ISSN: 2717-8676

Higher Education Governance & Policy

Volume 1 | Issue 1 | Year 2020

YÖÇAD
YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM ÇALIŞMALARI DERNEĞİ • ASSOCIATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION STUDIES

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ISSN: 2717-8676

Volume: 1
Issue: 1

Higher Education Governance and Policy (HEGP) is the scholarly journal of the Association for Higher Education Studies (Yükseköğretim Çalışmaları Derneği).

HEGP aims to inform an international audience about higher education policies and management practices around the world.

The core scope of HEGP is the development of higher education policies and their reflections in management practices in different countries' systems. Considering their policy-making and strategy-management functions together, the larger scope of HEGP includes shaping governance structures in the higher education sector from an institutional to a global level. Accordingly, HEGP prioritises studies with an international perspective on policy development and managerial practices in higher education. While authors take an institutional, local, or national case as a basis, they should enrich their studies through comparative and international discussions structuring on different higher education institutions such as universities, research institutes, community colleges, or vocational schools.

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Editorial:
Inaugural Issue of Higher Education Governance and Policy

It is a great pleasure to introduce this very first issue of the first volume of Higher Education Governance and Policy (HEGP), the journal of the Association for Higher Education Studies (YÖÇAD) in Turkey.

Research on higher education has a relatively short history. Although the first academic programs on higher education trace back to the 1920s in the US, higher education (HE) research emerged as a field in the early 1960s following the proliferation of higher education institutions and growth of student enrolment in the US after World War II. In addition to the rising demand for higher education, internationalization and debates related to knowledge society helped to shape higher education as a separate field in Europe as well during the following decades (Brennan & Teichler, 2008). As one of the critical services positioning individuals in society and distributing economic proceeds among the members therein, HE has been a controversial field not only in terms of what is delivered but also in terms of how it is delivered. As an interdisciplinary field, HE has always been impacted by external developments in society. Since the late 1970s, political, social, economic and cultural forces have resulted in various issues and these issues have evolved and taken different forms during the short history of HE research. Like many other sectoral contexts, HE has also been deeply affected by the changing patterns of financing public services. Besides, democratization trends in political systems have led to heterogeneous HE governance structures in different country contexts. Key dichotomies such as quantity vs. quality, centralization vs. decentralization, privatization vs. public delivery, cost sharing vs. public finance, and pure-disciplinary programs vs. interdisciplinary programs have prevailed the field (Simsek, 1999). These dichotomies have triggered change and reform movements across the globe, in both economically developed and developing countries. However, the issues surrounding HE have not been limited to these topics. Equitable access, internationalization trends, the development of the academic profession, and the professionalization of management structures are some of the relatively recent issues surrounding HE systems. Each HE system has been experiencing these developments in line with their cultural context, resulting in unique formulations as a measure to deal with these affairs.

Naturally, these issues and dichotomies require advanced conceptualization and data-based evidence in order to guide policy and practice in HE systems. As a result, more scholarly work and more outlets for research outcomes are needed. Besides, deep and wide collaboration among researchers representing different HE contexts is critical to ensuring an exchange of ideas, producing a robust conceptual base and developing a practice addressing issues and dichotomies.

HEGP undertakes the mission of contributing to the conceptual and empirical base of the governance, policymaking and management of higher education with a strong international focus. As a journal representing an interdisciplinary field, HEGP does not limit itself to any one particular methodological orientation. As a result, the journal welcomes papers conveying quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods. Hence research articles prepared with one of these methodological traditions or purely conceptual papers conveying new perspectives on management, governance and policy issues of HE are most welcome.

The language of HEGP is English, and publication in English can provide opportunities to investigate the dominant discourses on HE systems through different global lenses. Accordingly, HEGP is open to a wide range of HE governance and policy issues such as equality, diversity, inclusion, access, retention, gender, race, regionalisation, globalisation, knowledge

production, innovation, technology transfer, societal engagement, and professional education, based on different international experiences, including Anglo-Saxon perspectives, European cases, emerging HE systems, and post-colonial and neo-colonial countries. The free exchange of scholarly ideas is also important for the further development of the global HE community. As a part of this advocacy for open science, all articles that the journal publishes will be open-access. The journal will publish two issues per year, one in June and the other in December.

Prominent scholars of HE from different parts of the World contributed to our inaugural issue. Ulrich Teichler, in his article entitled "Higher Education in Economically Advanced Countries: Changes within Recent Decades" provides a broad overview of key issues surrounding HE systems in the world including diversification, stratification, massification, meritocracy, knowledge society and highly educated society. Holding a historical perspective towards the development of HE research, Teichler's review article presents clear arguments about the past, present and future of HE. The second article by Söderlind and Geschwind presents an empirical study on academics' perception of performance measurement in different academic disciplines, which are categorized on a two-dimensional array (hard sciences vs. soft sciences and applied sciences vs. pure sciences). The results show that academics in applied hard sciences tend to have positive attitudes toward performance measurement while academics in soft pure sciences tend to hold more negative attitudes toward performance measurement. The third article of the issue by Anthony Welch, entitled "Tensions in the Evolving Australian Higher Education System: A Complex, Evolving Mix" elaborates on management, governance and policy issues in the Australian higher education context. The author discusses the forces surrounding the Australian HE system and the policy initiatives that have been developed to deal with these forces. The fourth article of the issue by Eugenie Samier, entitled "Towards a Model of Islamic Policy Studies for Higher Education: A Comparison with Anglo-American Policy Studies" discusses the Islamic policy studies tradition in the context of HE. The author takes the public policy theory of the Anglo-American tradition and adds unique values and practices representing the Islamic context. The final article in this issue is a review article entitled "Between the Global and the Local: The Study of the Academic Profession from a Latin American Perspective" by Monica Marquina. The author tackles the issues surrounding the academic profession in the local context through insights developed as a result of collaboration in an international research program on the academic profession. The author identifies a tension between local realities and global trends surrounding the profession in the Latin American context. Besides, the author highlights the challenges in building the case of academic profession in the Latin World.

I hope that the articles in this issue will be of value to both higher HE researchers in their scholarly work and academic leaders and policy makers in their management practices and policy formation efforts. Further, HEGP will hopefully be a space of debate on various issues surrounding HE and will thereby facilitate the exchange of ideas and concepts among scholars from different country contexts across the globe. As a fact, this would never be possible without the contribution of the editorial and advisory boards. Therefore, I would like to express a warm gratitude to our editorial and advisory board members.

Yasar Kondakci
Editor

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Higher Education Governance & Policy
ISSN: 2717-8676
Volume: 1
Issue: 1

Higher Education in Economically Advanced Countries: Changes within Recent Decades

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Abstract

The rapid increase of student enrolment during the 1960s and 1970s in economically advanced countries triggered intensive discourses about necessary structural changes of the higher education systems and possible concurrent functional changes , The varied terms used to describe major expected, desired and realized changes indicate a variety of value judgements: Diversification, vertical stratification and "massification" of higher education as well as "educational meritocracy", "knowledge society" and "highly educated society". The changing challenges felt and the search for new solutions created also a favourable climate the emergence of higher education research, which aimed at better explanations and for more empirical evidence. During these decades and during the subsequent decades, other similar challenges were felt in most countries: Changes in the relationships between higher education and the world of work, changing expectations and conditions as regards the academic profession and increasing internationalisation of higher education. Altogether, however, the similarity of perceived challenges did not lead to a substantially increasing similarity of higher education policies and reforms within the individual countries. Also, recent discourses about the future of higher education do not suggest a growing global convergence of higher education, because value judgement continue to differ substantially: Internationalisation is seen as hegemonic instruments by some actors and as a way towards cosmopolitan values by others; the "knowledge society" is viewed as reinforcing or calling academic quality criteria into questions; strong managerial power is perceiving as supporting or endangering academic creativity; the race for "world-class universities" seems to have different consequences for the quality of higher education in general. As a consequence, international comparison of the developments of higher education does not suggest any single best solution, but is most valuable as an eye-opener for alternatives.

Keywords: Higher education expansion, diversification, knowledge society, internationalisation, academic profession

Introduction

In looking back at the development of higher education in economically advanced countries, we can identify three major stages after World War II. They might be characterized as stages of post-war consolidation, expansion and steering for targeted purposes.

1. Immediately after World War II, higher education systems in the various countries were challenged to consider their overall character and to consolidate again after all the problems occurred during the war time.
2. In the 1960s and 1970s, higher education systems had to find a new structural configuration and a new functional self-understanding as a consequence of the massive increase of student enrolment as well as a consequence of the success of the student protests in challenging many university traditions.
3. In the late 1980s and 1990s, higher education experienced further growth as well as the expectation to serve society more directly than in the past through teaching and research, as it is vividly expressed with the term "knowledge society". This functional change accompanied by dramatic revisions of the steering system of higher education – notably through an increasing role of assessment and evaluation activities and through an increasing power of the

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(Review Article) **Cite as:** Teichler, U. (2020). Higher education in economically advanced countries: Changes within recent decades. *Higher Education Governance & Policy*, *1*(1), 1-17.

Received: February 21, 2020; ***Revised:*** April 3, 2020; ***Accepted:*** April 6, 2020; ***Published:*** June 30, 2020

university management along a shift of the role of government to less detailed regulation and more strategic positioning.

In the second and the third stages, key actors in the higher education system and key experts often have asked themselves: Can international comparison help us to generate concepts for improvement, and will the higher education systems in economically advanced countries become more similar in the wake of the search for the best solution?

The author of this article has been active as higher education researcher for more than 50 years and, thus, has been in the privileged position to observe closely and interpret the changes of higher education and research in the second stage and the third stage named above (Teichler, 1988; 2007). The aim of this article is to summarize the major functional developments of higher education during these periods (see more detailed information in the three encyclopedias: Clark & Neave, 1992; Knowles, 1977; Shin & Teixeira, 2020) as well as to point out select operational changes, such as the structures of the system, the links between higher education and employment as well as the views and activities of professors.

The Emergence of Higher Education Research

Before summarizing the above-named developments, a few remarks about higher education research might be appropriate (cf. the overviews in Altbach, 2014; Clark, 1984; Neave & Teichler, 1989; Nitsch & Weller, 1970/1973; Teichler, 1996; 2015). In the 1960s, when functional changes of higher education became visible in the wake of the rapid expansion of student enrolment, higher education research was only a visible area of research in a very few countries. The first report on the state of higher education worldwide, actually initiated by UNESCO, was published in the early 1970s (Nitsch & Weller 1970/1973). It showed that scholars from various disciplines in many countries had undertaken analyses of higher education occasionally, but professorships specialized on higher education existed only in a few countries (e.g. the United States, the United Kingdom, and Soviet Union) at that time.

In Germany, we used to say at that time: The German professor conducts research on everything – except on his or her own environment, i.e. the university. Practitioners' observations and some statistics were the only sources available. During the 1960s, there were signs of increasing interests in systematic knowledge on the changing function of higher education in the wake of expansion, and a controversial debate spread about the modes of diversification of higher education as well as about the potential benefits and problems due to the increasing number of university graduates. In Germany and some other countries, the student protest of the late 1960s played a crucial role. The key actors and observers of higher education did not share the protesting students' philosophies, but the protest triggered a widespread belief that there are real problems of higher education which call for careful analysis and for substantial reforms. In Germany, the first reaction in the early 1970s was to establish centres for higher education didactics at some universities primarily in charge of services to improve teaching and learning. The first position of full-professor for higher education research in Germany was created not earlier than 1978: Actually, the author if this article had the honour to get this professorship at the University of Kassel.

Prior to the 1970s, higher education research was most visible in the United States. Notably, many departments of education had one or two professor positions, and many universities had units for applied research on their university – so-called "institutional research". Thus, it does not come as a surprise to note that the early development of higher education research in Europe and other economically advanced countries was strongly influenced by the preceding research activities in the U.S. Notably two U.S. scholars with a strong interest in international comparative analysis had an impact on the emergence of higher education research in other countries: Martin Trom notably with his structural development model of "elite", "mass", and "universal" higher education (see Burrage, 2010), and Burton R. Clark most visibly with his organizational model of the university shaped by the respective powers of state, market and academic oligarchy (Clark, 1983).

A growing international interest in higher education research was reflected by the decision of British scholars to create the journal "Higher Education" in 1971, which later became the most highly reputed journal of higher education research. During the first two decades, however, only a few authors from non-English-speaking countries contributed to it. Only in the 1990s, it became a genuine international journal with contributions from a broad spread of countries (see Maassen, 2000). Similarly, scholars in this field communicated primarily within their country or just looked at the U.S. Many scholars believe that the foundation of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER) in 1988 was a major step towards genuine international communication and networking (see Kehm & Musselin, 2013). Nowadays, higher education research is fairly well established in a substantial number of economically advanced countries, and international cooperation comprising many countries is working well in this domain (Teichler, 2017a).

The U.S. scholar Philip G. Altbach initiated various "inventories" of the state of higher education worldwide. The authors of the third inventory undertaken in 2013-2014 identified 217 centres/institutes of higher education research worldwide, 277 study programmes (with about the same number of master programmes and doctoral programmes) and 280 journals or similar publication formats for higher education research (Rumbley et al., 2014). They estimated that the total number of higher education researchers linked to these academic units and programmes was about 6,000. They knew that such an inventory would not reach all units and programmes all the over the world, but one could assume that the total number of higher education researcher active in academic positions was probably less than 10,000 at that time.

In addition, there might have been a similar number of persons linked to university administrations or agencies outside these institutions active in higher education policy, who had been involved research-like analyses on higher education. Moreover, we can estimate that the total number of scholars, who consider themselves to be representatives of disciplines, e.g. education, psychology, sociology, political science, economics, history, etc., but conduct regularly analyses on higher education, might be as high or even higher than the numbers of scholars considering research on higher education as their academic identity.

The Changing Character of Higher Education in the Process of Growing Enrolment

Higher education expanded substantially over the years. In the 1950s, only about 5% of the respective age group on average in economically advanced began to study at universities. Five decades later more than 50% began to study at "institutions of tertiary education". The terms changed as well as the characteristics of institutions and possibly the quality of the programmes, but there was undoubtedly an enormous growth. Three questions were constantly on the agenda:

- How do the functions of higher education change in the process of expansion?
- To what extent are there common features for all higher education institutions and programmes within a country, or to what extent and how does higher education become more diverse in the process of expansion and functional change?
- How different do higher education systems remain between countries, and to what extent are there pressures or possibly real movements towards a similarity of higher education systems all over the world?

Various historical analyses suggest that four major types of higher education systems had developed in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century (see Ben-David, 1977):

- The German Humboldthian system underscoring a strong link between research and higher education and being characterized by a strong position of the individual professors and by a largely research-influenced teaching.
- The English system with a stronger emphasis placed on teaching and learning and on personality development through education as well as characterized by a strong role of academic collegial bodies.
- The French system with a stronger divide between teaching and research-oriented universities and the Grandes Écoles striving for elite professional training.

- The U.S. system being partly a creative mix between the German and English approaches and being partly distinct from these models in terms of a greater vertical diversity and of a stronger power of the university management.

Of course, we have to admit that these analyses looked primarily at the Western world of economically advanced countries. They tended to overlook that the Soviet Union created at model of its own and had enormous influence on a substantial number of other countries. Thus, it would have been appropriate to name five major types for the period from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Immediately after World War II – in the first of the three stages named above - discussions spread whether it was time and whether there was the opportunity of changing higher education substantially. These discussions was most elaborate the countries in which had lost the war. In Japan, reforms were pushed by the occupational forces in the direction of the U.S. model. In Germany, in contrast, the view gained ground that the old German higher education had been "basically healthy" and should be restored in its key characteristics. Discussions in both countries were influenced by international comparison, but obviously no strong need was felt in this first stage of development that all the higher education systems in all economically advanced countries should become more similar.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, we could observe a substantial expansion of higher education usually measured at that time as entry rate to higher education of the typical age group. Actually, the entry rate surpassed 30% in some countries and 20% in the majority of the economically advanced countries during the 1970s (see OECD, 1974).

The debate about the socio-economic causes and the socio-economic consequences of this wave of expansion was quite similar across Western countries, and the OECD became a major forum of this debate (see for example OECD, 1974; 1998). Most economic experts observed an increasing "manpower demand" for highly qualified persons and a substantial financial reward for investments into education – both for the societies as a whole and for the individuals. Many sociologists pointed out there was a growing "social demand" for higher education due to a decline of traditional social inequality of educational opportunity and due to an increased appreciation of high educational attainment as personal, cultural and social value. There were cautious expert voices as well, pointing at signs of "over-education" and growing "mismatches" between demand and supply on the labour market as well as on signs of persistent inequalities in higher education.

As regards the patterns of the higher education system and the functions of higher education one interpretation became very popular that a growing similarity of higher education system across economically advanced countries was on the agenda. The U.S. higher education researcher Martin Trow (1974) argued in the early 1970s, as already mentioned above, that higher education systems with enrolment rates up to 15% could be characterized as "elite higher education". When the enrolment rate surpasses this mark, a second sector of "mass higher education" emerges along the traditional "elite higher education", and with an eventual enrolment rate beyond 50%, "universal higher education" would surface as a third sector.

According to this concept, higher education systems all over the world were bound to diversify in the process of expansion: from a relatively homogeneous elite system to a somewhat diverse elite and mass system and eventually to an extremely diverse elite, mass and universal system. Thereby, the terms referred to the students' origin, the institutional pattern of higher education and the social functions of higher education. Trow (1974) assumed that increasing diversity of higher education would serve the growing diversity of students' abilities, motivations and job prospect.

In reality, however, "elite higher education" has not been so homogeneous in the past in all countries. In Germany, for example, the institutional and biographical hierarchy has been flat, and all universities and all university professors were in charge of both research and teaching and could supervise doctoral candidates. In the U.S. and in Japan, in contrast, there had been a highly stratified higher education system already at times, when the entry rate was less than 5%. In the 1960s and 1970s, the already

existing hierarchy in the U.S. and Japan could grow in the process of massification without substantial reforms (see Teichler, 1988). In various European countries, however, a decision was taken to diversify through the establishment of two sectors of higher education (see Neave, 2011). For example, through the upgrading of higher vocational schools to "Fachhochschulen" in Germany, but the university sector as such remained fairly homogeneous. In sum, one might argue the higher education systems in economically advanced countries did not become much more similar during that period (Teichler, 1988).

In the third of the three stages of development, i.e. since the late 1980s in some countries and since around 2000 in some other late-coming countries of reform such as Japan and Germany, similar directions of changes could be observed (see, for example: Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009; Deem & Eggins, 2018; Enders & Fulton, 2002; Gornitzka, Kogan, & Amaral, 2005; Krücken, Kosmützky, & Torka, 2006; Sarrico et al. 2016; Vukasoviv et al. 2012;. Zgaga, Teichler, & Brennan, 2013):

- The increase of student enrolment continued, and many countries moved towards a concept of tertiary education, i.e. a closer link between traditional higher education and short vocationally oriented study programmes (see OECD, 1988).
- More emphasis was placed on research as key function of higher education (see, for example: Clancy & Dill, 2011).
- Both, research and teaching was expected to become more visibly useful to economy and society. This visible in discourses about the so-called "employability" of study programmes (Yorke, 2007), about a closer link between research and "innovation" (see, for example: Meek, Teichler, & Kearney, 2009), and overall about the role of higher education in the "knowledge society" (Välimaa & Hofman, 2008).
- "Ranking" studies become popular internationally, and top universities considered themselves increasingly as competitors on the way towards "world-class universities" (see, for example: Hazelkorn, 2011; Kehm & Stensaker, 2009; Shin, Toutkoushian, & Teichler, 2011).
- We noted in many countries moves towards less detailed controls of higher education by government ("deregulation") and a strengthening of the university management (see, for example: Amaral, Meek, & Larsen 2003; Paradise, Reale, Bleiklie, & Ferlie, 2009).
- As a formal step towards greater similarity of higher education systems, we noted a joint decision of many European governments in the Bologna Declaration of 1998 to introduce a bachelor-master structure of study programmes and degrees also in those countries, where the first degree had been in the past equivalent to a master degree (see, for example: Curaij, Matei, Pricopie, Salmi, & Scott, 2015; Dienel, 2019).

There were clearly more higher education reforms in economically advanced countries towards greater international similarity in this third stage of the development than in the previous stages. Yet, national systems of higher education in economically advanced have remained quite different in many respects, for example in:

- the proportion of students moving on to master programmes and in the rate of persons eventually awarded a doctoral degree,
- the proportion of institutions within the higher education system characterized by a close link between teaching and research,
- steep vs. flat hierarchies of reputation and quality between the universities,
- the degree of similarity or of distinctness of curricular thrusts in higher education,
- the role played by international mobility of students and academic staff, and
- the power exercised by university management vs. the academics' influence on key decisions.

The Changing Character of Higher Education and the Changing Relationships between Higher Education and Society

We could observe controversial debates about the benefits and detriments of the long-term developments of higher education at its relationships to society over time. In some instances, certain

catchy terms were coined to characterize these developments, while in other instances, certain views spread without being summarized by an overarching term.

Diversification of Higher Education

First, major changes have been often summarized as "diversification of higher education". This view was supported by the basic assumption of the sociological system theory that large systems tend to diversify. According to the famous model presented by Martin Trow (1974), diversification of higher education was beneficial both for higher education and society: "mass higher education" served the talents, motivations and job prospects of the additional students better than an enlargement of "elite higher education", and it help preserve the strength of "elite higher education" for parts of the higher education. Actually, observers agree that higher education systems have become more diverse in recent decades, but the extent of diversity and the modes of diversity developed differently across countries (see Teichler, 2007; 2008).

Vertical Stratification of Higher Education

Second, the structural development of higher education is often described as a trend towards steeper vertical stratification (see Teichler, 2017b). Many observers of the development of higher education in the course of expansion, however, voiced the critic that higher education diversified only in vertical terms: In terms of levels of financial resources and terms of the quality of teaching, learning and research. Some institutions, some academics and some students seemed to keep high resources and high academic quality or even to increase the resources and quality as a consequence of competition or as a consequence of elitist policies to increase privileges on the top. The majority of losers in this process seemed to imitate those on the top. This critique often was combined with a call for a policy to stimulate a mix of vertical and horizontal diversification and thus to strengthen a co-existence of varied substantive profiles of higher education.

