisfaction with Academic Work	Academic conditions Management is sound Recent improvements Job satisfaction Support and facilities Status of academic in decline [reversed], Support to stay in academic Conditions of work

Similar procedures were applied to each of the second-order factors:
(1*) Policy, Administration & Service*; (2) *Cross-influence of Roles*; (3) *Research & International Involvement*; and (4) *Teaching Undergraduates*; as well as the factor (5) *Satisfaction with Academic Work.* The goodness-of-fit statistics were satisfactory for all five second-order models. The results are described by Adjusted Goodness of Fit Indices that were satisfactory for models of Policy, Administration & Service (AdjGFI = 0.93), Teaching Undergraduates (AdjGFI = 0.88), Research &

International Involvement (AdjGFI = 0.86), Cross-influence of Roles (AdjGFI = 0.85), and Satisfaction with Academic Work (AdjGFI = 0.89). Corresponding coefficients of determination were also satisfactory (0.67, 0.89, 0.85, 0.80, 0.53). We therefore used these five aspects of academic work as sets of activities and attitudes that are meaningful for academic women and men in Australia.

WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO SATISFACTION WITH ACADEMIC WORK?



- - - *negative links*
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Figure 1. General model of activities, attitudes and satisfaction with academic work

The main idea is that *Satisfaction with Academic Work* is linked with four factors
(1) *Policy, Administration & Service,*
(2) Cross-influences among Roles that Influence Activities,
(3) Research & International Involvement, and
(4) Teaching Undergraduates.

Based on the responses of these Australian academics, the proposed model in Figure 1 fits the data quite well. The goodness of fit statistics were satisfactory (with Chi-sq 891.8, df 220; GFI 0.92, AdjGFI 0.90, and the median of fitted residuals -0.05).

(According to Hoyle, satisfactory goodness of fit statistics are high GFI index of at least 0.950 and low fitted residuals around 0.05).

Figure 1 describes the contributions of *Policy, Administration & Service, Cross-influences among Roles that Influence Activities, Research & International Involvement,* and *Teaching Undergraduates* to *Satisfaction with Academic Work*. Our interpretations were based on standardized parameter estimates of this model and statistically significant estimates.

This general model describes the discrete yet related aspects of academic work. It seems that *Satisfaction with Academic Work* is higher for academics who contribute to *Policy, Administration & Community Service* of the university. In addition *Satisfaction with Academic Work* is higher for those academics who perceive *Cross-influences among Roles* of an academic as a teacher, a researcher and an administrator. The general model also suggests that, overall, the role of *Teaching of Undergraduates* has a negative influence on *Satisfaction with Academic Work*. This means that, in general, the role of academics as teachers of undergraduate students is linked with less satisfaction with their academic work. It is interesting to note that the aspects of academic work that entail *Research & International Involvement* contribute to *Satisfaction with Academic Work* indirectly through less of a role in *Teaching of Undergraduates*. This means that in Australia, academics who are researchers with international networks are less likely to fulfil the role of teaching undergraduates. Overall, the model of academic work generally paints a positive and integrated picture of the working life of those Australian academics whose activities and attitudes are characterized by productive research, more hours on research and international activity, and who teach more post-graduate courses and value research. These Australian Academics are more satisfied with their work.

3. WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF GENDER, DISCIPLINE AREA AND RANK?

It is quite plausible that such a general model of academic work does not apply equally well across diverse groups of academics. We expect the nature of academic work to vary among groups of academics. The main issue is whether similar meaningful structures underpin aspects of academic work for three social groups:
(a) men and women,
(b) in broad discipline areas of arts-humanities, social sciences, and sciences, and
(c) across academic ranks.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis for multiple groups allowed us to test this idea. A series of hypothesis were specified of increasing restriction. The first hypothesis was that covariances are the same for each group. If this is rejected, then the second hypothesis is that the same five-factor measurement model holds in each group. The third hypothesis is that these factors are not only of the same number and pattern but that factor loadings are invariant across groups. The fourth hypothesis is that uniquenesses are invariant. The fifth hypothesis is that correlations between factors are invariant among groups. For each of these hypotheses, a maximum-likelihood model was appropriately specified and goodness of fit indices estimated. According

to Hoyle, satisfactory goodness of fit of the model to the data can be considered where indices are at least 0.90, and the ratio of the chi-square to degrees of freedom are low. Sample size is not a confounding issue because each model is based on the same sample size (see Marsh, McDonald & Balla).

The results indicated that for both men and women, and for the three broad discipline areas, the covariance matrices were equivalent, the number and form of the factors were similar, and the factor pattern was invariant. In contrast, there are marked differences among academic ranks, although the number and the form of the factors appear to be similar. This means that the proposed general model was not an acceptable explanation of contributions to satisfaction with academic work for academics in general.

Table 1.

Contributions of Policy-Administration, Cross-Influences of Roles, Research, and Teaching Undergraduates to Satisfaction with Academic Work according to academic rank.

Level	(*GFI*)	Policy Admin	Cross-Influence	Research & Int'l	Undergrad Teaching
A Assoc Lecturer	(0.88)	-0.60	0.31	-0.13	-0.05
B Lecturer	(0.92)	-0.74	0.15	-0.04	-0.21
C Senior Lecturer	(0.91)	0.11	0.15	0.10	-0.17
D Assoc Professor	(0.85)	0.10	0.38	-0.01	-0.19
E Professor	(0.81)	0.39	0.01	0.17	-0.20

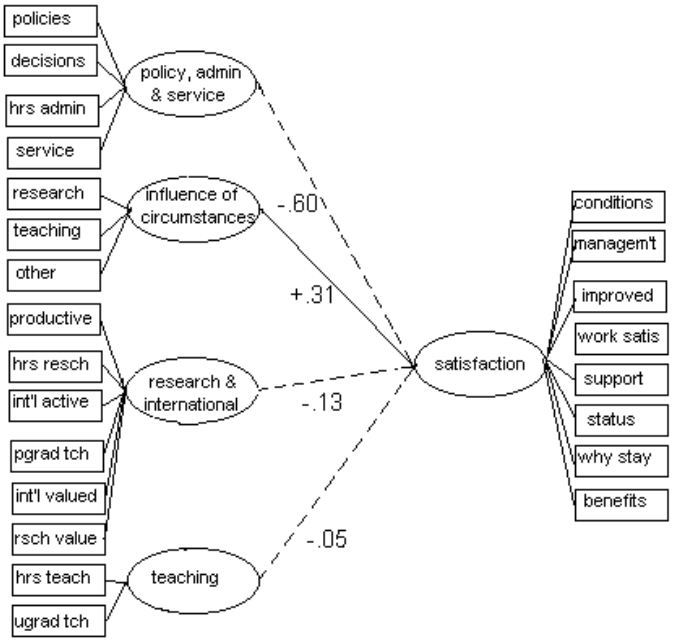
Note. GFI is the Goodness of Fit Index for the fit of the model to the data

These results led us to make comparisons between structural models for each academic rank. A brief summary of the results from Confirmatory Factor Analyses is in Table 1. The results are reported as Adjusted Goodness of Fit Indices (Adj GFI account for the number of parameters that are estimated) and the outcomes are standardized coefficients that are reported for academics at each academic rank, from A to E. Overall statistics provide a reasonable level of fit to the data (chi-square 2047.6 1100 df and low chi/df ratio of 1.86). In brief, we found some interesting similarities, as well as distinct variations at each academic rank in the contributions of *Policy-Administration, Cross-influences, Research-International Activity*, and *Undergraduate Teaching* to a sense of *Satisfaction with Academic Work.*

3.1 Level A – Associate Lecturers

For Australian academics at Level A, satisfaction with academic work comes from cross-influences among diverse academic roles. We interpret this to mean that Level A academics derive a sense of satisfaction from relating their research activities to

their undergraduate teaching. Figure 2 also shows a negative link from *Policy, Administration & Service*. This suggests that their administrative roles contribute to some dissatisfaction. Satisfaction with academic work may therefore be higher where academics at Level A are encouraged to take an active part in policy and decision-making, as well as community service. Other negative links from research and international involvement are not as strong. It is a small comfort that among the five academic ranks, academics at Level A express the least negative links from their undergraduate teaching activities to satisfaction with academic work.



- - - *negative links*
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Figure 2. Level A Associate Lecturer activities, attitudes and satisfaction with academic work

3.2 Level B – Lecturers

It seems that some sense of satisfaction with academic work at Level B in Australian universities is also derived from the cross-influence among the diverse roles of an academic. In addition, the *Policy, Administration & Service* factor is a strong contributor to a sense of dissatisfaction with academia. However, links from research activities and values including international involvement to their satisfaction with academic work were not evident for academics at Level B.

Instead, it is noticeable that Level B academics derive moderate dissatisfaction from their undergraduate teaching activities.

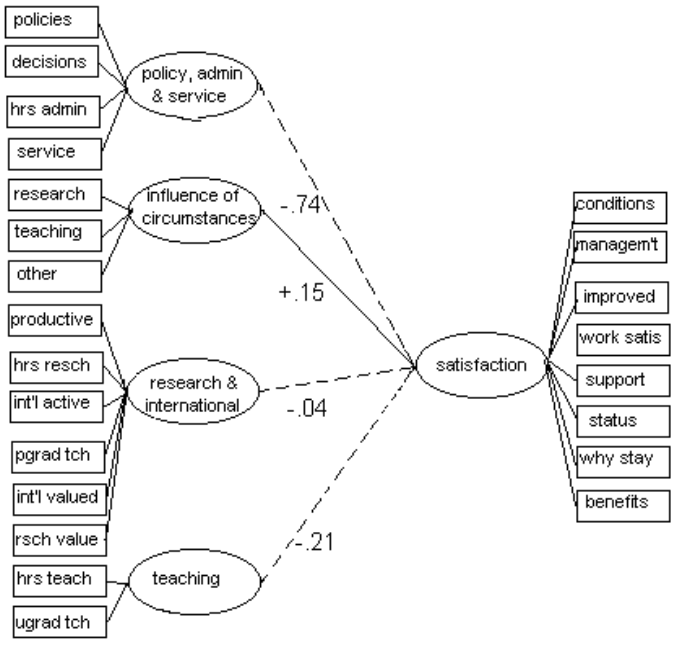

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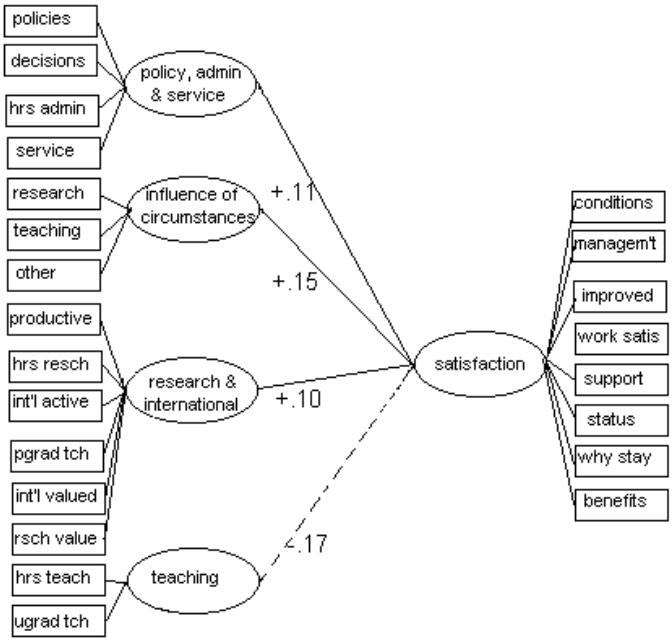
Figure 3. Level B Lecturer activities, attitudes and satisfaction with academic work

3.3 Level C – Senior Lecturers

The factors that contribute to satisfaction with academic work at Level C tended to be more positive and were less marked. The cross-influence among roles, influence over policies, levels of decision-making, community service, research activity and international networks combine to provide a sense of satisfaction with academic work. However, academics at Level C also derive moderate dissatisfaction from their undergraduate teaching activities.



- - - *negative links*
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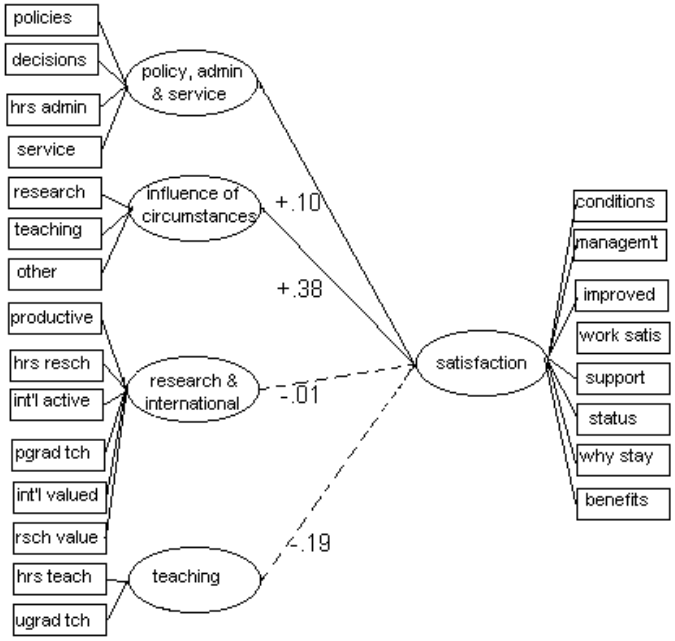
Figure 4. Level C Senior Lecturer activities, attitudes and satisfaction with academic work

3.4 Level D – Associate Professors and Readers

It seems that academics at Level D in Australian universities gain a sense of satisfaction with academic work from their participation in their management role in terms of policy, administration and community service. The cross-influence of their many academic roles also contributes a sense of satisfaction. However, similar links were not evident from research activities and international networks. It seems that academics at Level D also experience dissatisfaction from undergraduate teaching activities.



- - - *negative links*
___ *positive links*

Figure 5. Level D Associate Professor and Reader activities, attitudes and satisfaction with academic work

3.5 Level E – Professors

A sense of satisfaction with academia for Professors at Level E in Australian universities is derived mainly from their involvement in university policy and decision-making, as well as community service activities. At this level, research activities and international networks also contribute to satisfaction with academic work. However, activity and attitudes related to undergraduate teaching provides a source of dissatisfaction. It is only for academics at Level E that links to satisfaction were not evident from the cross-influences among academic roles.

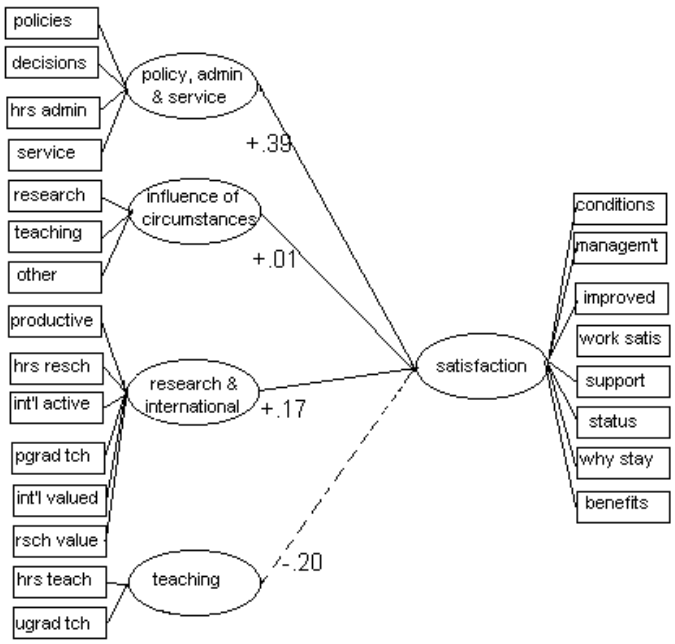


Figure 6. Level E Professorial activities, attitudes and satisfaction with academic work

3.6 An Overview of the Findings

In summary, there are major variations in the nature of academic work for Australian academics at each level. These variations highlight the *Policy-Administration* aspects that contribute to *Satisfaction with Academic Work.* For academics at Level A as well as Level B, *Policy-Administration and Service* is linked with a lack of *Satisfaction with Academic Work.* For more senior academics at Level C and Level D, this factor was not as strong. In contrast, active involvement in *Policy-Administration and Service* makes a positive contribution to *Satisfaction with Academic Work* for Professors at Level E. Variations among academic ranks were less marked in the contributions of other aspects to *Satisfaction with Academic Work*. The *Cross-Influences of Circumstances* among academic roles makes a moderate contribution to *Satisfaction with Academic Work* for Level A and Level D. However, such links were low for Level B and Level C, and negligible at for Professors at Level E. Direct links from involvement in *Research and International Activity* to a sense of *Satisfaction with Academic Work* were generally weak. However, the weak negative contributions at Level A contrast with weak positive contributions to *Satisfaction with Academic Work* for Level E

Professors. A consistent pattern of results suggests that *Undergraduate Teaching* generally makes a negative contribution to *Satisfaction with Academic Work.* Although this tendency was negligible for academics at Level A, undergraduate teaching activities contribute to a sense of dissatisfaction with academic work at Level B to Level E.

4. COMPARISONS BY GENDER, DISCIPLINE AREA AND ACADEMIC RANK

The proposed models of academic work are clearly differentiated by academic rank within Australian universities. The next question is the extent to which activities and attitudes to academic work vary by gender, discipline area, and across Level A to Level E. To answer these questions we examined the responses of academics in terms of similarities and differences in the mean scores for each factor: (1) *Policy, Administration & Service;* (2) *Cross-influence of Roles;* (3) *Research & International Involvement;* (4) *Teaching Undergraduates;* and (5) *Satisfaction with Academic Work.* (A detailed summary of the results is shown in Appendix A).

It is important to note that income was not included in these analyses because it is tied to academic rank. For this sample of Australian academics, income is linked with academic rank (94%), with variations by gender (5.2%) and discipline area (0.8%). Discrepancies between salaries of men and women highlight the imbalance of women to men across academic ranks. For example, The National Report on Australia's Higher Education Sector (p.140) in 1993, the year of the International Survey, shows the proportions of women at Level A (48.8%), Level B (38.5%), Level C (17.8%), and Levels D and E (9.7%).

4.1 Policy, Administration and Service

With minor variations among broad discipline areas, academics at Level A feel they have little influence over *Policy, Administration & Service*. These perceptions increase with academic rank where Professors Level E experience more influence over *Policy, Administration & Service*. It is interesting to note that in Social Sciences, academics at Level A and B experience similar "*Influence over Policy*" and "*Hours of Administration*". In addition, there was a tendency for perceptions of influence over policy to be lower for Level E Professors in Arts-Humanities than their colleagues in Sciences and Social Sciences.

Specific influences within the *Policy, Administration & Service* factor indicated that perceived influence over university policies varied systematically with academic rank. Influence over policy was lower at Level A and increased with rank to Level E. The levels of decision-making also varied with academic rank. Academics at Level A and Level B feel less involved than Level D and Level E. The time spent in policy and administration was far greater among Professors than at the other ranks, and more time was spent in policy and administration by academics in Sciences and Social Sciences than in Arts-Humanities disciplines. It is worth

noting that the extent of community service was generally low, with little variation among academic ranks.

4.2 Cross-Influence of Circumstances over Activities

Cross-influences of circumstances among research, teaching and service and consulting were effectively similar for men and women, across academic ranks and broad discipline areas. However, it is important to remember that the extent to which various roles are related is a source of satisfaction, varies across academic ranks.

4.3 Research & International Involvement

For research and international networks, gender, academic rank and discipline area were important (with no interaction effects). Most specific aspects were similar for men and women, and among broad discipline areas. The noticeable exception was greater international activity for men than women. In general, variations in international activities and research productivity were linked with academic rank that entails variations in the number of women and men at each level in Australian universities. Research productivity and international networks for research were lower at Level A and higher for academics at Level E. Postgraduate teaching was understandably lower for Level A than other academics at Level B to Level E. There were minor variations across ranks in attitudes to internationalisation and the extent to which research is valued. In addition, academics in the sciences tend to see themselves as more productive than arts-humanities and social sciences, although academics in arts-humanities areas reported more postgraduate teaching, and slightly less hours spent in research.

4.4 Teaching Undergraduates

The nature of academic work varies considerably regarding undergraduate teaching, although teaching generally tends to be a source of dissatisfaction. Some general trends regarding undergraduate teaching were evident across academic ranks. Specifically, academics at Level A Associate Lecturers to Level D Associate Professors and Readers, teach substantially more hours and teach more courses than Professors at Level E. Undergraduate teaching activities are particularly high for Lecturers at Level B. The teaching activities and perceptions related to undergraduate teaching seem otherwise quite similar for men and women, and across broad discipline areas.

4.5 Satisfaction with Academic Work

There was a tendency for satisfaction with academic work to be lower for academics at Level A and higher for academics at Level E. In contrast, men and women expressed quite similar levels of satisfaction, and across the three broad discipline

areas. The one exception was an interaction between rank and discipline area. This was due to minor variations in the impetus to stay in academia for Professors in social sciences, more than arts-humanities, and more than the sciences. As in previous research, specific aspects tended to vary with academic rank. It is interesting to see that perceptions of academic work vary across academic ranks. To academics at Level A, academic conditions look better than for Level B and Level C. Working conditions are perceived as quite good by academics at Level D and Level E. There were also minor variations in a sense of improvement among academic conditions over the past five years. This was particularly evident for academics at Level A.

5. CONCLUSION

This extensive and detailed study shows the diverse nature of academic work for salient social groups within Australian universities - for men and women, across broad discipline areas, and academic ranks. The proposed general model suggests that academic work entails complex links among roles of researcher, teacher, administrator, and community service. It would appear that the four main factors of *Policy, Administration & Service, Cross-influences among Activities, Research & International Involvement,* and *Teaching Undergraduates* contribute to *Satisfaction with Academic Work.* For Australian academics, the findings suggest a general model of academic work for men and women across broad discipline areas. Based on detailed analysis of the factors that contribute to satisfaction with academic work, it is proposed that the nature of academic work varies across academic ranks.

The specific focus of these variations relates to the activities and attitudes that are inherent in academic policy, administrative, service and consulting roles. In general, increased involvement in university policy and administration, more resources for research and international activity, less undergraduate teaching, and an awareness of the cross-influences of circumstances on academic activities, contribute to a sense of satisfaction with academic work.

The activities and attitudes expressed by women and men about their academic work in Australia echo previous research by Mason on contributions to job satisfaction, and particularly the work of Poole and Langan-Fox on the role of context for women's careers. It is evident that a sense of satisfaction with academic work is linked to social roles within highly stratified career structures, rather than directly to gender or the academic content in broad discipline areas. These findings lend support to theories of social roles and structures regarding satisfaction academics express about their work. It seems that women and men are not necessarily socialised to have different expectations and goals in their academic careers. Instead, their perceptions and activities are linked to the rank they hold within higher education institutions. The heart of the problem within Australian universities regarding gendered dissatisfaction with academic work therefore lies in the disproportionate numbers of academic men and women across academic ranks.