"Massification" of Higher Education or Other Options

Third, the term "massification" or similar terms often surfaced in the discussions about the consequences of higher education expansion. Such terminology intends to blame expansion to lower the overall quality of higher education and just adapt the potentials and desires of the masses.

Some observers point out in this context that the expenditures per students decreased in many countries in the process of expansion and the working conditions for scholars worsened on average. In contrast to the view of the co-existence of "elite" and "mass" higher education, this critique of massification concluded that elite higher education would not be fully preserved, but rather put at risk by the needs to serve the masses. Other observers suggest a variety of profiles along with an only limited vertical stratification could be the best for modern societies based on widely knowledge and understanding.

Educational Meritocracy

Fourth, many scholars came to the conclusion that the growth of the enrolment rate was possible as a consequence of a trend towards educational meritocracy: The number of students could grow, because education became more open, whereby barriers for traditionally socially disadvantaged diminished; hence, more young persons were willing to study because educational achievements were increasingly rewarded through high income, high positions in the employment system and high social status in general.

Some observers considered this a process toward the realization of a modern, just and democratic society (see Bell, 1974). Others argued that a meritocratic society could reinforce a fierce race for success and could even justify the hardships of the losers in this competition. Therefore, a meritocratic society is not viewed by all as the best educational society (see the summary of arguments in Brennan & Naidoo, 2008): Rather, education would have to be protected from "over-competition" and "over-reward". Similarly, a meritocratic society is not viewed by all observers as fair; rather, a modern society would just have to have a combination of meritocratic components and welfare components for the less successful ones.

Knowledge Society

Fifth, "knowledge society" is a popular term since the 1990s (Stehr, 1994; Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008). In contrast to the terms named above, knowledge society does not primarily refer to the students' and graduates' educational attainment, but rather to the intellectual sophistication of research, production, and services. The knowledge-based technology is seen as substituting many areas of work based on physical labour, and knowledge-based information and regulatory systems as substituting routine white-collar work. Life seems to become more comfortable and sophisticated through knowledge-based technology and information, whereby IT (information technology) plays a major role.

The terms "knowledge society" indicates technological, economic, social and cultural progress, but concerns are expressed as well that part of the population might be excluded. Moreover, some expert underscore that danger that teaching and learning as well as research in higher education might be put too much under pressure to be useful for the knowledge society that freedom might be curtailed for non-conventional and purpose-free learning and research and some unexpected creativity might be lost (see the discussion in de Carte, Engwall, & Krücken, 2018).

Highly Educated Society

Sixth, as already pointed out, the author has coined the term "highly educated society" (Teichler, 1991). It suggests that that the strongest impact of expansion of higher education is the "wisdom of the many". In the past, highly educated persons were employed knowledge-based jobs such as medical doctors, engineers, lawyers, university professors, top managers, etc., and they directed and supervised the professional work of others. The single most impressive effect of the expansion of higher education might be the reduction of the knowledge gap between the traditional top professionals and the middle-level occupations. The knowledge base of a nurse becomes closer to that of a medical doctor, and that a technician to that of an engineer, etc. Journalists understand better what researchers think and do. Patients understand doctors and customers those delivering technology and services. The knowledge hierarchy becomes flatter, and decisions of the many can rely more often on substantive understanding. If the society remains an achievement society, social hierarchies ought to become flatter.

As already pointed out, this is certainly in contrast to the current popularity of university rankings and the efforts in many countries to strengthen primarily "world class universities". The moods and efforts in favour of improving the positions of the top universities of one's own country are as a rule based on the belief that technological progress, economic success, social well-being and cultural enhancement of a country largely depends on the quality of the top 1% or 2% of institutions, which are assumed to comprise the top of the higher education system. There are good reasons challenge this assumption. For example, statistics on the "academic productivity" of scholars per one million inhabitants suggest that countries with a flat quality hierarchy of universities are more successful than those with a steep hierarchy. But a flat hierarchy of the competencies within the total population even might lead to a completely new character of a modern society.

Select Features of Higher Education

Higher education research can address the overall character of higher education in its substance, in its institutional patters and its organizational characteristics. In doing so, researchers tends to communicate with key policy makers and practitioners, who want to understand the current situation of higher education and its problems and want to contribute to future improvements. The role of research is not shaping the practice directly, but rather to enhance the conceptual basis and the systematic empirical knowledge on higher education.

The author of this presentation has summarized above the development of higher education in recent decades by both drawing from conceptual reflections and comparative empirical knowledge, the latter however without explicit reference to detailed empirical findings. The subsequent remarks, however, should be more closely linked to empirical observations.

The author has had the privilege of being involved and often had playing a leading role in international comparative empirical projects. This was the case notably in three areas.

- Two major international comparative surveys of university graduates conducted in a dozen and more countries - actually undertaken in 1999 (Schomburg & Teichler, 2006) and 2005 (Allen & van der Velden, 2011).
- Three major international comparative surveys of university professors conducted in more than a dozen countries - actually undertaken in 1992 (Altbach, 1996), 2007-2010 (Teichler, Arimoto, & Cummings, 2013) and 2018-2019.
- Various surveys of international mobility of students and of academic staff – a major comparative undertaken in the mid-1980s (Burn, Cerych, & Smith, 1990) and various surveys of ERASMUS student mobility undertaken during the first two decades of this programme (Janson, Schomburg, & Teichler, 2009; Teichler & Maiworm, 1997).

Subsequently, these three thematic areas will be addressed. Certainly, the major discourses about changes of higher education addressed some other themes as well, but one can demonstrate more clearly the extent of common or varied trends across countries in areas, in which substantial comparative analyses provide evidence.

Higher Education and the World of Work

When the expansion of higher education became a key policy issue around 1960, discussions focused about the consequences of this expansion for the relationships between higher education and the world of work. Initially, many actors and experts reacted optimistically: They expected a relatively harmonious link between higher education and the labour market, but after a while, pessimistic views spread. The controversies between such optimistic and pessimistic views have persisted up to today, even though some arguments and perceptions have changed (Teichler, 2009; 2016).

- According to optimistic views, the demand of the employment system for highly qualified labour was bound to grow. Additionally, the increasing supply of graduates from higher education was expected to have a stimulating effect for the economy. As a rule, countries investing strongly in education could expect higher economic growth, and individual investment in education mostly seemed to pay off in higher salaries (see various contributions in Hanushek & Woessmann, 2011).
- According to pessimistic views, substantial expansion of higher education would lead to "over-education", because the number of job requiring a university degree does not grow as much as the number of graduates. As a consequence, an increasing proportion of graduates would have long times of job search, some eventually would get a lower position than expected and some even would end up on very low jobs or completely unemployed. Moreover, fear spread about an increasing "mismatch" between higher education and employment, notably between the graduates' field of study and the professional area of work (see Büchel, de Griep, & Martens, 2003).

Actual observations and debates differed strikingly between countries. Of course, optimism was more frequent in countries with a considerable economic growth. Apart from that, concerns about tensions between the developments of higher education and those of graduate employment and work were more pronounced in countries, in which higher education was predominantly considered to be specialized training through specific fields of study to prepare for specific professions, such as in Germany and France. In contrast, a more flexible adaptation of the labour market to rising student numbers was expect in countries, in which higher education predominantly was viewed as a general preparation for broad occupational areas, such as in Japan and the United Kingdom.

The first international comparative survey on employment and work of university graduates, conducted in 1999 of those graduating in 1995, confirmed moderate differences in those respects, but altogether showed that these differences between countries of the more specialized than approach of study programmes and those with a more general approach were smaller than expected (Schomburg & Teichler 2006). This might be illustrated with the cases of Germany and Japan.

The survey showed that graduate unemployment longer than the initial search period was rare. Only 1% of the Japanese and 2% of the German graduates were mostly unemployed over the first three or four years; high rates were reported only from countries with substantial overall unemployment, e.g. Spain and Italy. The job search period lasted in both countries about six months, whereby graduates in both countries contacted slightly more than 20 possible employers. 16% of the German and 20% of the Japanese graduates considered the level of their job as inappropriate to their level of education, i.e. too low. Only 23% of the German graduates but 47% of the Japanese graduates stated that they had little use on the job of their knowledge acquired during the course of study. Finally, 28% of Japanese, but only 12% of German graduates assessed their employment and work situation as dissatisfactory.

As one might expect, the role of the reputation of the individual university was viewed by the graduates to have been a more important recruitment criterion in countries with a highly stratified higher education system, but, again, the differences were smaller than expected. 41% of Japanese graduates as compared to 16% of the German graduates perceived the reputation of the university as a major criterion of their employer to hire them, while 28% vs. 42% named exam results as highly important and 32% vs. 51% the field of study or the area of specialization.

While the debate on the relationships between higher education and employment had focused initially on structural features, such as level of educational institution, type a reputation of higher education institutions, fields of study and occupational categories, etc. attention moved over the years more towards the character of study programmes, the curricula and the competences acquired by students. For example, the majority of the European graduates – in contrast to a small minority of Japanese graduates - reported that employers prefer to recruit graduates who had experienced internships or had other work experiences during the course of study which was related to their field of study or to the future occupation.

In the 1990s the view spread in many countries that university should take more care about the "employability" of their graduates, i.e. to design the learning processes in such a way that the students were prepared in more targeted way for employment and work (see Yorke, 2007). However, the views varied strikingly between countries and between disciplines, whether the aim would achieve best through broader or more specialized programmes, through emphasis on academic matters or through more work experience, through more theoretical or through more applied programmes, etc. Moreover, some observers expressed concern that universities striving for more "employability" might educate graduates in a too conventional way and not enhance the interest in critical thinking, in new surprises in the fields of study and in innovation (see Teichler, 2018).

In the first decade of the 21st century, public debates about the relationships between higher education and the world of work were characterized by increased attention to the output of learning in higher education: Which competencies should be strengthened through teaching, learning and curricula, and what competencies were actually attained at the time of graduation (see Blömeke, Zlatin-Troitschanskaia, Kuhn, & Fege, 2013)? One should note, however, that the concepts of competencies to be strived for by higher education continued to vary as much as in the preceding debates – for example in the extent, to which general cognitive or personality-linked features were emphasized or knowledge and skills important for professional performance.

The Academic Profession

The expansion of higher education and the growing targeted expectations, which higher education was exposed to, were felt by many professors as a loss of status.

- In many countries, the salaries of professors increased only below average of all occupations.
- The number of students per professor rose, and the financial means for resources within universities needed to ensure an acceptable quality of teaching and research did not increase as much as the number of students.

- Research in higher education did not expand as much as the student numbers, and the proportion of professors rose in many countries who have dominant or exclusively teaching functions.
- Professors lost much of their power within institutions of higher education and much of their freedom of disposition through increasing power of university management, increasing short-term employment as well as the introduction of evaluation systems and incentive steering.
- In recent years, expectations grew that professors have care more for a visible utility of teaching and research, for example for a closer link between research and "innovation" and for the "employability" of their students. This also tended to be felt by academics as a restraint of disposition or even as a reduction of "academic freedom".

The international comparative surveys (Altbach, 1996; Teichler, Arimoto, & Cummings, 2013) showed that most professors adapted to the changing conditions and that the majority of them remained satisfied with their overall professional situation. However, junior academics in many countries were less satisfied – among others, because many of them have contracts for short periods and have only a limited chance to become professors eventually.

The surveys also showed substantial differences between countries as regards the nexus between research and teaching (Shin, Arimoto, Cummings, & Teichler, 2014): The majority of professors in Germany and Japan view themselves primarily as researchers who disseminate research results through teaching, which does not require specific professional competences. In contrast, the majority of professors in the U.S. and United Kingdom try to strive for a balance of the research and the teaching functions, and they take care for teaching as a demanding part of their work. Finally, the majority of professors in Latin American as well as in other economically emerging countries consider teaching as their core academic task.

The survey of the academic profession conducted in 2007 shows that university professors perceived the rising power of the university management and it consequences quite differently between countries (Locke, Cummings, & Fisher, 2011).

- For the example, about three quarters of university professors in the United Kingdom (76%) stated that the university management pursued had a top-down management style. The respective proportion was lower in other countries, but also by no means negligible: e.g. 66% in the United States and 43% in Germany.
- Only 30% of professors in the United Kingdom believed that professors have a substantial influence on faculty level to shape academic policies as compared to 50% in the U.S. and 64% in Germany.
- As regards the university level, only 12% of university professor in the United Kingdom perceived such an influence In contrast to 25% in the United States and 27% in Germany.

The results of these international comparative surveys on the academic profession altogether show that there are challenges for higher education perceived which are similar across economically advanced countries and that there are somewhat similar reforms in higher education across countries. Thorough analysis, however, shows that enormous differences between countries persist. For example, German university leaders seem to base decision-making in higher education more often on dialogue between management and academia (see, for example: Hüther & Krücken, 2018) those in the UK (see, for example: Pringle & Naidoo, 2016). The actual climate of communication and cooperation within higher education institutions clearly vary substantially by country.

Internationality

Higher education, on the one hand, is not limited to national borders in many respects. The core knowledge in various disciplines is universal, and most other disciplines also border-crossing in many respects. Seeking advancements of knowledge all over the world also is by no means a new phenomenon. And international reputation of academic institutions and individuals tends to be viewed as most valuable. On the other hand, most regulatory and organizational features of higher, are shaped

strongly by national customs and rules: The organization of study programmes and degrees, the institutional setting, the career of academics, etc.

Most discourses on the international dimensions of higher education (cf. the overviews in Deardorff, de Wit, Heyl, & Adams, 2012; de Wit, Hunter, Howard, & Egron-Polak, 2015) aver the term "internationalization"; thereby, claiming that a growth of the respective phenomena is endemic. They address an enormous broad range of border-crossing phenomena. The author has argued that meanings of internationality of higher education are most widely spread (Teichler, 2004):

- Worldwide or border-crossing knowledge transfer (books, other media, etc),
- Physical mobility across countries (students, academics, administrative staff, etc.),
- International cooperation and communication (between countries, institutions of higher education, individual scholars, etc.),
- International education and research (comparative approaches, intercultural learning, socialization for international understanding, etc.),
- Also, even though might be viewed as not fitting into this catalogue: International similarity of the conditions for and features of higher education ("convergence", "globalisation", "Europeanisation", etc.), and finally
- International reputation ("world-class universities", "international quality", etc.).

Actually, most attention has been paid over years in this framework on international student mobility. The increase of foreign students worldwide registered in international educational statistics from about 300,000 in the 1950s to about 5 million is recent years, is often presented as indication of dramatic growth. However, the overall number of students worldwide increased similarly, and the rate of foreign students remained more or less constant at about two per cent.

Immediately after World War II, student mobility was advocated in economically advanced countries in order to promote international understanding. This was seen as valuable to overcome the widespread hatred before and during WW II. Thereafter, most attention was paid to what the author of this article has called "vertical mobility", i.e. to the move from academically and possibly economically less privileged countries to more privileged one. Many students from developing and mid-income countries decided to spend as the rule the whole study programme in an economically advanced country – in many instances supported financially by the host country as means of developing aid. But there was also a substantial number of students from economically advanced countries opting for a highly reputed university in another country – often in areas of natural sciences and also predominantly for a degree programme. Relatively most impressive was the finding that about 20% of doctoral degrees were awarded over the years to foreign students. Altogether, vertical mobility was not consistently viewed as desirable, because it often led to a "brain drain" – a loss of talent for the country of origin, because many of the vertically mobile students remained after graduation in the host country to work there in academia or other knowledge-based professions (see the overview on student mobility in Teichler, 2017c).

The ERASMUS programme established in Europe in 1987 (see Janson, Schomburg, & Teichler, 2009; Teichler & Maiworm, 1997). was the strongest signal for an additional wave of student mobility: Predominantly horizontal mobility, i.e. moves to a partner university abroad of similar quality in order to "learn from contrast", predominantly short-time mobility. I.e. sojourns not longer than a year, and "mass" mobility, i.e. moves financially affordable for almost everybody. As a consequence, student mobility became so popular that the ministers in charge of higher education of many European countries agreed in the so-called Bologna Declaration of 1998 to create convergent structures of study programmes and degrees across Europe in order to facilitate and stimulate mobility. In 2009, they formulated as a target for the year 2020 that 20% - on average across countries – of students graduating in that year should have spent some period or the whole period of study in another country.

Actually, the number of students from outside Europe opting for study in Europe was stimulated by these changes, not however the intra-European mobility. What is most striking, though, is the fact that

the features of internationality of higher education as most visibly student mobility remained extremely varied across countries (Teichler, Ferencz, & Wächter, 2011). For example, we might estimate that the number of graduates having had international study or study-related experience during the course of study vary nowadays among European countries between less than 5% and more than 30%.

In recent years, also efforts intensified to ensure internationality of learning for those students who are not be physically mobile across borders. For example, many university put single course online as so-called "Massive online Open Courseware" (MOOCs)" in order to provide students from other countries the opportunity a kind of virtual border-crossing (de Corte, Engwall, & Teichler, 2016). And some universities pursue what is often called "internationalization at home" through an internationalization of their curricula, an increase of foreign academics and other means (Beelen & Leask, 2011; Leask, 2015).

Arguments are convincing that internationality has become more of a "must" for the academic profession that for the students. Research collaboration with academics from other countries and publishing at least in part in foreign publication outlets or at least in part in the English language as lingua franca of international academic communication are enormously frequent phenomena these days. But again, available statistics and surveys show striking variations between countries of the proportion of internationally active academics (see Cavalli & Teichler, 2015; Huang, Finkelstein, & Rostan 2014).

The Future of Higher Education

Since the beginning of the 21st century, we note vivid debates all over the world about the future of higher education (see Brennan & Teichler, 2008; Shin & Teichler, 20014; Zgaga, Teichler, Schuetze, & Wolter, 2019). The notion of "knowledge society" suggests that the development of higher education is very important for the future of societies. Concurrently, strengthening of evaluation, incentive steering, university management, etc. shows that doubt is widespread whether the normal life of higher education is good enough and that a need is felt to put higher education under pressure.

Most discussions about the future, however, are not revolutionary. There is a widespread notion that meaningful changes and reforms have started already in the past and now have to be rounded up, e.g.

- Growing international cooperation and mobility in higher education,
- Stronger efforts for higher education to be visibly effective and efficient and thereby making professors more competitive,
- Stronger pressures to ensure increased quality, increased relevance and increased efficiency concurrently,
- Increasing virtual communication in research, teaching and learning,
- A strong emphasis on enhancing top universities and enhancing the research quality at top universities,
- Increasing the power of the university management.

A close look, however, shows that there is not a widespread agreement on future goals and that substantial steps towards the implementation ought to be taken. The author of this article likes to mention the following tensions:

- Internationalization often is named as a commonly agreed goal, but higher education policies in many countries seem to have become more nationalistic or, as Peter Scott (2015) argues, more "hegemonic": How can our country be more successful than others?
- "Knowledge society" calls for increasing relevance of higher education, but most measures to check the performance of higher education put purely academic criteria in the forefront (e.g. publications in academic journals).
- The professors are pushed very much by strengthened management, increased evaluation activities and stronger incentive steering and thereby are they guided to be productive and successful according to certain criteria. The question remains, whether academic freedom is

needed today to move into non-conventional directions and to ensure opportunities for unexpected creativity.

- Much attention is paid to the top of higher education system, as the discussion on "rankings" and "world-class universities" shows. There is a danger that too little attention is paid to the enormous potential changes within a "highly educated society", i.e. to the potentials of strengthening the "wisdom of the many".

Higher education research has the chance of being less influenced than higher education policy and practice by the fashions of the "Zeitgeist" of a certain historical period. Higher education research has the opportunity to make politicians and practitioners aware of the tensions and inconsistencies of the currently dominant concepts of higher education. Higher education might play a major role in pointing out possible alternatives, whereby international comparative research might be eye-opening for such alternatives.

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Higher Education Governance & Policy
ISSN: 2717-8676
Volume: 1
Issue: 1

Disciplinary Differences in Academics' Perceptions of Performance Measurement at Nordic Universities

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Abstract

As performance measurement has become increasingly common at Nordic universities, concerns have been raised that disciplinary differences create difficulties in comparing academic performances. To better understand the potential of utilising performance measures for the management of academic work, this study explores how academics perceive governance and steering based on performance measurement. Building on an established typology of the disciplines that distinguishes the hard sciences from the soft and the applied sciences from the pure, we ask how academics perceive performance measurement depending on their disciplinary affiliation. The empirical material consists of a survey sent to academics in four Nordic countries. Our results show there are clear differences in the attitudes toward performance measurement between academics from different disciplines. Academics from the hard applied sciences are more positive about performance measurement than any other group, and academics from the soft pure sciences are more negative. These findings are consistent with notions about the poor adaptation of metrics to publication practices within the soft sciences and greater sensitivity to performance measurement among the applied sciences. The main contribution of the article is to provide empirical data that support the notion that performance measures are accepted to different degrees in different disciplines.

Keywords: Disciplines, performance measurement, Nordic universities

Introduction

"Science and technology departments commonly become entrepreneurial first. Social sciences departments, aside from economics and business, find the shift more difficult and lag behind… Uneven adoption of new ways should be expected." (Clark 1998, p. 88).

In recent decades, measuring academic performance has become a common practice at Nordic universities, as elsewhere. Student success is meticulously assessed using retention and throughput measures (Campbell & Oblinger, 2007), and course evaluations are used to judge teaching effectiveness (Spooren, Brockx, & Mortelmans, 2013). Research output is measured based on a variety of publication and citation indicators, which are used in allocating funds (Aagaard, 2015; Hammarfelt, Nelhans, Eklund, & Åström 2016; Hicks, 2012), guiding research activities (Mingers & Wilmott, 2013) and hiring and promotion decisions (Hammarfelt & Rushforth, 2017). Worldwide university rankings utilise some of these measures, as well as indicators of institutional reputation, which makes it increasingly important for universities to publicly demonstrate their merit (Harvey, 2008; van Vught & Westerheijden, 2010). Alternative metrics are also being developed to gauge the impact of research in wider contexts, such as public policy documents, mass media and social networks (Bornmann, 2014; Piwowar, 2013). The importance of universities in their surrounding society is another focus for policymakers, as indicators are being developed to assess the societal impact of academic work (Gulbrandsen & Slipersaeter, 2007).

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(Research Article) **Cite as:** Söderlind, J., & Geschwind, L. (2020). Disciplinary differences in academics' perceptions of performance measurement at Nordic universities. *Higher Education Governance & Policy*, *1*(1), 18-31.

Received: February 28, 2020; ***Revised:*** June 4, 2020; ***Accepted:*** June 6, 2020; ***Published:*** June 30, 2020

The purpose of the present article is to contribute to the discussion of how these developments have impacted the higher education (HE) sector. In particular, we highlight the importance of disciplinary cultures, which is an issue that has often been disregarded. Studies of organisational behaviour are generally little concerned with internal organisational dynamics, as the organisation is often treated as a singular entity. In addition, disciplinary differences are frequently overlooked in studies exploring reactions to new public management (NPM) reforms and performance measurement (e.g. Hansen et al., 2019; Kallio, Kallio, Tienari, & Hyvönen, 2016; Paradeise, Reale, Bleiklie, & Ferlie, 2009; Pinheiro, Geschwind, Hansen, & Pulkkinen, 2019). However, it is well known that universities are comprised of a multitude of academic tribes and territories (Becher & Trowler, 2001) and that despite much reform that emphasises the institution as an entity, academics rely on their disciplines for identity formation (Henkel, 2000). Performance measurement is a good example of such reform, as it is often applied uniformly to universities and university systems, with little regard for the disciplinary differences that affect the conditions under which university departments and individual academics operate.

We therefore concur with Becher (1994) that the distinctive characteristics of disciplinary cultures must be recognised in HE research and believe it is imperative to include this perspective in analysing performance measurement. Whereas many scholars and practitioners alike have identified differences in the way academics respond to performance measurement, as illustrated by the quote from Burton Clark above, few studies have in a more systematic way addressed this issue. For this reason, we explore how attitudes toward measuring the performance of academic work vary between scientific disciplines. We ask whether academics from some disciplines are more inclined to accept governance and steering based on performance measures while others are more sceptical about metrics. Specifically, we address the following research question: *How do academics from different disciplines perceive the performance measurement of academic work?* We approach this question by disentangling some notions about how and why scientific disciplines differ and by developing some tentative ideas about how this is related to performance measurement. We continue with an analysis of a survey sent to academics at universities in four Nordic countries, thus gauging their attitudes about several aspects of performance measurement. In conclusion, we sum up the key findings and discuss their implications for further research, policy and practice.

Academic Disciplines

For academics, the disciplines are the primary units of membership and identification. They have a significant impact on academic work, as they shape attitudes, beliefs and practices (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Biglan, 1973a; 1973b). However, the concept of academic disciplines has been defined in a number of different ways, and it is not always clear what separates the disciplines from each other. As noted by Sugimoto and Weingart (2015), various conceptualisations rely on aspects that are cognitive, social, communicative, nominal, historical or institutional. Discussions about the scientific disciplines usually refer to several of these aspects. For example, Stichweh (2009) combines most of them when he illustrates the historical twists and turns involved in the formation of the scientific disciplines. He emphasises how scientists took on role differentiation based on the field of study and institutionalised scholarly communities with specific communications systems around these fields. Although the relative importance of these aspects may be discussed, the relationship between them should be understood as complex and intertwined. For our present purposes, an academic discipline will be understood as an academic community with institutionalised goals and structures for the creation, communication and dissemination of scholarly knowledge.

Analytical framework

Academic cultures differ not only between disciplines but also within them. Yet, a discipline is often taken to be a useful level of analysis because disciplines correspond roughly to the departments within universities, which often is the organisational manifestation of the structure of knowledge. However, the major differences between academic cultures discussed in the literature are often found between aggregations of disciplines. Although Trowler (2014) makes a strong argument that there are major differences within disciplines that are obscured by macro-level categorisations, we argue that the

endless complexity of (sub)disciplinary variations will yield less insight compared to what is possible by simply aggregating disciplines under a number of major categories. Therefore, we will apply a fourfold typology of the disciplines adopted from previous studies (Becher & Trowler 2001; Biglan, 1973b; Stoecker, 1993). On one hand, the categorisation distinguishes the hard sciences from the soft, and on the other hand it distinguishes the pure sciences from the applied (see Table 1). While it may be desirable to further explore the differences in attitudes toward performance measurement, our study is a first attempt to distinguish differences at this aggregate level.

Table 1. Typology of scientific disciplines

	Applied	Pure
Hard		
Soft		

In attempting to map the academic disciplines, some heuristic dimensions have repeatedly been applied. The most common one is the distinction between the hard and the soft sciences. This division is based on several observations and ideas but is often related to what Kuhn (1962) describes as normal or paradigmatic science, where knowledge is progressively accumulated upon previous findings. In contrast, pre- or non-paradigmatic science is characterised by conflicting foundational premises, which prevents a linear progression of knowledge accumulation. It is the hard sciences that are expected to demonstrate a stronger consensus about theory and methods than what may be observed in the soft sciences. However, existing studies have been unable to establish any difference in the cumulativeness of the sciences (Cole, 1983*;* Hedges, 1987). In contrast, a related idea concerns the degree of theoretical integration whereby empirical facts are connected to theoretical formulations, which has been found to be higher in the hard sciences (Smith, Best, Stubbs, Johnston, & Archibald, 2000). Similarly, the idea that the more complex the object of study, the more difficult it is to study has been proposed. Due to technical, ethical and practical considerations, the methods applied will therefore differ between disciplines. While experiments constitute a reliable and powerful method of inference, complex phenomena are often hard to study in this way. Instead, observations and other less rigid methods are used. The complexity of the object of study therefore affects the ability of a discipline to achieve consensus by reaching conclusive evidence and settling intellectual debates (Fanelli & Glänzel, 2013).

Another commonly made distinction is that between the pure and the applied sciences. Here, the main difference is supposed to lie in the purpose of the scientific endeavour. While scientists belonging to the former group are said to seek knowledge for its own sake, those belonging to the latter are instead interested in the practical application of research. The dichotomy between pure and applied science has been constructively critiqued (Gibbons et al., 1994; Stokes, 1997) but is deeply entrenched. In particular, it underpins the linear model of innovation, which holds that innovation occurs in a linear process starting with basic research, followed by applied research and ending in product development (Godin, 2006).

It has been suggested that a difference between the pure and applied sciences is their responsiveness and openness to their external environment. For instance, it has been claimed that the pure sciences are essentially self-regulating, while the applied sciences are open to external influence (Becher & Trowler, 2001, p. 176ff). Reasons are that the relevance of teaching and research in the applied sciences makes external actors prone to invest resources to promote particular goals, but also to more generally interact with academics in order to influence the outcome of academic work. The origins of the disciplines are also said to differ, as disciplines within the pure sciences are established through processes internal to the scientific system, while those within the applied sciences are often established because of external demands (Becher & Trowler, 2001, p. 171). Furthermore, it has been proposed that an important mechanism reinforcing the difference between pure and applied science is the structure of the academic training within these two categories (El-Khawas, 1996). The difference is that

scholars in the pure sciences are trained for purposes of scientific discovery, whereas scholars in the applied sciences are subject to substantial professional preparation. This also means that the prospects for academics in the applied sciences to move between the university and professional practice are better than for academics in the pure sciences.

Categorising the disciplines

For examples of how the disciplines may be classified in accordance with the fourfold typology, we turn to previous research on this topic (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Biglan, 1973b; Stoecker, 1993). According to these studies, the hard applied sciences include agriculture, engineering and clinical medicine; the hard pure sciences include biology, mathematics, geology and physics; the soft applied sciences include education, law, social administration and economics; and the soft pure sciences include sociology, theology, languages, literature, history and philosophy. The categorisation of any specific discipline may be debatable and will always be a matter of judgement, particularly as it can be done on a number of grounds.

In the present study, the classification of academics is based on survey responses to the following survey item: 'My research/field of science is classified as'. Possible answers were derived from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2007) classification of science and technology fields, including natural sciences (n=1,160); engineering and technology (n=749); medical and health sciences (n=838); agricultural sciences (n=130); social sciences (n=1,366); humanities (n=870); and other (n=176). Using this classification adheres to standard conceptualisations of disciplines and scientific fields. However, a limitation of the survey is the low granularity of the answers. This entails some problems with the categorisation of the respondents, further discussed below, that could have been better solved would the answers have been given at a more detailed level. It also prevents analyses at a more detailed level, but for present purposes this is not considered a problem, because the study attempts to provide a wide overview rather than a fine-grained comparison between all the disciplines.

Based on the argumentation above, we grouped engineering and technology, medical and health sciences and agricultural sciences to form what we call the applied sciences. Following the examples of previous studies, we then categorised the applied sciences as hard applied, the natural sciences as hard pure, the social sciences as soft applied and the humanities as soft pure (see Table 2). The group 'other' was excluded. While there should be little controversy regarding most of these categorisations, it is clear that the social sciences contain both applied disciplines (e.g. education, law and economics) and pure disciplines (e.g. sociology and anthropology). Social sciences may therefore be conceptualised as something in between the pure and the applied soft sciences. Compared to the humanities, however, they should be considered more applied than pure, and we will therefore categorise them as applied soft (but with this caveat, as indicated by the parenthesis in Table 2).

Table 2. Categorisation of scientific disciplines

	Applied	Pure
Hard	Applied sciences	Natural sciences
Soft	(Social sciences)	Humanities

Although the method used implies some difficulty in identifying each respondent's specific discipline, the survey responses are assumed to correspond well with our fourfold typology. However, it should be noted that the categorisation of academics is primarily based on their research interests. It therefore neglects teaching and other duties, which may affect the disciplinary culture in which the respondents are situated. However, the choice to focus on the respondents' research was made because most ideas about what defines the disciplines primarily revolve around aspects of research.

Performance measurement of academic work

As noted in the introduction, the HE sector has seen an increase in performance measurement. This may be seen in the light of several concurrent developments emphasising how the role of universities has shifted in recent decades. Elzinga (1997) notes that an epistemic drift has occurred within the research sector, implying a shift in emphasis from internal quality control to the external assessment of relevance. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) describe the increasing marketization of the HE and research sectors, giving rise to academic capitalism where universities are becoming competitors in a global market for students, faculty and funding. It has been suggested that these changes have given rise to 'the entrepreneurial university' (Clark, 1998), as the role of universities has shifted from that of cultural institutions to that of corporate enterprises in the knowledge industry (Bleiklie, 1998). In many countries, there has also been increasing managerialism. This often implies new practices and management tools, including different forms of performance measurement (Amaral, Meek, & Larsen, 2003; Deem, Hillyard, & Reed, 2007).

These developments may be understood as part of the wider NPM reforms of the public sector that have occurred in most Western countries in recent decades, where inspiration is drawn from management practices in the private sector. This often includes the professionalization of management, the devolution of responsibilities, the formalisation of relationships, increased competition, explicit performance standards and a stronger emphasis on output control and performance measurement (Hood, 1991; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). Many of these changes have been observed in the HE sector. In particular, there is increasing competition for resources, stronger accountability systems have been developed, branding has become an important activity and there has been increasing autonomy of universities, which most often is coupled with stronger output control and more performance measurement (Christensen, 2011; Elzinga, 2012; Ferlie, Musselin, & Andresani, 2008).

These changes have all affected the Nordic HE sector, which in recent decades have seen a strong wave of reforms that has followed international trends. Since the early 1990s, there has also been a dramatic rise in student numbers and growing research budgets that have prompted stronger demands for efficiency and accountability. While having a long tradition of state control where also important stakeholders have had a significant influence, the Nordic higher education sector has experienced a shift towards more autonomy for the HEIs, but also more marked-based governance (Gornitzka et al. 2004). In all of the Nordic countries, the institutional autonomy has been a central feature of higher education reform, as has been the introduction of governance models based on management by results. All countries have also seen the establishment of organisations designated for the evaluation of higher education (Fägerlind & Strömqvist, 2004). Also performance-based funding has been an increasingly important governance tool as national governments have delegated authority to the HEIs. Within the HEIs, managerial modes of governance have been introduced in all countries at the expense of collegial decision-making structures (Ahola et al., 2014). Mergers has also been a prominent aspect of the Nordic higher education landscape in recent years (Pinheiro et al., 2016). Although the higher education landscapes of the Nordic countries also exhibit significant differences, it is clear that many reforms in recent decades have had similar aims and rationales, and have been induced by similar pressures. Among these changes, performance measurement constitutes a common denominator that promotes accountability and efficiency in resource management, and that often is believed to enhance quality.

In the present study, we explore how the increasing performance measurement of academic work is perceived by academics at Nordic universities. Although the study of macro-level trends is important to understand how HE systems are affected by NPM reforms, it is also essential to explore perceptions at the individual level. This enables an increased understanding of the impact of NPM reforms on local conditions and practices, which should significantly affect not only the performances achieved within the system but also such things as the social and ideational aspects of academic work. How academics interact in a system where measures abound could drastically affect the basic preconditions for academic work, as could changes in the perception of what matters and what does not. Exploring these issues necessitates an interest in individual perceptions of performance measurement.

Disciplinary differences

Disciplinary differences among scholars are expressed in a number of ways, including the attitude toward performance measurement. Buela-Casal and Zych (2012) state there are significant variations between disciplines in the attitude toward research metrics. One common explanation for this is that prevailing research indicators are designed for the hard sciences but are also unreflectively used for the soft sciences. The consequence is that the performance of the former group is overemphasised compared with that of the latter (Donovan, 2007; Hicks, 2004). This is also the experience of many scholars in the humanities who argue that 'bibliometrics do not fit with the purpose and rationale of research in the humanities', as noted by Hammarfelt and de Rijcke (2015, p. 74). These authors see a misfit between disciplinary norms and external demands manifested in quantitative evaluation systems. However, they also see notable changes in the publication practices within the humanities, as academics are conforming to these measures.

An important reason why we should expect varying attitudes toward performance measurement between different disciplines is that prevalent research metrics have been developed specifically for some disciplines. As a result, the metrics are well adapted to the publication practices within these disciplines but may suit other disciplines quite poorly. Another reason for variations relates to the different needs of academics in different disciplines. As noted by Whitley (2007), researchers in the applied sciences often have an easier time finding funding from external sources than researchers in the pure sciences, which makes the latter group more tolerant of and responsive to evaluation systems of importance to these funders. This has also been illustrated by Reale and Seeber (2011), who show that different university departments are responsive to different stimuli, depending on their perceived need for financial or reputational resources. It should also be noted that teaching practices vary greatly between disciplines, which in turn affects teaching metrics, such as student ratings and retention rates (Neumann, 2001). However, whether discipline is a factor that affects the attitudes of academics toward performance measurement is a question that has rarely been quantitatively studied to any substantial degree.

Empirical Material and Data Analysis

This study explores data from a survey sent to academics and academic managers at universities in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark. The survey is part of a larger comparative research project that studied the relation between reform, organisational change and performance in Nordic universities in the last couple of decades (see Pinheiro et al. 2019). The survey contains a large range of questions on themes including, but not limited to, organisational structures, performance management, incentives, funding arrangements, autonomy and control and local atmosphere. The data were collected in the fall of 2015 and the spring of 2016. A total of 5,489 respondents completed the survey (Norway n=1,340, Sweden n=701, Finland n=1,044, Denmark n=2,404), and the overall response rate was 15 percent. Because of varying HE systems and availability of sampling frames, the sampling was somewhat different in the four countries. The representativeness of the responses varies to some extent between the countries but is generally good with regard to institutional affiliation, discipline, seniority and gender. A closer look at disciplinary representativeness shows that social scientists are somewhat overrepresented, while agricultural scientists and medical and health scientists are slightly underrepresented. Other disciplinary groups are well represented.

To measure the attitudes of the respondents, they were asked to give their opinion about a number of statements. A 5-point Likert scale was used, with responses ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). To visualise our results, we present the percentage of respondents who answered *agree* (4) or *strongly agree* (5) in relation to the statements in the survey. However, with this type of data it is hard to draw firm conclusions about the strength of the respondents' attitudes. This is because we cannot assume a normal distribution of the answers regarding attitudes, which means that expectations are difficult to estimate. Therefore, our analysis mainly focuses on differences *between* the four disciplinary groups. The analysis employs non-parametric mean rank comparisons, where global differences between groups are tested using the Kruskal–Wallis H test (α: .05). If global differences are found, the groups are analysed pairwise using the Bonferroni post hoc test (α: .05). Some comparisons will also be made between the survey items. These comparisons will be made

using the Wilcoxon signed-rank test (α: .05) and only for the whole sample of respondents, regardless of disciplinary affinity.

Measuring attitudes toward performance measurement

The attitudes toward performance measurement explored in this study take a number of perspectives into account, which is reflected in the survey design. It includes ideas about the accuracy of performance measures, reasons for measuring performance and the consequences thereof. It also includes notions about how performance measurement affects the working environment and the behaviour of the respondents, including their performance in teaching and research. The nine survey items and the dimensions they target are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Survey items

Survey items	Dimension
1. Internal procedures for measuring academic performance are in accordance with my understanding of academic performance	Validity
2. In my opinion, performance measurements increase transparency and fairness	Transparency
3. In my opinion, performance measurements are signs of mistrust	Mistrust
4. Control and evaluation of my work is a legitimate task	Legitimacy
5. Teaching performance measurements have a positive impact on the atmosphere surrounding academic work	Atmosphere
6. Research performance measurements have a positive impact on the atmosphere surrounding academic work	Atmosphere
7. Internal procedures for measuring academic performance have an impact on my decisions regarding academic work	Behaviour
8. Measurements increase my performance in teaching	Performance
9. Measurements increase my performance in research	Performance

Survey item 1 gauges the accuracy of performance measures. The purpose of the item is to assess how the respondents perceive the validity of performance measures, particularly whether the measures cover the vital aspects of teaching and research performance. This is an important and ongoing debate with regard to various performance measures (Gläser & Laudel, 2007; van Raan, 2005). Unlike many other studies of performance metrics, the question does not specify a particular type of performance measure but instead probes the perceived validity of performance measurement more generally. Survey items 2 and 3 explore attitudes toward the reasons for using performance measurement. An expected effect of performance measurement is to increase transparency and potentially fairness. In an academic setting, transparency and fairness may be seen as instrumental in distributing rewards to the rightful recipients (Aksnes & Rip, 2009). Survey item 2 gauges whether academics understand performance measures as promoting these goals. A related question is whether performance measurement is understood as a consequence of mistrust (Porter, 1995). From this perspective, the implementation of performance measures can be understood as a strategy to establish objective expectations and requirements for academic work. However, this may imply an overreliance on the metrics at the expense of professional judgement. Survey item 3 explores whether academics consider the use of performance measures to be motivated by mistrust.

Survey item 4 sums up the previous questions by exploring the perceived legitimacy of evaluating academic work. Legitimacy is important for any organisation or process, as it affects its potential impact; the more acceptance it has, the greater the possibility for effects (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). Whether evaluations of academic work are understood as legitimate by the academics is therefore important. Here, we do not specifically ask about performance measurement but rather about control and evaluation. This may therefore be understood to capture a wider variety of tools to monitor and evaluate academic work, including qualitative assessments such as peer reviews. While this requires caution in interpreting the results, it may also function as a control to note whether potential differences between disciplines are specific to quantitative tools or if there are general patterns of acceptance and scepticism of evaluative tools.

An important question is whether performance measurement has any effect on academic practices. Performance measurement can stimulate positive competitiveness and provide incentives for

academics to increase their performance. However, it can also distort incentives to induce suboptimal behaviour and can have a negative effect on work motivation (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Kallio & Kallio, 2014; Osterloh, 2010). Survey items 5 and 6 explore the perceived impact on the working environment within teaching and research, respectively. Similarly, survey item 7 gauges the perceived impact of performance measurement on behaviour. If performance measures do not affect behaviour, they are ineffective in steering academic work. This is important, as metrics are often understood mainly as management instruments rather than as indicators of academic quality (Söderlind & Geschwind, 2019). Because the effects on behaviour are self-reported, they are likely to be underestimated. However, the effects on behaviour do not necessitate performance effects. Survey item 8 and 9 explore the perceived performance effects for teaching and research, respectively. Again, the effects are self-reported, meaning it is difficult to observe disparities between perceived behaviour and actual behaviour. Therefore, a limitation of the present study is that no conclusions can be made about what academics do because it merely reports on the perceptions of academics. The performance effects of measuring academic work are thus beyond the scope of this article.

Results

As can be seen in Table 4, the main finding of our study is that there are significant differences between the disciplines with regard to how they perceive academic performance measurement. The result of the mean rank comparisons for each item is demonstrated by the Kruskal–Wallis H, which shows that all items indicate significant differences ($p < .05$) between the disciplinary groups. Academics in the applied sciences particularly stand out as being the most positive about performance measurement, and those in the humanities are the most negative, as shown by the Bonferroni post hoc tests. Academics in the natural sciences and the social sciences are generally positioned in between academics in the applied sciences and academics in the humanities. Most often, there is no significant difference between academics in the natural sciences and those in the social sciences. There is only a significant difference in their beliefs about whether performance measurement impacts the decisions they make in their academic work. Academics in the natural sciences think they are less affected by performance measures than academics in any other group. Using the Wilcoxon signed-rank test, we can also see whether performance measures have a greater impact on teaching compared to research. The results show there is no statistically significant difference between the effects of performance measurement on the atmosphere in teaching versus the atmosphere in research ($Z = .123$, $p = .902$). However, performance measurement is perceived to increase performance within research more than within teaching ($Z = 7.095$, $p = .000$).