The implications for the Australian higher education sector are mainly for inclusive involvement in policy aspects of the university, across academic rank,

gender and discipline areas. In addition, our findings support suggestions by Gottleib and Keith. Academics need wider access to research resources to build strategic international networks, along with a general shift in university policies and procedures that integrate our teaching and research activities. For the individual academic and more so for the institutions, we therefore advocate striking a balance in contributions to research, teaching, community and other activities. Such strategies would not only increase satisfaction academics express about their work, but would support increased "productivity" in its broader sense, in developing the academic profession. It should go without saying that such strategies to optimize the person in context are embedded in gender, age related work experiences reflecting the history and structures of Australian higher education. Inevitably, the findings also raise further questions about new, restructuring and established universities, that only increases our curiosity about models of academic work that underpin the activities and perceptions expressed by academics in other countries.

6. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching for their support, particularly Mary Jean Whitelaw and Mary Huber, and to Katherine Coote for her able research assistance. Our thanks to Tony Welch and Barry Sheehan for the opportunity to participate in the project.

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Appendix A
Specific effects of gender, discipline and rank on aspects of academic work

Main effect and interactions	*df*	*F*	*p*	specific effects
Policy, Administration & Service				
Rank	16,3538	19.9	<.001	Influence over policy Levels of decision-making Hours of administration
Rank by discipline	32, 4272	1.8	<.01	Influence over policy Hours of administration
Cross-influence of circumstances				
	-	-	-	
Research and international involvement				

Rank	24, 4034	10.2	<.001	Productivity, International activity Postgrad teaching, Int'l attitudes Institution values research
Discipline	12, 2312	5.69	<.001	Productivity, Research hours Postgraduate teaching
Gender	6, 1156	4.21	<.001	International activity
Teaching undergraduates				
Rank	8, 2320	4.49	<.001	Hours undergraduate teaching Numbers of undergraduate courses
Satisfaction with academic work				
Rank	32, 4257	5.67	<.001	Academic conditions Improvement over five years Overall job satisfaction
Rank by discipline	64, 6663	1.75	<.001	Why stay in academia?

Note. Other main effects and interaction effects were not statistically significant

CRAIG MCINNIS AND MALCOLM ANDERSON

ACADEMIC WORK SATISFACTION IN THE WAKE OF INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN AUSTRALIA

The level of job satisfaction for academics in Australia plummeted over the last decade as major national system reforms made their initial impact on the organisational priorities, processes and structures of universities. As the changes worked their way through to the everyday lives of academics, it became obvious to the most casual observer that a crisis in the management of academic workloads and satisfaction had been reached. In the last few years, a number of studies commissioned by key stakeholders identified the nature and extent of the problems and highlighted issues of growing dissatisfaction and stress in the academic workplace (Sheehan and Lacey, 1997; McInnis, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c; NTEU, 2000). Indeed, a Federal Senate Inquiry focused on the capacity of public universities to meet Australia's higher education needs, gave particular attention to the working conditions of academics as they related broadly to standards and quality (Australian Senate, 2001).

It is generally assumed that the increase in workload is the primary reason for the decline in academic work satisfaction and is accompanied by an increase in work-related stress. However, a closer look at the factors that contribute most to declining work satisfaction suggests that the things that prevent academics from doing the work that they value are more relevant than the impact of the sheer number of hours on their job satisfaction. What now seems to be the most common refrain from academics is the frustration of not being able to achieve their personal goals in the face of the primacy of institutional goals. That is, the focus of academic dissatisfaction is increasingly on the factors that hinder the successful execution of the core work that typically constitutes the primary source of satisfaction for academics. Importantly, the dissatisfaction is not distributed evenly across the profession.

The concerns prompting baseline studies of academic work in the early 1990s were focused on the expansion of student numbers and the first phase of a long term trend in declining resources. In the first instance the reforms were largely centred on the end of the binary system. Although the introduction of the Unified National System, which reduced more than 70 tertiary institutions to the current 37 universities, was basically settled in the early 1990s, the pressure on academics in the new and newly amalgamated universities to shift their energies towards research and entrepreneurial activities did not come into play until mid-way through the decade. Likewise, the pressure on all academics to improve the quality of their teaching, including those in the research-based universities, did not emerge until national performance indicators on teaching were introduced in 1994.

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 133—145.

This paper examines these trends in academic satisfaction using baseline data from Australia collected for the 1991/93 international study of the academic profession sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation (Lacy and Sheehan, 1997), and a national study conducted by the Centre for the Study of Higher Education (CSHE) about the same time (McInnis, 1996). The trends are identified from a follow-up national study of academics in 15 Australian universities in 1999 (McInnis, 2000a). The results from the 1999 survey can be compared in some respects with the Carnegie data. The questionnaire items on the surveys corresponded in a number of instances, but do not match for the most part since the surveys were designed with different outcomes in mind. The two baseline national surveys were conducted at around the same time, using, by agreement, almost identical sampling techniques but avoiding duplication to maximise response rates (both more than 50 percent, see McInnis 2000a for details). Cross-checking of the two data sets by the researchers at the time showed a very strong correspondence in responses on a number of relevant items. However, it must be stressed that wording and context differences limit the comparisons and so most of the trends discussed in this paper rely on the 1994 and 1999 CSHE studies.

Reflecting on the early impact of the reforms, Lacy and Sheehan (1997, 306) noted reports from their 1991/92 surveys that "morale has never been lower" and that "staff are at breaking point". Almost a decade later the reports are the same but the numbers considerably worse. The context has changed and it is not simply a matter of even fewer resources to meet greater demands. Amongst the changes of most apparent concern in the current context are the introduction of accountability processes (Welch, 2001; Sheehan and Welch, 1996) and associated performance incentives, an increase in market competition between universities for fee-paying students and research contracts, the introduction of new technologies for course delivery, and, especially, the major shift in income from government to non-government sources (Gallagher, 2001).

A widely used conceptual framework for understanding sources of work satisfaction is that of Herzberg (1959). Reviewing theoretical perspectives on work satisfaction, Lacy and Sheehan (1997, 306) apply Herzberg's two-factor theory of satisfaction which, while limited in its capacity to deal with the inherent complexity of the concept, is still a useful starting point for analysis. Herzberg distinguished intrinsic elements of work related to the actual content of the tasks from extrinsic factors such as salary, security and benefits. These extrinsic "context" factors' are significant with respect to the sources of dissatisfaction, which, as Lacy and Sheehan note, is not on the same continuum as satisfaction. This is particularly important given the common observation that a distinctive feature of academic's work is the level of satisfaction they get from the work itself — especially the control they have over the content of the work—and that extrinsic rewards are relatively less important to academics (McInnis, 2000a, 4). Lacy and Sheehan (1997, 321) conclude from their data that, "no pattern emerges which offers the possibility of a challenge to the Herzberg two factor theory as an explanatory model for the concept of job satisfaction".

1. TRENDS IN JOB SATISFACTION

In the 1994 CSHE study, academics nominated job security and the autonomy to pursue their own academic interests as the most important sources of work satisfaction. The 1994 CSHE study found (Table 1) that 67 percent of academics (Lecturer and above, working full-time) were satisfied with the opportunity to pursue their own academic interests. This level of satisfaction was reflected in the Carnegie study (65%). By 1999, this had declined markedly in the CSHE survey to just 53 percent – a drop of 14 percentage points. In 1994, 56 percent of respondents were satisfied with their job security (around the same as the 58 percent for the Carnegie study) and this fell to just 43 percent of the 1999 CSHE sample.

However, overall job satisfaction suffered a 16 percentage point drop in the five years between the two CSHE surveys, from 67 percent to 51 percent. An associated, though less direct indicator of satisfaction is the extent to which academics believe they work in an environment that would encourage others to join. In 1994 just over half of those surveyed (52 percent) thought it was not a good time for a young person to join the profession. By 1999, the proportion holding this negative view had increased to 61 percent.

Satisfaction levels with salary also declined, but from a low base in 1994 of just 38 percent to 31 percent in 1999. It is interesting to note—from data not shown in the table —the general increase in satisfaction with conference and study leave policy, the latter being significant. There is some suggestion that even cash-strapped institutions are compensating staff for heavy workloads and lower salaries with options for professional development.

Table 1. Percentage agreeing to selected propositions, 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics. n=1332 (1994) and n=1610 (1999)

	1994	1999	Change	Significance
I am satisfied with my job	67	51	-16	**
Not a good time to pursue academic career	52	61	9	**
Satisfied with opportunity to pursue own academic interests	67	53	-14	**
Security of job	56	43	-13	**
Academic salary	38	31	-7	**

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. ** 0.01 level

1.1 Ages, Stages and Gender: Some Crucial Variations

Gender differences identified in the baseline studies have continued in some respects but there have been important changes. The Carnegie study found that females were generally less satisfied with the general and specific aspects of their work (Sheehan and Welch 1996a and b). Satisfaction with job security was much higher for males (64 percent) than for females (45 percent). Males (69 percent) were also more satisfied with their opportunities to pursue their own ideas than females (59 percent).

Analysis from the CSHE studies (Table 2) showed that, although the drop in overall satisfaction in 1999 was across the board (the decline for males and females being virtually identical), the pattern of its severity did vary across demographic breakdowns. One of the most significant predictors concerned career stage. There was no significant drop for early career academics (7 years or less) between 1994 and 1999. The drop for mid career respondents (8 to 20 years) was 18 percentage points, while for those in the late stages of their career (21 or more years), a 20 percentage point decline was registered (down from 67 percent to 47 percent in 1999).

Although the sample sizes are smaller, late career females appear to have fared the worst in their experience of overall satisfaction across the half-decade: a 27 percentage points drop. This contrasts greatly with early career females, who dropped only 3 percentage points, leaving them the most satisfied group (65 percent).

Table 2. Percentage agreeing to the proposition "Generally speaking I am satisfied with my job", 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics. Selected demographic groups. n=1332 (1994) and n=1610 (1999).

	1994	1999	Change	Significance
All	**67**	**51**	**-16**	**
Males	68	51	-17	**
Females	65	50	-15	**
Early Career:	**70**	**65**	**-5**	
Males	71	64	-7	
Females	68	65	-3	
Mid Career:	**66**	**48**	**-18**	**
Males	67	49	-18	**
Females	63	46	-17	**
Late Career:	**67**	**47**	**-20**	**
Males	67	49	-18	**
Females	64	37	-27	**

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. ** 0.01 level

The story is very similar for impressions about whether this is not a good time for a young person to join the profession. Male respondents, overall, were far more pessimistic: in 1994 just over half believed the prospects for budding academics were bad; by 1999, this proportion had risen to almost two-thirds (64 percent). The exception, however, concerns the opinions of female respondents who appear not to have changed their views about the prospects of the next generation of academics (51 percent in 1994 versus 54 percent in 1999). Whereas in 1994 early and mid career females were more pessimistic about the future prospects of their careers than their male colleagues, it is clear that in 1999 the position had been reversed. The overall increase in negativity is largely accounted for by males. Again, there was little change among early career academic respondents: gloomy voices tended to be associated with mid and late career males (both increased 15 and 10 percent respectively in the proportion expressing the view that this is not a good time to join the profession).

Table 3. Percentage agreeing to the proposition, "This is not a good time for any young person to aspire to an academic career in my discipline", 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics: Selected demographic groups. n=1332 (1994) and n=1610 (1999).

	1994	1999	Change	Significance
All	**52**	**61**	**10**	**
Males	52	64	12	**
Females	51	54	3	
Early Career:	**43**	**46**	**4**	
Males	41	48	7	
Females	45	44	-1	
Mid Career:	**52**	**63**	**11**	**
Males	51	66	15	**
Females	54	59	5	
Late Career:	**58**	**68**	**10**	**
Males	59	69	10	**
Females	55	56	1	

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. ** 0.01 level

The sharp drop in academics' personal assessments of job security has been one of the clearest indicators that something is wrong in academe. Table 4 shows that males registered a more dramatic drop than females regarding job security. Late career academics continue to be more satisfied with their job security than early or mid

career academics. The interesting development here is that the notable difference between males and females in their satisfaction with job security in 1994 (59 percent versus 49 percent respectively) virtually disappeared in 1999. That is, overall both males and females are now almost equally dissatisfied with their job security. It is also interesting that early career females are considerably more satisfied with their job security than males

Table 4. Percentage satisfied with "Security of your job", 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics Selected demographic groups. n=1332 (1994) and n=1610 (1999).

	1994	1999	Change	Significance
All	**55**	**43**	**-12**	**
Males	59	43	-16	**
Females	49	44	-5	
Early Career:	**39**	**31**	**-8**	**
Males	42	28	-14	**
Females	35	37	2	
Mid Career:	**58**	**43**	**-15**	**
Males	59	42	-17	**
Females	56	46	-10	
Late Career:	**67**	**52**	**-15**	**
Males	67	52	-15	**
Females	64	48	-16	

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. ** 0.01 level

The slump in perception of satisfaction regarding opportunity to "pursue your own academic interests", was the other outstanding change over the half-decade. Generally speaking, the decline is evident across the spectrum (Table 5). In contrast to the differences in job security within the female cohort, the level of perceived autonomy for women remains constant across career levels, although it decreased from 1994 to 1999. Indeed for early and mid career females the position has worsened for both groups by 15 points to just 44 percent satisfaction each. In 1999, overall 12 percent fewer females than males were satisfied with the opportunity to pursue their own academic interests— the same difference as in 1994. Of all the gender/career gaps, the late career females showed the least change. This group was, however, the least satisfied in 1994 (53%) and in 1999 continued to be less satisfied than their male counterparts (45 percent versus 57 percent respectively).

Table 5. Percentage satisfied with "Opportunity to pursue your own academic interests", 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics. Selected demographic groups. n=1332 (1994) and n=1610 (1999).

	1994	1999	Change	Significance
All	**67**	**53**	**-14**	**
Males	70	56	-14	**
Females	58	44	-14	**
Early Career:	**66**	**54**	**-12**	**
Males	70	59	-11	*
Females	59	44	-15	*
Mid Career:	**67**	**51**	**-16**	**
Males	70	54	-16	**
Females	59	44	-15	**
Late Career:	**69**	**55**	**-14**	**
Males	71	57	-14	**
Females	53	45	-8	

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. * 0.05 level; ** 0.01 level

Table 6. Percentage satisfied with "Your academic salary", 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics: Selected demographic groups. n=1332 (1994) and n=1610 (1999).

	1994	1999	Change	Significance
All	**38**	**31**	**-6**	**
Males	34	30	-5	*
Females	47	36	-11	**
Early Career:	**35**	**30**	**-5**	
Males	32	27	-4	
Females	41	36	-5	
Mid Career:	**39**	**32**	**-8**	**
Males	34	29	-5	
Females	52	36	-16	**
Late Career:	**36**	**31**	**-5**	
Males	35	31	-4	
Females	42	35	-7	

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. * 0.05 level; ** 0.01 level

As table 6 shows, while there was an appreciable drop in satisfaction regarding academic salaries over the 5 year period, the down-turn was not as severe as for job security and autonomy regarding the pursuit of academic interests. Given the low base of 38% in 1994, this is hardly surprising. In fact, the decline was largely restricted to mid career respondents, especially females, who experienced by far the largest decline of 16 percentage points (Table 6). Overall, females felt the decline in satisfaction with salaries (down 11 percentage points) more than males (down only 5 percentage points). This decline, however, was from a considerably higher base for females of 47 percentage points, as opposed to 34 percent for males in 1994. Females remained overall slightly more satisfied with their salaries than males.

1.2 Levels of Appointment: A Pattern of Convergence

Different patterns of response according to level of appointment are revealing, and add an important dimension to the analysis of career stage and gender differences (see McInnis, 2000a for details). On the issue of overall job satisfaction three-quarters of professors and associate professors were satisfied with their jobs in 1994 compared with just two-thirds of senior lecturers and lecturers. The gap between the professors and the lecturers was approximately 10 percent. However, the dramatic drop in overall satisfaction was felt most keenly by professors whose satisfaction dropped by 22 percent to 53 percent in 1999, compared to lecturers who dropped 14 points from 64 per cent to 51 percent over the same period. The net effect is that differences in job satisfaction between the ranks has reduced considerably.

As for job security, it comes as no surprise that the level of satisfaction with this aspect of employment conditions is far higher for senior academics. However, there is again a significant pattern of convergence. The narrowing gap between professors and lecturers is indicative of this trend. Whereas 81 percent of professors were happy with their job security in 1994, this declined to just 62 percent five years later. In contrast, just 42 percent of lecturers felt secure in their jobs in 1994 and this declined to a very low 32 percent in 1999. The important observation is that the gap between professors and lecturers narrowed from 39 percent to 30 percent.

Table 7 highlights some major differences that emerged over the last half of the 1990s in the crucial area of autonomy as it impacts on the opportunity academics have to teach and research in areas of personal interest. The first and most obvious observation from the tabled results is the significant decline in satisfaction for the lecturer and senior lecturer ranks. In 1994, the gap between senior academics and lecturers in their perceptions of autonomy was 11 percent. Although the pattern of declining satisfaction was broadly shared across all appointment levels, the gap between professors and lecturers increased in 1999 to almost 20 percent. These differences are in stark contrast to the pattern of convergence across the ranks with respect to job satisfaction and job security.

It is abundantly clear that females, who continue to be under-represented in the senior ranks, are most likely to have the least opportunity to pursue their own interests. Given the casualisation of the profession (McInnis, 2000a) it is important

to remember that the bulk of the two-thirds of lecturers not satisfied with their academic opportunities are most likely to be female.

Table 7. Percentage satisfied with "Opportunity to pursue your own academic interests", 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics Level of appointment. n=1332 (1994) and n=1610 (1999).

Appointment Level:	**1994**	**1999**	**Change**	**Significance**
Professor	73	63	-10	
Assoc Professor	73	65	-8	
Senior Lecturer	69	52	-17	**
Lecturer	62	44	-18	**

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. ** 0.01 level

2. WORK ORIENTATION AND SOURCES OF SATISFACTION

Although not strictly speaking a demographic group, there is a divide between those whose primary preference is teaching and those who prefer to research. The trend is towards favouring research. Between the 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys, the proportion reporting a career preference for teaching remained steady at around one in four (29 percent in 1993; 24 percent in 1999). Many more, however, expressed a clear career interest in research, and furthermore, this proportion strongly increased between the survey years, increasing noticeably from 33 percent in 1994 to 41 percent five years later. The general falling-off in work satisfaction and benefits has been basically the same for both career preference groups. Table 8 shows the changes between the two surveys for teaching-preference academics and research-preference academics.

The responses in Table 8 show almost no difference in the 1994 and 1999 samples with respect to job satisfaction. The drop of 13 percent for those whose work preference is research, and 15 percent for those who prefer teaching, reflects the mean shifts for the whole sample. Interestingly, there is some indication of convergence on the prospects of young academics, again both effectively matching the overall mean of 61 percent. However, it should be noted that the negative outlook of the research-preferred academics is significantly stronger than in 1994. The teaching-preferred academics became significantly more negative on the issue of opportunity to pursue their interests, dropping from a low 59 percent in 1994 to 45 percent in 1999. In contrast, the research-preferred academics remain higher than the overall mean at 58 percent.

The direction of the declining satisfaction measures are the same for each group and roughly comparable. If anything, the despondency in academic career dissatisfaction has been slightly worse for research-preference respondents. This is

most evident in their declining sense of job-security, from 60 percent in 1994 down to 44 percent in 1999, which is now at almost the same level as for the teaching-preferred group. The satisfaction of research-preferred academics with salary, at just 28 percent, is below the mean for the sample as a whole.

Table 8. Percentage agreeing to selected propositions, 1994 and 1999 CSHE surveys of Australian academics: Academics with a "Stronger career interest in teaching than research" only. n=369 (1994) and n=358 (1999). Academics with a "Stronger career interest in research than teaching" only. n=417 (1994) and n=610 (1999)

		1994	1999	*Change*	Significance
I am satisfied with my job					
	Research	66	53	-13	**
	Teaching	68	53	-15	**
Not a good time to pursue academic career	Research	49	61	12	**
	Teaching	55	59	3	
Satisfied with opportunity to pursue own academic interests					**
	Research	73	58	-15	
	Teaching	59	45	-13	**
Security of job	Research	60	44	-16	**
	Teaching	53	45	-8	*
Academic salary	Research	33	28	-5	
	Teaching	42	37	-5	

Significant differences between 1994 and 1999 proportions using Chi-Square test of significance. * 0.05 level; ** 0.01 level

3. THE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE JOB SATISFACTION

A regression analysis of the 1999 data (Anderson, 2000) identified five attitudinal aspects related to overall satisfaction: problems associated with teaching; support problems of various kinds; the level of commitment to research tasks; the level of commitment to administrative tasks; and, satisfaction with salary and other employment benefits. Of these five, the degree of contentment with salary and other employment benefits was the most important determinant of overall satisfaction. The second most important attitude concerned the extent to which respondents saw themselves as hindered by other commitments, that is, by too many students, or by the weight of the teaching load. This issue was about as half as important as the salary and benefits issue. The greater the hindrances, the less the degree of overall satisfaction.

In a new analysis of this data, we partitioned some of the orthogonal components of the scales in an attempt to isolate with a little more precision just what the sources of satisfaction/dissatisfaction appear to be. We also ran regressions on the 1994 data

and also on the aggregated data which included a dummy variable to check for other (unknown) influences associated with the five year interval.

The new regression results were not too dissimilar for the regression reported in Anderson 2000. The Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression on the "overall job satisfaction" item was also checked with a logistic regression performed on the sum of agreement for respondents who were satisfied with their job. The results for the two kinds of regressions – namely, the identification of the explanatory variables, which were statistically significant – were virtually identical. What do these regressions indicate? Firstly, it is interesting to note what did not appear as significant – pre-eminently the number of teaching hours per week is *not* a factor influencing dissatisfaction. Further, there are a number of demographic variables of interest that have no real impact on job satisfaction for the 1999 sample: for example, the females dummy variable was not significant, indicating no overall difference between females and males. Being an early career respondent had a positive impact on perceptions of job satisfaction, while, relatively, those who were late career, impacted negatively on satisfaction.

Looking at the relative contribution of each Beta score of the OLS regression for the *significant* variables, it was found, again, that the largest single contributor to job satisfaction concerns the group of items with the heading "salary and benefits". However in this regression, when the individual (and orthogonal) variables are separated out, they show that the main predictor of satisfaction is in fact the "opportunity to pursue your own academic interests". Next, satisfaction with "academic salary" made up another important component of the "salary and benefits" aspect of overall satisfaction. Finally, "job security" was also significant (and positive in its impact) though it contributes far less to overall job satisfaction than anticipated.

The second most important predictor concerned the four variables which made up the "teaching hindrances" and "research hindrances" group of variables. The most important of these was from a series of items concerning the extent, if at all to which "your teaching is hindered by the following?" The hindrance of "too wide a range of students' abilities", which was strongly correlated with "too many students". The latter was dropped from the analysis to avoid multi-collinearity in the regression. Then, another three hindrance variables, all contributed equally: "having to teach outside your area of expertise"; "your teaching load"; "difficulty in obtaining adequate funding"; and "lack of up-to-date equipment/technology".

Finally, there are the "commitment" scales – these are *positive* coefficients in the regression indicating that otherwise bad conditions are mitigated by individuals' energy and commitment and love of particular tasks – pre-eminently commitment to research, and commitment to administrative work (including committee work).

Overall, these results are not greatly dissimilar to the regressions performed on the 1994 data. Although a different range of items was available for inclusion, it is noteworthy that those items which showed up as significant and positive in their impact upon overall job satisfaction, the most important turn out to be: "Opportunity to pursue own academic interests", the hindering effect of "Having to teach outside

your area of expertise"; "Satisfaction with academic salary", and "Job security" (in descending order of importance).