Taking a closer look at the various dimensions included in the analysis, we can see that the disciplinary groups are quite homogenous in their perceptions of the validity of performance measures (item 1), but academics in the applied sciences differ by displaying a more positive attitude. Regarding whether performance measurement is understood to increase transparency and fairness (item 2), the results show that academics in the applied sciences agree to a greater extent than those in the other groups and that academics in the humanities disagree more. The reverse pattern is observed when the academics are asked whether measurements are signs of mistrust (item 3). Here, we see that academics in the humanities have a greater tendency to agree with the statement than academics in the other groups, and academics in the applied sciences have a lesser tendency. Whether control and evaluation are considered legitimate (item 4) differs between the disciplinary groups in basically the same way but with a minor difference. Academics in the applied sciences are more positive than those in the natural sciences and the humanities but do not differ statistically from those in the social sciences. Academics in the social sciences are more positive than those in the humanities, which means that academics in the humanities are more negative than those in the applied sciences and the social sciences.

In terms of the effects of performance measurement, there are statistically significant differences between the disciplines regarding the effects on the working environment, the behaviour of the academics and their performance. Concerning the impact on the work atmosphere, academics in the applied sciences report a stronger effect than academics in all the other disciplines, and academics in the humanities report a weaker effect. This is true for both teaching metrics (item 5) and research

metrics (item 6). However, whether performance measurement has an impact on academics' decision making (item 7) differs from the previous results. Here, only academics in the natural sciences stand out, as they agree to a lesser extent than academics in the other groups. How measures are perceived to impact the performance of academics also differs between the disciplines. Regarding teaching performance (item 8), academics in the applied sciences rate the statement higher than those in the social sciences and the humanities, but there is no difference in relation to academics in the natural sciences. Academics in the humanities score lower than those in all other groups. In terms of research performance (item 9), academics in the applied sciences agree more than those in the other groups, and those in the humanities disagree more.

Table 4. Academics' attitudes toward performance measurement by discipline

		N	% that agree (Likert 4–5)	Kruskal-Wallis H	p	Bonferroni post hoc tests, α: .05
1. Internal procedures for measuring academic performance are in accordance with my understanding of academic performance	Natural sciences	824	23.9	23.9	.000	Applied sciences are significantly higher than all other groups.
	Applied sciences	1,203	28.3			
	Social sciences	1,034	25			
	Humanities	602	20.4			
	Total	3,663	25.1			
2. In my opinion, performance measurements increase transparency and fairness	Natural sciences	913	31.9	60.1	.000	Applied sciences are significantly higher than all other groups, and humanities are significantly lower than all other groups.
	Applied sciences	1,324	40.7			
	Social sciences	1,109	30.6			
	Humanities	644	21.7			
	Total	3,990	32.8			
3. In my opinion, performance measurements are signs of mistrust	Natural sciences	912	30.6	58.6	.000	Humanities are significantly higher than all other groups, and applied sciences are significantly lower than all other groups.
	Applied sciences	1,321	26.9			
	Social sciences	1,112	34.8			
	Humanities	638	39.7			
	Total	3,983	32			
4. Control and evaluation of my work is a legitimate task	Natural sciences	884	49.1	26.8	.000	Applied sciences are significantly higher than natural sciences and the humanities, and social sciences are significantly higher than the humanities.
	Applied sciences	1,298	54.5			
	Social sciences	1,088	51			
	Humanities	647	43.3			
	Total	3,917	50.5			
5. Teaching performance measurements have a positive impact on the atmosphere surrounding academic work	Natural sciences	686	17.2	108	.000	Applied sciences are significantly higher than all other groups, and the humanities are significantly lower than all other groups.
	Applied sciences	987	18.4			
	Social sciences	890	12.4			
	Humanities	514	6.6			
	Total	3,077	14.4			
6. Research performance measurements have a positive impact on the atmosphere surrounding academic work	Natural sciences	733	15.4	113	.000	Applied sciences are significantly higher than all other groups, and the humanities are significantly lower than all other groups.
	Applied sciences	1,040	23.1			
	Social sciences	906	14.7			
	Humanities	519	7.7			
	Total	3,198	16.4			
7. Internal procedures for measuring academic performance have an impact on my decisions regarding academic work	Natural sciences	828	28.5	37.3	.000	Natural sciences are significantly lower than all other groups.
	Applied sciences	1,217	37.6			
	Social sciences	1,035	35.8			
	Humanities	603	34.7			
	Total	3,683	34.6			
8. Measurements increase my performance in teaching	Natural sciences	667	20.5	99.7	.000	The humanities are significantly lower than all other groups, and applied sciences are significantly higher than social sciences.
	Applied sciences	956	22			
	Social sciences	871	16.4			
	Humanities	509	8.4			
	Total	3,003	17.7			
9. Measurements increase my performance in research	Natural sciences	732	24.2	86	.000	Applied sciences are significantly higher than all other groups, and the humanities are significantly lower than all other groups.
	Applied sciences	1,023	29.4			
	Social sciences	888	24.9			
	Humanities	514	12.3			
	Total	3,157	24.1			

If we look at the degree to which academics agree with the statements, we can see that one fourth of respondents consider performance measures to be accurate (item 1), and one third think they increase transparency (item 2). Just 15 percent of the respondents think performance measures affect the work atmosphere positively (item 5 and 6). More than one third think performance measures impact their decisions (item 7); 18 percent of those in teaching experience positive effects on performance (item 8), as do 24 percent of those in research (item 9). Using the Wilcoxon signed-rank test, we can compare these differences and see that the perceived effect on decision making is significantly greater than the effect on performance in teaching ($Z = 18.912$, $p = .000$) and research ($Z = 14.515$, $p = .000$). This indicates that the academics alter their behaviour in ways that are perceived to have no effect on their performance. Although it is difficult to draw firm conclusions from these percentages without proper comparison points, they are interpreted as indicating a general scepticism about the statements. Despite this, the results show that evaluation and control are considered legitimate (item 4) by half of the respondents, and just a third think performance measurement is a sign of mistrust (item 3). Therefore, the attitudes toward performance measurement are not entirely negative.

Concluding Discussion

In this study, we investigated how disciplinary cultures affect academics' attitudes toward performance measurement at Nordic universities. We proceeded from an established typology of the academic disciplines, distinguishing the hard sciences from the soft and the applied sciences from the pure. Our results show that there are clear differences in the attitudes toward performance measurement between the disciplines. Thus, our study confirms the importance of previous calls to include the disciplinary perspective in analyses of HE (Becher, 1994). Disciplines affect cultures perhaps more than anything else in academia. Taking account of these differences is therefore paramount to understand how academic work is influenced by organisational changes, such as performance measurement.

Our main finding is that academics from the applied sciences generally have a more positive attitude regarding performance measurement than academics in any other group, and academics in the humanities generally have a more negative attitude. This pattern is consistent across most of our survey items, indicating that the finding is robust and that it describes a general attitude toward performance measurement. The survey items span dimensions such as the perceived validity, transparency and legitimacy of performance measures and whether they are seen to indicate mistrust. They gauge how academics experience the effect of performance measurement on the work atmosphere, their decision making in their job and their academic performance. Additionally, we note that the perceived legitimacy of evaluation and control demonstrates similar differences between the disciplines as the other survey items. This indicates that the observed differences in attitudes are not specific to performance measurement but are part of a larger pattern whereby academics in the applied sciences show the greatest acceptance of evaluative tools, and academics in the humanities are the most sceptical.

Previous studies have suggested that disciplinary cultures are important in explaining varying attitudes and behaviour among academics (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Biglan, 1973a; 1973b). Based on our results, we argue that this includes their attitudes toward performance measurement. Possible explanations for our findings include on the one hand the varying traditions of using academic performance measures and on the other hand varying accountability relationships. That performance measures have been developed specifically for disciplines within the hard sciences makes them better adapted to the particular practices that prevail there, and it makes academics more familiar with them. The soft sciences have eventually been included in analyses with these tools, despite the inadequate ability to accurately describe the research outputs (Donovan, 2007; Hammarfelt & de Rijcke, 2015; Hicks, 2004). With weaker traditions of performance measurement and inadequate validity, it is hardly surprising that the attitudes among the soft sciences are more sceptical. With regard to accountability relationships, it has been suggested that academics from the applied sciences are more sensitive to demands from external actors than academics from the pure sciences (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Whitley, 2007). As performance measures often make up the interface between external actors with limited capability to assess scientific research, metrics become important tools to convey success and

legitimise academic endeavours. Academics in the applied sciences are therefore expected to adhere more to performance measurement than academics in the pure sciences, as the former group depends more on support from external actors and may therefore be more accustomed to communicating about their work in similar terms.

While this study has provided empirical data to show how academics differ between the various disciplines, further research should heed Trowler's (2014) argument that macro-level categorisations of the disciplines often obscure the many differences within them. Future studies could advantageously explore these issues within the different disciplines. This would perhaps shed more light on the specific mechanisms giving rise to the disciplinary differences in the attitudes toward and experiences with academic performance measurement. Nevertheless, our results contribute to current debates on the impact of performance measurement in HE by highlighting the importance of disciplinary cultures and by providing empirical data on the impact of the disciplines. We hope that our study provides university actors a general understanding of the different perspectives and opinions regarding performance measurement, as it reflects the varying conditions under which academic work is conducted. This conclusion also serves as an important reminder to policymakers and managers interested in comparing academic performances across disciplines. Measurement systems that neglect these aspects are bound to meet resistance. Although there are statistical techniques to account for some of the measurement problems, such as the varying publication practices, it is also important to appreciate and consider the various attitudes toward performance measurement among academics. This is imperative, as any evaluation system will suffer without a reasonable level of acceptance among its subjects.

Ethical Note

In the national contexts of this study, no ethical clearance has been deemed necessary. Ethical considerations have continuously been made through the project, which has been conducted in agreement with The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity, as defined by All European Academies (found here: https://allea.org/code-of-conduct/).

Funding

This work was supported by the Research Council of Norway under grant number 237782 and Riksbankens Jubileumsfond grant number FSK15-1059:1.

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Higher Education Governance & Policy
ISSN: 2717-8676
Volume: 1
Issue: 1

Tensions in the Evolving Australian Higher Education System: A Complex, Evolving Mix

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Abstract

The Australian university system, originally based on the Oxbridge model, has largely outgrown its British roots, and now confronts a very different context. A significant challenge stems from tensions between its history, with a rich indigenous heritage, and establishment as a series of British colonies; and its geography, at the heel of South East Asia, with all its major neighbours from East and Southeast Asia. Reflecting the growing trend of greater engagement with Asia, and greater migration from the region, Asian academics now form a significant proportion of academic staff, but it is argued that while their disciplinary expertise is recognized, their additional cultural and linguistic skills are often not acknowledged, and their Asian cultural capital undervalued. A trend towards greater managerialism and increasingly intricate and burdensome regulatory architecture, is traced and critiqued, in relation to governance, at both system and institutional levels. The distinctive makeup of higher education funding is explained, notably the innovative income-contingent loans scheme, and the longstanding underfunding of the higher education system, which pushed universities to diversify their income sources, particularly via international student fees. The extreme dependence on the latter is argued to have been dramatically highlighted by the COVID-19 pandemic, with huge losses predicted across the system. It is argued, that while there are considerable strengths evident in the overall system, major challenges of underfunding and an overly entrepreneurial approach to internationalisation, as well as increasing casualisation, and substantial inequalities of participation, remain as significant challenges.

Keywords: Higher education system, Australian higher education, evolving higher education, tensions of complex system, complex higher education system

Introduction

Beginning by sketching the historical background to current developments, the article outlines key themes re-shaping contemporary higher education. These underscore both continuity and change. It is firstly argued that the legacy of unresolved tensions between Australia's history and geography continue to shape developments in contemporary higher education policy and practice. Secondly, major institutional forms are outlined, while pointing out how the trend towards privatisation, including comparatively high levels of private funding, are re-shaping the landscape of higher education. Thirdly, moves towards a more managerial model of university governance and management are argued to be a further element afflicting the operation of institutions. Fourthly, despite having achieved high participation rates, the article reveals the Australian system to still be highly unequal, along class, gender and racial lines. This argument is continued in the treatment of internationalisation, which shows that despite increasing staff diversity, the additional cultural knowledge and skills they bring are not always valued. Finally, the article argues that despite considerable achievements, the current obsession with rankings and league tables, and over-dependence on international student income are points of vulnerability.

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(Review Article) **Cite as:** Welch, A. (2020). Tensions in the evolving Australian higher education system: A complex, evolving mix. *Higher Education Governance & Policy, 1*(1), 32-48.

Received: May 21, 2020; ***Revised:*** June 22, 2020; ***Accepted:*** June 23, 2020; ***Published:*** June 30, 2020

For tens of thousands of years, sophisticated forms of higher learning were practised among Australia's indigenous population. Shaped by both the local environment and deeply-held, integrated spiritual cosmologies, the process of an individual's induction into the highest levels of culture and kinship encompassed oral forms of both spiritual and practical learning, that were lifelong (Berndt & Berndt, 1988; Hart, 1974; Marett, 2005; Welch 1996, pp. 26-27; Welch, Königsberg, Collard, & Rochecouste, 2015). However, when the first University was established in 1850, it ignored the rich array of diverse cultures and languages that made up indigenous Australia.

The constitution of each of the earliest universities reflected the fact that white Australia had been established as a series of British colonies, thus the earliest Australian universities were "… transplantation(s) of British settlers, values and culture of Empire" (Horne & Sherington, 2013, pp. 284-285). Nowhere was this intellectual and institutional obeisance to the Oxbridge tradition expressed more clearly than in the Latin motto of the first such institution, the University of Sydney (1850): *Mens Sidere, Eadem Mutato* (broadly, The Same Mind, Under Different Stars)[1]. The overwhelmingly male staff of these early institutions were also almost entirely British: "The German, French and American universities seem to have been beyond the pale" (Smith, 2001, p. 4; see also Sherington, 2019; Welch, 2020a). At the University of Sydney, until around WWI, a selection committee based in the UK made recommendations regarding Chairs. It was not until around then, that any Australians were appointed to Chairs (and largely on the basis of qualifications gained overseas). Further imperial ties, including schemes such as the Rhodes scholarship, also connected Australian scholars to the 'mother country' and later to the (British) Commonwealth of Nations (Horne & Sherington, 2013; Pietsch, 2010; 2013).

When, at Federation in 1901, Australia's population totalled a mere 3,788,100, there were a mere 2,652 university students (0.07% of the population, and almost all white males). Rather like the UK, women did not gain entry to universities until the 1870s (despite attempts by the University of Adelaide [1874], for example, that were disallowed by the British government). However, by the 1920s, the proportion of women in higher education was a little higher than in the UK, and from a broad set of socio-economic backgrounds. (Bowen, 1985; Horne, 2016) Teaching was the main activity at the time: research was not a core function, and the first home-grown Ph. Ds. were not awarded until 1948 (CBCS, 1952; Dobson, 2012). At the onset of WWII, by which time the national population had reached 6,967,754, of a total university enrolment of 14,236, fewer than 100 were higher degree candidates.

Institutional Forms

The dominant institutional model continues to be the comprehensive public university (Davis, 2017). Among these, the top-tier Go8 *(a coalition of eight major research-intensive universities in Australia)* category, which broadly parallels the UK's Russell Group, or the American Association of Universities, leads most performance indicators, albeit less so than previously. Of Australia's 43 universities, only 3 smaller private institutions exist (Bond, Notre Dame, and the recently accredited University of Divinity), although there are also one or two small outposts of US-based private universities (Carnegie Mellon Australia, and Torrens[2]). This apparently public profile, however, ignores two elements. First is the increasing privatisation of public universities, whose dependence on fee income, notably from international students, is exceptionally high, relative to other countries, and which arguably impinges on their public standing, and which has also been criticised for leading them to behave more like enterprises (Marginson & Considine, 2000). While, on average across the OECD, around 32 percent of total expenditure on tertiary institutions is sourced from the private sector, in Australia, the proportion is almost double, at 62 percent (McGowan, 2018; OECD, 2019a; n.d.).

Second is the proliferation of smaller, private higher education (niche) providers. Some provide high-level, specialist professional education, others a mix of vocational and higher education offerings,

[1] The Universities of Queensland, and Western Australia, however, rejected the Oxbridge model as unsuitable for their conditions, where populations were more rural and dispersed.
[2] Torrens forms one of the Laureate International chain.

while still others are religious and denominational. More than 120 such private higher education providers, mostly small, are registered (TEQSA, 2020). Of the 43 universities, 6 are dual-sector higher education institutions (HEIs), providing both mainstream higher education qualifications, and mid-level technical qualifications. (Maddocks et al., 2019; Swinburne University, 2019)

Governance and Management

The governance and management of Australian universities has seen significant changes over recent decades. Governance is defined as the authority to develop organisational models, policies, and plans and decisions, and account for their probity, responsiveness and cost-effectiveness. Management refers to the achievement of goals through assigning responsibilities and resources, as well as monitoring their efficiency and effectiveness (Gallagher, 2001).

For public universities, governance forms relate to the federal structure of the Australian polity: with only two exceptions, all universities were established via legislative Acts of individual state parliaments[3]. Yet, although state parliaments were important in the early decades of university establishment, their influence is now somewhat vestigial. In practice, unlike all other education sectors, higher education is governed by federal, rather than state, authority, and related agencies. In addition to the federal department of education, key federal agencies include the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA), which is responsible for higher education quality assurance, and Excellence in Research Australia (ERA) which collects, analyses and monitors research output and quality (see, *inter alia*, Welch, 2016; 2020b; 2020c).

While some regulatory architecture still reflects its British origins, much has changed. Despite repeated allusions to contemporary managerial mantras such as 'Steering from a Distance', in practice the overall result has been more steering, and less distance. In the name of quality assurance, ever-increasing, and ever more detailed demands for performance data now consume substantial amounts of time and resources at institutional level. Vice-Chancellors' complaints about the burden imposed at institutional levels, however, is undercut by their enthusiastic implementation of detailed regulatory apparatus internally. Together with institutional enlargement (a number of universities now have enrolments of over 60,000), it has helped accentuate corporate, line-management forms of governance, and the associated proliferation of senior, high-salaried positions, responsible for governing one or other aspect of institutional performance, and all ultimately responsible to the Vice-Chancellor. Revelling in titles such as Vice-President, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Pro Vice-Chancellor and Provost, each is in turn supported by a growing number of appointees.

A key site to observe changes to institutional governance patterns is seen in the evolution of the role of faculty Dean, now regarded as part of the executive management team, rather than the earlier, and more collegial, *primus inter pares*. Resistance by academics, including to further corporatisation and managerialism now tends to be seen as inhibiting effective management, and a form of recalcitrance, rather than an instance of democratic dissent. Systematic differences regarding the importance of collegiality, and centralised control now distinguish management from academic staff (Marginson & Considine, 2000, pp. 64-66). An audit culture now increasingly governs most aspects of academic work and performance (Welch, 2016).

Financing Higher Education

The growth of the Australian higher education system to over 1.5 million students has been sustained by a changing mix of both public and private funding (APH, 2003). Over the decade 1996-2006, the share of funds from the federal government fell, hence the share of funding from private sources, particularly from student fees rose appreciably. By the turn of the century, OECD data showed private contributions to higher education in Australia, at around 46 percent of total funding, higher than most comparable countries, while the proportion of Gross Domestic Product devoted to higher education had also fallen, and was low, relative to most other OECD countries (DEST, 2002; Productivity

[3] The two exceptions are the Australian National University (ANU) and Charles Darwin University (sited in the Northern Territory, a federally administered region)

Commission, 2002, pp. 32-34). By 2016, OECD data shows private expenditure had increased to 62.2 percent of the total (OECD, 2019a; 2019b).

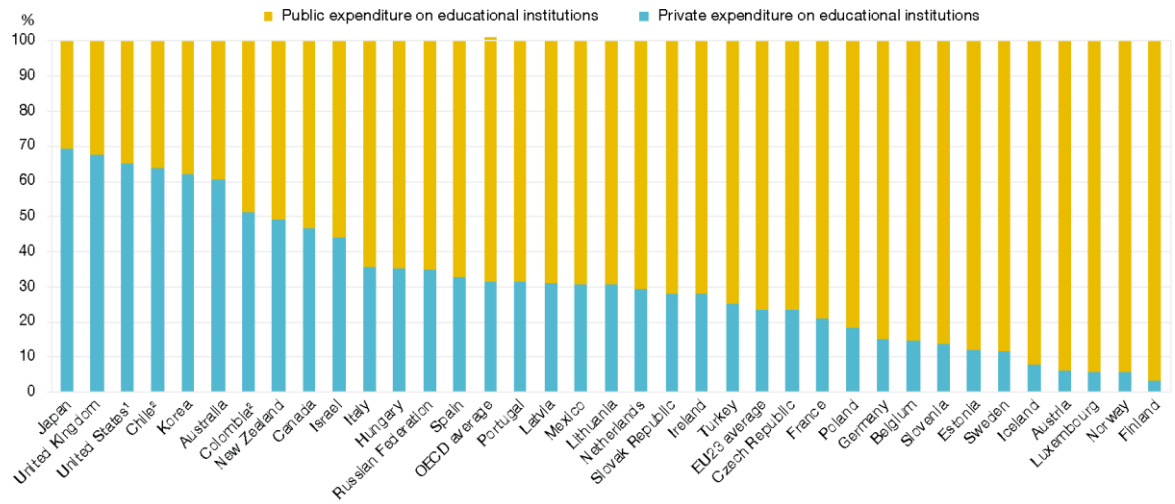

Figure 1. Public and private expenditure on higher education – selected countries 2016 (OECD, 2019a)

Over recent years, the massification of Australian higher education has been driven by two principal financial elements: the demand driven system, and the national income-contingent loans scheme. The first was a government scheme that, over the years 2012-2017, provided universities a fixed sum of money for teaching. Effectively, this ensured that universities could enrol as many undergraduate students as desired (other than in Medicine), since funding was assured. The aim of the scheme was to boost overall participation in higher education, as well as boost access for under-represented groups in society. Evidence revealed that participation increased significantly, and many of the non-traditional students succeeded in their studies, although students with lower literacy and numeracy backgrounds, fared less well: "By age 23 years, 21 percent of the additional students had left university without receiving a qualification, compared with 12 percent of other students" (Productivity Commission, 2019, p. 2, see also p. 9). In order to reduce such inequities, modest additional funds were provided to universities under the Higher Education Participation and Partnerships Program (HEPPP), to raise aspirations of disadvantaged children and to provide additional support services.