It is worth noting that, a third set of regressions were performed on the aggregated 1994 and 1999 data sets. In this latter regression, the dummy variable for the year 1999 data showed a significant and negative impact upon overall job satisfaction. In other words, it is suspected that *other* influences not captured by the model played their part in the graphic downturn in job satisfaction over the half-decade.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Lacy and Sheehan (1997, 318) developed five models of predictors of job satisfaction from their Carnegie survey of academics in Australia. Model I was concerned with the influence of university atmosphere on satisfaction, including items focused on faculty morale and sense of community. The researchers found that this accounted for the largest variance in satisfaction, although it was still a modest contributor (32 percent). It contained elements of sense of community, faculty-administration relationships, intellectual atmosphere, clarity of the institutional mission and faculty morale. These were all significant predictors of job satisfaction. The remaining four models accounted for very little variance. Model II concerned research issues, Model III examined teaching issues, Model IV focused on administration matters, and Model V looked at governance issues. Lacy and Sheehan noted that the factors they examined indicated that the items were predicting job dissatisfaction rather than satisfaction. More importantly, and in line with our results, they also concluded that a large amount of variance:

> … was not explained by the items contained in the models used in this study. Perhaps this is indicative of the elusive and intangible nature of job satisfaction.. (1996, 320)

It would be naïve to assume that the factors influencing overall job satisfaction were stable over time and for generations of academics. Given the breadth and depth of the major system reforms in higher education in Australia, it is hardly surprising that the reference points for satisfaction might shift. The 1999 CSHE survey did not include broader aspects of satisfaction with institutions, or perceptions of morale. However, the available data provides some strong indications of the factors having the greatest impact. Importantly, and in contrast to the widely help view, the factor of workload did not figure as a central cause of dissatisfaction.

Unlike Lacy and Sheehan, we believe that we have identified factors that contribute to satisfaction. Our analysis shows the ongoing salience of opportunities that contributes so much to the work satisfaction of academics. The other side of this coin is the negative impact on satisfaction of academics when they have no choice but to teach outside the areas of their expertise.

We also emphasise that the factors influencing satisfaction have a diverse impact across the demographic groups, and the implications of most note for universities are those concerned with early career academics, and particularly female academics who are increasingly likely to be doing work that is of little or no immediate

intrinsic interest for them. We simply do not know from this data just how little opportunity these academics get to teach or research in their areas of interest or expertise, or what trade-offs with other sources of satisfaction are involved.

Although they acknowledge the complexity and limitations of their data, Lacy and Sheehan (1997, 321) make the telling observation that nurturing the intellectual environment is an important contributor to a climate of satisfaction. We concur. However, we also go further to suggest that the powerful intrinsic driver of academic motives can be singled out as the opportunity for academics to explore their personal interests in their research and teaching. Ironically, in the market-driven environment of higher education, the factors that contribute most to creative entrepreneurialism are those that align most strongly with the factors we have identified as basic to academic work satisfaction (McInnis, 2001). Universities that send clear signals to academics that their intrinsic work motives are understood and valued can be confident that they are tapping into their most potent resource.

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PHILIP ALTBACH

ACADEMIC CHALLENGES: THE AMERICAN PROFESSORIATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The academic profession faces significant challenges everywhere. Financial pressures have contributed to ever-increasing demands for accountability. The privatisation of public higher education and the expansion of private academic institutions in many countries have changed the configuration of academe. Questions about the relevance of much of academic research have been linked to demands that professors teach more—accountability and evaluation are central themes of contemporary higher education. The new technologies and distance education are beginning to impact upon the academic profession. The traditional high status of the professoriate has been diminished by unrelenting criticism in the media and elsewhere. This chapter provides a discussion of the problems facing the contemporary university and the way they affect the academic profession. This discussion is presented in a comparative and international context because similar issues affect higher education worldwide.

The university of the 21st century, in the United States and elsewhere, is an increasingly competitive institution. Competition for students, for prestige, for research funds, and increasingly for basic financing, is changing the nature of academic work. Competition from other providers of advanced education, including from new for-profit institutions and internet-based schools, is evident. Universities from other countries have entered markets that have traditionally been dominated by home-based institutions through twinning and other arrangements. Increasingly close linkages between universities and industry have created further competitive pressures. The professoriate is inevitably affected by these competitive trends. The relationship between the professor and the university, the ownership of knowledge, and teaching and learning responsibilities, among other aspects of academic life, will all be affected by the new competitive realities.

The academic profession, in the United States and abroad, continues to function without basic change or even much consciousness of the external forces that buffet the universities. Yet, change is inevitable and it is quite likely that the working conditions of the professoriate will deteriorate. The profession's "golden age," characterised by institutional expansion, increased autonomy, availability of research funds, and growing prestige and salaries, at least in the industrialized countries, has come to an end. We are concerned here with understanding the realities that confront the professoriate in the United States and abroad.

The modern American university is an international institution. It traces its origins to the medieval University of Paris, was deeply influenced by academic models from England and Scotland and from nineteenth-century Germany, and today educates students from all over the world (Ben-David and Zloczower, 45-84). The American university stands at the centre of a world system of science and scholarship, and is the largest producer of research and scholarly publications. The

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 147—165.

English language dominates world science and is, in a sense, the Latin of the twenty-first century. The American professoriate operates in an international system at the same time that it is embedded in a national environment. Because of the size and central role of the American academic profession, it has a significant impact on trends worldwide.

The masters of America's earliest colleges followed the English collegiate tradition, with its emphasis on the moral and religious as well as the intellectual formation of students. From this tradition came *in loco parentis*. Later, in the period following the Civil War, American higher education was greatly influenced by the German research university, with its emphasis on research and on the application of knowledge to the needs of society. The German ideals of *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* contributed to the development of the academic profession by opening up the curriculum, entrenching the ideals of academic freedom, and ensuring the domination of the professoriate over the curriculum.

The American academic profession is today the largest in the world, with a half-million full-time scholars and scientists. It is very difficult to generalize about the professoriate—divisions by discipline, institution, rank, gender, race, and ethnicity characterize the profession. As Burton Clark points out, the professoriate is made up of "small worlds, different worlds" (Clark). The life of a full professor of biology at a major private research university in the East is very different from that of an assistant professor of history at a public comprehensive college in the Midwest. There are some common elements—the experience of having undergone that most arcane of rituals, study for the doctorate, the practice of teaching, and perhaps, the most elusive thing of all, a commitment to the "life of the mind." There is a vague but nonetheless real understanding that an academic career is a "calling" as well as a job (Shils).

1. INSULARITY AND INTERNATIONALISM

The contemporary professoriate is poised between the national and the international. In terms of numbers, American universities are more international than ever, educating 514,000 students from other countries and employing staff members from around the world in 2000. Additionally, 74,000 visiting scholars are doing research in the U.S.(Davis, 22-23). However, other countries are expanding their international enrolments at a faster pace than is the United States. At the same time, the 1992 Carnegie survey notes that the American professoriate is least committed to internationalism among scholars from fourteen countries (Altbach). Only half of American faculty feel that connections with scholars in other countries are very important, and while more than 90 percent of faculty in thirteen countries believe that a scholar must read books and journals published abroad to keep up with scholarly developments, only 62 percent of Americans are of this opinion. American faculty are similarly unenthusiastic about internationalising the curriculum, which again compares poorly with the experience in other countries (Goodwin and Nacht, 1991; OECD/CERI, 1995; OECD, 1996; Welch, 1997, 2002; Shinn, Welch and Bagnall, 1999). Fewer than half agree that the curriculum should be more

international (Boyer, Altbach and Whitelaw, Tables 63 and 66). Americans travel abroad for research and study less frequently than do their counterparts in other countries. The Carnegie data show that 65 percent of American academics did not go abroad for study or research in the past three years. This compares with 25 percent of Swedes, 47 percent of Britons, and just 7 percent of Israelis. The Americans rank last among the 14 countries included in the survey. At the same time, American professors have much more contact with international students than do faculty in other countries—96 percent indicate that foreign students are enrolled at their institutions. There are, of course, significant variations among the American professoriate, with faculty teaching at the prestigious research universities reporting higher levels of international involvement. Academics who are more cosmopolitan in their approach, focusing on their disciplines and on research, seem to be more international than those who are more local in their orientation, stressing the campus and teaching (Gouldner, 281-303).

These attitudes indicate a complex relationship with internationalism. American faculty seem to feel that U.S. higher education is at the centre of an international academic system. The world comes to the United States and therefore international initiatives are superfluous. Of course, there is a grain of truth to this perception, and it is reinforced by the relative ignorance of foreign languages on the part of American faculty. Besides being the language of science and scholarship internationally, English is the dominant language of the new communications technologies such as the Internet. International conferences often use English as the primary language. Increasingly, journals edited and published in such countries as Sweden, Japan, Taiwan, the Netherlands, and Germany are also in English so that they can achieve an international readership and join the ranks of the top international journals. Even the large multinational academic publishers active in academic fields, such as Dutch-owned Elsevier or Germany's Bertelsmann or Springer, publish increasingly in English.

American academics do not often cite work by scholars in other countries in their research. The American research system is remarkably insular, especially when compared to scientific communities in other countries. A few, such as Singapore and Hong Kong, make it a priority to hire scholars from abroad, frequently from the United States, precisely to ensure an international perspective. The American system accepts scholars and scientists from abroad, but only if they conform to American academic and scientific norms. To be sure, generations of foreign-born and foreign-trained scholars have been welcomed in the American academic system, and have contributed much to science and scholarship. Their role in the New School for Social Research, in influencing the social sciences following World War II, and their involvement in the research that contributed to the Manhattan Project come immediately to mind. Ultimately, however, they have been assimilated into the American system. Their research and scholarly accomplishments may have had an impact, but their ideas about higher education have had little salience (Choi).

Other countries look to the United States as the academic centre. In most disciplines, Americans are among the leaders, and scholars from abroad find the United States an attractive destination (Haas, 355-36). Americans still win a preponderance of Nobel prizes. Although its pre-eminence is modestly decreasing,

the United States remains by far the largest producer of basic research. American academics have an ambivalent relationship with the rest of the world. They welcome scholars from abroad as visitors or as permanent colleagues and eagerly accept students from abroad in their classes and seminars. But they pay little attention to the knowledge that the rest of the world produces and are unlikely to travel abroad much for study or research. They are unenthusiastic about internationalising the curriculum.

2. CENTRES, PERIPHERIES, AND KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS

Being at the centre of the world academic system places American professors in a powerful position, and also imposes special responsibilities on them. The advent of the new technologies for knowledge distribution complicates matters, but may strengthen the position of the United States. A small segment of the American professoriate, the top 10 to 20 percent or so, centred at the major research universities, who can be characterised as the "research cadre," is the arbiter of many of the scientific disciplines for much of the world. This group includes full-time faculty who are more interested in research than in teaching, and whose positions require them to be regularly engaged in research. The research cadre is composed of fewer than 20 percent of all academics and 37 percent of those in research universities. The group produces much of the research published in the mainstream academic journals, obtains a large proportion of research grants, and edits the major journals. Many are members of the various disciplinary decision-making elites.

The American research cadre consists of fewer than 100,000 scientists and scholars. They are largely tenured (88 percent), male, and in the sciences. These academics teach mainly in the research universities—the 236 institutions in the Carnegie classification's doctoral and research categories. These institutions constitute 6.1 percent of all institutions with 31.4 percent of enrolments (*A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 1994)*. This group dominates knowledge production and its distribution. They are the primary producers and gatekeepers of science and scholarship. The research cadre, not surprisingly, publishes more than other faculty. For example, faculty at research universities published well over twice as many journal articles in a three-year period as faculty in nonresearch colleges and universities (Haas, 363). The leaders of this group occupy the commanding heights of a complex knowledge system, and hold tremendous power to determine what becomes legitimate science. There are, of course, some fields in which U. S. domination does not hold sway, such as literary theory, which is dominated by European thinkers. And there are many prominent scholars and scientists working in other countries.

The knowledge distribution system that the research cadre controls dominates science and scholarship. It is dominated by widely-cited journals in most scientific fields, for although an estimated 100,000 journals exist worldwide, only a small proportion of them are widely read and share in shaping the disciplines and reporting the key advances in science and scholarship. Most of these influential journals are edited in the United States. The definition of influence is, in part, an

American invention. The Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), based in Philadelphia, is the arbiter of influence through it's Science Citation Index and Social Science Citation Index, both of which are biased toward journals published in English and circulated in the main academic centres. Americans are responsible for a significant proportion of scholarly books.

In fact, the United States is the largest market for new academic "products" of all kinds. The library market alone, although it has suffered significant cutbacks in recent years, remains the world's largest purchaser of scientific materials. The sheer size of the academic community and the numbers of institutions—more than 3,000 colleges and universities—gives the United States advantages in size and scope. Technological innovations such as the use of the Internet for scholarly communications, on-line journals, bibliographical services, and document delivery through computer-based means have all been developed and are most widespread in the United States. Americans are by far the most active users of computers, e-mail, and other database services. The American professoriate remains far ahead of other academic communities in the use of these, and other, new technologies. The bulk of e-mail communication worldwide is in English, and many of the new data services operate primarily in English, giving further advantages to academic communities that use English. It is perhaps significant that only American e-mail addresses do not have to list a country identifier—an artefact, no doubt, of the American origins of the Internet, and symbolic of U.S. domination of this key communications tool. The agencies that have developed database services, bibliographical resources, and document delivery arrangements are, for the most part, American. Their origins and ownership make a difference. For example, the ERIC (Educational Resources Information Centre) system, the most important source of research and bibliographical assistance in the field of education, is based in the United States and funded by the U.S. Department of Education. It is not surprising that the orientation of the material available through ERIC is American, and very little research or documentation from other countries is available. Most websites are in English.

The American professoriate, and especially those academics active in research, are at the centre of the international knowledge network. Their paradigms tend to be most influential simply because they are the key decision makers—as well as the major users—of the new systems. Most American scholars do not consider the international dimensions of their decisions simply because, as noted earlier, they do not have a high degree of international consciousness. In this respect, their insularity works to the detriment of academic communities in other countries, which are to some extent excluded from the mainstream (Altbach, *Gigantic Peripheries,* 1220-1225). Academics in other countries depend on the major international journals, publishers, and increasingly on the new technologies. In some ways, they reinforce their peripherality by emphasizing the mainstream international journals, sometimes requiring publication in them to qualify for academic promotion.

Academics even in such highly developed countries as Denmark have become in part peripheral to the American scientific centre. So too are scholars and scientists in the United States, such as those as small liberal arts colleges, who are not part of the mainstream research system and are to some extent marginalized (Zuckerman). Those who wish to publish in the major internationally circulated publications often

must adhere to the trends of the dominant elites in the discipline. Researchers who do not teach at research universities often find themselves at a disadvantage in terms of access to publication outlets and to research funds from major foundations and governmental agencies–it is estimated that 80 percent of federal research funds go to scholars and scientists at the top 100 universities.

Academe has always been stratified and hierarchical. These characteristics, which can be observed internationally as well as within a large university system such as the United States, differentiate the profession and are salient factors for academic careers. Hierarchies in the disciplines are combined with a pecking order of institutions to forge a powerful system of centres and peripheries. Although access to knowledge has been made easier by the new technologies, the ability to participate in the system remains controlled by scientific elites in the various disciplines.

3. THE DECLINE OF THE TRADITIONAL PROFESSORIATE

The traditional concept of the professoriate is being supplemented by new hiring and promotion arrangements across the United States and in other countries as well. The proportion of the professoriate in tenured and tenure-track positions is steadily declining in many countries. In the United States, approximately 35 percent of all faculty are part-timers, and over one-third of the full-time faculty hold term appointments (Gappa and Leslie). In 2000, fewer than half of all academic appointments are in traditional tenure-accruing positions. Similar trends are evident in other countries. The decline of the traditional full-time professoriate is one of the main—and thus far unheralded—changes in American academe.

Criticism of the concept of tenure itself is heard in policy circles, and the recent unsuccessful efforts by the University of Minnesota Regents to modify the tenure system are part of what is bound to be a continuing debate. These changes come at a time of significant financial pressure on higher education—universities and colleges are trying to squeeze more productivity from the one segment of the academic enterprise heretofore thought to be immune–the professoriate. It is more likely that tenure will be eroded by more appointments that are not in the tenure stream than by a frontal attack on the institution of tenure itself. The United States is not about to abolish permanent appointments throughout the academic system as Britain did under Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s.

The full-time tenured and tenure-track professoriate will continue to decline as a proportion of the academic workforce although it will remain the “gold standard” to which all aspire. Academic institutions gain flexibility and incur lower costs by hiring non-tenure-track teachers. Significant nonmonetary costs enter into this shift. The traditional faculty are those who perform the complex governance functions of the institution. They serve on committees, design new curricula, become department chairs, and later fill some senior administrative positions of the university, they also produce most of the research. Perhaps most importantly, they have loyalty both to the institution and to the academic profession. They are, in short, the traditional core of the university. Indeed, the statutes of most colleges and universities reserve full

participation in governance, including voting on important academic decisions, the full-time faculty, and usually to those with "regular" appointments.

The American university is becoming a kind of caste system, with the tenured Brahmins at the top, and the lower castes occupying subservient positions. The part-timers are equivalent to the Untouchables in the Indian caste system—relegated to do the work that others do not wish to do and denied the possibility of joining the privileged.

In this hierarchical order, the traditional faculty ranks may constitute half (or even less) of the profession. The new and growing middle category of full-time but non-tenure-track faculty is growing rapidly. Hired mainly to teach, these new ranks teach more, are not expected to engage in research, and often have only a limited role in institutional governance. They receive the standard benefits from the institution, but their terms of appointment are limited by contract to five years or some other finite period. Paid somewhat less than tenure-track faculty, these staff members are part of the academic community, but not fully involved in the affairs of the university. They provide a reliable teaching force. They also permit the institution flexibility in staffing, since there is considerable turnover in positions that can be used to meet the demands of enrolment changes or institutional priorities. This institutional category is new at most institutions, but we can expect it to grow rapidly.

Part-time faculty have been part of the academic landscape for a long time, and they are a rapidly growing part of the academic labour force. Hired to teach a specific course or two, provided no benefits, often given no office space, and expected simply to show up to teach a class, part-timers are the *ronin* of traditional Japan—the masterless samurai who travelled the countryside offering their services and hoping to be chosen as apprentices. These *ronin* have all the qualifications of samurai—they lack only a sponsor (permanent employer). Part-timers are exploited in the sense that they are paid very modestly on a per-course basis. Not surprisingly, part-time faculty feel little loyalty to the institution.

The implications of this emerging caste system for American higher education are significant. The structure of the academic profession will be altered. One of the traditional strengths of the American pattern of academic organization has been its relative lack of hierarchy, especially when compared to Europe or Japan. The American academic department is a community of equals, with participation dispersed among all faculty. This is in sharp contrast to the Japanese "chair" system, now being modified or dismantled, where basic academic power resides with a small group of full professors, with academic power emanating from them (Cummings). This pattern, borrowed from Europe but modified there by the reforms of the 1960s, remains a powerful influence.

The changing structure of the profession also has implications for the future of research in the universities. Only the full-time faculty have the time, commitment, support, and professional obligation to engage in research and publication. Indeed, many universities permit only full-time faculty to serve as principal investigators on grants. In the research-oriented universities, academic work is arranged so that research is an integral part of the career of most academics. If one believes that teaching and research are related, and that teaching benefits from the engagement of

a faculty member in active research, the new hierarchy places fewer researching faculty in the classroom, and the quality of teaching, at least in top-tier schools, may suffer as a result.

The new structure of the professoriate will affect the various sectors of the American higher education system differently. The top-tier research universities and selective liberal arts colleges will be least affected, at least in terms of traditional academic work. The new category of full-time non-tenure-track faculty will likely expand significantly at these institutions, while part-time staff may be cut back. The greatest alterations will likely take place at the less-selective colleges and comprehensive universities, where reliance on part-time and non-tenure-track faculty will grow in order to meet student demand in a context of diminishing fiscal resources and the need for institutional flexibility. These differential changes will exacerbate the already considerable variations in academic prestige and quality. The quest of many of these institutions, as well as individual professors to join the top ranks of academe may be ended as a result of tighter controls on professorial time and greater institutional accountability.

Some examples from other countries can help us understand some of the changes taking place in the United States. In Germany and a number of other European countries, an academic category of full-time non-tenure-track academic employees has long existed with responsibility for teaching or research (Enders, *Mitarbeiter)*. These appointees have no possibility of obtaining a regular (permanent) position, and in general their terms cannot be extended. They often circulate to different universities on term appointments, and compete for regular positions away from their home institutions. In recent years, this "underclass" of academics has again become a growing feature of the German university system. Since full professors are seldom promoted from within the institution, the term-appointment *Mittelbau* staff do not seriously alter the academic balance in the German academic system (Enders).

The Latin American academic profession, where a majority of those teaching in the universities are part-timers, is also a useful point of comparison for the United States. There is a long tradition of the "taxi cab" professor who rushes from his or her professional job to teach a class at the university. The large proportion of part-time staff has helped to shape the ethos of the Latin American university, and has hindered the emergence of a modern academic culture. Contemporary reformers have argued that a full-time professoriate is a prerequisite for a competitive and effective academic system. Indeed, countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Chile, and Argentina have expanded their full-time staff—although even in the most prestigious universities, full-time faculty rarely constitute more than a quarter of the academic staff. Reliance on part-timers has meant that university governance is in the hands of a very few senior faculty, little research takes place, and teaching is limited to lectures given by busy professionals who have little interaction either with students or colleagues.

While it is generally agreed that research and innovative teaching and curriculum development cannot be built on the basis of part-time staff, reliance on part-time faculty has given the universities much-needed flexibility, and has permitted higher education to be offered at a low cost. Tuition levels are very low in the public

institutions, and government allocations to postsecondary education are modest when compared to international norms. The public universities in Latin America have expanded their enrolments in order to meet increasing demand through the use of low-cost part-time staff.

The growth of private universities in Latin America and elsewhere has significant implications for the academic profession. Although the prestigious older private universities in Latin America, largely sponsored by the Catholic Church, maintain high standards and have many full-time professors, most of the newer institutions rely almost exclusively on part-time faculty. In Latin America as well as in the formerly Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, private institutions are educating an increasing segment of the student body. The quality of many of these new universities has yet to be measured–and the implications of their employment patterns for an emerging professoriate are similarly unmeasured.

4. TENURE

The tenure system is again under attack. As a result of difficult economic circumstances, a perceived need by academic institutions to increase staffing flexibility, and the perennial complaint that professors who hold tenure are not accountable to anyone, the tenure system has come under widespread criticism (Chait). This has ranged from attacks on putative faculty "deadwood" or professorial laziness to issues relating to institutional priorities (Sykes). The Minnesota case, mentioned earlier, is indicative of the strong feelings on this volatile issue. The faculty ultimately won that struggle, although tenure rules were slightly modified. Professorial job security is an increasingly volatile issue in other countries.

The central issues in the current debate relate to accountability, post-tenure review of faculty, and institutional concerns about financial and programmatic flexibility. The interplay between the imperatives of the tenure system and the very idea of tenure and its linkage to academic freedom, on the one hand, and pressures for change, on the other, will result in some alterations in traditional arrangements. However, in most institutions, tenure will be probably be retained with only modest modifications (Finken). The important point is that there will very likely be, for the first time in close to a century, a number of modifications in the tenure system.

Post-tenure review is one likely reform. Pressures for institutional accountability are being extended to individual faculty members. Moves are afoot to hold tenured faculty accountable for their teaching, and to measure both teaching and research productivity more closely. Clearly, the era of unfettered professorial autonomy following the award of tenure is coming to a close. Another possible change is that fewer faculty members will receive tenure. A cadre of full-time non-tenure-track faculty is emerging. This class of faculty will not have the protection of the tenure system. Some will have the possibility of periodic renewal of contracts, while others will be appointed for a limited period without any prospect of renewal.

It should be kept in mind, of course, that most colleges and universities tenure in American higher education has never been ironclad. Tenured faculty members can be dismissed in times of financial exigency or for reasons of programmatic

restructuring (such as the closing down of departments). While relatively few institutions have resorted to such measures, some have, and their actions have been upheld in the courts. During a financial crisis in the 1970s, the State University of New York dismissed several faculty members when specific academic programs were being eliminated, and although the American Association of University Professors censured the university for this action, the courts upheld it. Top-tier institutions have been less likely to resort to firing tenured staff at times of restructuring or fiscal crisis.

International trends regarding academic employment and tenure present a mixed picture. Permanent employment after a probationary period is the norm worldwide, although this varies and some policy changes are under way. American professors undergo perhaps the longest probationary period and one of most rigorous evaluations of performance prior to awarding tenure found anywhere in the world. In Europe, young scholars are appointed to university posts, "confirmed" after a relatively short probationary period of approximately three years are and given permanent appointments–if performance in teaching and research is satisfactory. The evaluation conducted is not nearly as rigorous or elaborate as that which is standard practice in the United States. Salary increases are typically based on longevity and are not performance based. Once a scholar is appointed to a "permanent" post, tenure is often protected not only by university statutes but, in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, by civil service regulations (Mora).

Promotion to a higher rank, however, is not automatic and often involves a rigorous evaluation. In some countries, promotion to the rank of full professor requires open advertisement and competition, and the promotion of a person already in the university is not assured. In countries with the tradition of the "chair system," a relatively small number of academics are promoted to this high rank, and it is by no means certain that most academics will end their careers as full professors. As European academic systems experience financial problems, fewer senior professorships are authorised, and as a result a growing proportion of the academic profession is either cannot be promoted to a senior academic rank, or must be content with temporary appointments (Kogan, Moses, and El-Khawas).

There are even some countries where formal tenure does not exist. In Taiwan and South Korea, for example, there is no formalized tenure system, and it is possible for professors to lose their positions. Yet, virtually all academics hold "de facto" tenure and few, if any, are actually fired. Britain is undergoing a dramatic experiment with the modification of permanent appointments. Traditional tenure was abolished by the government for new incumbents in the academic profession during Margaret Thatcher's prime ministership, and the country is currently witnessing considerable change in the nature of academic careers (Cuthbert). The government's policy was universally condemned by the academic profession at the time it was implemented. Most Latin American countries abolished permanent appointments after the reforms of 1918 and all professorships are subject to periodic "contests." In fact, most senior academics keep their posts on a permanent basis.

Patterns of academic appointment, security of tenure, and provisions for the guarantee of academic freedom vary considerably. Legal as well as administrative arrangements differ. In India, for example, most full-time academics have

permanent appointments, but weak legal and administrative protections mean that institutions can violate tenure with relative impunity. Even in the United States, policies vary. In Minnesota, protection for faculty at the University of Minnesota has been ironclad, while in New York, tenure regulations, even in a unionized environment, are much weaker.

In the United States, academic freedom has traditionally been protected by the tenure system as well as specific institutional guarantees (Shils, Academic Freedom). While few of the attacks on the academic freedom of professors match those experienced by the profession during the McCarthy period of the 1950s, American faculty feel somewhat ambivalent about the state of academic freedom. According to the Carnegie survey, 81 percent believe that academic freedom is strongly protected, but only 49 percent say that there are no political or ideological restrictions on what a scholar may publish (Altbach, Tables 54 and 57). Scholars in most of the fourteen other countries included in the survey felt more secure in what they can publish—indeed, only Koreans, Brazilians, and Russians were less sanguine.

It is perhaps surprising that even one-fifth of the American professoriate feels that academic freedom is not well protected and that almost half worry about ideological restrictions on publication. This may reflect concern about "political correctness" or other debates in recent years over the ideological basis of the curriculum (although 71 percent of American academics feel that this is an especially creative and productive time in their fields—among the most favourable ratings in the 14-country Carnegie study) (Altbach, Table 37). Or it may relate to unease about the tenure system, a difficult job market, or other uncertainties.

5. SCHOLARSHIP RECONSIDERED AND ASSESSED

Among the most important implications of the fiscal and institutional pressures discussed here is a significant reconfiguration of academic work. The debate started with the publication of Ernest Boyer's *Scholarship Reconsidered* continues, and may be starting to have an impact on the profession (Boyer). Boyer's argument that the professoriate should pay more attention to teaching and learning and that the definition of scholarship should be broadened so that it goes beyond traditional publication of research findings and analysis came at a time when academic institutions were seeking more productivity and accountability from the faculty. A sense that the emphasis on research that has characterised the top tier of American higher education may have gone too far has increasingly entered the debates about higher education in the 1990s.

Financial reality, institutional necessity, and the ideology of reform have come together in the movement to reemphasise teaching as the central responsibility of the academic profession. As it happens, the American professoriate itself is committed to teaching as its central role. When asked if their interests were primarily in teaching or research, 63 percent of American academics respond that their commitments are primarily or leaning toward teaching. This compares with 44 percent in England, 28 percent in Japan, and 33 percent in Sweden. In these nations,

and others in the Carnegie survey, faculty are more focused on research (Altbach, Table 17). Not surprisingly, American faculty members in the research cadre because of their publication records are more focused on research, yet even these individuals indicate a strong commitment to teaching.

American academics do express dissatisfaction with many of the conditions for teaching and research. For example, 42 percent feel that the pressure to publish reduces the quality of teaching at their institutions, 71 percent believe that research funding is more difficult to obtain now, and 75 percent believe that it is difficult to achieve tenure if they do not publish (Altbach, Tables 18, 21, and 23). Half or more are critical of library, computer, and classroom facilities for their teaching. They also judge many of their students to be insufficiently prepared for their studies. But their views are by no means inimical to the teaching role in higher education.

While there is a perception that things are modestly deteriorating in academe, there is certainly no groundswell from the professoriate for greater emphasis on teaching, new procedures for assessment, or a reorientation of American higher education. Yet, it is unlikely that most faculty would be adverse to a renewed emphasis on teaching and a diminished focus on research. Most academics produce relatively little published scholarship or research, and most express strong loyalty to teaching. Many, as the Carnegie survey indicates, feel that they are under too much pressure to do research. Assessment, mainly in the form of student evaluations of teaching, is nearly universal in the United States. Additional assessment, if not too time consuming or intrusive, is unlikely to be strongly opposed.

Critics often overemphasise the innate conservatism of the professoriate. While it is unlikely that the academic profession will press for drastic change, a commitment to teaching and to the goals of higher education will make the professoriate receptive to proposals for change. The American professoriate, more focused on teaching their colleagues in Europe or Japan, is likely to be more favourable to reform. Even in England, where the professoriate was united against the Thatcher changes and expressed traditional views on a range of issues, the academic profession adjusted a new academic environment and has been willing to implement changes which have introduced assessment of teaching and research and a greater emphasis on accountability at all levels of the academic system.

In the United States, the next step in the effort to place more emphasis on teaching and to expand the concept of intellectual work as well as to assess the totality of academic work is a Carnegie report entitled *Scholarship Assessed* (Boyer, et al). The focus is on better means of assessing teaching so that it can be evaluated along with research, as an element of academic work. Guidelines are provided for covering service as well as teaching. This initiative is part of an ongoing effort in higher education to assess, measure, and evaluate all academic work. The outcome of these efforts is at this point an open question—the techniques for effective measurement of teaching and learning remain much debated. The widespread acceptance of modified norms of professorial performance will also require something of a cultural shift in the profession.

The research cadre, and indeed most faculty at the top-tier research-oriented institutions will see relatively little change in their working lives. Those in less selective colleges and universities will probably be most affected, coming under

increasing pressure to emphasise teaching and to downplay a commitment to research. Most colleges already emphasise the teaching role, although they may benefit from greater sophistication in the measurement of teaching effectiveness. Assessment and accountability are at the top of the institutional agenda. So far, the financial and governmental pressures on American higher education have been felt largely at the institutional level but have not touched on life in the classroom, but this is about to change.

In a few other countries, mainly in the English-speaking academic community, there has also been an emphasis on assessment and evaluation. Britain and Australia have been most active in this field, and policies have been implemented to measure academic performance in both research and teaching, and there are plans to ensure that those who enter postsecondary teaching have some preparation in pedagogy specifically relevant for university teaching (Forest). The British approach is to provide training for postsecondary teaching and then to assess the quality of academic performance. Australia and Canada have also paid attention to issues of assessment. The assessment revolution is just beginning in higher education. It is likely to be one of the central factors shaping academic life in the coming decades. It combines the imperatives of accountability and the measurement of performance in an environment of fiscal constraints.

6. MORALE

Despite the unfavourable circumstances discussed here, the professoriate feels surprisingly good about itself. There is little sense of crisis among academics, and most are unaware of the magnitude of the problems facing American higher education. Overall, most faculty are remarkably content with their careers. They are less pleased with their institutional surroundings, increasingly critical of their students, and especially alienated from the administration of their institutions. Nevertheless, more than 75 percent are happy with their job situation as a whole and express satisfaction with the opportunities they have to pursue their own ideas. A majority feel that this is a good time to become an academic, and only 11 percent say that if they had to choose careers again, they would not choose academia. Faculty report that they are generally content with their colleagues, and 79 percent are satisfied with their job security, although only 61 report that they are tenured. Faculty are even relatively happy with their salaries—46 percent describe their salaries as excellent or good. This is a surprisingly high proportion in view of the reality of relatively stagnant academic salaries during much of the 1990s, although at the end of the decade, salaries did improve to a modest extent (Magner). Ninety-six percent are satisfied with the courses that they teach, although they are somewhat critical of their students. A quarter of the faculty reported that their students are less qualified now than they were five years ago. Overall, they feel that academic freedom is protected. In short, in their departments and in the classroom, the professoriate expresses general satisfaction. Faculty feel content with their overall professional autonomy. The Carnegie data suggest that if an academic feels professionally autonomous, secure in his or her job, and respected by campus

colleagues, he or she is likely to give a positive rating to the job situation as a whole, even if some other, less central aspects of the job are seen as unsatisfactory (Haas, 347-48).

It is interesting that there is little worry over what some have called the crisis of "political correctness" on campus. The Carnegie survey shows that most faculty are comfortable with the level of academic freedom and feel few constraints in their teaching and research. However, 34 percent are of the opinion that there are some restrictions on what a scholar can publish, perhaps reflecting a concern about "P C" There is, however, scant evidence to support the claims of conservative analysts that the campus is seething with conflict over the nature of scholarship, the "canon," multiculturalism, and other issues (Wilson, Roche).

The faculty do report dissatisfaction in a number of key areas, most notably, as indicated, with the administration, with a number of institutional arrangements, and to some extent with students. Unhappiness with academic administration is a near universal phenomenon (Lewis and Altbach). In all of the fourteen countries in the Carnegie survey, alienation from administration was a strong theme among the faculty. Only in Brazil and Russia did even half of the respondents judge relations between faculty and administration to be good. In the United States, 57 percent of the professoriate rate relations as fair or poor. Thirty-four percent of American academics do not feel that they are kept informed about what is going on at their institution, and 64 percent feel that they have no say at all in shaping academic policies (only 14 percent consider themselves very or somewhat influential). Fifty-eight percent have the opinion that the administration is often autocratic, 45 percent report that communication between faculty and administration is poor, and only 39 percent say that top-level administrators are providing competent leadership. American faculty are rather typical in their attitudes toward institutional leadership when compared to the other countries in the Carnegie survey.

This alienation from administrative authority tells us a good deal about attitudes within the academic profession. While faculty express satisfaction with their colleagues at the department level, they are deeply unhappy with institutional governance and policy. Similar dissatisfaction is expressed with governmental involvement in higher education. Only 10 percent of American faculty agree that the government should have responsibility for defining overall purpose and policy for higher education. Thirty-four percent feel that there is far too much governmental interference in important academic policies. Faculty are alienated from the people who run their colleges and universities, and from the governmental authorities who provide the funding as well as shape broad approaches toward research, student aid, and affirmative action. There is a large gap between the satisfaction felt about the "local" aspects of academe and discontent with the broader policy direction of higher education.

The faculty would like to be permitted to pursue teaching and research unfettered by governmental interference or administrative restrictions. Most academics enjoy what they do, believe that they do their work well, and consider themselves reasonably well prepared for their jobs. There is a vague sense of unease with the institutional climate and with trends in higher education, and this seems to be reflected in negative feelings toward institutional leaders and their policies.

Future Realities and Professorial Perceptions

The full-time American academic profession remains largely insulated from the broad changes taking place in higher education. Not only that, the professoriate seems to have little understanding of these trends. The majority of tenured faculty have been unaffected by the deteriorating academic labor market, although their job mobility has become limited. When colleges and universities have been forced to cut their budgets, the faculty have been largely protected. Only in a few cases has tenure been violated due to financial exigency. For a long period in the 1970s and 1980s, faculty salaries did not keep pace with inflation. However, the last few years have seen a modest improvement, although in 1996 there was slippage again.

In some respects, academic work has changed. Classes have become larger. Research funding is more difficult to obtain, and enrolments in many schools have increased while full-time faculty numbers remain steady or have even declined. Part of the slack has been taken up by part-time staff, graduate student instructors, and an increase in class size. The full-time professoriate has become somewhat more "productive" in terms of numbers of students taught. Although there is little hard evidence, most academics are of the opinion that obtaining tenure has become more difficult, especially at the research universities.

Among those who have experienced the current realities, in many fields, new doctorates cannot find full-time positions and must content themselves with insecure part-time teaching and repeated postdoctoral assignments. Some have been forced to leave academe altogether—in some fields a majority of those receiving doctorates do not pursue careers in higher education. Competition is fierce for the positions that do exist, although there are considerable variations among academic disciplines, with the situation remaining least favourable in the humanities. Assistant professors find working conditions increasingly difficult and experience increased obstacles on the road to tenure (Tierney and Bensimon).

Most academics do not see these trends as a crisis, and do not recognise them as part of a permanent change in the landscape of American higher education. They have not yet experienced the new realities for themselves. Presidents and other leaders have not communicated the idea that faculty has a responsibility for institutional adjustment and survival in the current period, and have not involved the professoriate in responding to the new financial and other realities. Faculty members do not yet realize that if institutions are going to survive and the traditional prerogatives of the professoriate be maintained, the profession will need to take an active role in ensuring institutional well-being.

The professoriate is faced with difficulties and diminished circumstances almost everywhere. The Carnegie survey portrays an academic profession that has a vague sense of unease but little sense of crisis. It is instructive and even relevant to examine some of the trends evident abroad. Britain has seen the most far-reaching reform, with the abolition of the tenure system, the amalgamation of the polytechnics with the universities to more than double the size of the university system, and most recently, the imposition of performance measures for teaching and research and the allocation of funds to universities based on these measures. These policies have had considerable impact on the professoriate, as indicated by the low

morale of the British respondents to the Carnegie survey. The British academic profession has been significantly affected by these structural changes, as well as by forced retirements and deteriorating conditions of teaching.

There has also a significant deterioration in the conditions of the professoriate in most Western European countries, where little structural change has taken place. Most pronounced in Germany, but also evident in France, Italy, and to some extent in the Netherlands, increases in student numbers have not been accompanied by growth in the professoriate, and the conditions for teaching and learning are declining. Few jobs are available for younger scholars, and research funding has been cut or at least has not kept up with costs. There have been few, if any, initiatives to reform the universities or the basic terms and conditions of the academic profession.

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union present a dramatic picture of decline and deterioration. In all of these countries, higher education has come under severe financial pressure with cutbacks in government funding for the universities. Support for research has been especially hard hit. The establishment of new private universities has changed the equation since few, if any, of these new institutions offer tenured appointment. The Russian universities have suffered severe financial declines so that the conditions necessary for research and advanced scholarship no longer exist. The professoriate has had to adjust to a changed environment. Many have left the universities, pursuing careers in other fields or finding positions abroad. Others find that they cannot survive financially, and take extra part-time academic jobs. The universities and the academic system remain in a period of transition, with the future unclear.

In a trend most evident in China but also seen in other countries, (including the United States, to some extent), universities are increasingly asked to generate their own revenues. Chinese universities are now charging many of their students tuition and other fees. The universities have also established consulting departments, profit-making laboratories, and even businesses in many fields. Peking University, China's most prestigious academic institution runs a successful software company and other enterprises. Many professors are involved in these enterprises, and in private consulting as well. As a result, they naturally pay less attention to campus life and to their students. The professoriate is increasingly seen as a source of direct income for academic institutions. In the United States, university-industry collaboration has an element of Chinese-style academic entrepreneurship.

The revolution of the new technologies is just beginning to affect the professoriate. Without question, this will be one of the main points of change in the coming years. In the classroom, professors will be asked to make use of the new technologies for teaching, the measurement of learning and assessment. Perhaps more dramatic, distance education will be a challenge to the established professoriate. It is not clear if the delivery of academic programs through distance education will affect enrolments or teaching arrangements at established universities. It is evident that distance education providers, whether they are traditional universities or new for-profit companies, are affecting the academic profession. Issues of ownership of course materials and lectures, remuneration for on-line teaching, and others are only now part of the debate. Will academic "stars"

dominate new on-line education providers? Will it be possible to develop careers based on the provision of distance higher education? Will established universities become major providers of distance education? The norms of distance higher education are being established in the early years of the 21st century.

Related to distance providers are the new for-profit private institutions being established worldwide. The University of Phoenix, now the largest private provider of higher education in the United States, has received much attention. There are other similar companies that use both traditional classroom methods and distance techniques to deliver education products. Several new institutions have been established to deliver academic degrees entirely "on line." So far, these firms use academic talent to develop the "knowledge products" that they sell, especially in fields like business administration and information technology, but provide full-time jobs to very few and do not offer the security of tenure even to full-time employees. While these new higher education providers are not universities in the traditional sense, they are beginning to compete with traditional universities for students—especially older students who are engaged in professional careers.

In very few countries is the academic profession secure in its traditional role. Even in Hong Kong, which may have the highest academic salaries in the world, new performance evaluation and accountability standards have been implemented. Many faculty are also worried about the impact of the transition to Chinese sovereignty on academic freedom and on higher education as a whole. In Japan, current reform efforts aimed at improving undergraduate education may affect the traditional autonomy and insularity of the Japanese professoriate. The implications of heavy reliance on part-time faculty, which has been part of the Latin American academic system for a century or more, has some lessons for the United States as the balance steadily shifts.

7. CONCLUSION

The American professoriate is part of an international academic community that now faces diminished circumstances, decreased autonomy, and threats to the perquisites and even the traditional roles of the professoriate. While each academic system is embedded in its own national issues and circumstances, there are some common realities, especially in the realm of fiscal problems and demands for accountability, making it possible to learn from the experiences of other countries.

The largest and arguably the most powerful in the world, the American academic profession is faced with unprecedented challenges. Its world scientific and research leadership is reasonably secure because of the size and complexity of the academic system. At the same time, it must function in an increasingly multipolar world in which international skills and connections are important, and it is ill prepared for this role. American scholars and scientists remain remarkably insular in their attitudes and their activities. Domestic challenges also abound, and again the professoriate seems poorly prepared for the future. There is little understanding of the complex realities facing American colleges and universities. Attitudes reflect

little sense of crisis. Indeed, the distrust felt by many academics toward the leadership of American higher education makes innovation more difficult.

At the same time, the academic profession has weathered difficulties in the past. The wave of creative energy that resulted in the establishment of the American research universities at the end of the nineteenth century and the professionalisation of the academic profession shortly thereafter prove that reform and change is possible. Academics also met the challenges of the economic depression of the 1930s and the expansion of the postwar period creatively (Kerr). With leadership and energy, there is no reason why the early twenty-first century cannot be as creative a period for higher education as was the early twentieth century.

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ERNESTO SCHIEFELBEIN AND PAULINA SCHIEFELBEIN

IMPROVE TEACHING METHODS OR PERISH

Issues Confronting the Academic Profession in Latin America

Two recently published international surveys have reported low adult functional literacy levels for Latin American University graduates. The figures reported confirm previous evidence about low quality in higher education. It is therefore time to review the causes of such poor performance, to experiment with effective answers, and, ultimately, to evaluate their implementation. The analysis of available evidence on outcomes and processes presented in this chapter and other research findings on the pervasiveness of what is termed "frontal teaching" in the Latin American world, suggest that the main cause is the teaching performance of the academic profession. Traditional lecture-based teaching, as well as the lack of any great need on the students' part to read pertinent current literature in order to memorise the answers needed for a good grade in the test, are the main traits of the prevailing approach - called "*frontal teaching*" - in the region. Later in this chapter, strategies implemented to introduce student-centred learning methods are presented as feasible alternatives to respond to the low functional literacy performance of the average university graduate in the region.

1. LOW QUALITY OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

International surveys on adult functional literacy carried out by OECD (2000) and Unesco (2000) showed low functional literacy levels for Latin America University graduates. While Chile was the only Latin American state to participate in the OECD study, the information derived is nonetheless useful because Chilean University graduates generally perform above the average in Latin American higher education (Unesco, 2000). Nonetheless, according to the OECD report, only 50% of the Chilean university graduates performed above a functional literacy level estimated as the minimum ability on using printed information that is required to perform in a developed country labour market (OECD, 2000). In fact, the average performance of Chilean University graduates was similar to the average performance of adults with complete secondary education in several European countries. The comparison is relevant because adequacy of test items for Chileans adult was carefully reviewed by the Chilean team (Bravo and Contreras, 2000).

The Unesco report on seven countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay and Venezuela) confirms that the functional use of learning is a problem observed in most Latin American countries. According to the report, only

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 167—177.

two thirds of the sampled adult population - those with university training - were able to perform over the minimum level of functional literacy required to participate in the labor market of a developed country (Unesco, 2000, 183).

These two international comparisons suggest that University graduates may know the required facts, concepts and algorithms, but have difficulties in using them to arrive at reasonable conclusions or to find relevant solutions to day-to-day problems. These types of constraints in the use of knowledge suggest that training has been focused mainly on memory, with university professors trying to transfer information rather than helping university students to learn by themselves and, in due time, to resolve their doubts and mistakes. The two reports confirm many previous warnings based on fragmentary evidence (Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein, 2000a), and suggest the need to investigate, evaluate, and question whether indeed there is much that is right, including tasks that have long been well performed (Castro and Levy, 1997, 5). In any case, there is an unmistakable need to raise the level of learning and try new approaches that may differ from traditions (Ayarza and Gonzalez, 2000, 151). The search for new approaches is treated in the next section by exploring the fact that, in a recent major international survey of the academic profession, Latin American professors were found to be generally more interested in teaching, while professors from developed countries were more interested in research (Altbach, 1996, 20).