The demand driven system replaced the supply driven, or 'block-grant' scheme, whereby the government provided a block amount of funding to universities, (for which they were required to deliver a certain number of places), and then decided on how many places, and how much funding was to be applied to each university. While some parodied this rather bureaucratic system as 'Moscow on the Molonglo'[4], it did deliver an additional loading, for example, to students at regional universities, in the interests of equity (Carrington & Pratt, 2003).

However, facing a substantially rising demand for funding (needed to sustain the demand-driven system), it was substantially amended. The potential 50 percent rise in funding in real terms over the period 2008-2017, led the government to freeze undergraduate funding in late 2017, with the proviso that universities meeting specified performance criteria might have their funds adjusted from 2020 to take account of changes in populations. (DESE, n.d.) Effectively, this meant a return to block funding, albeit minus enrolment targets (Norton, 2019). Universities were able to reduce the number of places. However, pressure on the system was scheduled to increase in the early 2020s, as the number of school leavers rises to its highest level ever.

Australia's innovative income-contingent loans scheme has been the other important pillar of higher education funding. Widely seen as a success, versions have now been adopted in a number of countries. The Australian version allows universities to set fees within three government-set bands.

[4] The Molonglo is the name of a river near Canberra, the nation's capital.

These bands, and associated fees, vary according to discipline, with the highest levels (Medicine, Dentistry) set on the basis that these professions earn the highest incomes. The current three bands reflect such disciplinary differences, as seen in Table 1:

Table 1. 2020 student fees by disciplinary band

Band 3: Law, dentistry, medicine, veterinary science, accounting, administration, economics, commerce.	$0 - $11,155
Band 2: Computing, built environment, other health, allied health, engineering, surveying, agriculture, mathematics, statistics, science.	$0 - $9,527
Band 1: Humanities, behavioural science, social studies, education, clinical psychology, foreign languages, visual and performing arts, nursing.	$0 – $6,684

Source: Study Assist (2020); **Note:** All prices in Australian dollars

Unlike mortgage type student loans such as exist in the US, the income contingent loan does not become repayable until three specific conditions have been met: graduation, employment, and an earned income above the threshold ($45,881 in 2018-19). Once these conditions have all been met, the loan is repaid over time, via the tax system, with higher incomes necessitating higher repayments. Students who do not meet the three conditions are not required to repay the loan. The Australian government, as well as each university, make some scholarships available to post-graduate scholars, both domestic and international, while a range of countries, including China, Saudi Arabia, Chile and Brazil, provide research scholarships tenable in Australia (among a number of countries). A domestic Ph. D. scholarship is currently valued at $30,000, tax free[5].

Participation and Equity

Australia is a high-participation system, reflecting government policy target of 40 percent of those aged 25-34 holding a degree by 2025. Of a total population of a mere 25 million, overall higher education enrolments had reached 1,562,520 by 2018, including a 30 percent increase at the undergraduate level over the years 2009-2015 (Czarnecki, 2018, p. 502; Norton, 2019). The largely older Go8 HEIs tend to be somewhat more selective, while newer universities reflect a stronger equity profile. Nonetheless, it is still the case overall that having parents with a university level education and/or a professional occupation are the best predictors of the likelihood of university graduation (Czarnecki, 2018; Lee, 2014). Other research also shows that class also differentiates the choice of institution, field or discipline, with lower socio-economic status families tending to choose lower status fields, and HEIs. The process of entrenching class divisions begins well before higher education, and deepens throughout schooling: data from the Universities Admissions Centre show that, at the end of the secondary school stage, 1.3 percent of lowest SES (socio-economic status) students gain an admission score of 90 (of a possible 100), compared to 9.4 percent of pupils from the highest SES. Australia's large private secondary higher education sector, particularly the elite, high-fee schools, are also disproportionately represented among university students (Marginson, 2016). Other things being equal, coming from a middle-class family, and / or going to the 'right school' is an advantage. A survey in 2016 revealed that, whereas 25 percent of children of skilled and unskilled labourers were either attending university or held a degree, the rate for children of managers and professionals was 61 percent (Norton, 2019).

As seen below (Figure 2), women now outnumber men in higher education, albeit there is still work to be done to lift rates of female participation in key STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) fields. By 2010, overall gender parity had been reached, including at the doctoral level: women's share of all Ph. Ds, including in science disciplines, had reached 50 percent (AAS, 2020a; Dobson, 2012, p. 95) This did not mean, however, that parity obtained in all such disciplines. Women are still over-represented in fields such as Education, and Social Work (and Social Sciences and Humanities more generally), but remain under-represented in Engineering.

[5] At the time of writing, around US$20,000.

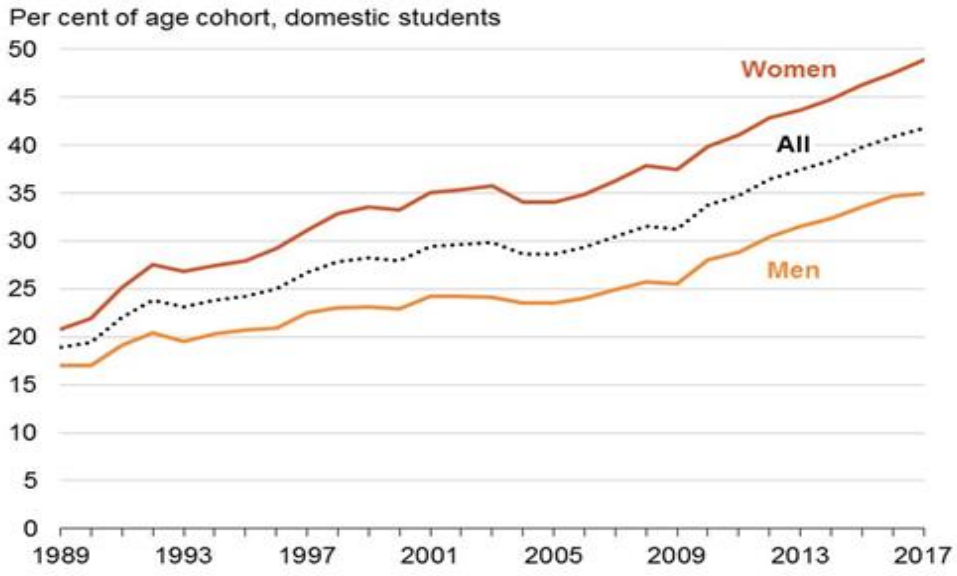

Figure 2. Participation rates by gender, 1989-2017 (Norton, 2019)

It is important to acknowledge that gender disparities are not limited to students: although women now comprise over half of all Ph. D. graduates and early career researchers, including in the sciences, representation among senior academic ranks still lags, at less than 20 percent (AAS, 2020a; Carrington & Pratt, 2003) Overall, 44 percent of academic staff in Australia are female, yet women are underrepresented above Senior Lecturer level and in leadership positions: only 25 percent of university Vice-Chancellors, for example, are women (Jarboe, 2017, p. 16). Overall differences in participation are seen in Figure 3, following:

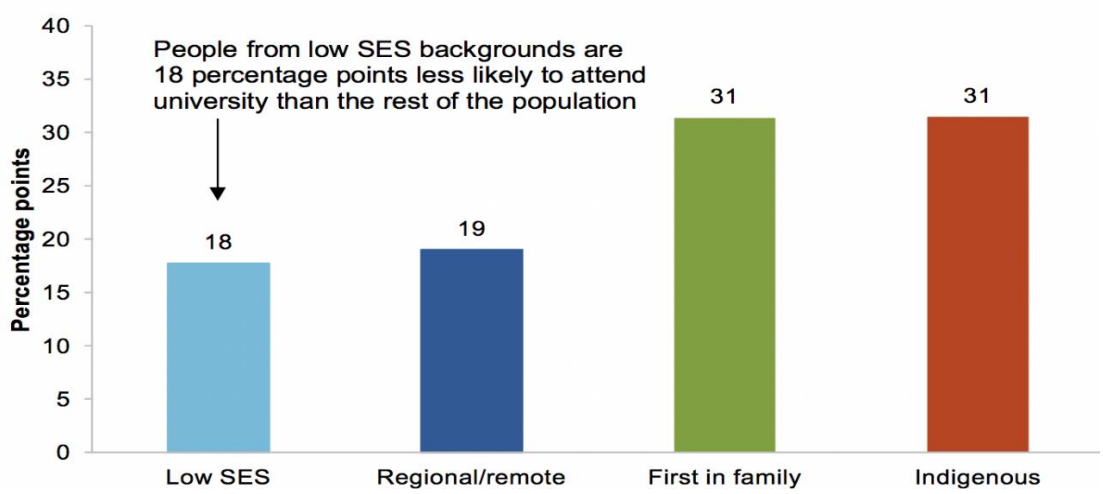

Figure 3. Higher education participation rates, by equity groups (Productivity Commission, 2019, p. 12)

In effect, while total enrolments by indigenous and rural and remote students have increased recently, all equity groups remain significantly under-represented in Australian universities. Unsurprisingly, some research relates this to lower school achievement levels, which also positions such individuals less well, when entering university. Together with higher rates of participation in part time work, it results in higher drop out and non-completion rates (Productivity Commission, 2019, p. 13). Although there are limitations to the data regarding indigenous higher education participation (Wilks & Wilson, 2015), the above chart demonstrates that, of all equity groups, indigenous students, and first-in-family, are by far the most disadvantaged, with rates of higher education participation a full 31 percent lower than the rest of the population. The Behrendt report on indigenous education (Behrendt, Larkin, Griew, & Kelly, 2012) outlined major disparities: despite forming 3.3 percent percent of the overall

population, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students made up a mere 1.4 percent of university enrolments, with women outnumbering men. The Report outlined three key factors in maintaining such patterns of persistent disadvantage: inadequate respect by non-Aboriginal Australians; the dependence of higher education success on school achievement; and a related need for major improvements in health, housing and poverty. The legacy of colonialism, longstanding racism, and the lingering effects on the Stolen Generation[6], must also be acknowledged (Behrendt et al., 2012, p. 8; Welch et al., 2015). While recent schemes such as the *Indigenous Scholars Success Programme* provide scholarships to numerous indigenous higher education students, much remains to be done to undo decades of disadvantage (NIAA, n.d.). Among university staff, a mere 1.0 percent of total full-time equivalent university staff were indigenous in 2010; and just 0.8 percent of academic staff (Behrendt et al., 2012).

Internationalisation

As a longstanding country of migration, with settlers from 200 countries, it should be no surprise that Australian student and staff cohorts are both very diverse (Oishi, 2017; Sheehan & Welch, 1996; Welch, 2020a). However, the international profile has changed substantially, from the narrowly British, to vibrantly global, with a growing Asian influence; again reflecting the fact that some 40 percent of Australian migrants now originate from Asia. Together with generally competitive salaries (Welch, 2012a), this has helped generate significant (Asian) knowledge diasporas in the Australian higher education system, of which the Chinese is the largest, with Indian and Vietnamese also prominent.

The earliest major international scheme to offer scholarships to international students was the Colombo Plan, providing degree level education at Australian universities to students from developing countries in the region. Established in 1950, in the aftermath of WWII, it was both a recognition that the British empire no longer guaranteed Australia's security, as also that more attention needed to be paid to the region, Australia's Asian neighbours in particular. Cold war tensions were another feature of the post-war context, and framed much international scholarly mobility, including the Colombo Plan (Oakman, 2004, pp. 43-44). A third, contradictory element was the persistence of an explicitly racist immigration policy, the so-called 'White Australia Policy', that was not finally abandoned until the early 1970s, and was the source of much resentment among Australia's neighbours. Research networks also expanded in the post-war years: "university research was constructed more through international networks, … beyond … older attachment to Britain and Empire" (Horne & Sherington, 2013, p. 285; Welch, 2020a).

Colombo Plan students from the region studied Public Administration, Agriculture, and Engineering, for example, but had to return home after graduation. The aims were to reduce poverty in the region, boost levels of human capital, and regional goodwill, although the plan has also been characterised as 'a complex mix of self-interest, condescension and humanitarianism' (Oakman, 2004, p. 4; see also Megarrity, 2007). Even at the time, however, private international students were part of the mix: indeed, in 1955, just 23 percent of international students were from the Colombo Plan, and in 1965, this had fallen to 16 percent. Among recipients, students from ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) member states figured strongly: in 1974–75, for example, of a total of 2,780 awardees, Indonesia accounted for 428 Australian scholarships, Malaysia 455, Singapore 224, Thailand 331, and South Vietnam 422 - a subtotal of 1,860 or 67 percent. (Welch, 2014, p. 153) A notable exception at the time was North Viet Nam, a product of a Cold War mentality, that excluded students from Communist countries. Although having originally joined in 1951, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam withdrew in 1978, and was only added again, in 2004. Then, as now, private students from ASEAN were an important cohort of Australia's international student intake, as seen in Table 2.

[6] The term 'Stolen Generation' refers to Aboriginal people forcibly removed from their families, who often grew up with little or no knowledge of their family's whereabouts, and their own origins.

However, an important change to Australia's rationale for international higher education occurred in the mid-1980s, with the simultaneous publication, in 1984, of the Goldring, and Jackson, reports, each of which drew opposite conclusions (Goldring, 1984; Jackson, 1984). The former favoured a continuing cap on the number of subsidised international students, while the latter called for the existing Overseas Student Charge (OSC) to be steadily increased, such that by the mid-1990s overseas students would pay the full costs of their education, Jackson's view ultimately prevailed, marking the beginning of the development of international higher education as an industry.

Table 2. ASEAN private overseas post-secondary & higher education students – 1976-1984

Country	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Indonesia	490	538	514	488	423	365	371	593	943
Malaysia	3,139	3,094	3,123	3,580	4,001	4,619	5,353	6,016	7,341
Philippines	28	28	27	23	17	18	17	26	30
Thailand	258	270	257	241	214	191	170	151	152
Viet Nam	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Other Asia	396	361	345	394	366	419	428	449	559
National TOTAL	5,486	5,852	6,004	6,745	7,383	8,103	9,125	10,656	13,047

Source: Welch (2014, p. 154)

As result, international student numbers mushroomed, from 84,000 in 1993, to almost 160,000 in 1999 (of which higher education occupied more than half). Branch campuses were established by a number of Australian universities, in Viet Nam, South Africa and Malaysia, and, in addition, growing offshore enrolments at Australian universities were fuelled by the development of online education (Macdonald, 2006; Welch, 2012b). By 2011, international higher education enrolments totalled 242, 351, with China accounting for more than a quarter of that total. A stark contrast was revealed in the meagre number of outbound students, with a mere 11,000 Australian students studying abroad, and no ASEAN member state among the top five destinations. By 2019, international enrolments had skyrocketed (DESE, 2020a), with numbers of universities becoming overly dependent on international student fee income to sustain operations, particularly in research.

Table 3. International student enrolments, higher education – 2002-2019*

	2002	2011	2019
Higher education	124,992	241,440	442,219
English language programs (ELICOS)	58,435	94,853	156,880
Non-award	23,518	27,568	48,217
Total	206,945	363,861	647,316

Source: DESE (2020a)

* Some universities maintain their own English language training facility, others use outside organisations.

Although some had long pointed to the problem (Altbach & Welch, 2011; Babones, 2019; Welch, 2012c), the vulnerability of this international profile was dramatically underscored in 2020, as the Coronavirus (COVID-19) spread worldwide. The substantial decline in federal per-student funding (see above) that had long afflicted Australian universities, spurred them to energetically seek diverse income sources, most particularly via fee-paying international students. By far the largest cohort were mainland Chinese, numbering around 150,000 in 2019, hence not merely was the overall proportion of international students (25 percent) extremely high by comparison with other higher education systems, but mainland Chinese students comprised almost 40 percent of all onshore international students (Babones, 2019). At a small number of universities, Chinese students accounted for two-thirds of all international enrolments in 2017, with the University of Sydney alone, earning $752 million from international student fees in 2017[7] (Audit Office, 2018; Koslowski, 2019). Hence, when international travel was banned in early 2020, including bans on returning from China, tens of thousands of mainland students who had returned home for Spring Festival, or to undertake fieldwork for their degrees, were unable to return to Australia, to resume their studies.

[7] All figures are expressed in Australian dollars. Substantial fluctuations in the exchange rate with the US$, over time, make coversions to that currency misleading. Recognition of the over-dependence on Chinese students led many universities to attempt to diversify intake, especially to increase students from South and Southeast Asia.

This posed a profound disruption to their study routines. However, it also had systemic effects, threatening the bottom line of virtually all Australian universities, especially the Go8 which had by far the highest number and proportion of mainland students enrolled, and in the two most populous states, New South Wales and Victoria. The extent of risk was obvious: of the eight Go8 institutions, at least four earned around a third of their total income from international students (Koslowski, 2019; Wade, 2018) While, at the time of writing, it was not possible to be certain how long the travel bans would remain in place, it was estimated that the nett loss to universities around the country could total $2.5-4.6 billion Australian dollars, with at least one university claiming it alone could well lose $600 million in 2020n alone.[8] In response, immediate plans were instituted to suspend or reduce capital expenditure, project spending, contractors and consultants, international travel, and staff recruitment. (VC Email, 2020) The federal government's initial stimulus package, announced in March 2020, and designed to mitigate the economic fallout from the Covid19, deliberately took no account of the profound effects on university budgets, which according to modelling by Universities Australia, potentially threatened $23 billion in income over ensuing years (AAS, 2020b; Maslen, 2020).

However, changing student flows are by no means the whole story. Australian universities' staff profile reveals a rich mix of both academic and administrative personnel, from a wide range of countries. The dominance of UK academics in Australian universities gradually broke down after WWII, initially due to an unexpected influx of European Jewish refugees post-war (numbers of whom were highly qualified, and went on to make "notable contributors to that nation's scientific, business, academic and cultural communities" (Cacciottolo, 2010). The gradual dismantling of the White Australia policy, formally abandoned in the early 1970s, also opened up the system (Balint, 2018; Sherington, 1990; Welch, 2020a). Current estimates are that that the proportion of overseas-born academics in Australian universities is 45 percent, much higher than in the overall Australian population (26.8%)[9] (Oishi, 2017, p. 11), and much higher than the equivalent in almost all other academic systems.

While the ageing of the Australian professoriate is one factor, of greater importance is the rise of Asia, most notably the two giants of China and India, each of which, and particularly the former, are making significant contributions to the Australian higher education system[10]. Not only are Asian Australians now almost 15 percent of the population, but OECD research showed Australia to have the highest nett brain gain among member countries, in part due to its emphasis on high-skilled migrants (OECD, 2007; Welch & Zhang, 2008a; 2008b; Yang & Welch, 2010; 2012). International studies of the academic profession show the country to be one of the most diverse worldwide, with the proportion of academics born in Asia having grown by over 50 percent during 2005-2015, from 10 percent to 15.4 percent overall (Oishi, 2017). The following chart illustrates the diverse composition of Australian academic staff, particularly the origins and proportions of Asian born staff.

The rising numbers of Asian born academic staff has created substantial knowledge diasporas, of which the Chinese and Indian are the most notable (Hao & Welch, 2012; Hao, Wen, & Welch, 2016; Welch & Hao, 2015). A 2015 survey of Asian academics in the system revealed that the most common countries of birth were, in descending order, China (32.1%), India (15.8%), Malaysia (8.5%) and Sri Lanka (6.3%). This has yielded not merely a rich array of cultural and linguistic capital, but extensive, and enduring, ethnic intellectual networks, both national and international. Fields such as Engineering, IT and Business had the highest proportions of Asian-born staff, with Agriculture and Environment (5.6%), Education (5.3%) and Creative Arts (5.3%) less well represented.

Significantly, more than three quarters (76.1%) of Asian-born academics have collaborated with scholars from an Asian country; indeed, survey results showed two-thirds (66.3%) reported working on joint research projects. Among such international partnerships, national origin was particularly

[8] The Australian academic year, unlike the northern calendar, begins at the beginning of March.
[9] Although, if it were to include individuals with one overseas born parent, the proportion would be around 50 per cent.
[10] Of Australia's total population of 25 million, around 1.2 million are now of Chinese heritage, while settlers from India tripled from 2006-2016.

important: 34.6 percent had helped to develop exchange programs with their country of origin (Oishi, 2017, p. 18). China, in particular, is now one of Australia's key knowledge partners, with active research collaborations across a range of fields, both in the natural and applied sciences, and social sciences and humanities (Chief Scientist, 2013).

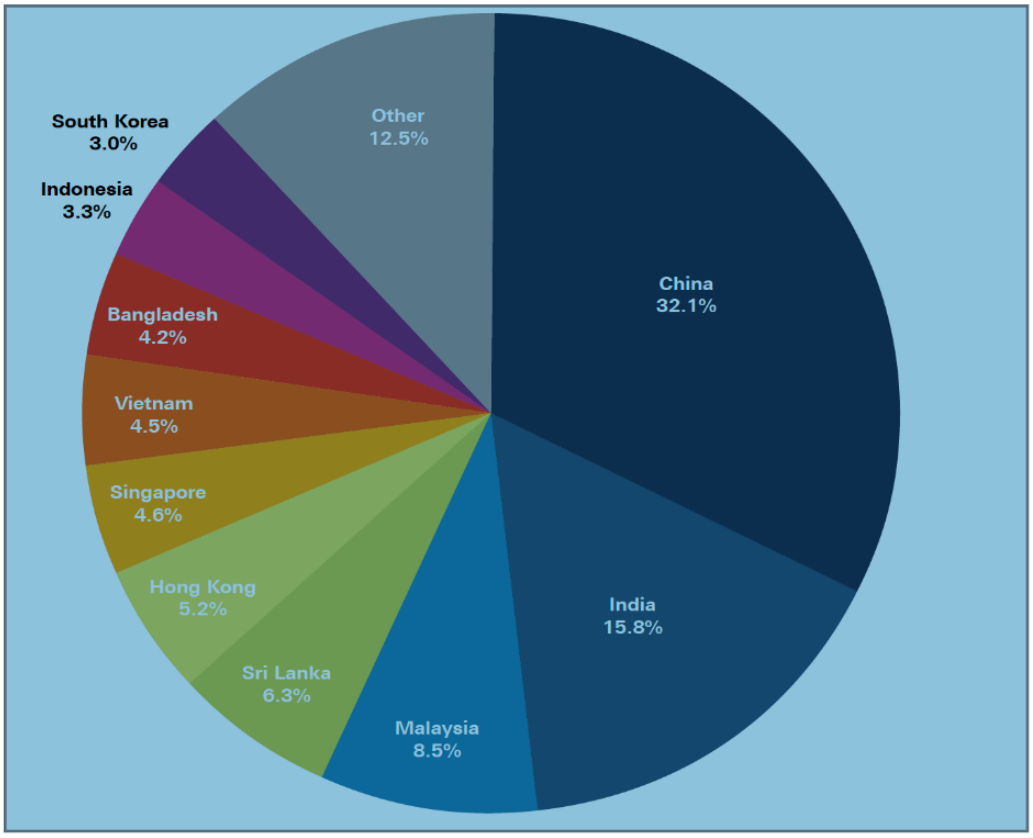

Figure 4. Asian born academics in Australian universities, by place of birth* – 2015 (Department of Education & Training data 2016, as cited in Oishi, 2017, p. 16)

* If Hong Kong's reversion to China in 1997 were to be included in the above, it would further increase the Chinese contribution.

However, the growing presence of Asian-born academics in Australian universities, did not always translate into equivalent recognition, with respondents often reporting feelings that their contributions were not always acknowledged and that, at times, their cultural background constituted a disadvantage: "I often feel that I am non-existent in meetings. People don't even see my face or talk to me" (Oishi, 2017, p. 38). Gender could constitute a double disadvantage, with gender gaps evident across numerous fields. The same survey revealed that Asian-born women academics held 4.8% of Engineering posts, for example (their male peers 28.5%). In IT, gender disparities were almost as large: female Asian-born academics occupied 9.4% of the total, but their male peers, 25.1%. Asian-born academics were also under-represented at the more senior academic levels. One in four of the lowest staff tier (Level A) were found to be Asian-born, but only one in ten at Level E (Professor), and less than one in thirty at Deputy Vice Chancellor level (Oishi, 2017, p. 30).

The problem is not isolated to the academic profession, but arguably reflects wider patterns of power and privilege in Australian society: "Asian Australians account for 9.6 percent of the Australian population but only 3.1 percent of partners in law firms, 1.6 percent of barristers, and 0.8 percent of the judiciary" (AHRC, 2019). Less than two percent of members of the federal parliament are from an Asian cultural background, leading some to argue the presence of a 'Bamboo Ceiling' confronting Asian Australians (Soutphommasane, 2014).

Higher Education Research

No treatment of Australian higher education could be complete without reference to research, which is increasingly linked with internationalisation. A vibrant, diverse set of academics across the country are engaged in higher education research: some are more interested in teaching and learning, others in administrative aspects, while still others focus on policy-related research (Marginson, 2013). Much research is focused on domestic issues, but there is a vibrant stream of internationally focused research, boosted by both several decades of internationalisation of the Australian system, and the large number and proportion of international students, and faculty. Co-publication with international researchers from a range of countries is a particular feature, reflecting, *inter alia*, the high proportion of international academics employed within the system, including a growing number from Asia (particularly China and India). Although co-publication with traditional partners in the USA, UK and Europe still figures large, China is now a major knowledge partner, particularly in key STEM areas such as artificial intelligence, nanotechnology, and radio astronomy (Chief Scientist, 2013; DIISRTE, 2012; Radloff, 2016; Welch, 2014; 2020c). The fact that each university hosts a version of a Teaching and Learning unit, devoted to improving higher education teaching and learning on campus, gives this theme a certain prominence within the wider field of higher education research, although higher education administration continues to be a major theme.

An array of journals supports higher education research. While other journals such as the *Australian Educational Researcher* and the *Australian Journal of Education* also publish some work with a higher education focus, journals specific to the field include *Higher Education Research and Development* (HERD), established by the Higher Education Research and Development Studies Association in 1982, and which publishes seven issues annually, and the *Journal of Educational Administration*, which was founded at the University of New England in 1963, with claims to be the first journal specific to the field. It has now become part of the Emerald publishing stable. The *Journal of University Teaching and Learning Practice* (JUTLP), hosted at the University of Wollongong, was founded in 2004. The *Journal of Tertiary Education Administration*, first published in 1979, was established by the Australian Institute of Tertiary Education Administrators.

Although higher education researchers span the country, there is only one dedicated centre: Melbourne University's Centre for the Study of Higher Education (CSHE). Founded in 1968, and with 18 researchers, it conducts basic and applied research, the latter including bidding for government contracts for related research, and learning and teaching projects. The LH Martin Institute conducts professional development programmes, but some of its members also conduct research. Australia's national educational research body, the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), also conducts research in higher education, including on indigenous issues, transition from school to tertiary education, international student issues, student outcomes and benchmarking, as well as undertaking applied research, surveys and programme evaluations (ACER, n.d.). With the LH Martin Institute, it has participated in international surveys such as *The Changing Academic Profession*, and also makes regular submissions to national inquiries related to higher education. Among other elements, the federal department of Education maintains a Research and Economic Group, that is responsible for collecting statistics on many aspects of higher education in Australia (Briggs, 2020; DESE, 2020b; 2020c).

Finally, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the Australian research engine must also be acknowledged. The estimated $2.5-4.6 billion in lost income from international student fees pointed to above had greatest impact on the research intensive Go8 tier, and was compounded by a decline in philanthropic and business funding. Overall, it was predicted to have a profound effect on the research workforce: job losses were estimated at 7,000 researchers, and 9,000 Post-graduate researchers, the latter of whose contributions are critical to the overall research effort (AAS, 2020b)

Conclusion – A Mixed Picture

The Australian higher education system, now 170 years old, reveals both continuities and change. Anyone wandering the grounds of the University of Sydney could not help but be reminded of its

institutional fountainhead, Oxbridge. At the same time, the original and singular function of teaching (again reflecting Oxbridge at the time) has now been widely supplanted by a major emphasis on research performance, albeit often with a view to boosting institutional ranks on an ever-wider range of national and international league tables (Welch, 2016). The fact that a far-flung, modest-sized academic system, remote from the major knowledge centres of Europe, UK and North America, boasts six universities among the top 100 worldwide, is, *prima facie*, a sign of success. A string of Nobel prizes, and other achievements, adds to this picture (AAS, 2020c). A further strength is the rich cultural diversity evident among both academic and administrative staff, although much work remains to dismantle longstanding disadvantage and racism in the system, most particularly with respect to indigenous Australians, but also affecting Asian-Australians and women (Walker, 2019; Welch, 2020a; 2020c; Yosso, 2005). Schemes such as the *New Colombo Plan* offer hope of further extending academic relations between Australia and its Asian neighbours, on a much more reciprocal basis than the earlier scheme (DFAT, n.d.).

However, league tables, and diverse student and staff profiles, cannot be the only measures of success. The increased size of many universities, (some of which enrol more than 60,000 students), has helped fuel a steep rise in managerialism, a proliferation of administrative staff, and a widening fissure separating academic staff and management. Wholesale casualisation has divided academic staff into two tiers, and led to significant exploitation (Fathi & Megarrity, 2019; Welch, 2012a). Longstanding, significant inequities still persist in rates of student participation, while the enduring government underfunding of the system has driven an entrepreneurial approach to international student recruitment. Universities have become too dependent on international student fees to sustain their operation, most particularly research performance. While there is much to celebrate in the evolution and accomplishments of Australian higher education, much remains to be achieved.

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Higher Education Governance & Policy
ISSN: 2717-8676
Volume: 1
Issue: 1

Towards a Model of Islamic Policy Studies for Higher Education: A Comparison with Anglo-American Policy Studies

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Abstract

This article examines the underlying nature of the Islamic policy studies tradition as it relates to higher education, as an approach that shares some characteristics with public policy theory in Anglo-American contexts, but also has distinctive differences in values and practices. This includes similarities and differences in the major dimensions of policy studies that serve as a framework: the policy context, policy cycle, policy actors, policy instruments, and decision-making models in relation to the political system and governance. Differences in public policy like any aspect of administration are a function of cross-cultural factors, public administration structures, and higher education used to qualify civil servants. The first section of the paper examines pre-Islamic traditions of governance and higher education in the Middle East region that laid the foundation for subsequent regimes in the Middle East and later influencing the development of governance, policy and administration in the West. The second section examines the development of policy in the Islamic period, identifying those features most distinctive and influential in shaping policy values, participants and processes. The final section compares the models of public policy studies in an Islamic context and the Anglo-American model, demonstrating that many shared characteristics and dimensions exist, but there are critical differences in the foundations, roles, and practices in policy development.

Keywords: Policy, Islamic studies, public administration, higher education, civil service

Introduction

One of the problems associated with both postcolonial critiques and the proponents of internationalising university curricula is the heavy dominance of Anglo-American knowledge through globalisation, and its colonising effects, as well as a domination of the language of various fields, in other words a colonised discourse agenda that tends to admit only a 'scientised' discourse as legitimate. Any form of administration or leadership is a function of, and embedded in, the societal context in which it forms and operates. For example, administration and leadership in Arabian Gulf States are governed by their constitutions, legal systems, policy regimes, and cultural practices that differ from Western states through the Islamic values and legal traditions used that have produced knowledge, skills and professional practices. In modernising contexts, there are also many different approaches and forms that countries can adopt rather than simply imitating Western countries, discussed in the new multiple modernities literature (e.g. Eisenstadt, 2007). Even if the same technologies are adopted, for example, the way they are used and for what varies considerably across cultures.

Driving much of the controversy and debate, as well as misunderstanding and ideologically-driven conceptions (often unconsciously), is Islamophobic academic work, most famously in Huntington's (1997) clash of civilisations theory, countered by a number of scholars (Achcar, 2002; Rose, 2013) and in journalism (Said, 1997) as well as foreign policy (Cole, 2009; Kaunert, Léonard, Berger, & Johnson, 2015). The other major cause is the assumption that Western knowledge is universalizable and in comparison with other global traditions, superior, evident in the rapidly development of many forms of

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(Review Article) **Cite as:** Samier, E. A. (2020). Towards a model of Islamic policy studies for higher education: A comparison with Anglo-American policy studies. *Higher Education Governance & Policy, 1*(1), 49-62.

Received: May 21, 2020; ***Revised:*** June 4, 2020; ***Accepted:*** June 9, 2020; ***Published:*** June 30, 2020

postcolonial critiques across all disciplines and criticism of the neoliberal reduction of social institutions to economic values. Islamic traditions suffer from neglect – assumptions made that there is nothing of value in the tradition to serve societies in the contemporary world. Scholarship and teaching, preparing graduate students in and from Muslim communities and countries, and those who chose expatriate careers in academia in Muslim countries have been affected by these international politics for a number of years (Nelles, 2003). One of the most important educational issues of this controversy is the false assumption that the Islamic intellectual tradition does not have to be included in curriculum because it has very little to do with current knowledge internationally (Muborakshoeva, 2013).

This problem also applies to public policy and its use in developing and maintaining higher education, especially for those who will be working in countries where the constitution, laws and policies are Muslim. A large body of literature has developed on leadership, management, and administration in an Islamic context covering strategic planning, decision-making, values, the varying roles played in a range of political systems, but the topic of public policy theory, apart from discussion of individual policies, is greatly underdeveloped. What is necessary is a public policy studies framework, equivalent to those models in the West that cover the policy cycle, policy actors and instruments, and various theoretical approaches suitable for a Muslim context, instead of the widespread globalisation practice of simply adopting and using the Western models. This also requires an internationalised perspective that recognises and builds upon knowledge traditions in the non-Western world, including that of Islam. As other Islamic principles and values are interpreted for contemporary conditions, their long history and public policy studies tradition can equally be developed.

This article examines the underlying nature of the Islamic policy studies tradition as it relates to higher education, as an approach that shares some characteristics with public policy theory in Anglo-American contexts, but also has distinctive differences in values and practices. This includes similarities and differences in the major dimensions of policy studies that serve as a framework: the policy context, policy cycle, policy actors, policy instruments, and decision-making models in relation to the political system and governance (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009). Differences in public policy like any aspect of administration are a function of cross-cultural factors (Dodds, 2013; Guess & Husted, 2017), public administration structures (Otenyo & Lind, 2006), and higher education (Zajda, 2015) used to qualify civil servants. There is a growing body of literature on higher education internationally demonstrating that the political system, historical forces, culture, and many other societal factors shape the forms that higher education take in Asia (Jarvis & Mok, 2019), Central and Eastern Europe (Dobbins, 2011), and Latin America (Horta, Heitor, & Salmi, 2019) as well as the diversity of systems and practices throughout Western Europe (Gornitzka, Kogan, & Amaral, 2007).

The argument here is that higher education policy is part of public administration and the policy studies framework used. For many parts of the world much of education policy is part of public policy and therefore part of the public administration traditions involving legislation, financing, labour policy, social and cultural policy, foreign policy, economic policy (De Boer et al., 2017), types of regulatory regimes, political governance systems, and relations with other states (e.g. Abella, 2008). It is also part of the public organisation system in many countries (Bleiklie, Enders, & Lepori, 2017), often viewed as a public good (Williams & Filappakou, 2015). It is an historical-contextual topic – policy systems are not disconnected from their historical origins but have an evolutionary and developmental character, affected by cultures, the rise and fall of empires and alliances, and the impact of globalisation pressures (Raadschelders & Vigoda-Gadot, 2015). Additionally, it is the development of public administration that also drove the evolution of advanced and higher education required to train and educate civil servants who have played critical roles in the formation of civilisations.

The first section of the paper examines pre-Islamic traditions of governance and higher education in the Middle East region that laid the foundation for subsequent regimes in the Middle East and later influencing the development of governance, policy and administration in the West. The second section examines the development of policy in the Islamic period, from illustrative caliphates (the scope has to be limited to fit the length of an article), identifying those features most distinctive and influential in shaping policy values, participants and processes. The final section compares the models of public policy

studies in an Islamic context and the Anglo-American model in general terms given the limited scope of an article, demonstrating that many shared characteristics and dimensions exist, but there are critical differences in the foundations, roles, and practices in policy development.

Historical Origins and Precedents

The story of policy studies in Islam begins with pre-Islamic traditions of governance and administration in the Middle East region that were adopted as empires formed and expanded requiring the knowledge and expertise of previous empires (Liverani, 2014), absorbing the administrative elite of conquered territories and their craft into the new bureaucracy (Lapidus, 2002). Some senior administration converted from Buddhism and Zoroastrianism to Islam bringing knowledge and expertise with them, aided by an intensive translation programme of texts from prior empires in all scholarly fields, including the Greco-Roman tradition (Duncan-Jones, 1994; Gruen, 1996; Santangelo, 2007; Tan, 2017), about statecraft, effective operating of a court, and ideal administrative practice (Hoyland, 2015). In this manner, a broad collection of knowledge about administering land ownership, collecting taxes, maintaining defence, managing education, health, and agriculture along with other public responsibilities was synthesised (De Planhol, 1970).

While many texts refer to the history of policy, and the importance of using historiographical methods in examining how policies and their approaches developed, most limit their discussion to the 20th century and usually policy history subsequent to the Second World War (e.g. Kay, 2006). However, policy is a topic that permeates the literature on early states ranging from those involving inter-dynastic marriages, political expansionism and security, the appointment of royal family members as governors to conquered states and degrees of their autonomy, finance, defence, trade and commercial ports, communication and coordination among administrative offices, city state construction, and management of agriculture (Liverani, 2014), recorded in legal codes, court judgements, letters and decrees.

As recent advances in archaeological knowledge take place, re-evaluations of the paleolithic and neolithic periods of history are also demonstrating a much more complex and sophisticated organisational capability in constructing large temple complexes like that at Göbekli Tepe dated to approximately the tenth millennium BCE (Verhoeven, 2010). Sites in the northern Levant and southeast Anatolia provide tangible evidence of specialised technical and administrative skills were necessary to produce structures, symbolic systems and statuary, and specialised buildings (Charvát, 2013; Kuijt, 2002). This revised history suggests that an actively developing administrative capability was created that served as accumulated intellectual capital upon which many empires rested. Policy studies and its use is as old as states with a governing body, an administrative staff, and those who implement policy. In the historical period, public policy is evident in the earliest city states of Sumer and Akkad. The form that policy takes is also a function of the political system of a nation or state, providing points of contact for other social institutions, varying according to those with power, the type of society (e.g. agrarian), which social institutions play a strong role. For example, in Mesopotamia the temple, like the church and guilds in the medieval European, was a central structure that provided education, and administered agriculture and healthcare.

From the earliest societies in Mesopotamia, a system of justice was developed through legal and administration institutions that provided protection, a distribution of resources and legal means for citizens to pursue justice (Darling, 2012), and a craft and method to policy and higher education programmes to train civil servants in these administrative skills (Carr, 2008; Finn, 2017). For example, in Ancient Egypt (Garcia, 2013) and in the Hittite Empire where administration and education were highly developed and formalised (Bilgin, 2018), a foundation of laws, codes, administrative systems and practices, and specialised schools for the training of bureaucrats with governance and policy-making and implementation powers existed. Deleon (2006) regards policy practice as an inherent feature of any kind of rulership and governance systems, meaning that it appears in the historical record with the earliest of civilisations in Mesopotamia. The evidence of policy activity is amply represented in the many thousands of policy related documents that have been uncovered in the ancient cities and states of Mesopotamia. These include legal codes (that preceded Hammurabi), treaties, contracts, decrees, court records, administrative texts, scholarly works, and correspondence demonstrating that a centralised

interpretation of policy was maintained in the empires, and that arbitration was a characteristic feature of their policy systems (Barjamovic, 2013).

Advanced education and training was far more developed than previously recognised - the city states of Sumer and Akkad had complex bureaucracies required written records, legal codes, court records, literature and scholarly writings, and specialised schools for administrative training (Foster, 2016). Administrative education is most evident in the many thousands of tablets constituting a detailed bureaucratic record for periods of time that have survived from as early as 3,400 BCE that quickly evolved into narrative texts along with a culture of organisation, a centralised administration, and a consistency across bureaucracies (Taylor, 2013) that allowed for greater policy development, implementation, and analysis. This sophistication and complexity is also indicative of a highly organised and trained bureaucratic institution required for the implementation, analysis and evaluation of policy in a large diversity of activities, such as agriculture, trade, defence, construction, manufacturing, and the judiciary using correspondence, contracts, treaties, court records, employment records, and laws. A system of policy is inherent to any human civilisation in the construction and managing of a society ranging from establishing taxes, trade practices, governing agriculture, education and health, legal rights, foreign relations and the use of warfare and conquering to extend state policy (Garfinkle, 2013).

These developments also spawned a highly advanced form of higher education for scribes and viziers in specialised schools and apprenticeships to train a class of bureaucrats who were educated broadly (Griffith, 2015), much like the Chinese mandarin tradition and the Commonwealth tradition of ‘mandarin’s prior to the rise of neoliberalism. Even in early empires, a tradition that was carried through the Islamic period is that of senior bureaucrats like al-Mulk who individually created and supported schools, maintaining personal libraries and keeping staff who supported scholarly activities (Bennison, 2009). It is upon these foundations that both professional practices of governing and administration are based and scholarship formed. It is evident, for example, in the Assyrian empire that the knowledge and skills of policy formation and implementation were based on earlier empires and city-states upon which a strong scholarly tradition was practised that informed governance and administration in its policy activities (Heeβel, 2017).

The Islamic Policy Tradition

Islam is, in a sense, a policy system. It consists of foundational concepts and values, but also guidelines for interpretation of how these should be carried out individually and collectively, and identifies those with governance responsibilities and other core roles in the system. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) explained in his speech and actions how the Qur’an was to be interpreted for all spheres of life, addressing topics relevant in a comprehensive way to individual activities as well as family, work, and business practices, tax and financial issues, and social relations. The foundation upon which it rests is the Qur’an and Sunnah, and the interpretation of these into governmental structures began with the Rashidun Caliphs immediately following the Prophet Muhammad. Abu Bakr, particularly, is one followed for how he translated the fundamental principles in Islam into the construction of how a society is ordered, how it is governed, and appropriate practices in highly pragmatic ways. His guidance established the primacy of a constitution, principles of justice and laws upon which policy can be formulated (Duri, 2011). Building on this foundation, Umar further developed policies in alignment with the Qur’an for regulation related to the nascent public administration system, for family, crime and rituals, creating a working policy framework that is close to basic social life upon which the new Muslim identity formed, addressing all societal dimensions including the growth and maintenance of educational institutions (Hallaq, 2010).

It is against this foundation that political systems and countries are evaluated in Islam, for example, the Umayyads criticised for their policy pursuits of other interests that diminished or denied Islamic principles. It is against these criteria that many senior civil servants who also contributed scholarly works to good government were highly valued, such as al-Mawardi, who served as a judge and diplomat, in his Ordinances of Government (Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya w'al-Wilayat al-Diniyya) that is still regarded, in the Sunni tradition, as a measure for the evaluation of law and policies (Duri, 2011). One of the defining features of Islamic policy was the importance of responsibility to society, as a greater emphasis

on the collective compared to the individual (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997). Another distinctive feature of Islamic governing and administrative systems is the confluence of knowledge from many sources such as Chinese and Indian knowledge, and both knowledge and senior administrative staff recruited from the Byzantine empire, in accordance with Islamic principles of advanced knowledge that is expected to be drawn upon where it is complementary with Islam (Nasr, 1997).