2. ACADEMIC TRAITS THAT MAY REDUCE THE PERFORMANCE OF GRADUATES

Although teaching is the main activity of Latin American University professors, only one fifth have carried out research projects that may help them in overcoming the limitations of traditional teaching. These two characteristics in relation to teaching and research are different from the average university professor working in developed countries, according to the Carnegie survey carried out in the 1990s (Altbach, 1996). In the following section, other characteristics identified in the Carnegie study are discussed.

Given that most Latin American scholars surveyed agree that teaching effectiveness should be the primary criterion used for promotion of faculty, it is possible to assume that they are not aware of the quality problems generated by their usage of passive, “frontal” teaching methods. The Carnegie Survey found that two thirds of the sampled university professors in Brazil, Chile and Mexico were primarily interested in teaching (Altbach, 1996, 20) and felt that they were better trained in teaching than in research. Furthermore, professors believed they demonstrated a relatively highly satisfactory teaching performance and did not feel that the lack of research training affected their teaching achievement. Their practice did not inspire such confidence however, revealing that in undergraduate courses, about half of the teachers’ time was spent in lectures or conferences that students must listen to, record (or copy) in their notebooks and recall in the subsequent test to get a good grade (Ayarza and Gonzalez, 2000, 48). It is important to note here that

teaching is mainly carried out in undergraduate programs, because Universities concentrate their efforts on training professionals.

Nearly one fifth of Latin American professors hold a doctoral degree (22% in Brazil; 18% in Chile and 8% in Mexico), far below the levels of more developed countries. Moreover, this level of training is not expected to improve in the near future. Although most university professors reported some research activity over the last three years, a high proportion of the published articles or papers delivered at conferences are essays rather than research reports. Moreover, research productivity is often concentrated among a few scholars: some 70% of the Chilean research articles were produced by less than 5% of professors (D'Etigny, 1994). In summary, the relatively low levels of research training among the Latin American professoriate mean that there are few opportunities for students to learn about how new knowledge is developed and the types of activities carried out in the process.

Professors are critical of the administration in each institution, but this issue should not be a real constraint upon quality learning and teaching. An average of only one fifth of Chilean and Brazilian respondents to the Carnegie Survey report lack of freedom to determine the content and methods of the courses they teach (Altbach, 1996, 32). In spite of their low satisfaction with the way universities are managed - much higher in Chile than in Brazil - (Altbach, 1996, 29), professors revealed relatively positive opinions about faculty morale and facilities needed to support their work.

Course sizes in Chile are rather small for courses taught through lectures and conferences and hence there are many opportunities for using alternative didactic forms. Even though undergraduate courses average over 40 students (within a range of 20 to 60 students), one third of these courses are around 30 students per class, considered a reasonable size for good teaching. In graduate courses, which most commonly comprise seminars and discussion groups, the course size is smaller (15 to 20 students). Nonetheless, a base of poor learning/teaching processes in high school (80% of Chilean high school teachers dictate to their classes) may be a more serious impediment to the use of more effective teaching methods in universities. Only half of Chilean professors consider their students well prepared academically. Moreover, two thirds believed that undergraduate students' work often revealed problems in oral and written communication skills; while a similar percentage reported that undergraduate students have problems in mathematical and quantitative reasoning skills.

While salary and working conditions are well above the national averages, only half of professors surveyed were *satisfied or very satisfied* with their job situation as a whole. Few Chilean university professors report satisfaction with their salary, albeit earning an annual income close to four times the national per capita income. This difference is perhaps reflected in the fact that half of them have a second job (hence also reducing their commitment to teaching and research tasks). In addition, it is often the case – for example in Brazil – spouses of academic staff are also working and generating a reasonable income. Thus the family standard of living is often fairly good (albeit much lower than the levels reported in developed countries). In any case, only one third of Chilean academics consider their salaries

to be at least fair (Altbach, 1996, 10), which is a much lower rate than that of the other Latin American country surveyed, Brazil, where the rate was just over half.

High employment stability exists among academic staff and almost half of them expressed reasonable satisfaction with their job. Seventy percent of Brazilian respondents, and eighty percent of Chilean, reported having had regular academic appointments in only one or two different institutions. One fifth strongly affirmed that they may leave their profession within the next five years; while a smaller group would not choose the academic profession, if they had to choose again (Altbach, 1996, 17).

3. GAPS BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE DEVELOPED WORLD IN THE CARNEGIE SURVEY

Even though the range of difference among universities in each Latin American country is larger than the differences between their national average and the average of developed countries, the comparison of gaps in key characteristics of the Academic Profession may provide some useful hints about possible causes of the low levels of functional learning observed in the region. Six relevant differences were found: (i) lower density of professors with doctoral training, (ii) less research activity, (iii) more emphasis on undergraduate training, (iv) lower salary levels, (v) higher percentage of income earned in outside work, and (vi) strong incentives for moving abroad (Altbach, 1996).

To take the first example, there is a large gap in the percentage of Latin America academics reporting the possession of a doctoral degree compared with academics in the developed world (a range of 8 to 22% vs. a range of 49 to 86%, respectively). There is also a huge difference in the proportion of academics working solely with undergraduates (two thirds vs. one third, with the notable exception of 63% in Germany). With respect to total earned income coming from the academic institution where the academic was surveyed, Brazil, Chile and Mexico reported the lowest percentage of the sample of 14 countries, which is consistent with the high amount of outside work mentioned above. Finally, a vast number of good Latin America researchers are currently working abroad in developed countries: for example, there is roughly the same number of high level researchers working in Chile as are working abroad (D'Etigny, 1994).

On the other hand, no clear differences in levels of satisfaction were reported by Latin American academic staff in relation to the courses they taught, nor in the reported evaluation of their teaching activities (Altbach, 1996, 15-34). There may also be differences with respect to the percentage of teaching time spent in "frontal" classes (where students learn in a passive way), but it was not possible to compare the relevant data.

In summary, scant doctoral training, insufficient research activity and excessive time spent in non-university activities by many professors may be related to the lower achievement levels of Latin American students, especially when only a small group of students continue on to graduate training and there is a self-selection of high level researchers moving abroad (because of salary differentials). In addition,

as we shall see, a lack of opportunities for participating in active, student-centred teaching methods and a lack of access to written interactive modules (scripts or guides) was evident in the research findings that are treated in the next section.

4. TEACHING PERFORMANCE OF ACADEMICS, WHILE TRADITIONAL, CAN CHANGE

Longstanding traditions of Latin American education have conditioned even university professors to learn by listening at a conference rather than by reading a text and asking relevant questions (Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein, 1999, 11). Two thirds of a recent sample of 459 University professors (working in Teacher Training institutions) expected to listen to a rather long conference (more than 30 minutes) to begin a workshop on modern education methods. Moreover, their own learning (while being trained to become a teacher) had been passive - mainly listening, rather than reading or doing. Indeed, less than 10% reported having been asked to follow up and report the educational progress of children of different ages; to test 2-year-olds' recognition of written words; or to measure reading speed and comprehension (their own or others).

At the same time, however, most of the participants reported that learning by experimenting with active methods could be relevant (Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein, 1991). Active involvement in the use of several teaching models during a two-hour session was enough for 78% of participants to declare they were ready to replicate a similar student-centered class, if suitable learning materials were provided (Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein, 1999, 16). That answer was an encouraging result, suggesting that traditional university professors could be re-trained, if they attended carefully designed workshops using materials that can be later be used in, or adapted for, future classes. Conclusions were similar in the seven countries included in the investigation (Argentina, Colombia, Chile, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, and Nicaragua), while, in parallel research, similar reactions were also observed in a group of professors teaching in the Engineering Department in a Chilean university.

A brief review of strategies that have failed, and one that was successful, is presented in the following sections to provide some hints towards a possible eventual design of re-training programmes for traditional university professors who use only frontal teaching, that depend on passive, rote-learning strategies.

5. MARKETS AND EVALUATION STRATEGIES HAVE NOT YET IMPROVED QUALITY

Brazil, Colombia and Chile have introduced market competition by deregulating higher education, but the UNESCO report alluded to above shows no real impact on quality (Unesco, 2000). Their systems have quickly reacted by expanding private higher education institutions including universities, professional institutes and technical post-secondary centres, but it is only more of the same traditional training (Castaneda, 1990). From the outset, there was intense competition among traditional and new private universities, but mainly in terms of hiring marketing

agencies, or offering scholarships and fringe benefits to potential students. As has occurred elsewhere, competition has not resulted in the introduction of more efficient teaching/learning technologies (ECLAC/UNESCO, 1992; Schiefelbein, 1991).

Some countries have set up Accreditation Units for new, or all, higher education institutions. For example, the Coordinaçao de Aperfeisoamento do Pessoal de Nivel Superior (CAPES) has already implemented a biennial peer evaluation of fifteen hundred graduate programs in Brazil (Castro, 1999). However, given that most evaluators have been trained using these same traditional methods, no incentives for using more effective methods have been generated by those units. The reverse seems to be the case: the Accreditation Units are a powerful instrument for maintaining traditional patterns.

As is increasingly common practice in other countries (Park 2001, Welch, 2001a, 2004), evaluations of university quality have been conducted since 1996, for the first time in the region's educational history. In 1999 the Brazilian Ministry of Education administered an experimental test to students from Engineering, Management, Medicine, Chemistry, Mathematics, Law and Journalism in the final semester before graduation (INEP, 1999; Castro, 1999). The average result for each institution was published in leading newspapers in order to provide universities with an incentive for improvement, and parents and applicants with relevant data with which to select the right institution. It is, as yet, too early to evaluate the impact of this strategy, however.

The huge gap between Chilean and developed countries scores reported for adults with university training (OECD, 2000; UNESCO 2000) is representative of the Latin America situation. Such gap suggests that only a concerted effort involving training abroad, testing, expansion of local (or regional) doctoral programs, salary incentives and improving quality of pre-university education levels is likely to be an effective means to effect gradual, continuous improvement of university training (Schiefelbein, 1997). General incentive strategies reported above would need to be complemented with specific improvements in teaching processes, however, such as the example that is provided in the following section.

6. AN EXPERIMENT LEADING TO STUDENT-CENTRED LEARNING

A promising project implemented in one Chilean university recently employed a teaching strategy that was designed to achieve the following: actively involve each student in the learning process; provide immediate feedback on student progress; stimulate students' interest and ongoing dedication to their studies; show clearly to each student the need for improved skill development; and guarantee more effective teaching, and thereby better student results (Schiefelbein and Zuniga, 2001). The project, which was called the Syllabus *pre-lectio* had five essential elements: (i) organising the course so that reading assignments, class activities and tests are clearly scheduled and well planned throughout the semester; (ii) selecting stimulating reading material for each class; (iii) preparing a daily quiz on the

assigned reading; (iv) planning specific class activities for each class; and (v) utilising course evaluation forms at the end of each course.

The Syllabus *pre-lectio* goes one step beyond a practice that is quite common in the United States. In both cases the teaching faculty prepares and distributes a course syllabus or guide for their students during the first class session that specifies a kind of contract between the teacher and their students. The typical syllabus would include: the organization of the course; the instructor's approach to the course; the required reading and writing assignments; how the professor is to grade the students; the schedule of lectures; the course goals and objectives; and when the instructor would be available for student consultation. Four additions are required for implementing the Syllabus *pre-lectio*. The instructor must: prepare the daily quiz; develop the class response forms; include a review section for the assigned readings, and explain why they were selected; and raise questions for student consideration when reading each recommended text. The course design should take into account the duration of class sessions and the entrance requirements. The emphasis on active involvement on the part of students, at the core of the Syllabus *pre-lectio*, is based on the Deweyan premise that one learns best through doing.

It is increasingly apparent that even the best lecture cannot totally succeed with the current generation, comprising university students now living a fast-paced existence in an electronic world that can immediately respond to almost every demand. Confronted with such a reality, traditional lectures now seem boring. Teachers now have to compete with television, video, e-mail, the Web and movies like Titanic, which rely strongly on visual effects and a rapidly changing focus. All are immediate, direct, and literally at the student's finger-tips: quite different from a lecture, even a really good one. The following single test is illustrative. Given the opportunity to listen to a well organised and logical lecture coupled with an appealing dry wit and periodic questions to see if students are following, check whether the students, and yourself, drift off into a different world of thought, regardless of the quality of the lecture. Remember too that lectures may take 50, 75 or even 120 minutes. Active involvement in the learning process generated by a lecture too easily slips, even if of high quality. And when students are not responsive, the classes do not provide teachers with the feeling of exhilaration that is associated with excellent performances and which is the best reward a teacher can obtain.

In the research project, all first semester students at the university started with this new method in 2000, after careful evaluation of pilot experiments during 1998-1999. Initial results are encouraging. The majority of students now do read ahead, ask answers based on their doubts and questions, and come to the next lecture/discussion session having done some preparation regarding the subject matter to be covered, which means it is much easier to stay involved in class. An additional advantage is that there is now time for teachers to share their expertise and observations with interested students. There are even opportunities for the teachers' enthusiasm to be matched by that of the student. Naturally, however, it is necessary to carefully monitor the process, because there is a natural trend to regress to the old didactic teaching modes. Nonetheless, the positive results obtained thus

far indicate that it is worthwhile to experiment with more active learning approaches, such as that sketched above.

7. LESSONS FROM THE ANALYSIS OF TEACHING FOR THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION

The success of the project described above can be argued to have clear implications for addressing the significant quality deficit recently identified in university training in Latin America. There is still a need to make professors abreast of the issue, and of such new teaching/learning methods. Of itself, of-course, this will not be sufficient: in the long run a vast effort in doctoral training must also be implemented, and complemented with incentives to promote the participation, or repatriation, of a large number of highly qualified members of the Latin American diaspora, now working in centres of excellence in the Northern Hemisphere. The experience of selected countries, notably Korea and Taiwan, who have developed successful schemes with which to entice their own nationals possessing extensive international teaching and research experience, or with foreign research degrees, to return to universities and research institutes at home, and contribute their expertise, could provide an interesting precedent (UNDP 2001, Welch 2001b).

There is a strong consensus among Latin America professors concerning the academic profession (Altbach, 1996). Such consensus reflects both some common background (probably due to a shared history and key professors being trained at a few elite universities) as well as a high degree of exchange among the professors within each discipline or cross-border professional associations. Regrettably, these exchanges rarely result in improved teaching methods becoming more available throughout Latin America. Some additional strategies, such as those sketched above, still need to be implemented (Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein, 2000b).

An easy-to-implement strategy has been successfully trialled in Chile, based on the principle of beginning to transfer responsibility to the university student. This strategy helps professors in re-orienting their practice towards a role of checking personal reading, responding to doubts raised by the student, and encouraging the permanent questioning of proposed knowledge. Such a new role can help their students acquire a personal comprehension of a body of knowledge, and should also help them in using it to cope with professional challenges. But better methods are only part of the solution. University professors across Latin America must also raise the standards of their academic training.

Academics in Latin America are aware of this need for further training; indeed one fifth are already working towards an advanced degree (in total, some 150,000 professors). However, the region should make a substantial effort to extend local doctoral training to another third of the faculty (some 300,000 professors) in order to attain the training levels presently found in developed countries. Such a challenge implies both more domestic doctoral programs and, in addition, the funds needed to sustain research and to finance fees (Schiefelbein, 1996).

Various forecasts agree that University enrolment will expand considerably over the next decade. Some twenty percent of coming Latin American population cohorts

will eventually enrol at a university. This percentage will surely increase at a swift rate, given that such proportions in OECD countries are already over 50 percent (World Bank, 1994, 15). If the low quality of the training of academics continues to remain at current levels, an increment in student enrolments will only increase the critical shortage of well-trained university professors. Such a shortage could be reduced, if a certain number of the 40,000 highly qualified scholars working in the Northern developed countries were enabled to participate in doctoral programs, even on a part-time basis, for example by cooperating during the Northern summer vacations.

8. CONCLUSION

The analysis of available evidence on the impact of learning processes on student outcomes presented in this chapter suggests that a major cause of the ongoing low quality of university graduates in Latin America is the traditional teaching performance of the Academic Profession. The traditional lecture-based teaching, together with a lack of required reading of current articles and books, and tests which only demand of students that they memorise and repeat "correct" answers, are the main characteristics of the so called frontal teaching prevailing in the region. No elements of change in such teaching practices were detected. Therefore, some systematic improvements such as those suggested above, must be introduced in order to create the better quality university graduates that are increasingly demanded.

Some strategies, sketched above, have successfully introduced student-cantered learning methods. These strategies are promising, but their implementation requires assisting professors to look at the teaching/learning process in new ways, something which is not an easy task. Students can (and should) directly access available knowledge from diverse sources such as printed materials, e-mails, and workbooks. At the same time, professors must be ready to respond to students' doubts, discuss alternatives, and help students to carry out relevant comparisons, inferences, deductions, exercises, applications or diagnoses. In other words, the student must be actively involved in the learning process, rather than merely a good (that is, passive) listener to a teacher giving an engaging lecture.

In the long run, the training of professors must be drastically upgraded in Latin America. Relevant countries must allocate resources to carry out a vast effort in doctoral training, and attract a large number of highly qualified nationals now working in centres of excellence in the Northern Hemisphere. The latter should gain incentives for participating in local higher education programs. Proven ability to carry out research, or professional leadership, should be a requirement for university professors. This is a substantial task, all the more so given the profound economic difficulties currently confronting nations such as Argentina. Despite such difficulties, however, there are no simple alternatives to respond adequately to the low functional literacy performance of the average university graduate in the region.

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RUI YANG

THE CHINESE PROFESSORIATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Self-perceptions, Academic Life, Gender Differences and Internal Differentiation

1. INTRODUCTION

The academic profession faces significant challenges worldwide (Altbach, 1996; Welch, 1997a). Financial pressures have contributed to ever-increasing demands for accountability, while the privatisation of public higher education and the expansion of private academic institutions in many countries have changed the configuration of academe. Internationalisation of the professoriate is a less well studied phenomenon, but is receiving increasing attention, often within a context of globalisation (Welch, 1997b, 2002).

Many signs (among which, the two most recent are the exponential growth of Internet use in China and China's accession to the World Trade Organisation) indicate that China's Open Door policy[1] is only going to continue. This means that China cannot remain immune from external forces; indeed is increasingly confronted with an international context. China is a particularly instructive case for analysis, not only because there is a current gap in the literature on the Chinese professoriate, but also because it is the largest country in the world and thus possesses a sufficient centre of gravity to operate with relative autonomy.

This study presents an analysis of the contemporary academic profession in China. Using a wide range of contemporary literature, it is also based on two major research projects: one was conducted at 17 higher education institutions in Guangzhou in 1998; the other is an ongoing nationwide research project which began in 1999, and is based on fieldwork in universities in Shanghai, Qing Dao, Beijing, Wuhan, and Urumqi, with some 85 interviews, and survey data from 600 academic and administrative staff. It is further based on the author's longstanding personal working experience as an academic at a Chinese university, and on primary as well as secondary sources of information on the current situation in China. The discussion is presented in an international context because similar issues affect higher education worldwide, and a comparative perspective can shed light on Chinese realities.

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 179—192.

2. FOWL'S BEAK OR OX BUTTOCKS?

In ancient times, China contributed significantly to the development of world science and technology. Today's China, however, lags behind industrialised countries. The reason lies partly in the international knowledge system - the people and institutions that create leading-edge knowledge, and the structures that communicate such knowledge (Altbach, 1998). Any knowledge that does not belong within this system is not deemed legitimate, simply because it is not circulated internationally. This helps to explain why indigenous Chinese scholarship is not treated seriously. Much current research in China, particularly in the social sciences, cannot gain sufficient recognition because of its overwhelming reliance on traditional Chinese modes of knowledge exploration.

The worldwide scientific communication system is centralised within the major research-producing nations. It is estimated that only about 3,000 of the 100,000 scientific journals worldwide are indexed by the Institute for Scientific Information (Altbach, 1998, 193). The overwhelming majority of them are edited by scholars in major Western countries, who act as the "gatekeepers" of science (Coser, 1975). Thus the norms and paradigms that are influential in the academic and scientific systems of the major industrialised countries dominate the world. In addition to linguistic issues, Chinese scholars work within a very different research tradition, and hence find it especially difficult to get published in these international journals. The publishing system for books is quite similar. Further, the most recent innovations in scientific communications, databases, and information networks are also located in the industrialised nations, especially in the United States.

On the other hand, China is a science and technology giant among developing countries, with relatively well-developed basic scientific and technological infrastructures including scientific laboratories, universities, a network of scientific journals, and large numbers of scientists and researchers. China has, particularly recently, promulgated ambitious scientific plans, and has taken scientific development seriously (Li, 1996). By focusing on extending its scientific base, supporting scientific research and higher education, and ensuring that the best scientific personnel either do not leave the country, or are attracted back, China's scientific research has been sustained at a reasonable level (Thulstrup, 1992; Hayhoe and Zhong, 1995; Zhong, 1998), although to a more limited degree in the natural sciences, engineering, agriculture and perhaps medicine.

This study reveals that Chinese academics have very different perceptions of their status in the international knowledge system: some deceive themselves as well as others, by ignoring the striking differences between China and the developed countries. Others resist the centre-periphery system radically and emotionally; while most lack sufficient understanding of the relationships between the Chinese and international academic communities. This is less true in science and technology; but it is strongly the case in the social sciences and humanities. Researchers in the latter fields face the very real challenge of a paradigm shift from the traditional Chinese research tradition to the most internationally accepted Western traditions. This difficulty need not always mean negation of Chinese traditions, but the further

development of Chinese research traditions will need to be also based on a mastery of the Western tradition (Yang, 2000). My own research shows clearly that most Chinese social sciences and humanities researchers were not well prepared for this task, however. While its urgency has been apparent for quite some time, some scholars have not even realised the need, or have passionately refused to accept the fact that China must function in a context of international inequality and scarcity. Such denials by Chinese academics, however, form important limits on the further development of scholarship, due to possible effects on subjectivity and reflexivity (See Goodwin and Nacht, 1991).

For Chinese scholars, then, the following dilemma is evident: on one hand there is no effective way to avoid marginalisation except by joining the world community which then leads to reliance on foreign scholars, returned scholars and students, in the process of knowledge transfer and intellectual contacts. On the other hand, this yields increased dependence on the international knowledge network, and in some ways reinforces China's peripheral status, by emphasising the mainstream international knowledge (Altbach, 1998), at the expense of indigenous forms of scholarship and understanding.

Managing the transition will certainly not be easy. Indeed the difficulty has caused many middle-aged academics to flinch. This generation, the lucky students who entered universities soon after the Cultural Revolution, eagerly absorbed knowledge from abroad, and became the backbone of Chinese scholarship. In the 1980s they were delighted to participate in the integration of Chinese scholarship with the international community. Now, many such people have changed, revealing no interest in the integration, or even resisting it (Shen 2000).

Why has their previous desire for new knowledge, and reform, flagged? The main reason is that they have recognised how difficult the integration is for them, and how costly it can be in time and energy. The shift of research paradigms, together with the need to acquire English and/or other foreign languages in order to publish, seem now to pose an almost insuperable barrier to most of them. Therefore their attitudes have changed from active participation to indifference, or in some cases, even resistance, because they do not want their positions to be threatened by returned students and others with more substantial international achievements.

This situation in many cases leads to an inward-looking attitude. In the words of one respondent from social sciences, who typically represented academics of his generation (around 45 years old in the late 1990s):

> "My own feeling is that the zeal for internationalisation has cooled down these days because we have begun to realise that it is not so mysterious any more to have international publications as it was at the beginning of our opening to the world. International publications are not necessarily better quality than Chinese publications. It may not be that difficult, nothing extraordinary to have them" (Interview SCNU/3).

Another respondent, a returned Ph.D. in Psychology, reported his regret that he had spent so much more time, to achieve the same or even fewer publications than he would have had in China, because he had targeted international journals (SCNU/5).

A third respondent, a well-known figure in the Chinese educational studies circle, but with no international reputation, said to me, "Why bother to seek international achievement? China is huge, and we can sustain our own knowledge network. It is wise to be a fowl's beak, not an ox's buttocks". This reference was to an old Chinese saying, meaning that it is preferable to lead in a petty position than to follow behind a greater leader. Is such an attitude really sustainable in the current international context, however? Perhaps only for those who are already in the senior ranks; and even these individuals may find themselves threatened.

3. ACADEMIC LIFE AND THE MARKET

There is a story about General Dwight Eisenhower's introduction as Columbia University's president. He opened his remarks by saying how pleased he was to meet with the "employees" of Columbia. Professor I. I. Rabi, distinguished senior faculty member and future Nobel Prize winner, rose to reply with measured dignity: "Sir, the faculty are not the *employees* of Columbia University, the faculty *is* Columbia University" (O'Brian, 1998, 15).

To some extent the Enlightenment understanding that perceived academics themselves as the university (Halsey, 1995), needing no external forms to contain their activities, sustained this view. A university was a site where people seek the truth, and make it known. Society had a vested interest in supporting such institutions because the disinterested pursuit of knowledge was the basis of social progress. The possibility of a university was rooted in universal human nature, and an assumption of disinterested rationality. The impulse gives rise to esoteric knowledge and a custodial function for a selected body of adepts or specialists. This view saw the academic profession as "nothing but intellectual" with a "world-rejecting ethos" (Hunter, 1994, 99); it existed "outside economic exigencies and beyond the limits of accountability" (Symes, 1996, 135).

Nowadays, however, the nature of academic work is under challenge, and increasingly difficult to define. While it is often defined by its intellectualism and scholarship (since academic work still underpins scholarship [Hort, 1996]), academic work is becoming more varied, to the point at which, according to some, professional identity for an academic is difficult to sustain. It is indeed difficult to generalise about the professoriate.

The coexistence of different perspectives has been noted in other parts of the world, as well as in China. Burton Clark (1987) points out that the professoriate is made up of fragments. Within China, too, significant variations exist. Most faculty in prestigious, key universities have strong international connections, and are much more cosmopolitan in their approach than their counterparts in provincial institutions. The life of a full professor of biology at Peking University is thus very different from that of an assistant professor of the same discipline at Xingjiang University (Yang and Welch 2002). The difference can be equally striking even within the same region or institution. The life of a professor of civil engineering is very different from that of a professor of Chinese classical literature within one institution, as is illustrated below.

One commonality, however, is the growing pressure of the market. Links between government policy in higher education and economic reform are becoming increasingly explicit in China, but the downside of marketisation is not always recognised. Emphasis on business practices has not always increased quality in higher education, or promoted academic collaboration; indeed, in many cases it has increased individualism at the expense of community (Currie and Newson, 1998). Thus, arguably, the benefits of marketisation and privatisation have been overstated; they yield major problems as well as benefits (Marginson, 1995; Smyth, 1995), and often lead to poor morale among many academic staff (Ball, 1990; Welch, 1998).

Allied to this is an attack on tenure. Worldwide, the tenured workforce will soon be in the minority, and the conditions associated with tenure are under relentless pressure in industrialised countries (Burgess and Straghen, 1996). Likewise, in China the "iron rice bowl" or guaranteed employment with associated benefits such as housing and health care, will not exist much longer, since the government is determined to reform the internal operation of universities in the name of efficiency. As in other countries (Meek, 1995; Kennedy, 1996; Grigg, 1996), the collegiate model of governance is being replaced by a managerialist form. Deans and Presidents are already under great pressure to achieve results within a context of rising competitiveness, and demands for greater efficiencies (Welch 2002b).

While academics internationally already inhabit universities that are rapidly changing, being restructured, and adopting practices that are more commonly found in business (Currie, 1996; Currie and Newson, 1998), the Chinese professoriate have not as yet felt compelled to internalise a deeper awareness of globalisation processes. They do not feel an urgent need to ask why universities and the governments regulating them are choosing this particular direction for reform (Hort, 1996). An overwhelming majority of them see the recent development as inevitable, although many still find it unappealing and long for the lifestyle of traditional Chinese scholars (which allowed more time for reflection, and was generally much less demanding).

Some of the negative features of the free market in the economic and social spheres are also observable in the academic sector. In particular, academics' commitment to teaching and research duties has been diminished significantly. As one interviewee who had just had three years overseas experience indicated:

> "It is now a free market economy; its impact on academics is obvious. People need to survive first. I think people are attaching more importance to their material life. Nowadays, many academics face a struggle for survival. This does not mean they have no food. But they need their own house. A house costs between 80,000 to 100,000 *Yuan,* at least. That's several hundred *Yuan* per month: if they are fully reliant on their wage, it is impossible to have one. So it's very natural for them to shift their attention to things other than their teaching and research duties. I am sure the hottest topic in Chinese campuses is not scholarship, but housing. Once you have your own housing, you need to spend a great deal (more) on decoration and furniture. Believe me, the catchword in the coming ten years or so will be: 'Have you got your own house?' and 'How much do you spend on your house decor?'" (Interview SCNU/3).

The interviewee himself had spent nearly 200,000 *Yuan* (US$25,000) on decor and fittings for his house. I was told by his university that he had earned this money in the United States, during the period when he was nominally a Visiting Scholar, but in fact owned a Chinese restaurant.

My interview with the other, aforementioned returned scholar, who had taken his Ph.D. in Japan, and was now a full professor and head of a department with doctoral programs, was conducted just after this respondent had successfully competed for the post of director of the university's personnel department. His choice of this career path had been based more on economic than academic rationales, since to be a director of a personnel section generally means attaining more power and income (often hidden) than that of a full professor (Shen, 2000).

Against this background, a combination of greed and laziness is another negative feature becoming more prominent in Chinese universities. While many academics desperately seek economic benefits and seniority, they may also pursue every means to avoid hard academic work. This contributes to rushed and poor-quality research. Mistakes and superficiality can be readily found in many research publications which, ironically, are fomented by the academic promotion system. While, in theory, publications reflect the writers' academic level and should be a secure basis upon which to seek promotion, in practice, many Chinese academics improvise publications purely for the sake of professional promotion (Shen, 2000). Further, because most Chinese scholarly journals are not refereed, publication relies heavily on one's personal contacts with editors. While the international arena is also not immune from this problem, it is rather less pronounced.

4. GENDER DIFFERENCES

Inequalities between genders are noticeable in the academic profession worldwide. The pioneering *International Survey of the Academic Profession* originally developed under the aegis of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching found that gender disparities were marked among the whole population in each of the countries and systems covered (Australia, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, Germany, Hong Kong, Korea, Israel, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Sweden, Russia, the UK and USA) (Altbach, 1996; see also Stiver Lie and O' Leary 1990, Poole, Bornholt and Summers 1998). More recent studies demonstrate that opportunities to travel and study abroad actively discriminate against women academics (Welch, 1997b). Research concerning the position of women on the general staff in universities also shows that women are predominantly clustered in the lowest levels of the university hierarchy (McLean, 1996).

Certainly, throughout China, a larger proportion of female academics in China's higher education institutions hold lower academic titles than men, which thus impacts unfavourably on their academic careers. Statistics show that women formed 12% of Professors, 21.9% of Associate Professors, 32.7% of Lecturers, and 41.37% of Teacher Assistants, of the total full-time faculty in Chinese universities. The composition of the 119,683 female academics in the early-mid 1990s, revealed that 28.97% were Teacher Assistants, 44.4% Lecturers, 17.48% Associate Professors,

2.45% Full Professors, and 6.7% without any academic titles (Wei, 1995, 82-83). More recent statistics present a similar picture, clearly underlining (as in Table 1, below) that, as is common in systems of higher education internationally, most women do not hold senior positions.

Table 1. Percentages of female faculty in Chinese universities in 1999

	Total	Female faculty	Percentage
Full Professors	39359	5933	15.07%
Associate Professors	125900	37896	30.1%
Lecturers	156390	65359	41.79%
Teacher Assistants	83196	39855	47.9%
Instructors	20837	9931	47.66%

Source: Ministry of Education, 2000, 12-13.

The present Chinese retirement regulations only compound this problem, setting the retirement age of women academics at 55, compared with 60 for men, thus meaning that female academics have an effective working life five years shorter than their male colleagues. The persistence of traditional gender roles, moreover, mean that childbirth and child care in practice often subtracts a number of years from women's time at work, which places female Chinese academics in a doubly unfavourable position with regard to the time available to them.

Persistent inequalities exist in the mobility of academic women in Chinese universities. Although the history of Chinese women studying abroad can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, only a limited number of women were enabled to study abroad. Today, too, women academics still have fewer chances to conduct research, attend international conferences or lecture, abroad. Evidence from Northeast Normal University, for example, reveals that the percentages of all women academics, who travelled abroad, remained relatively low 16.2%, 12% and 11.6% respectively in 1995, 1996 and 1997 (Northeast Normal University International Affairs Office, 1997). This is largely the case nationally.

For historical, cultural, social and economic reasons (Shakeshaft, 1986; Jayaweera, 1997; Zhang, 1997), women are still undervalued, relative to men. To most female Chinese academics, it is the cultural factor that stands out. The traditional idea that men are superior to women is still deeply rooted in most people's minds, including government officers and younger generations. While this perception has led to gender inequalities, it also naturalises them to a degree (despite official rhetoric regarding gender equity), and hence is difficult to eradicate. The persistence of traditional gender stereotypes means, in practice, that men's lives are seen as more oriented around careers, while women's are typically seen as hinging more upon family and domestic concerns. This effectively still prevents women from participating fully in social and work activities.

Such findings are underlined by nearly *all* female academic interviewees; both very successful, senior academics, and the ordinary, more numerous teaching and research staff. One female Associate Professor from an Institute of Higher Education responded:

> "Women experience far more difficulties in participating in international activities. I want some overseas experience, as a Visiting Scholar, in order to have a better understanding of Western culture. But this is not easy: in fact, it is very difficult in China, if you want your family to be better-off. You need a senior professional title, your own home, and so on. These all take time. Two years ago I wanted to go abroad, but I did not have a sufficiently senior academic rank. For those (women) who have not married or with no children, it's much easier. After marriage, family is the biggest obstacle. My husband has his own career (also an academic), and I've got a child to look after. My husband also wants to go abroad. But he doesn't care about it so much" (Interview SCNU/8).

As universities worldwide are increasingly starved of funds, problems in higher education are deepening in many countries, and the academic profession is in crisis almost everywhere (Altbach and Davis, 1999). In this context, it is female academics who tend to carry heavier burdens in terms of social and familial expectations, and who suffer most (Currie and Newson, 1998). Thus Chinese female academics lose out to their male colleagues in opportunities to further their studies at home and/or abroad, in obtaining research grants, and in many others aspects: they compete with male academics on an unequal footing.

5. INTERNAL DIFFERENTIATION

Imbalanced regional development within China has been a social problem for thousands of years. It is being aggravated, rather than reduced, by the current transformation from the planned to a free-market economy, and by the shift in regional development policy since 1978 (Hu et al., 1996). Consequently, the development of higher education, as both a stimulus for and an outcome of change, differs from region to region due to very different socio-economic conditions and tasks (Pan and Wu, 1990; Ding, 1995).

Regional financial disparity has an evident effect on universities, and accordingly on the professoriate. Staff employed by higher education institutions in better-developed areas are much more likely to receive significant assistance and investment from various organisations, particularly the private sector. Those in poorer areas, by contrast, often lack such support and feel powerless to build up quality teaching and research programs. The differentiation between the national "key" universities, which are directly under the Ministry of Education (Cheng, 1998), and their more everyday provincial higher education cousins, is quite apparent. Colleagues in better-resourced institutions in more affluent regions can much more readily take advantage of opportunities to secure more international publications and collaboration.

For example, both South China University of Technology (SCUT) and Zhongshan University (ZU) are national 'key' universities located in Guangdong, a Southern gate of China adjoining Hong Kong and Macau, which established an early lead in opening itself to the outside world (Vogel, 1989), faster implementation of free market economic practices, and accelerated regional development. Among publications of SCUT's staff published in 1996, 38 were indexed by the *Science*

Citation Index (SCI), 40 in the *Index to Scientific and Technological Proceedings* (ISTP), and 39 in the *Engineering Index* (EI) (South China University of Technology, 1997, pp. 100-101). In the same year, ZU staff published 92 scientific articles in internationally recognised scholarly journals. The number of articles that were both included and cited by SCI reached 87, while the EI included 63 articles by ZU staff. In sharp contrast, staff at Xinjiang University, located in the much less developed far west of China, published 11 articles in SCI, 5 in EI and 2 in ISTP in 1997. The numbers were respectively 5, 2, 1 and 2, 2, 1 in 1996 and 1995 (Welch and Yang, 2002).

Taking Mathematics research as an example, an interviewee, the Director of Academic Affairs Office at ZU, expressed the different approach adopted by elite universities:

> "As to mathematics research, for our University, a leading finding in China is almost meaningless; (it is) only when it is acknowledged as internationally pioneering that it can have real value" (Interview ZU/3).

This was echoed exactly in another interview with the Dean of Mathematics at Peking University, who claimed:

> "As the Dean, I am not interested in anything that is regarded as first-class within China. Our goal is targeted at world-class research products. We plan to be able to place our Faculty among the world top 50 in the coming 5-10 years" (Interview PEK/3).

Most academics in provincial universities, however, continue to work behind closed doors without much attention to international development in their fields. The situation is much more serious in the humanities and social sciences, where a surprising number of academic staff have recently gained higher degrees with little knowledge about what is going on with their areas of study outside mainland China. Reasons elicited from the interviewees were: the profound lack of foreign language reference journals and books (regrettably, an on-going problem, due both to financial stringencies and made worse by the rising prices of foreign books and journals); little or no substantial scholarly communications; and lack of incentives to work toward internationalisation. This is beginning to change, with current Ministry policy now mandating that some 15% of university courses are to be taught in a foreign language, most commonly English.

Another element of internal differentiation is the diversity among disciplines. The overall picture is that international communication is integrated much more systematically throughout the natural sciences and engineering than in arts, humanities, and some social sciences. While in some science departments, international contacts are becoming increasingly common, an utterly different scene is presented in the fields of arts and humanities, and social sciences. The overwhelming majority of international research projects were found to be within the natural sciences. Of the staff surveyed in Guangzhou with international research projects, 50% came from natural sciences, while another 21.43% were from Engineering (Yang and Welch, 2000).

This finding echoes that of the bibliometric study carried out by the Institute of Scientific and Technological Information of China (1990, 4), which revealed clear disparities among various areas, in terms of their visibility in domestic and international scholarly communities. Natural scientists tend to orient themselves to the international community, and tend to adopt common methodologies: therefore, they are more able to pursue joint work with foreign colleagues. In the social sciences and humanities, by contrast, there is a big gap between what the Chinese regard as worthwhile scholarship, and what interests the predominantly Western researchers in the international community.

Moreover, barriers such as capacity in foreign languages, and relative lack of funding pose more serious questions for these latter areas, given the lower funding priorities attached to the social sciences by the Chinese government (as in many other countries). Another barrier is the Chinese government's discouragement of interest in certain social sciences and humanities research topics, because of their potential threat to the legitimacy of existing power structures. Lastly, foreign scholars sometimes contend that certain Chinese scholarship is inferior or too parochial (Zhong, 1993).

Those Chinese academics who do take pains to publish in an international language, write with international readership in mind. For disciplines in humanities and social sciences, however, the choices of research themes and the methods of presentation of the results are often chosen from domestic viewpoints and with domestic references, as well as having a domestic readership in mind. They thus attract less international attention. Researchers publish their research almost exclusively in Chinese, while in the natural sciences and technology, more emphasis is placed on disseminating research results in an international language, predominantly English (Yang, 2000; Zhong, 1993, 1998).

These disciplinary disparities have a direct effect on international exchange in various subjects. In science, engineering and technology, there are significant opportunities for increasing present levels of collaboration between overseas universities and those institutions in China that already have well-developed expertise in these fields. Such exchanges are far less common, however, in the social sciences, due to the more discrepant ideologies, paradigms and discourses inherent in these fields, and higher dependency on language to convey their meanings (Zhong, 1998). Opportunities to co-operate with international partners or win grants from external resources are much more limited (Zweig and Chen, 1998).

Such disciplinary differentiation within various faculties, even departments, has led to new problems. It undermines the university's capacity to operate as an integrated whole, and causes tensions among its staff. Two interviews conducted within the same university illustrate this tellingly. One interviewee from Chemical Engineering made the following comment:

> "Nowadays in China, we can barely support ourselves if we fail to be granted research funds from the governments. If we can't co-operate with industry, we won't live a good life. I think money means intelligence these days. The first priority must be money. It can also be utilised as the sole criterion for university development" (Interview SCUT/1).

Another interviewee, a professor of English, also stressed the importance of finance, but from a very different perspective:

> "Our situation is very different from the engineering departments. The most fundamental difficulty in the process of international communication is our financial situation. Each year I receive at least three or four conference invitations. I can't go because I can't afford the airfare. I went to the University of Hong Kong in September 1997, but that was because they paid all the fees for me. Our Foreign Languages Department has been granted a research project by the National Social Science Foundation. As you know, it is very competitive, less than 10 nationally, but it is about 20,000 *Yuan* only. As a foreign language department, we should have some foreign newspapers. This year we can only afford the Hong Kong-based *South China Morning Post* which costs us 4,000 *Yuan*. Last year I received an invitation from the City University of New York. They offered me a single airfare. But I still couldn't go because I was unable to find support for the return leg of the journey" (Interview SCUT/5).

6. CONCLUSIONS

These are hard times for the academic profession. Specialists also differ as to the future of the academic profession. While some maintain that academics conform, retreat or behave ritualistically (Jary and Perker, 1995), and 'mutely accept' the changes to their professional practices (McMurty, 1991, 216), others believe that academics are clever people, with rebellion and innovation as their forte, and frequently stand in strategic locations on the 'implementation staircase' (Trowler, 1997).

While prediction is fraught with difficulties, it seems clear that increasing government intervention in higher education, together with the growth of corporate managerialism have diminished academic autonomy and established a more overtly hierarchical structure within and between universities, accompanied by increased differentiation within the academic profession itself (McCollow and Lingard, 1996). At a time when all workers within universities have to dance to the tune of the economy to a lesser or greater extent, this has led to an emphasis upon the utilitarian rather than transformative value of knowledge. It is now no longer sensible to speak of a single academic profession (Kogan et al., 1994). In this context, it is junior, female and minorities groups that suffer most from the on-going reforms in higher education (Nixon, 1996).

Chinese academics are confronted with double centre-periphery configurations. Internationally, a small segment of the professoriate from major research universities in major countries are characterised as the "research cadre," the arbiter of most of the scientific disciplines, and members of the various disciplinary decision-making elites. Within China, those national key universities in capital cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing occupy positions of influence, dominate the mainstream journals, and publish more frequently.

With growing globalisation and market-orientation evident in higher education, Chinese academics feel increasingly ill at ease, and less secure. The international trend towards globalising universities, as elsewhere, forms a bigger threat to female academics, to those in the fields that have less direct relevance to markets, and to

those from provincial universities. Nonetheless the pressure for further market reforms, and further internationalisation, is likely to be unrelenting.

7. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Financial support by the International Development Fund and the Faculty of Education, University of Sydney are gratefully acknowledged. The author would like to thank Professor Anthony Welch from the University of Sydney, in particular, for his sage advice and support. Responsibilities for the views expressed above rest with the author.

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[1] After being closed to international intercourse for decades, China adopted its policy of opening to the outside world at the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in December 1978.

GERARD POSTIGLIONE

THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION IN HONG KONG

1. ACADEMIC INCIDENTS

In the month following the return of sovereignty, the world watched and waited to see how Hong Kong was to be transformed from a free, open, albeit undemocratic society, to one under the banner of the People's Republic of China. At the time, it seemed significant that one of the first incidents occurred within a month of July 1, 1997, and involved the academic profession (Postiglione, 1998a). A member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council aimed to remove two professors from their university posts for what he viewed as their unpatriotic views. The incident unfolded before the watchful public through front-page press coverage by Hong Kong's leading newspapers. Though the Legislator wrote to the presidents of two universities demanding these two professors be terminated for their views, the universities stood their ground and reaffirmed the principle of academic freedom. Within days, the Legislator in question made a public apology to the two professors. A week later, the incident was gone without a trace. Hong Kong remained a society that protected academic freedom. Or so it seemed.

In the years that followed, however, and unbeknown to most of Hong Kong, another professor was beginning to find himself under increased pressure to curtail his research. The powers that be were uncomfortable about the public opinion research being undertaken at Hong Kong's premier university that pointed to the declining popularity of the Chief Executive. An aide to the Chief Executive paid a visit to the office of the university Vice Chancellor, who chose not to enunciate the university's policy on academic freedom, and instead initiated action that eventually led to his resignation. This second post-1997 incident involving academic profession differed from the first. Rather than consisting of high-pitched argumentation before the press and public, this one occurred inside the walls of the academy, and was too subtle to be detected until the local media published an account by the professor in question. The incident, which took over a year to come to the attention of the local public and international media, was not as important for what it was than for what it represented. It revealed a post-1997 brand of educational politics that threatened the morale of the academic profession. A part of higher education had acquiesced within a culture of consensus, and, whether intentionally or not, colluded with government to curtail the right of professional autonomy. For the global academy, it was yet another affront to professional autonomy. Yet, this time it was not from the developing world, where there is a higher incidence of such events, but rather from a developed society with a reputation for openness. The mainland authorities remained quiet throughout the incident in accordance with the one-country, two-system policy, though it was unlikely they appreciated those viewed as not supporting the Hong Kong government line.

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 193—204.

The irony of this incident was that it would not have come to the surface had it not been for Hong Kong's free press, one that fought many battles for its survival long before sovereignty was returned to China in 1997. The same was not true for the academy. For most of Hong Kong's history, it's one or two universities were insulated from a society in which commercial interests towered high above those of the academe.

This paper begins by raising several questions: Why was autonomy for the academic profession never a major issue in Hong Kong? Why did it take so long to become one? How has the academic autonomy been transformed? What is the state of the academic profession in Hong Kong? These questions are approached through a brief periodisation of Hong Kong's academic history, followed by a look at various dimensions of the national and global contexts.