Within the Caliphal traditions, the concentration of policy work was located in the *Dīwān i Wazīr*, essentially the office of the vizier who, like Cabinet secretaries in many contemporary Western governments oversees state policies and their implementation (Morgan & Reid, 2010), many of whom like al-Mulk also maintained their intellectual role writing scholarly-applied texts to direct good rulership and government. Senior officials were required to have an extensive and advanced education, considered to be a central, if not elite, part of the intelligentsia (Duri, 2011), often driving the development of higher education in Islamic societies, much the same as in Western countries, and used as a policy instrument under colonisation to control systems of power through knowledge (Dodds, 2013). Much like that of Western policy hierarchies, the principles range from foundational religious or philosophical principles of the state, through constitutions, laws, state and ministry policies, down to organisational policies in all spheres of social institutions.

Although the term 'policy' is not used in the literature, from the early Islamic period on the core elements of policy involving policy development, implementation and analysis – in other words all phases of the policy process – are evident. There is a clear line of policy formulation starting in its origins with the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad and the Rightly Guided Caliphs (the Rashidun Caliphate, 632-661 CE) in the growing formalisation in codes and legal traditions. In the Umayyad period (661-750 CE), a religious scholarly development took place in opposition to the Umayyad government, that produced the Sunnah tradition of the sayings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad upon which to base good rulership and administration (Hawting, 2000). During the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258 CE), the structure and size of government bureaucracy expanded both in size and in areas of jurisdiction, reflecting the development of public policy and its implementation in a functional organisation of government that corresponds closely to modern government structure, the practice of maintaining written records and the production of technical manuals to train and guide administrative work, requiring considerable advanced education for those in the senior ranks (Bosworth, 1990). At this time, mosques hosted educational activities and scholars on their property and often provided educational venues free of charge for the disadvantaged with residential facilities along with senior officials providing similar support (Bennison, 2009; Duri, 2014; van Berkel, El-Cheikh, Kennedy, & Osti, 2013). One of the most important developments at this time was a scholarly centre called the House of Wisdom established to support education and research (Bennison, 2009). A fundamental premise of Islam in relation to peace and prosperity is the need for a system of justice and a sound administrative system to implement it (Darling, 2012).

There is no shortage of guides for good rulership and administration, in effect, principles that govern proper action, forming a justice-based foundation for governing and its policy practices, generally referred to as the 'mirrors of princes' written by many senior government ministers, senior bureaucrats, historians, lawyers and philosophers (Hillenbrand, 2004). The rules for governing and administering evolved through the vizier tradition and the main writings it produced to guide those with power and responsibility for the welfare of the community such as the anonymous 'Proper Behaviour for Sultans and Viziers' (Darling, 2012, p. 69). Viziers took an active role in this respect, like al-Mulk's *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (2002) in the eleventh century.

Another well-known text is the anonymously authored *Sea of Precious Virtues* (*Bahr al-Favā'id*), written in the 12th century in Persia that focusses on competence and moral fitness for rule that interprets Islamic values and principles in the context of governance and policy for a state. In addition to guidance on rulership and senior administrative government levels, the judiciary, economics, the role of religious leaders, and many aspects of social life there are sections relevant to educational contexts. One of the central tenets of Islam is the critical importance of knowledge and reasoning ability that applies not only to basic education, but to higher education and the cultivation of wisdom, that is, not only the skills and

knowledge, but the piety to use them properly rather than destructively (Anonymous, 1991). Emphasised also for those in leadership and governance positions, that is, political roles, are a number of criteria that must be met in practice that inform what we would call the policy process: moral principles from religion that must guide decisions; that social justice be pursued in distributive and retributive forms; and that officials (the administrative system) be suitable and conscientious, that is, operating within the value system.

An influential example of vizier literature is that of the 11th century *The Laws of Islamic Governance* (1966) by al-Mawardi that provides commentary on all major public policy fields: obligatory contributions to charity, the economic system, defence, the management of natural resources, the judiciary, and marriage, et cetera. Stressed are a number of qualifying criteria for those involved in any form of public policy or public sector: a moral character that protects them from corruption and keeps their focus on the welfare of the community and state; advanced knowledge and highly developed reasoning skills; intellectual insight and wisdom necessary for both decision-making and judgement; and operating by rule of law (Black, 2001). All of these were deemed necessary in the policy process. Relevant also to administrative requirements is the recognition that viziers (*Wazirs*) have two types of responsibility as a whole: those who interpret governing goals from leadership and act as advisers (Kennedy, 1981) at a senior level roughly equivalent to Cabinet Secretary or highly influential Deputy Ministers or Permanent Secretaries, and those who implement policy. During the Abbasid caliphate some viziers rose to even higher policy-making positions if sufficiently trusted, and at times exhibited the ability to be ruthless in pursing legitimate administrative action if deemed necessary (Kennedy, 1981). The same qualities are required: good moral character that prevents corruption, truthfulness in order to speak truth to power, dedication to the public good, and the intellectual capacities and knowledge to make sound decisions and judgements, in other words having a highly advanced education.

Instructive are the biographies of those viziers who were held up as role models of good government, such as Ali ibn Isa in the Abbasid caliphate who exhibited the advanced level of learning expected in a senior official (Bowen, 1928). Ibn Isa had a life characteristic of these viziers - tuition with great scholars, the authoring of academic texts, and maintaining inner circles including some of the greatest scholars of their era, like Al-Tabari, whose education and learning was multi-disciplinary (Bowen, 1928).

Accompanying vizier writing in administration is a large body of scholarship heavily patronised and supported by the state and individuals. Al-Farabi in the 10th century is a notable example. His *On the Perfect State* (1997) contains a critical chapter on 'Reason', the intellectual foundation upon which governing and policy practices should be based, and necessitating an advanced education for those in the political and administrative sides of government, relevant to both knowledge of the observable world, and that of idea, values and principles. It is the latter that guides our interactions and decisions of the former, in other words, how one conducts the policy process. Another important figure is al-Ghazali (1964) in the eleventh century, whose rules for good government in the *Revival of Religion's Sciences* (Ihya' 'ulum al-din) (1964) include guidance for ruling well: 1) in a way that he is the subject and the other is the ruler; 2) caring for those in his trust; 3) not indulging appetites or being extravagant; 4) governing kindly; 5) striving to please his subjects; 6) pleasing subjects only within the Law; 7) understanding the danger and responsibility of governing; 8) thirsting for the spirit of devout 'ulama' [body of Muslim scholars]; 9) ensuring that those in his service refrain from injustice; and 10) avoiding pride and anger (Hillenbrand, 2004). Seemingly sensible criteria for the formulation and implementation of policy, but not universally evident in our contemporary world.

Building on Qur'anic passages, the placement of a high value on education and knowledge, as a sacred duty of each Muslim (Weir, 2012) is closely related to the responsibilities as a citizen, and traditionally regarded as a necessity for administration in its formulation, analysis, implementation and evaluation of policy. The Abbasid caliphate was one of the most successful of empires in creating and implementing policy to create and support a 'golden age' in scholarship, one that included all disciplines, pure and applied, that also synthesised scholarship from several parts of the world through its cultural openness.

It is this tradition that laid most of the foundation for the rise of learning and disciplines in the European Renaissance and Enlightenment (Bennison, 2009). This required a policy development including structures of education as a social institution, committing resources to it, setting up systems of schools and advanced education, and applying the fruits of scholarship in politics, laws, economics, culture, and religion (Bennison, 2009). In addition, a complex system of basic, and specialised organisations arose including that of the university, which Makdisi (1981) demonstrates also influenced the formation of universities in the West.

In the modern period, the Ottoman Empire (1517-1924 CE) plays an ambiguous role in policy development; on one hand, the empire is regarded as successful in modernising government but also viewed as a decline in Muslim terms as it was influenced by Western states and secularism. It evolved through several stages in which the bureaucratic elite was more involved in policy development than management, redefining their professional roles (Findley, 1989; Hanna, 1996; Hepper, 1994). At this time policy also diversified through a complex combination of context, groups and individuals, including many more influential policy actors than the Grand Vizier who were located outside the centralised structures of empire. This included increasing policy activity among intellectuals during reform periods (Findley, 1989), in all societal sectors including education that underwent an evolution into a comprehensive system of Islamic higher education, reflected in the high educational qualities expected of the senior administrative levels (Hathaway, 2013). Ottoman governance and administrative systems of the policy cycle from agenda-setting to evaluation were influenced by a number of policy actors from the political and governmental realms (Fodor, 2018), and local authorities in parts of the empire, like Iraq where full integration into a centralised empire administratively did not take place (Çetinsaya, 2006), and in other regions under Ottoman rule such as Egypt (Baldwin, 2016) and Syria (Mundy & Smith, 2007).

The history of the Ottoman Empire also provides evidence of conflicts among policy actors, for example, corruption and undermining of central policy by far flung provinces where the governors' bureaucracy was too distant for policy oversight. The evolution of policy derived from activities of the state rather than a comprehensive cohesive plan, where influential elite figures contributed to the policy process such as the jurist Ebu Suud Efendi whom Suleiman the Magnificent elevated to a powerful position from which he was able to bring Ottoman law into greater conformity to Shari'ah in the 16th century (Gerber, 1994). The other major effect on Ottoman policy practices in the Tanzimat reforms of 1839 were Western government practices adopted to strengthen central control, for which a reform in public education under close control by the Ministry of Education was intended to prepare the civil service for these new practices while at the same time providing greater access to those with few resources to enter the civil service (Çetinsaya, 2006).

The modern period in Islamic administration, and its policy processes, is partly a function of Western colonial restructuring of social institutions, administrative systems, and policies serving colonisers' interests (Owen, 2004) and using policy frameworks by countries and companies that reflected foreign imperatives (Mulcahy, 2017), and partly the reconstruction of Islamic principles of government and administration in post-independence and nation-building countries. For example, Islamic governments pursue public policies that provide for a high level of state activity in the economy and publicly owned enterprises and assets and a high level of military involvement in other social institutions (Richards & Waterbury, 2008), not unlike that of welfare-statism in the West. Islamic conceptions of governmental, and therefore policy systems are those grounded in social justification and the collective good, guided by knowledge in combination with central values of faith (Weir, 2012).

A number of books on Islamic administration and management have appeared that reinterpret public administration and policy making within a Muslim perspective, values and principles. However, they do not explicitly present a policy model or theory instead embedding it in practices of good government. Ali's (1975) *Administrative Ethics in a Muslim State* traces the theory of Muslim administration from passages in the Qur'an, the Sunnah, important caliphs in its historical development, determinations by judicial authorities as schools of Islamic law formed, and scholars (often civil servants themselves), and qualities of those involved in governmental, that is, policy activities including advanced education.

Al-Buraey's (1985) *Administrative Development: An Islamic Perspective* follows the same structure, but contains more details relevant to a fuller public policy model. More emphasis in his text is placed on the socio-political and economic environment, on the 'actors' in the development process, determining appropriate goals, identifying the values and practices appropriate to Islam, and strategy and implementation that corresponds to the strategic planning process for policy implementation. While 'policy' is not used in the text, the components and processes of a policy theory or model are implicit.

A more recent text is Jabnoun's (2008) *Islam and Management* that is focussed more on leadership roles and qualities, however, it does include factors that are a part of policy. Organisational culture is emphasised in terms of the values and goals that reflect Islamic principles, and the ethics of administrators including their greater sense of common purpose than individual achievement modelled on the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. This is followed by a section that contains the elements of the policy process, without identifying them as such, from the identification of an issue or agenda formation through to the appropriate forms of implementation. Much of the balance of the book focusses on leadership qualities (reflecting the current leadership fad that has to some extent supplanted good administration), including the Islamic ethical virtues combined with organisational principles like consultation (*Shura*), the common good and service to others (ElKaleh & Samier, 2013).

Comparison with Anglo-American Policy Models

In contemporary Muslim countries, policy activity is often a combination of Western practices like those of former French or British colonies (Thompson & Quilam, 2019), or have had a heavy influence from American policy studies and practices due in part to Western administrative curriculum used in their universities or was the curriculum taught to those who studies abroad. In some cases, as Jamal (2018) argues, some aspects of Western practices are consistent with Islamic principles. Generally, what is viewed as a 'global' administrative practice or model is most often an Anglo-American theory, model or approach (Drechsler, 2015). The marginalisation of non-Western policy traditions and practices is evident in the way that policy studies is presented in higher education, sometimes grounded in microeconomic analysis that either ignores or marginalises systems of values, such as the Islamic (Wintrom & Williams, 2013).

Policy, in any jurisdiction, is a function of the political system (Birkland, 2016), constitution, laws, and structures of government, the judiciary, interest groups and other influential individuals or groups, as well as the values and belief systems of a country. Essentially, public policy is whatever decision a government chooses to make even if that means choosing to not make a decision (Dye, 1972; Howlett & Ramesh, 1995), however, the combination of 'actors' and forces that lie behind a decision and how it is implemented are complex and dynamic. Studying public policy requires several levels and approaches, in the Anglo-American texts includes:

1. the policy cycle, for which there are models with different numbers of stages, for example, Birkland's (2016) six stage model of issue emergence, agenda setting, alternative selection, enactment, implementation and evaluation reflecting the American context influenced heavily by systems thinking. Cairney (2012) outlines a slightly different six-stage cycle, consisting of agenda setting, policy formulation, legitimation (to ensure political and other forms of support for chosen instruments), implementation, evaluation, and maintenance, succession or termination.
2. the policy environment that will differ significantly across societies and different systems of social institutions, that consists of political, economic, media, demographic and interest groups for the American context (Birkland, 2016) as well as social values that reflect differing views of the appropriate role of the state (e.g. welfare state). One major difference for non-American countries is a highly significant and powerful foreign power influence and actions.
3. policy actors ranging from elected and appointed officials to interest groups, research organisations and the media, the institutions of a society including the structures and levels of government, the bureaucracy, societal sectors like business, and the international system that includes governments, corporations and NGOs, and in colonial contexts, the interests of an

occupying power. Policy actors are often studied as policy networks, tracing the relationships among individuals and groups through a number of dimensions of relationship and attitude that vary by state structure, social class, culture and values: the number of policy actors, functional characteristics of information, types of relationships and access to negotiation, structure that relates to the nature of relationships among policy actors, institutionalisation relating to actor formalisation and membership, rules of conduct or the game that govern interactional norms, power relations, and styles of strategy used (van Waarden, 1992). An important feature of Islamic systems is the principle of consultation (*Shura*), and the access provided to citizens through regular public meetings (*Majlis*).

4. Policy instruments are those programmes or techniques used to bring a policy into effect, consisting of a number of types such as legislative and regulatory, economic or fiscal, agreement and incentive-based, and information-based. One common instrument used by welfare state systems is the crown corporation or publicly owned enterprise in order to influence the economic system and ensure services to the public (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995). Under neoliberalism, coming into vogue in the early 1980s, this approach, and the entire welfare state orientation was dismantled to varying degrees in Western countries. A neoliberal perspective often refers to such state activity as 'interfering' in the economy, a term used commonly about Gulf countries.
5. Style of policy intervention such as redistribution, managing of markets, privatisation and democratising the policy process (Moran, Rein, & Goodin, 2006), that reflect political orientations and ideologies.

Policy studies also is done using a number of analytic and interpretive approaches, from deductive (e.g. public choice class theory, neo-institutionalism) to inductive (e.g. welfare economics, pluralism, statism) approaches (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995), as well as feminist critiques, critical theory, discourse analysis, and cross-cultural analyses.

Table 1. Comparison of policy hierarchies

Component	Islamic	Anglo-American
Underlying belief & value system	Qur'an and Sunnah (accompanied by Hadith & Tafsir)	Religion or philosophical system
Constitution	Fundamental principles of Islam embedded	Constitution, often with amendments
Legislation	Shari'ah	Laws
Govt agency policies	Through the Diwan remains open to new knowledge & therefore contains ambiguity	Remain deterministic and grounded in established positions and more often scientistic knowledge
Guidelines & procedures	Decision-making through Shura for implementation, remaining flexible & consistent with Islamic ethics	Task based procedures that aim for replicability
Organisational policies	Evolves through principles of Muhasabah (improving understanding), Tawhid (economics is subordinate to and unified with sacred values), Waqaf (social responsibility to address inequities) & Ihsan (the attainment of Islamic virtues)	Linear best practices & total quality management, often with economic values and individuality as end values
Organisational guidelines & procedures	Require a qualitative judgment against primary values and service to society	In contemporary neoliberal terms measurable quantitatively

The argument made here is that the basic categories of policy studies can be internationalised with sufficient modification and application. The main problem lies in not contextualising the system of policy studies sufficiently. For example, the Islamic policy tradition involves a number of Islamic public administrative features such as fundamental values of serving the community and assuming collective responsibility for society (Mottahedeh, 2001), principles of social justice (Samier, 2016), and the synthesis of sacred and secular that affect all human endeavour (Weir, 2012). One way of representing the difference between an Anglo-American theory and the Islamic is by comparing what is usually called the policy hierarchy that maps out the levels of policy in a society. Table 1 describes the general comparison of these hierarchies that is indicative of the differences, but is not comprehensive (derived largely from Weir, 2012).

What is proposed in this table is a way of linking Islamic values, principles and qualities to the levels of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation while indicating the primary ways in which the Anglo-American models of policy operate that are now much more embedded in secularism, individuality, economic values, and quantitative evaluation. What is important to note is that there are many other forms of Western policy that do include higher order values and a more qualitative approach, such as the humanistic management approaches developing in reaction to neoliberalism (e.g. Amann & Stachowicz-Stanusch, 2013) that correspond to many of the values described above.

Conclusion

Islam, like other philosophical systems consisting of higher order moral values, has embedded within it both the conceptions of higher education and the requirements necessary for civil servants, and the population as a whole in a society. However, these are not consistent with neoliberal approaches using 'scientistic' frameworks (Weir, 2012). Islam, unlike some other religious systems, does not differentiate sacred and secular, and therefore is a wholistic system of belief and thought that contains within it philosophical perspectives and values, political and social principles from which legal traditions evolved, and guidance for administration and leadership.

The policy process evolved out of implementing the values and practices in the Qur'an and Sunnah, and the absorption of policy-making and implementation practices that had developed in the region over a 4000 year period, but redirected and reinterpreted within the normative and societal principles of Islam. Administrative policies and practices continued into twelfth century Sicily influencing European developments (Johns, 2002). Within this context, policy related to the rise of higher education in the Muslim world, prior to that in Europe (Berkey, 2003), for example the law of *Waqf* (charitable trusts) (Makdisi, 1981) is compared with the development of universities and related government policy in the medieval West (Pedersen, 1997).

Inherent in Islam, particularly its humanistic tradition, are key values and goals for human development and society shared with other humanistic systems in many parts of the world. The capacity for policy studies development, and its influence on higher education and the quality of public administration, can again serve as a model of what can be. In contrast to the current one-way direction of knowledge transfer under globalisation regimes, and the dominating higher education practices in the West, this sharing of knowledge and experience should again work in both directions, already seen in correspondence between Islamic arbitration and international arbitration (Bhatti, 2019).

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Higher Education Governance & Policy
ISSN: 2717-8676
Volume: 1
Issue: 1

Between the Global and the Local: The Study of the Academic Profession from a Latin American Perspective

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Abstract

The academic profession represents a subject within the realm of higher education that has experienced an outstanding development throughout the world. In Latin America, the interest in studying this field arises in a context of widespread reforms of the higher education system during the 1990s. The presence of research groups from this region, working within a global framework and in close collaboration with research centres from developed countries, can attest to this interest. This work attempts to establish a balance after three decades of unrelenting study of the academic profession to discover local specificities within global trends. It can be asserted that the tension between the global and the local is manifest both in the conceptualization of the subject matter and in the way this fledgling field has been developing in the region. There is a pending challenge, however, in ultimately establishing the case for the Latin American academic profession within the study of this activity at a global scale: not as a previous stage of a predefined global process, but rather as the outcome of the interaction between the global and the local. This is crucial for the construction of a type of knowledge that encompasses the diversity of the academic profession in the world as a constitutive property of its very conceptualization.

Keywords: Academic profession, Latin America, higher education reforms, comparative higher education

Introduction

The academic profession represents a subject within the realm of higher education that has experienced an outstanding development throughout the world. In Latin America, the interest in studying this field arises in a context of widespread reforms of the higher education system during the 1990s. The presence of research groups from this region, working within a global framework and in close collaboration with research centres from developed countries, can attest to this interest. This work attempts to establish a balance after three decades of unrelenting study of the academic profession to discover local specificities within global trends. It can be asserted that the tension between the global and the local is manifest both in the conceptualization of the subject matter and in the way this fledgling field has been developing in the region. There is a pending challenge, however, in ultimately establishing the case for the Latin American academic profession within the study of this activity at a global scale: not as a previous stage of a predefined global process, but rather as the outcome of the interaction between the global and the local. This is crucial for the construction of a type of knowledge that encompasses the diversity of the academic profession in the world as a constitutive property of its very conceptualization.

Academic profession as an object of study has occupied a noteworthy place in international literature in recent decades, in particular due to the input of American and Anglo-Saxon European authors. The research into academia began to gain notoriety in parallel with the growth and establishment of higher education as a field of study. Although significant research on university faculty and their workspaces

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(Review Article) **Cite as:** Marquina, M. (2020). Between the global and the local: The study of the academic profession from a Latin American perspective. *Higher Education Governance & Policy, 1*(1), 63-75.

Received: June 4, 2020; ***Revised:*** June 24, 2020; ***Accepted:*** June 26, 2020; ***Published:*** June 30, 2020

was carried out in the 1970s (Bourdieu, 1975; 1983; 2008; Geertz, 1976), it was not until the 1980s that its specific study began to take shape internationally, accompanied by worldwide reforms in the higher education system that were being carried out at the time. This influenced the work of academics, since they were considered essential for the analysis of the university education system of a given country (Clark, 1983).

As Altbach (2000) points out, the importance of studying academia is evidenced by the fact that faculty and university researchers are at the heart of the university organization, whose essence is knowledge. They are responsible for the creation of knowledge through research, of sharing it through teaching, and spreading it in society through extension and transfer. Moreover, they have been the primary focus in the analysis of recent changes to the higher education system in the context of a massive growth in enrolment and subsequent state policies that regulate the functioning of these systems and their institutions.