2. ACADEMIC PERIODS

Period 1. During the colonial period, when Hong Kong was a one-university town, trade and commerce reigned supreme. The university was an elite institution that was said to serve the key function of supporting the development of the motherland. By the 1950s, it had shifted its function locally to the preparation of the territory's civil servants.[1] It was staffed and run by British academics and fewer local Chinese, until after World War II. The University of Hong Kong, to be joined in this endeavour in 1964 by the Chinese University of Hong Kong, remained a teaching institution with little research capacity until the 1980s. Its student body was increasingly working class, as the middle class sent its children overseas for their higher education. There is little evidence that university academics were muzzled in anyway. With no threat to unseat the colonial government in Hong Kong, university academics were generally free to speak their own minds. Yet, their impact on the society of immigrants was not very significant. Overseas academics were less likely to receive coverage in the Chinese media. Their academic freedom was insured by law, but also by lack of power, since their foreignness largely prevented them from being a potent organizing force in the society. Most overseas academics were British and their aspirations for social change were funnelled through the Foreign Office or through their compatriots in government during the days of small-town university life. In the 1970s and 1980s, Chinese academics became increasingly active, though mostly through small non-government activist groups and forums. Academic freedom was not a major issue in higher education during this period.

Period 2. As 1997 approached, Hong Kong found itself with an academic profession that was increasingly self-conscious, slightly more activist and globally networked. The calibre of the academic staff increased by virtue of the expansion of postgraduate education and the ability to attract top academics through generous salary packages, as well as Hong Kong's global visibility. British academics became a minority within the overseas academic community for the first time, and the large number of Hong Kongese who had earned doctorates in the United States and elsewhere began to return in larger numbers. The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, established in 1990, recruited heavily from the United States, and moved academic culture more toward the American higher education model. Two

polytechnics and two colleges were also moving toward university status, a move that would significantly strengthen the academe in relation to business and commerce, and give Hong Kong a greater global academic presence. Local academics took advantage of the increasing opportunities to turn their activism toward the society where education levels were increasing, the middle class was expanding, Hong Kong cultural identity was becoming more salient, and opportunities to enter politics through district boards and legislative council elections were increasing. In this period, professional autonomy in the academy was discussed more than ever before, though it was never seriously tested (Postiglione and Tang, 1997). The University Grants Commission issued a statement about academic freedom and professional autonomy that reflected the international status quo, which placed an increase emphasis on accountability. This pre-1997 period was largely one that anticipated, with increasing concern, what academic life under a one country and two system framework would mean. It was a period in which Hong Kong journalists, more than academics, were being tested. Largely unnoticed, however, was a growing trend toward self-censorship in the Hong Kong academy.

Period 3. The post-1997 period found Hong Kong with seven publicly funded universities. The expansion of student numbers, greater inter university competition for funding, public demand for accountability, and the Asian economic crisis all weighed heavily on university life (Postiglione and Mak, 1997). As the cult of managerialism engulfed the universities, the relationship between the new government with its sovereignty having shifted from London to Beijing, began to change. The government's strong ties to the business community intensified the call for more market oriented thinking on university development, something that many other countries were also experiencing to one degree or another (Green, 1997). The academic profession became increasingly localized, while at the same time, both closer to academics in the mainland and more integrated into the global academy. The same was true of the university administration. Yet, while the university administration became more aligned with the government and business community, the academic profession remained pluralistic and liberal minded. Meanwhile politics in Hong Kong was becoming more polarized than ever before, largely on the basis of being for or against a closer relationship to Beijing. Self-censorship in the academy remained high; however, those who had views to express could do so without concern of loosing their posts. A culture of obedience fostered by the Hong Kong education system, and reinforced by government, was situated side by side with a globalised academic tradition that still valued critical thought and scholarship. Sooner or later these two forces would face off. Given the circumstances, the academic freedom incident of 2000 was almost inevitable. Hong Kong has entered the 21st Century with a small victory for academic freedom and autonomy, and more realistic expectations about future challenges facing the academic profession.

3. ACADEMIC CONTEXTS

Hong Kong has experienced major changes in higher education during the last decade of the 20th century. Changes includes institutional consolidation, a credit unit system, staff reviews, management reviews, recurrent funding assessment, teaching

and learning quality process reviews, new admission standards, broadening courses, staff re-titling, as well as increase of students from outside Hong Kong, and a "top-slicing" of department budgets for reallocation by university heads. These changes are part of a systematic effort to increase quality, after a large expansion that took place in the first half of the 1990s (University Grants Committee, 1996). Very little of this change, so far, seems directly tied to Beijing's 1997 resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong. As a result of the closer relationship with the rest of China, academics in Hong Kong began to ponder the possible new challenges to preserve academic freedom and institutional autonomy (Postiglione, 1996; Postiglione, 1998b). Also, the East Asian economic slowdown tended to divert the higher aims of a university education to the vagaries of market forces (Postiglione, 1998b). This economic climate has changes at a time when a larger and more educated middle-class in Hong Kong has become more interventionist in matters pertaining to publicly funded higher education. The middle class who sent their children overseas for higher education, view the high cost of local higher education as less relevant and more exorbitant. Meanwhile, local employers are less than satisfied with the quality of local university graduates. Not surprisingly, this has led to a call for market forces to play more of a role in covering and recovering the cost of local higher education.

The knowledge economy had a profound influence on the academic profession generally and in Hong Kong in particular (Altbach, 1997a; Task Force, 2000). Its academics continue to be far more involved in the flow and control of knowledge than their academic counterparts on the mainland. For most of the 1990s, they wielded significant influence upon academic policies at the department, school, and institutional levels. Nevertheless, new forms of management, similar to those introduced globally, were implemented beginning in 1998, and have muted to some extent, the clout of academic staff in university governance. Yet, the composition of Hong Kong's professoriate, with a high proportion of overseas trained Chinese and foreign academics, ensured itself a central role in global academic discourse (Postiglione, 1996: Table 5.1).

Information technology has strengthened global linkages in Hong Kong higher education (Blurton, 1999). The early digital orientation of the universities in Hong Kong, for example, gave them a jump on their counterpart mainland institutions. The gap continues to shrink. Nonetheless, an increasingly vibrant electronic discourse takes place between universities in mainland China and Hong Kong, despite all the restrictions. Chinese academics are generally not permitted to send printed material, such as academic papers, out of the country without seeking permission from their work units (*Danwei*). Sending academic papers through e-mail files is covered by the same restrictions. Enforcement was easy during the infancy of the internet in China, but expanding electronic communications have become virtually impossible to monitor closely.

By the end of the 20th century, the academic profession in Hong Kong had benefited much from global internet access. Hong Kong received dividends in the form of research output by coupling its substantial research funding and information technology resources with China's vast pool of academic talent so as to expand data bases and increase research publications across all fields of science. Massive

amounts of data flow in either direction in a split second, and the organization of such research projects has strengthened the quality of research methodology and skills on both sides. The potential for this electronic interaction is almost limitless.

4. ACADEMIC VIEWS

The average age of Hong Kong faculty was 43 in 1993 and 45 in 1999. This was relatively young as compared to many countries (University Grants Committee 1996). Japan, Russia, and Israel, for example, averaged 51 years in 1993 (Boyer, Altbach and Whitelaw, 1994:35). By the time of Hong Kong's return to the mother land, most of China's full professors were between 56-60, however, almost 30 percent of mainland academic staff across equivalent ranks of Assistant, Associate and Full professor were aged between 31-35, due largely to the rapid expansion of higher education in recent years (China Education Statistical Yearbook, 1995:28).

Regarding the proportion of staff at different academic ranks, Hong Kong's system is bottom heavy compared to their counterparts overseas. For example, at the University of Hong Kong in 1995, less than 20 percent of staff were full professors (including Professor and Reader categories) as compared to 42 percent at the University of British Columbia, 49 percent at the University of Montreal, 59 percent at Brown University and 56 percent at Harvard University.[2] This situation has changed as a system of re-titling from British to American systems was introduced to improve efforts to recruit internationally, and also to provide incentives to longstanding staff at lower ranks.

Hong Kong has been one, if not the most, international city in China, and therefore, we might expect that this has affected the view of academic staff about their degree of professional autonomy. Though it may be argued that there is more intellectual freedom in Shanghai than in Beijing, independent critiques of the system are risky in both cities. At Hong Kong universities, independent critiques of the system may sometimes be frowned upon; however, a critical tradition rooted in the Western university model survives quite well. The 2000 crisis at the University of Hong Kong elevated the issue of academic freedom in post-1997 Hong Kong higher education, for the first time, in a major way. A colonial university culture did evolve within the context of a conservative Chinese society to support the status quo. Moreover, critical academics from Western societies could hardly constitute a threat, in and of themselves, largely due to their generally low level of integration into local culture and society. In short, each academic system has its own limits of expression, and while Hong Kong universities have clearly been more open, that openness has not been without limitations.

5. SCHOLARSHIP

The contemporary concept of scholarship has increasingly come to include the integration between activities of teaching, research, and service (Glassick, Huber and Maeroff, 1997). Academic departments of universities in Hong Kong are allocated government resources on the basis of their research productivity,

procurement of outside research funds, and number of postgraduate students completing their degree. In mainland China, universities relied on government for most of their funding, but are now being encouraged to take their wares to the marketplace in an effort to raise more of their own (Min, 1997). Low and no budget research is still the norm, and under these conditions, government funding remains the largest source for research, and therefore has a major influence on the direction and scope of research. Most academic journals are based at universities or research institutes, rather than tied as closely to professional associations as is the case in the West. Nevertheless, there are more similarities with regard to views concerning research than in all other areas surveyed.

Over half of the staff from Hong Kong's three type 1 research universities (HKT1RU) say their interests lean toward or lie primarily in research rather than teaching, not unexpected since they are research universities.[3] By 1999, however, the HKT1RU figure had increased to 70.2 percent, indicating that recruitment, incentives, and university culture had changed to reflect the reforms in higher education. Over 50 percent of the academic staff from 9 of the 14 countries, including Hong Kong, in the international study also stated that their interests leaned toward or were primarily in research. Most HKT1RU faculty agree that a strong record of successful research was important in staff evaluation at their institution, and that it was difficult for a person to achieve tenure if he or she did not publish. By 1999, 95.5 percent of HKT1RU staff agreed or strongly agreed that a strong record of successful research was important in staff evaluation at their institutions. Moreover, 88.9 percent agreed or strongly agreed that it is difficult for a person to achieve tenure if he or she does not publish. When asked if publications used for promotion are just counted and not qualitatively evaluated, 23 percent of HKT1RU staff disagreed with that statement in 1993 and this increased to 33.6 percent by 1999, however, the 1993 figure was still lower compared to most countries in the international survey, except Russia. In Hong Kong, the issue of how to assess the quality of publications was prominent in the period leading up to the survey, and the Hong Kong University Grants Committee (UGC) has responded with measures to make the process more objective, however, the issue remains heavily debated. Still, HKT1RU staff appears to have more faith in the system of research assessment than their counterparts, who largely view it as a counting exercise.

When it comes to the pressure to do research and how much is expected, only Chilean academics (38 percent) in 1993 felt under more pressure than those in Hong Kong (26 percent) (Altbach, 1997). In 1993, 28 percent of HKT1RU faculty agreed that they frequently feel under pressure to do more research than they would actually like to do. The figure increased to 45.5 percent by 1999 because of the reforms. In 1993, 85 percent of HKT1RU staff believed that regular research activity was expected of them, however, the HKT1RU figure increased to 97.2 percent by 1999. The reforms in higher education accounted much for the changes in the Hong Kong figure. In 1993, 38 percent of HKT1RU faculty agree that research funding is easier to get now than 5 years ago. This decreased to 31.5 percent in 1999, due to both the economic crisis and the increased competition for funds. Moreover, the rating given to research equipment and computer facilities contrasted sharply. Hong Kong

academic staff were near, or at the top of the international ratings, agreeing strongly that they were satisfied with the resources provided by their universities.

An authoritarian style of administration would seem to support restrictions on professional autonomy in conducting certain types of research. In fact, only about 38 percent of the academic staff from four "type 1 research universities" (T1RU) in Beijing and Shanghai agreed that they can focus their research on any topic of special interest to them, while the figure for Hong Kong higher education staff is over 80 percent (81.8 percent in 1999).[4] While this is a great difference, and has a great deal to do with the sensitivity of so many research topics, yet, the difference also depends to some extent on access to research funding. It is difficult to acquire research funds on topics that are outside of the national five-year plan for research. Hong Kong research funds are not limited in the same way.

Over 60 percent for those surveyed in eleven of these countries, including Hong Kong (77.8 percent in 1999) agreed it was an especially creative and productive time, much higher than in on the mainland where most academics stay at one institution their entire career, including their graduate training. About 30 percent of HKT1RU staff have held regular academic appointments at more than two institutions, dropping to 24.7 percent in 1999 due to the increased localisation and little mobility between the three research universities in Hong Kong.

HKT1RU faculty had a more favourable view of the competency of top level administrators than their mainland counterparts. Yet, when compared to academic staff in other counties, Hong Kong academics had a less favourable view of the competency of their administrators. A high proportion of academics saw their administrators as autocratic in 1993, before major reforms. Thus, there is no reason to expect relations between faculty and administration to be judged as favourable by a large proportion of academic staff. When we look at the survey ratings for Hong Kong's other institutions of higher education, they appear remarkably similar to those in Beijing (BT1RU) and Shanghai (ST1RU). These institutions surveyed are more globally connected, which would seem to indicate that their staff-administrator relations are better than the national average. At the same time, however, they also have more academics who spend time at overseas universities, making them more willing to take a critical view of their own university governance system (Neave, Guy R and Frans A. Van Vugt, 1994).

Table 1: Views of Academic Staff in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Beijing

	HKT1RU	ST1RU	BT1RU	HK's other Universities
Top level administrators are providing competent leadership (% disagree)	57 (1993) 55 (1999)	36	11	
The administration is often autocratic (% agree)	57 (1993) 76 (1999)	72	42	

Relations between faculty and administration are good to excellent (% agree)	40 (1993) 39 (1999)	22	24	23 (1993) 39 (1999)
The administration supports academic freedom (% agree)	65 (1993) 47 (1999)	69	55	34 (1993) 39 (1999)
I am generally free to determine the content of the courses I teach (% agree)	78 (1993) 74 (1999)	42	51	44 (1993) 64 (1999)
I can focus my research on any topic that is of special interest to me (% agree)	90 (1993) 82 (1999)	50	53	
Based on your experiences at this institution, how would you assess the intellectual atmosphere?(%)	Excellent 7 (1993) 6 (1999)	18	19	Excellent 0.8 (1993) 3 (1999)
	Good 44 (1993) 45 (1999)	64	57	Good 29 (1993) 40 (1999)

While Hong Kong's original universities were colonial in nature, all university staff had access to agendas, detailed minutes, and supporting documents of university senate meetings, something not done in mainland China. By the late 1990s, this administrative transparency in Hong Kong was extended even further. Another contextual consideration concerned the fact that most HKT1RU academics (over 90 percent) received their doctorates in Western universities where the tradition was more open, less hierarchical, and more decentralized than in Hong Kong, which might account for certain aspects of their response patterns. The effect of the current pattern of managerialism on Hong Kong institutions is not yet clear.

6. ACADEMIC FREEDOM

All universities in Hong Kong tout academic freedom as an important value embodied in their university traditions, yet a minority of academic staff at HKT1RU agreed that the administration supports academic freedom. Proportionately fewer academics at Hong Kong's other four institutions of higher education agreed in 1993 and 1999. To explain why Hong Kong's other four institutions of higher education do not see their administration as very supportive of academic freedom, it should be

pointed out that these institutions were only recently upgraded to university status and their academic and administrative cultures have taken more time to evolve. Yet, by contrast with HKT1RU, the agreement rate of Hong Kong's other four institutions rose significantly.

HKT1RU faculty indicated they were generally free to determine the content of the courses they teach. A very high number of HKT1RU faculty indicated that they were free to focus their research on any topic they choose. The figures for the other Hong Kong's other institutions were a little lower on the academic atmosphere.

7. HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

In Hong Kong, a place not noted for being an intellectual, scientific, or cultural centre, less than 25 percent of HKT1RU staff believe academics are the most influential opinion leaders. In China, there is also a long tradition in which the state both expects and uses scholars to speak out in support of its policies. The figure for HKT1RU was that about 50 percent in 1993 and 72.9 in 1999 agreed that the status of academics is declining. So while Hong Kong academics were becoming more influential opinion leaders, their respect by the public was declining. This is supported by research, which shows that Hong Kong people, particularly in 1990, were distrustful of politicians and unwilling to give them high popularity ratings. In this case, the involvement of Hong Kong academics in politics has actually contributed little, if anything, to their status in society. More generally, this trend is linked to growing globalisation as witnessed by the international academic crisis and the decline of the professoriate (Altbach, 1997a).

8. INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF ACADEMIC ACTIVITY

The global character of universities is tied to their aim of dealing with issues shared by most of humanity. Beyond this, there are many indicators of globally linked academic activity, and some universities excel more in this respect than others. Some only excel on one or two indicators and fall far behind on others. Among some of the indications are the number of foreign students and scholars that flow back and forth between university systems, the global character of the curriculum, and cross national scholarly publishing in other languages, to name only a few.

Hong Kong's T1RU would seem to be much more global in character than those in mainland China. This may be due to the links with Great Britain, large number of tenured overseas staff, exposure to the West, English medium of instruction, and many other factors. Only 32 percent of HKT1RU academics stated that foreign students are enrolled frequently or occasionally at their institutions. However, this increased to 60.4 percent by 1999, as Hong Kong's institutions of higher education expanded graduate programs and began to reach out to other countries, especially as the number of local students willing to forego their income and enrol in full-time programs was not as great as expected. The obstacle in Hong Kong still has much to do with the high costs of living in Hong Kong for foreign students, the shortage of dormitory facilities for international students, the choice by international students of

Mandarin language in Beijing and Shanghai, rather than Cantonese dialect in Hong Kong, and the more expansive outreach of universities in China to other countries (ie. Japan, Korea, Russia) because of state to state relations, while Hong Kong is more focused, for historical reasons, on English speaking Western nations.

When we examine the flow of students and scholars in the other direction, however, the picture is quite different. More HKT1RU staff, for example, say that their students have studied abroad. In 1993, 19 percent said frequently and 30 percent said occasionally. In 1999, 30.2 percent said frequently and 45.2 percent said occasionally. When it comes to staff travelling abroad to study or do research, HKT1RU academics indicated over 70 percent in 1993, and 65 percent in 1999, said one or more months over the last three years). The reason has much to do with the ease with which HKT1RU academics can travel in or out of Hong Kong without having to apply to the authorities for permission, as is the case in other parts of China. The fact that most earned their doctorates overseas and a large proportion make their permanent home overseas is not a neutral factor. The drop of five percent may be accounted for by the increased number of local faculty and the ease of overseas content through the internet, as well as by the tightening of funds for this purpose due to the economic crisis in the late 1990s. The same response pattern appears for service as a faculty member at an institution in another country. Less than one in four HKT1RU staff had done so in 1993 and one in five in 1999.

Hong Kong has a reputation as an international city with a cosmopolitan outlook, however, it may not hold true for all aspects of Hong Kong life. Over 66 percent in 1993 of academic staff in HKT1RU, and 77.6 percent in 1999, indicated that they think that the curriculum needs to be more international in focus than at present. The curriculum in Hong Kong's top institutions may be more international than that in mainland China universities, however, the expectations of HKT1RU staff are higher in this regard, as reflected in their response pattern.

Almost 45 percent of HKT1RU staff reported that international connections are important in faculty evaluations at their institutions. Finally, about 100 percent of HKT1RU academics, all of whom can read English, indicated that they must read books and journals published overseas in order to keep up with developments in their fields.

9. CONCLUSION

The burning question remains whether Hong Kong academics will move more toward self imposed censorship, or whether reforms on the mainland will bring academic culture more in line with that in Hong Kong, and the mainstream culture of the global academy.

Unlike most universities on the mainland, the Hong Kong academy has maintained a global academic cultural and a relatively international staff. If the economy begins to prosper again, there is every reason to expect a further expansion of higher education early into the new millennium, and a conversion from a three to a four-year university system. There is also a potential for staff recruitment in Hong Kong to be more globally inclusive than in the past, when recruitment was from a

small number of countries. The same may not occur for some time in mainland universities, where overseas academics are generally few and marginalized.

Changes affecting the academic profession in China's two systems have been very much a function of global trends in higher education, such as the devolution of financial responsibility, and the new managerialism (Scott, 1998; Currie and Newsome, 1998). Until the late 1980s, when Hong Kong was a two-university city, per unit costs were higher, but the scale of higher education was small. Staff costs account for almost half of the expenditure, and the public is increasingly conscious of getting value for money. The total expenditure on education as a percentage of the GDP in 2000-01 was 4.1% (over 50 billion) of which higher education received 23% (13 billion), excluding another 10% for postsecondary education. University staff are exposed to continuous assessment processes, and the pressure to produce has increased. Given staff salaries in mainland universities, the authorities there are finding it harder to place new demands on academic staff. This will change in the coming years, especially as student enrolments expand. For Hong Kong, staying abreast of global trends has helped it keep up with or ahead of most mainland universities. A remaining handicap for Hong Kong is a student recruitment network focused almost exclusively on local secondary school graduates, which will be expanded in years to come.

The integration of Hong Kong academics into the global academy has strengthened the values of academic autonomy and freedom. Increased engagement with academics in mainland China has caused some to acquiesce with the view of academic freedom as a privilege rather than a right. However, as academic freedom on the mainland has improved somewhat in recent years, China's universities have also come to take a more central place in global academic discourse. If academic traditions are preserved despite the new managerialism, the degree of academic integration of Hong Kong faculty into the global academy will be maintained. While the mainland academic profession may become confined to a more restricted space for some time to come, especially in the social sciences and humanities, for the Hong Kong system, the key issues will remain the maintenance of a high academic standards, the preservation of academic freedom, continued integration into the global academic discourse, and participating in constructive national developments in China.

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[1] I thank Peter Cunich for his helpful comments on the brief historical section. According to Peter Cunich, the function of the university from 1912 until 1950 was basically to produce (1) doctors for private practice and hospitals in HK and Malaya, (2) engineers for HK and China civil and mechanical engineering projects/ventures, and (3) teachers for the HK and Malayan education systems.

[2] Calculations by K.W. Ng, Statistics Department, University of Hong Kong, in his Figure 1: Comparison of Academic Staff between UHK and North American Universities, February 2, 1996, draft.

[3] Since these three universities (The University of Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong and The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology have the largest programs of postgraduate study we refer to them as HKT1RU.

[4] Type 1 research universities in Beijing and Shanghai refers to those institutions that are considered to have prestigious programs of research. The institutions in Beijing are among the top rated universities in the country. Those in Shanghai include Shanghai Jiaotong University, East China Normal University and Shanghai University.

ANTHONY WELCH

CONCLUSION: NEW MILLENNIUM, NEW MILIEU?

The kinds of challenges that face the academic profession worldwide at the onset of the new millennium are an intriguing mix of the generic and the contextualised (Altbach, 1996; Welch, 1997a, 2003, Currie in this volume). Too often, have critics, swept up in the now somewhat feverish terms in which the globalisation debate is sometimes couched, asserted brashly that the state no longer matters: that global forces of culture, politics and the economy are rendering national borders redundant, if they have not already done so.

The preceding chapters reveal that such assertions need to be taken with more than a grain of salt. Certainly, it is possible to point to examples of generic or "global" trends that are powerfully affecting the academic profession at the onset of the twenty-first century. At the same time, in order to understand their real effects, the importance of the local context must be fully acknowledged. In practice, then, the dialectic of the global and the local (Arnove and Torres 2003) is a far more powerful tool with which to understand such changes, than glib generalisations about globalisation effects.

1. THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL

Two or three examples suffice to illustrate the powerful intersection of the local and the global, in understanding the realities of educational reforms and their impact on the academic profession. While European Union (EU) efforts at harmonisation of their diverse higher education systems, underpinned by the Bologna Declaration (Bologna Declaration, Salamanca Convention, de Wit, 2001), are doubtless an important initiative, it is clear that deep-rooted national traditions are not so easily dislodged. National governments routinely sign declarations. Much more difficult however, is the reform of longstanding practices within universities, hallowed by hundreds of years of tradition. This is all the more the case when academics neither see the point of changing practices with which they are familiar, nor have had the rationale for the changes explained to them in any great detail. And even more the case when government officials, shuttling back and forth from Paris, Rome or Berlin, to Brussels, are also not fully convinced of the merits of the proposals, or the necessity to amend longstanding local practices and structures. The phenomenon of official assent by individual European ministries of education, to such agreements as the Bologna Declaration, (which commits EU nations to move towards harmonised stages and standards in higher education across the European space), being undermined by unofficial cross–national allegiances opposed to the reforms, or at least the speed with which they are supposed to be introduced, is by no means unknown in Europe. As ever, local considerations interact closely with international commitments.

Anthony Welch (ed.), The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession, 205—215.

A further generic trend to affect academics worldwide is arguably an outgrowth of the development of mass higher education systems. Evident in many systems of higher education, in both developed economies and the Third World, is an increasing mismatch between spiralling demand for higher education places, and the limited capacity, or perhaps willingness of states to fund this expansion. This is giving rise to several related phenomena, each arguably an index of the rise (perhaps renaissance might be a better term), of ideologies of business efficiency, within public sector institutions, including universities (Welch, 1998, 2004).

On the one hand, against a background of what has variously been characterised as an "age of anxiety" (Barnett, 1996, Beck, 1992), or a crisis of the state (Offe, 1993, Habermas, 1976, Welch, 1997), increasing financial pressures on universities have contributed to ever-rising demands for accountability (Altbach in this volume), on the part of the state. Systems of higher education around the world, are not merely being told to "do more, with less" as when, for example, Chinese universities were told over recent years that they were to receive an additional 25% of students annually, without additional staffing or accommodation resources. But the professoriates are also being pressured to account for their activities, including ways in which they expend their resources, in more and more detailed ways. This has given rise to something of an international cottage industry of developing and implementing so-called quality assurance mechanisms in higher education, although in practice, many academics see little if any positive relationship between such exercises, and gains in quality. Indeed, some have argued the relationship is more a negative one, and that the measures of "quality" that are used function to disguise actual declines in quality, and rather resemble a form of accountancy, than accountability. Such critics argue that these same measures of quality ignore other measures of declining quality, for example, academic staff in several systems are increasingly being casualised, or offered short term contracts, rather then tenure, and that student staff ratios have worsened appreciably. In Australia, to cite only one example, student-staff ratios worsened dramatically over the past decade - from 1:14.2 in 1993, to 1: 20.4 in 2002 (AVCC 2003), while the proportion of equivalent full-time casual staff has risen by around 60% over the same period (NTEU, 2003).

Moreover, while ministries in Korea, Germany and elsewhere commission research to investigate modes of staff and programme evaluation (Park, 2001, Welch, 2001), that can be married to technologies of performance funding, other research shows just how costly such exercises in "accountability" are, especially of staff time. Certainly, the costs to the system and to individual institutions, faculties and departments have been substantial; and are arguably continuing to rise. The former VC of a British university estimated some years ago, for example, that the costs to British universities of such efficiency audits were in the order of "a third of an average sized university's teaching capacity, 50 researchers" work and almost £250, 000 a year in photocopying' (Pritchard, 1994, 258). More recent UK estimates put the figures much higher:

> "Fees for 250,000 students; the cost of five universities; the pay of 10,000 lecturers: each equals – but probably underestimates – the £250 million annual cost of quality control, audit, accountability, and research assessment systems in English higher

> education. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland spend proportionately the same." (THES, 2001)

There is little to indicate that the costs to the Australian, or other national systems with equally sophisticated technologies of surveillance, are proportionately any less, and the effects on staff morale are substantial, as the chapter by McInnis and Anderson in this volume reveals. The very real concerns about the compliance costs to hard-pressed universities in the UK, mirror those voiced in Australia, for example, where after a decade and a half of a widening gap between ever-increasing enrolments, and the swift decline in the proportions of university budgets that are supplied by the national government, resources for teaching and research are already stretched.[1] The fact that no additional resources for "quality audits" are made available by the state, from whence such demands for data flow unendingly, leads to an inevitable impact on core activities of teaching, learning and research. While no-one seriously objects to universities being accountable for public funds, or for their activities (just as with other public sector institutions such as hospitals or transport systems), the diversion of the professoriate from their principal tasks, in order to cope with the substantial, and rising, demands of university evaluation systems, is a major concern.

2. A FRACTURED PROFESSION

A substantial and growing disparity in funding between institutions, not merely between countries, but also within a single higher education system, is another phenomenon to re-shape the lives of the professoriate. This is much more than the long-evident gap between most universities in the third world, and those in so-called advanced industrialised nations. It is certainly true that conditions for the professoriate in the developing world are often much less than adequate: autonomy can not be taken for granted, research facilities are often very limited, and remuneration poor. In regard to the latter, the Asian currency crisis of the late 1990s exacerbated the plight of the professoriate, ensuring that their inadequate academic salaries fell even further, and meaning that many had to resort to second jobs, and small business ventures, in order to make ends meet. Even in the so-called developing world however, growing gaps are apparent. A recent delegation from a German *Land* discovered, for example, when meeting with senior figures at Harvard, that the total sum of state funds available to universities within their *Land*, was much the same as the budget for Harvard itself.

Within national systems, too, growing cleavages are often evident. In China, for example, the state is deliberately fostering a small number of elite institutions, such as Peking University, Qing Hua and Fudan, in an attempt to accelerate their development, and make them into world-class institutions over coming decades. Project 211 and other such efforts are widening the existing sizeable gap between such major, national universities, however, and more regional or less-favoured institutions. Such less eminent universities, and academic staff employed therein, are thus falling further and further behind, in the competition for resources, and the struggle to raise quality, a process of differentiation underlined in Yang's chapter in

this volume. Even within institutions, greater disparities are becoming evident, such that a Professor of Business at a major university in China, is now likely to be earning a salary at least three or four times that of his peer in the faculty of Archaeology, or Anthropology. And this is, of course, before any differences in consultancy earnings are taken into account. (This is by no means the only sense in which Chinese universities are beginning to emulate some of their American counterparts).

Similarly partial policies are fracturing the professoriate within numerous countries, where governments are often choosing to invest limited resources within key national institutions, thus widening the gap between the academic quality and working conditions available to academics within those institutions, and those from less-favoured universities. In Indonesia, for example, a recent pilot project has seen a handful of elite institutions gain a greater degree of autonomy over their own affairs (Tipton, Jarvis and Welch, 2003). Press criticism has mounted, however, of the spread of special entry (*Jalur Khusus*) programmes in such institutions. These allow wealthy students into special extension courses and programmes with lower entry criteria, and of uncertain quality, but which provide a substantial income boost to those academic staff fortunate enough to be involved in such programmes (Tempo, 2003, Kompas, 2002). (While such elite institutions are not the only ones to offer such extension courses, they are best placed to earn most from them, because of their reputational eminence). Similar extension courses are fracturing the profession – and weakening quality – in many neighbouring systems (Tipton, Jarvis and Welch 2003, Welch, 2004).

Within major developed systems, too, increasing differentiation within the professoriate is apparent, with a growing split apparent between teachers and researchers (Altbach in this volume, Yang in this volume, McCollow and Lingard 1996, Nixon, 1996), those with international experience and those without (see Enders and Teichler in this volume), and between those on tenure, and those without. While it has long been the case that only a minority of the profession was responsible for the bulk of research production, moves towards entrenching the cleavage between this group, and a second group of "teaching-only" academics, is a worrying sign. As Bornholt et al. reveal in their chapter in this volume, the gendered nature of academic work is a powerful element in such cleavages, including the fact that women teach more, and value teaching more, while men lean more to research, and are disproportionately represented in senior ranks, (including those involved in institutional governance). International experience is gendered too, as Welch's chapter on the peripatetic professor in this volume and that of Enders and Teichler, underlines.

Such developments raise the question of how far we can now reasonably speak of a single academic profession, in the face of such active differentiation along lines of principal activity, wealth, geography, and status, both within and between systems. While such differences, as well as those based on discipline and gender for example (Stiver Lee and O'Leary, Poole Bornholt and Summers), are not new, it is arguably the case that they are being deepened and sharpened at the onset of the new millennium.

3. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROFESSORS

The difficulties that many states experience in funding increasing demand for higher education places in the new millennium, also represents a changing milieu. But while the rise of private universities is again an international trend, it takes different forms in different countries, with diverse effects on the professoriate.

In the USA, for example, the rise of Phoenix University, now the largest private university in the country, is having a significant effect on professional education in areas such as Business, Nursing and Education. It offers teaching staff, who are not necessarily expected to be researchers, few of the conditions that academic staff at traditional universities expect. In South Africa, too, private universities concentrate on vocational fields of study, and are largely commercially driven (Levy, 2002). In South East Asia, the regional financial crisis of 1997-8 only deepened existing difficulties (Tipton, Jarvis and Welch, 2003), provoking, *inter alia*, greater moonlighting by public sector academics at private universities. Such practices have led to a degree of blurring between public and private institutions, whereby the former are taking on the more entrepreneurial aspects of the latter. A significant degree of privatisation of public institutions is now evident. For example, it is now perfectly possible for a few, wealthier students to pay significantly higher fees at a major public university in Indonesia, than they would at an equivalent private institution.

South East Asia reveals another facet of what can happen to the professoriate in the face of privatisation. Acknowledging that most private higher education institutions in the region "are found at the lower end of the prestige hierarchy" (Altbach, 2002, 10), they nonetheless generate a significant demand for teaching staff in the context of a limited supply, especially of staff with higher degrees. (On the whole, academic staff at private universities in the region are less well qualified than their public university peers. [Tipton, Jarvis and Welch, 2003a]). One solution is to offer inducements to selected members of the professoriate at public universities to teach part-time at private institutions, in addition to their duties at the public university. While the remuneration offered by the private institution often reflects an hourly rate that public institutions could never afford, there are major consequences for quality, as when the professor concerned is unavailable to see students out of class, (at either institution) or has no time for associated activities, including research. One of the educational effects of the regional currency crisis of the late 1990s, when for example, the Indonesian rupiah fell by 72% against the American dollar, was to make such individual inducements well-nigh impossible to resist. Indeed, some academics claimed to be working full time at two separate institutions. But unless the development of private institutions is well regulated, the temptation to cut corners can be irresistible, as the author of this chapter found in Viet Nam recently, when a scheduled interview with a Rector of a larger "People's University"[2] had to be cancelled, at short notice, since the latter was facing gaol, on several counts of corruption. Other senior academic staff of the institution were also implicated (Tipton, Jarvis and Welch, 2003b).

4. PEDAGOGIES

While much is made of debates around new information technologies and how these are changing the face of the pedagogical relationship in higher education, virtual pedagogies are by no means the only arena of debate, as Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein's chapter aptly reminds us. This is not merely because of the relative lack of such new technologies in many parts of the world, but also because of the relative lack of familiarity of an aging professoriate with ways to use them to best advantage.

The chapter by Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein reminds us, however, that the struggle to overcome traditional modes of pedagogy in universities is not limited to new technologies. The authors point out that what is called "frontal" teaching in the Latin American context (that is traditional lecture based teaching) is at least in part responsible for the low quality that is often reported of higher education in Latin America, and the low literacy levels of its graduates reported in recent OECD and UNESCO surveys. While admitting that the practice of "frontal" teaching is only part of the problem, and that requiring students only to reproduce answers they have memorised for assessment purposes, without being able to apply them to new or everyday contexts, is also significant, Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein argue strongly for more student-centred pedagogies in higher education.

This plea for a re-conceptualised, more effective pedagogy is an important reminder that pedagogies are plural, and work best when appropriately adapted to context. Any members of the professoriate who have significant experience with students from Confucian heritage areas, such as Korea, China, or Taiwan, will be familiar with issues in regard to different modes of teaching and learning that are practised in such societies, and the different relationship that pertains between teacher and student. (Watkins and Biggs 1996, 2001)

5. ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Concerns about the erosion of academic freedom arise from several quarters. In a more commercial era, frequent concerns are voiced about the substitution of market values within the academy, for older values of disinterested inquiry. Such pressures are not entirely disconnected from the push for new technologies of teaching in higher education, such as those alluded to above, and in the introductory chapter. The rise of the higher education consortium *Universitas 21*, for example, comprising sixteen universities across nine countries who have banded together to market themselves in the emerging distance education market, is but one instance of how higher education is being re-shaped by market ideologies. Interestingly, such ventures are by no means always successful, and several partners of U21 have announced their dissatisfaction with both profit levels (if any), and the profile of the consortium in general. Equally, a number of other universities, including some of the world's more distinguished, have lost considerable amounts of money in ill-conceived commercial ventures to establish their "brand" in the distance education market. Internal critics of such ventures have been rounded on, by institutional leaders, for daring to point out the implications for loss of academic freedom, and

loss of autonomy, as when the historian David Noble of York University in Canada, penned a series of papers under the title of *Digital Diploma Mills*, which denounced a commercial alliance entered into by the university. In brief, Noble critically analysed unilateral decisions by York University management that "invited private firms to permanently place their logo on a university online course, in return for a $10,000 contribution to courseware development." (Noble 1998, 1). The resultant strike by academic staff, the longest in Canada's history, which ran under the flag of "The Classroom versus the Boardroom", was ultimately successful in overturning the decision and instituting safeguards. Nonetheless, other such developments, at UCLA and elsewhere, in which universities have established commercial entities to market their courses via the internet, raise important issues of copyright, intellectual property, and potential conflicts of interest, particularly where strategic alliances are entered into with media firms, or other commercial interests, who have the capital that is required for investment, and who are often hungry for "product" (academic course content). Internal and/or external criticisms of such sponsors or partners can be problematic, as more than one academic has discovered.

But commercial pressures arise both from commercial alliances and ventures and from declining support from the public purse for higher education, and are not the only explanations of concerns about academic freedom. Ehara's chapter underlines significant concerns among the Japanese professoriate, with more than half of surveyed academics at public universities, and over forty percent of those employed at private universities, reporting criticisms of government interference. Such interference does not have to be direct - sometimes the mere perception of control is sufficient to evoke a similar response, as in Postiglione's citation of the practice of self-censorship among some members of the Hong Kong professoriate.

In an age of performance indicators, where academic activities are always counted, but less frequently valued (Welch, 1998, Polster and Newson, 1998), the resort to more competitive modes of work, rather than more collegial principles and practices, has also been noted. It too, can have effects on academic freedom, if only by stifling creativity, and inhibiting the amount of time and energy available for academic work, in the face of an ever-rising tide of accountability measures, and administrivia (Welch, 2001, 2004a, Currie in this volume). The proportion of time devoted to such tasks however, varies considerably, even within Europe, as Guerts and Maassen's chapter in this volume shows.

The rising influence of the market is another important factor, leading to restrictions on academic freedom, as the example above at York university indicated. It is already re-shaping the contours of the Chinese academy (where academic freedom is already limited by the demands of state ideology), as Yang Rui's chapter in this volume underlines. Currie in this volume points to the supplanting of social values, including that of disinterested inquiry, with values based more on financial viability, which has seen the decline of humanities based subjects, and foundations subjects in professional faculties such as Education, in favour of applied sciences and technological subjects and the ubiquitous business and economics. This applies to greater or lesser degrees in the West, in Asian universities, in Latin America, and elsewhere, and risks undermining the spirit of

informed critique that has long characterised much research in the humanities and social sciences.

6. THE DECLINE OF THE DON?

In the face of growing forms of managerialism as steering from a distance (Marceau, 1993), performance indicators, and the like, is there a danger that the interests of the professoriate will be swept aside? Certainly, there are increasing signs of a decline in the influence of the professoriate, both in the West (Halsey, 1995), and in middle income and developing country contexts (Altbach, 2002).

To some extent, such a decline is a concomitant of the increasing diversity of research facilities, many of which are no longer sited in universities. Some, of course, have long been located in specialist research institutes, such as the well known, and numerous *Max Planck Instituts* in Germany or the *Centres Nationale des Recherches Scientifique* (CNRS) in France. Even here however, ongoing attempts exist to promote institutional collaboration, such that researchers at these national research centres should also hold a parallel appointment at a nearby university. (In practice, the policy works better in some cases than others). Other examples, such as the world famous Bell Laboratories in the USA or significant research laboratories in Japan, are located within major firms, while a smaller set of research institutions are sustained by philanthropic foundations, such as the Carnegie Foundation, a part of which undertook, *inter alia,* the major recent study of the academic profession, *The International Academic Profession: Portraits from Fourteen Countries*.

The decline in status is also not disconnected from the relative decline in salary and conditions among the professoriate in many countries, over recent decades. The drive towards mass higher education has not been matched by a parallel intent by governments to preserve the working conditions of academic staff, or pre-existing salary relativities. While the professoriate is not alone in this respect, (many other public sector workers in many countries have suffered parallel declines over the same period), it is clearly having an impact on the replenishment of academic staff. In the face of a greying professoriate, the average age of which is around fifty or more in most countries, what are now the attractions of the academic life, to induce newer scholars into the profession? As the teenage son of a Taiwanese academic family (where both mother and father were professors) retorted recently, "Why would I become a professor? You are forever working, and don't make much money!" Much the same tale could be told in a number of countries, and underlines not merely the relative decline of salaries and working conditions, and the intensification of academic work, but the shift in value systems, towards a more materialist ethos, where financial rewards and other perks outweigh the traditional attractions of teaching and research. That this is occuring even in societies in East Asia, where the traditional respect for the role of teacher in society has always been extraordinarily high, is particularly noteworthy.

Many of the above findings represent international trends that are clearly mediated by local conditions and circumstances. Despite the powerful influence of the local, many of the trends, notably that of the increasing gap between spiralling enrolment

growth, and the relative decline in real terms of funding per student, are likely to persist, at least for the foreseeable future.

7. A NEW MILIEU?

Against this backdrop of major and ongoing change, great care is needed in steering the university and the professoriate, between the Scylla of unbending tradition, and the Charybdis of globalisation. Clearly, solemn invocations of the fact that the university is one of the few institutions to have survived relatively unchanged since the mediaeval era are just no longer adequate:

> "As Clark Kerr has noted, of the institutions that had been established in the Western world by 1520, 85 still exist – the Roman Catholic Church, the British Parliament, several Swiss Cantons, and some 70 universities. Of these, perhaps the universities have experienced the least change." (Altbach, 2003: 5)

Indeed, there is a real risk that such claims may principally be seen as providing further evidence of the irrelevance of the modern university, and its steadfast refusal to engage with the ways the modern world is changing.

Equally, there are huge dangers in simply succumbing to the pressure for business efficiency in universities, in a climate of increasing economic globalisation, both of education, and society more generally.

> The central realities of higher education in the 21st. century – massification, accountability, privatization and marketization – shape universities everywhere, and those who work in them, to differing degrees. (Altbach, 2003, 2)

The words of a recent Australian Minister of Education evoke this pressure clearly:

> To survive and prosper in rapidly changing world, universities must embrace the marketplace and become customer-focused, business enterprises (Vanstone in Currie, 1998 : 15).

While this unblushing exhortation stemmed from an Anglo-American country, where processes of globalisation and educational re-structuring have been introduced earlier and more systematically than in some other parts of the world (Welch and Mok, 2003, Welch, 2003), similar sentiments are now being voiced by many other Ministers of Education internationally, caught up in the struggle to manage processes of simultaneous expansion (of the system) and contraction (of state support).

For those of the professoriate with historical sensibilities, these current directions of reform may well evoke a sense of *déjà vu*. Were not very similar sentiments pressed by business leaders such as Andrew Carnegie and others in the US, just prior to WWI, attempting to constrain rising state expenditures on higher education, and to re-fashion college education in America along business lines (Callaghan,

1962, Welch, 1998)? How real is the danger of the incursion of Taylorist principles and practices into the contemporary university, with profound implications for the re-shaping of academic work? Time will tell, but it can be said that the contemporary professoriate – "Commodified, Virtualised, Globalised and Postmodernised" - still stands at the crossroads of an uncertain future

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[1] In Australian higher education, the transformation has been dramatic: whereas 20 years ago, the state was almost the sole source of university funds, by 2001, this proportion had dropped to 47% (Marginson 2003). As indicated in the introductory chapter to this volume, it has pushed Australian universities, inter alia, to compete vigorously in the global market for fee-paying international students. (Welch 2002)

[2] Like China, and for the same reason, Viet Nam is coy about calling the newer institutions private universities, and thus adopts the terms People's Universities. The Chinese term is Minban.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Philip Altbach is an internationally regarded researcher in international higher education, who, inter alia, was the principal consultant on the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT)'s International Survey of the Academic Profession. He works at Boston College USA. Email Contact: altbach@bc.edu

Malcolm Anderson works in the Centre for Higher Education Studies (CHES) at Melbourne University, Australia.

Laurel Bornholt works in the School of Learning and Development, Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Sydney, Australia. She has published widely, including on gender issues in the academic profession. Email contact: l.bornholt@edfac.usyd.edu.au

Janice Currie works in the Faculty of Education at Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia, and has published widely on globalisation of universities and academic work. Email contact: J.Currie@murdoch.edu.au

Takekazu Ehara works in the Faculty of Education, Kyoto University, and has published other analyses of the Carnegie data on the academic profession, in both English and Japanese. Email contact: a52645@sakura.kudpc.kyoto-u.ac.jp

Jürgen Enders has published widely on higher education, including on staff mobility and schemes such as ERASMUS and SOCRATES. He works in the Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS), University of Twente, Netherlands. Email contact: j-enders@cheps.utwente.nl

Peter Geurts works in Twente University, Netherlands.

Peter Maassen works at the Norwegian Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education (NIFU), Oslo, Norway. Email contact: peter@nifu.no

John Hattie is Dean of Education, at Auckland University, New Zealand.

Craig McInnis heads the Centre for Higher Education Studies (CHES) at Melbourne University, Australia, and has published widely in the field of higher education research, including the academic profession. Email contact: c.mcinnis@unimelb.edu.au

Millicent Poole is Vice Chancellor of Edith Cowan University, Perth, Australia.

Gerry Postiglione works in the Faculty of Education at the University of Hong Kong, China, and specialises in research on China's education, and on higher education, including within East Asia. Email contact gerry@hku.hk

Ernesto Schiefelbein retired recently as Rector of University of Santo Tomas, Chile, and was recently awarded the Jan Comenius Prize for his contributions to education research. Email contact: mcgrossi@mi.cl

Ulrich Teichler is one of Europe's leading researchers in Higher Education, and heads the Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung, Gesamthochschule/Universität Kassel, Germany.

Anthony Welch is Head, School of Policy and Practice, Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Sydney, Australia. Author of numerous books and articles on international education and higher education, he was a team member of the CFAT International Survey, and has published widely on internationalisation and globalisation of education. Email contact: A.Welch@edfac.usyd.edcu.au

Rui Yang works in the Faculty of Education, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. An expert on Chinese higher education, and internationalisation of Chinese universities, he has published widely in these areas. Email contact: Rui.Yang@education.monash.edu.au

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