In this sense, Becher and Trowler (2001) argued at the beginning of the century that, simultaneously with the emergence of the "evaluating state," the required research *performativity* had changed the nature of academic work. Other studies have examined the effects of these changes in academic identities (Henkel, 2000; 2005) and the role of these identities in the productivity improvement of the university, scientific, and technological systems. Those studies suggested that most of the changes were foreign to the disciplines, which traditionally defined the character of what pertained to academia. The pioneering work by E. Boyer, P. Altbach, and M. J. Whitelaw (1994) has represented a significant step forward toward the construction of knowledge on the academic profession, which resulted in the creation of an international network that spurred the development of a field of study on academia in many countries. This was based on an international research project, *The International Academic Profession: Portraits of Fourteen Countries*, funded by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which set out to define this profession on the basis of a survey of academics from fourteen countries[1] carried out between 1991 and 1993. This networking effort continued through 2008 and 2009 with a project called Changing Academic Profession (CAP), which looked into the nature and extension of the changes experienced by the academic profession in 19 countries[2], and has currently undergone a third edition by the Academic Profession in the Knowledge Based Society (APIKS), a project involving the participation of close to 25 countries with the aim of analysing this profession and its relation with society.

The Study of the Academic Profession in Latin America

The interest in the study of the academic profession in Latin America can only be understood by acknowledging two simultaneously intertwined events. First, the deep reforms to higher education in the region during the 1990s, and second, the emergence of a regional field of study on higher education. In fact, during that decade, Latin American higher education systems adopted public policies based on World Bank directives, whose patterns intended to homogenize these systems in conformity with a common global agenda. Within this framework, each country articulated these tendencies according to their own histories and characteristics (Krotsch & Suasnábar, 2004). Overall, the agenda for higher education at the time attempted to act as a response to the processes of massive growth experienced in the region, with policies such as the promotion of growth in the private sector, institutional diversification, and the implementation of quality assurance systems. In fact, the reforms adopted in the 1990s brought about an expansion of the higher education system triggered by the growth in the private sector and institutional differentiation, which resulted in the creation of higher education institutions with functions that differed from the traditional activities carried out by universities as a whole. Thus, influenced by the model of *research universities* found in central countries, some of these institutions embraced research as part of their mission, whereas the newly established universities began to focus their activities on professional and vocational education, with an emphasis on teaching and varying levels of quality. By then, many countries in the region with advanced higher education systems had

[1] The participating countries in the Carnegie project were the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, Hong Kong, Sweden, Russia, Israel, Chile, Australia, Mexico, and Brazil.

[2] In CAP, the participating countries were the United States, Australia, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Italy, Hong Kong, China, Korea, Malaysia, South Africa, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina.

already established quality assurance mechanisms, introducing the evaluation and accreditation of degree courses and institutions by third-party agencies. These sweeping changes to the higher education system had a direct effect on the work carried out by Latin American university teachers. At the same time, all of these processes were subject to review, constituting a field of study in higher education and, within it, the academic profession.

Systematic studies on higher education emerged along with these processes. The work of Chilean sociologist José Joaquín Brunner (1990), an advocate of university studies and promoter of Burton Clark's oeuvre in Latin America, has been paramount (Krotsch & Suasnábar, 2004). Rollin Kent, from Mexico (1990), has made significant contributions with his understanding of the cultural changes brought about in mass universities, the establishment of an occupational market of academic workers, and bureaucratization. These studies, which closely followed the unfolding reforms, were the foundation on which Mexico, Brazil, and Chile encouraged a new awareness on higher education, given the strong presence of research centres committed to those studies in those countries[3]. Studies on academia began to increase in Latin America, particularly in Mexico, in light of American developments in the field. Since the mid-1990s until today, the academic profession has been the focus of specialized literature, especially in those Latin American countries with more developed higher education systems, such as Brazil, Chile, and Argentina.

Galaz Fontes and Gil Antón (2009) argue that the pioneering work on academia during the 1990s in Mexico may be divided into two groups: those projects that focused on the consequences resulting from the massive growth of the university system in terms of academic contracts (Kent, 1986), and those that underscored the theoretical understanding and production of empirical evidence in regard to the establishment of this brand new actor in the realm of university education, either through an ethnographical approach (García Salord, 1998; Landesmann, 1997) or quantitative methods within the framework of the Carnegie project mentioned above (Gil Antón, 1994). In order to understand the developments in the study of academia it is necessary to include the output pertaining to congresses on the subject. In Mexico, the Mexican Council for Education Research (Consejo Mexicano de Investigación Educativa) has been holding congresses addressing the construction of this field of study based on contributions from renown scholars in this area (García Salord, Grediaga Kuri, & Landesmann Segall, 2003; 2005; García Salord, Landesmann, & Gil Antón, 1993). There has also been a notable production of theses on the matter from the 1990s onward. By 2006, and with Mexico's participation in the CAP international project, a new line of research emerged in the country at a national level, which allowed for a reliable source of information about academia.

For its part, the study of the academic profession in Chile began at a later stage and as a marginal activity carried out by a few researchers, particularly after the publication of Brunner's work (1990) and the research done by Andrés Bernasconi and his team, from Universidad Andrés Bello, closely linked to American institutions that promoted these kinds of studies worldwide. Other contributions to the understanding of the academic profession can be found in national studies of the Chilean higher education system conducted by the Interuniversity Development Center (Centro Interuniversitario de Desarrollo) as part of a wider Latin American comparative research (Brunner, 2007; Brunner & Hurtado, 2011; Brunner & Miranda, 2016). Several of these works inform an analysis based on the model followed by central countries through a comparison—critical or otherwise—of the gap separating this amateur field from the professional realm. Bernasconi (2008) claims that the professionalization of Chilean academia was made possible by influence of the *research university* model from the United States, the rise in faculty salaries, which allowed them to commit fully to the university, and research policies centred around measurement and standardization (Bernasconi, 2008).

[3] In Mexico, the former Centre of University Studies (CESU—Centro de Estudios sobre la Universidad) at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, the Centre for Research and Advance Studies (CINVESTAV—Centro de Investigación y Estudios Avanzados), and the National Association of Universities and Higher Education Institutions (ANUIES—Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior). In Brazil, the Higher Education Research Centre (NUPES—*Núcleo de Pesquisa de Ensino Superior) at the* University of Sao Paulo, as well as other university centers. And in Chile, the Interuniversity Development Centre (CINDA—Centro Interuniversitario de Desarrollo), among others.

In Brazil, works on academia had their origins primarily at the Higher Education Research Centre (*Núcleo de Pesquisa de Ensino Superior), headed by Simon* Schwartzman's, and later Elizabeth Balbachevsky's, teams. They both released several studies of international repercussions, given their participation—as was the case with the centres mentioned above—in international networks of knowledge-building and support for the analysis of higher education reforms in the region. Brazil's higher education system has undergone deeper changes than any other country exposed to the reform initiatives of the 1990s, especially in regard to a diversification of the system into different types of institutions. Therefore, studies on the academic profession, from Carnegie to CAP, have examined the impact of this diversified expansion of academic work and have served to distinguish the specific characteristics of this profession in Brazil from global trends (Schwartzman & Balbachevsky, 1994; 2014; Balbachevsky, 2019).

In Argentina, however, the field of studies on higher education has had a belated development. Even though the return to democracy in the 1980s produced several works about the university (Cano, 1985; Pérez Lindo, 1985), it was the 1995 higher education reform that yielded a fruitful period with an increasing output of research. Pedro Krotsch, a sociologist and renown scholar of higher education, was responsible for the introduction of Burton Clark's work and that of many European authors into the country for the study of the Argentine university system that was undergoing extensive reforms at the time. He also promoted the biannual congress "The University as Object of Study," still held today, as well as the first academic journal on the university, *Pensamiento Universitario*.

The fledgling field of research production about the academic profession stepped up in 2008, when several groups of scholars joined the CAP project. Yet, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, only a few exploratory research papers existed, whereas other works focused on institutional cases or specific disciplinary groups[4], with no empirical studies at a national level. In contrast to other countries in the region, such as Brazil or Mexico, or the rest of the world, the academic profession in Argentina was, until the mid-2000s, an under-researched field limited to the interpretation of those studies on the recent changes to the higher education system (Marquina & Fernández Lamarra, 2008). Currently, it is possible to witness a solid field of research, partly as a result of the higher education reform of 1995 and the necessity to understand the changes to the academic profession triggered by that same reform. Since 2007, the participation of research groups from three national universities in the international CAP project has represented a substantial contribution to the field. These groups were supported by different government subsidies for research, which also facilitated the continuation of deeper qualitative studies. Argentina is now actively involved in the Academic Profession in the Knowledge-Based Society (APIKS) project, with teams from ten local universities. According to Pérez Centeno, this is the first time that studies of this kind allow for an exhaustive and systematic treatment of the Argentine academic profession, which continues to expand and deepen, "outlining the singularity of the national case in relation to international trends, contributing to its comparison and contextualization within a global and regional framework, and introducing Argentine researchers to international scientific networks" (Pérez Centeno, 2017, p. 230).

The Effect of Reforms on the Latin American Academic Profession

The significant changes the different higher education systems around the world have been subjected to over the last thirty years have been reflected in the level of faculty activity. International literature demonstrates that, in the majority of the consolidated national systems, the academic profession is aging, more insecure in the face of the flexibilization of its access and promotion conditions, and increasingly monitored by governments through productivity assessment tools. Furthermore, it is becoming more internationalized, with the expansion of exchange boundaries as a result of a convergence of higher education systems, and less organized along disciplinary lines due to the increasing demand for institutional managerial practices (Altbach, 2000; Cummings & Teichler, 2015).

[4] See, for instance, Marquis (2004); Araujo (2003); Prego and Pratti (2007); Suasnábar, Seoane, & Deldivedro (1999); García de Fanelli (2009).

Even the traditional definition of "academic" has become more ambiguous, as the boundaries between academia and the work of other higher education professionals have blurred (Macfarlane, 2011; Schneijderberg & Merkator, 2013; Witchruch, 2012). Management demands added to the already existing tension between research and teaching. The complexification of academic activity within the university, subject to new agendas for higher education and parallel to an increasing professionalization of academics, sparked the emergence of new tasks and roles, and in some cases the expansion and specialization of an administrative body more closely linked to academia. This, in part, explains why this profession has endured the curtailing of its autonomy in matters of institutional management, as well as in the acquisition and handling of the necessary resources for its activities (Altbach & Finkelstein, 1997).

Although the effect of the reforms experienced in central countries has impacted on academic working conditions, this role is performed by individuals whose income exceeds the social mean, who commit all their efforts to this task, and who enjoy ideal working conditions for the development of their activities. In contrast, the academic profession in Latin America possesses different characteristics. The faculty in the region has been traditionally dominated by part-time staff and low-income salaries (Altbach, Reisberg, Yudkevich, Androushchak, & Pacheco, 2012). Most teachers see their profession as a partial responsibility, complemented by other sources of income (Boyer et al., 1994). The Latin American organization of academic work has been greatly influenced by the German model. Based on the chair system, it introduces a rigidity to the system and a strong hierarchical differentiation within the faculty.

International trends over the last two decades have also affected the academic profession in the region. Not only was the gap between income levels widened relative to inflationary evolution (Schwartzman & Balbachevsky, 1996), but also incentive systems were introduced through the assessment of the academic activity, as well as a high level of pressure for postgraduate education[5]. These processes triggered a deep fragmentation of the academic profession and an uneven distribution of resources, concentrated on minorities embarked on a race for productivity and incentives (Marquina & Rebello, 2012). Several studies, mainly by Mexican researchers, show the impact of the changes in academic practices, cultures, and regulations (Aboites Aguilar, 1999; Gil Antón, 1994; 1997; 2000; Galaz Fontes, 1999, 2002; García Salord, 2001; Grediaga Kuri, 2001; 2006; Heras, 2005; Marquina & Fernández Lamarra, 2008; Parra Sandoval, 2004; Villa Lever, 2001).

Thus, it can be inferred that academics in the region have tended to accommodate to the professorial model implicit in the public university policies adopted, which aligned with those trends from central countries. The rise in doctorates and master's degrees is a recent phenomenon. Likewise, there is a clear tendency toward research as a preferred activity, especially among the younger generation of academic scholars (Marquina, Yuni, & Ferreiro, 2015). The policies adopted have been shaping a new "type" of academic grounded on an international model characterized by a high level of postgraduate education and a required standard of productivity, as well as on a variety of incentives and regulations. Until now, this new type of academic had been previously restricted to certain specific disciplines. The difference with central countries is that these are brand new conditions that had not been hitherto deeply rooted in the region's academic culture (Marquina, 2013).

[5] Over the last two decades, several countries in the region have developed different programs to increase human capital through scholarships. For example, since 2008, the Chilean government has pushed for an increase in the number of doctorates through a program called "Becas Chile," which has considerably risen the number of doctors. Between 1988 and 2012, 7,692 scholarships have been awarded (Muñoz-García & Bernasconi, 2020). Similar programs were implemented in Argentina, such as "Doctorar," an initiative aimed at helping faculty members to complete a doctoral program, or the doctoral scholarships for young researchers granted by the CONICET. In Brazil, similar initiatives were introduced through scholarships awarded by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES—Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior). Between 2000 and 2011, the number of doctoral scholarships in Brazil tripled from 8,800 to 26,100, while in Argentina they quintuplicated from 1,459 to 7,087 (Unzué, 2013). These processes were accompanied by a significant increase in doctoral programs in these countries.

Whereas in the developed world the hegemony of the professor, fully committed to the university, is giving way to a growing presence of academics from the industry teaching part-time and a wide range of temporary support staff, Bernasconi (2010) argues that in Latin America the number and influence of those workers who have embraced academia as their profession is on the rise. The study of university teaching in Latin America reveals an academic profession with heterogenous profiles and functions, segmented in its areas of activity, and stratified in its social conditions (Bernasconi, 2010).

From Carnegie and CAP to APIKS: Between "Borrowing" and Visibilising Latin American Academic Profession

The participation of Latin American countries in the aforementioned international projects about academia has been low. For instance, Mexico, Brazil, and Chile took part in Carnegie; CAP had the involvement of Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina; whereas APIKS had Mexico, Argentina, and Chile among its members. This reduced presence responds to different reasons, inherent to our countries' unequal conditions of knowledge production. Funding issues for this kind of research have been coupled with difficulties in the formation of teams capable of carrying out large-scale studies at a national level. Generational change among researchers may also account for certain discontinuity in the interests and possibilities for advancing the production of knowledge in this area.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to examine the process of development of this field in Latin America from a comparative view contrasting the dialectics of the global with the local (Arnove & Torres, 1999; Scriewer, 2013). The initial level of participation in these global projects reflects a sort of adaptive behaviour from peripheral countries, such as Latin American nations, to conceptions of work and guidelines set forth by central countries on the study of world academia. This is understandable, given the almost inexistent prior experience regarding this field of study. In this sense, our countries have "borrowed" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; 2017) the undisputed theoretical categories adopted by developed countries, i.e., the position of *full professor*, as a filtering criterion for the population under study. For some of these central countries, assistant professors or junior academics were not part of the profession—a highly debated characteristic when it came to setting out common work guidelines. Another instance of this sort of "conceptual ethnocentrism" in the study of academia has been reflected in the consideration of another precondition, that of full-timer, for sample incorporation or else the adoption of the idea that any university professor held a doctorate degree. As a result, most of Latin American academics did not seem to fit into this framework. At first, some country teams deemed those individuals who met these characteristics part of the population under study, leaving out of the analysis a vast majority of faculty staff working at university, engaged in teaching and sometimes research, under very adverse conditions. The underlying question was whether the world category of *academic profession* was applicable to our reality.

These differences became increasingly evident as the network of researchers gained ground. Even in CAP, after interesting epistemological debates, each country began to include individuals that met less rigid conditions as population under study, as the only way to achieve a real representation of local academia. But it was with APIKS that these differences in models or conceptions of the academic profession were clearly identified, in accordance with backgrounds, histories, and current realities. Once the existence of this diversity was acknowledged, a set of minimum characteristics were agreed on to define the different populations of academics by country.[6] These characteristics were the basis whereby all participant countries were able to constitute an encompassing global group from which samples were collected according to local distinctive features.

These tensions between the global and the local can also be found in Latin America's own output on academia. This issue was already raised at an earlier stage. By comparing the level of development of

[6] It was agreed that the APIKS core population definition would be comparable to the Carnegie and CAP surveys. This equates to academics regularly employed in higher education institutions for more than one day per week in teaching or research roles. Therefore, the APIKS survey core population are academics meeting all of the following four characteristics: 1) Regularly employed in ongoing or fixed-term contracts; 2) Holding contracts of at least a 25% full-time equivalent basis (i.e., more than one day per week); 3) Employed in higher education institutions awarding at least a bachelor's degree; 4) Employed in an academic function involving primarily teaching and/or research (APIKS Document from August 1, 2017).

the academic profession in Latin America, Brunner and Flisfisch (1989) argued that, in peripheral societies such as those in Latin American countries, the reality was different:

> Contrary to what occurs in central societies, academic professionalization is presented as an explicit goal.… It represents an import or adaptation process of a foreign product that originated or developed in other cultural climates. (Brunner & Flisfisch, 1989, pp. 181-182)

Such concern with a lineal and evolutional vision was prevalent in Latin America in the late 1980s. Several decades later, this perspective was favoured in a report by J. J. Brunner and R. F. Hurtado (2011), who claimed that in Latin American higher education systems the academic profession "has not yet been constituted as such," implying that our countries are—albeit at a slower pace than central countries—undergoing a process in which the acquisition of certain universal characteristics that would make us part of this profession is deemed paramount. However, as we have seen so far, the engaging path of knowledge production about academia in the region began to show dissenting voices against that vision (Marquina, 2013), and attention was drawn to the hegemonic way of thinking about the Latin American academic profession.

> Therefore, is not the group of subjects in charge of teaching and research in our country part of a profession? Are we not at risk of transposing foreign categories, without proper adaptation, in order to explain away apparent similarities that in reality belong to different situations and contexts? Are we heading toward an academic profession or have we already achieved it? Answering these questions forces us to examine what has happened to the university faculty, who they are, what they do, under which conditions, and under what regulations they perform their work. (Marquina, 2013, pp. 40-41)

Addressing these issues is crucial, because only then will we be able to observe how the transformative processes of the academic profession taking place in developed countries are increasingly set forth in more dramatic ways throughout the region. Our academic profession is part of the periphery, for the patterns of academic work are laid out by institutions in central countries for the rest of the world. As Altbach (2004) has stated, academics in the countries of the periphery are viewed as dependent on the world's main centres of knowledge and scientific networks. The world's faculty is increasingly becoming a part of a global academic community, and therefore, developing countries are at the bottom of a global system of unequal academic relations. Acknowledging this situation is the first step toward any study of the peripheral academic profession that aims at departing from the normalization of generalizing conceptions that disregard diversity.

From this perspective, it will be possible to understand that the processes of change have fragmented the pre-existing heterogeneity of the region's academic profession with the establishment of two large groups. On the one hand, a group with a global profile, international connections, full-time commitment to the profession, and a main source of income from this activity; on the other, a comprehensive mass of faculty especially engaged in teaching, attempting to pursue incentives without much success, or else without any possibility whatsoever to achieve it. The different patterns of academic life already characterized for the developed world (Clark, 2008a) now include marked inequalities between regions and countries as a result of the unbalanced economic structure prevalent in the world.

Academic Profession in the Periphery: Toward the Development of a Latin American Research Field Within a Global Framework

As a category for analysis, the academic profession is generally distinctive because of the diversity of disciplines and kinds of institutions it encompasses. It simultaneously comprehends rules and values that give it cohesion and distinguish it from other occupations (Clark, 1983; 2008b). Thus, in principle, we should step aside from characterizations that portray the academic profession as one defined by unified features from the developed world, given that a homogenous academic profession is inexistent there as well. Consequently, we can offer an affirmative answer to the question of whether it is possible to recognize in Latin America the existence of a profession that encompasses the work of academia, rejecting lineal and evolutional perspectives that only consider the establishment of the academic profession as the last step of a path yet to follow.

Likewise, acknowledging the existence of a Latin American profession requires a further step. Frameworks laid out in centre countries need to be adapted to our own realities before their implementation. Integration and heterogeneity, despite bearing similarities to those contexts, are manifested at a different level. Our own academic activity follows certain basic patterns, just as in other countries: it gathers its members around an object—knowledge—within the university realm; has set out access and permanence conditions for faculty positions, some traditional, others more recent and modern; its renown authorities act as peer reviewers in regard to research, degree courses, and positions, and their criteria influence the established and accepted standards; and has unquestionable values that form the foundations of the activity, such as the liberty to teach and research, as well as an *ethos* that denotes a shared culture. All these features are characteristic of the academic profession worldwide.

Nevertheless, our profession is different because its activities are, to a large extent, performed part-time, with a professionalist orientation toward teaching, relatively low-income salaries, a specific set of rules to access a faculty position, and the organization of work set primarily around chairs—all of which makes for a very rigid activity. This is a profession that has combined traditional qualities with more globalized regulations based on efficiency and productivity. That is our Latin American academic profession, and this identity is the outcome of local research, carried out over the last decades through a perspective focused on the "other" and toward our own recognition. Moreover, Latin American academia is a profession of the periphery. Were it not seen as a profession in itself, established within the wider category of global academia, we would not be able to visualize the enormous inequalities it experiences in the international arena.

In sum, conceiving our faculty as part of a profession, with their global and local characteristics, opens the door to the study of an intricate activity that we began developing decades ago and that deserves a deeper understanding. This field, the academic profession, involves individuals who experience change differently and perform teaching and researching activities at the university in accordance with fluctuating regulations that concurrently reverberate across the institution. This profession also fosters values and beliefs that are nurtured by the history of the university system and that have been reconstituted in the face of the massification of the different higher education systems and the regulations adopted in recent decades. These changes have been interwoven with similar processes at a global level in a distinguishable academic world that translates, for all Latin America, into an academic profession that is undoubtedly fragmented.

Acknowledgement

The author extends her gratitude to the research staff at APIKS Argentina and APIKS International, who have been lead players in the process studied herein and of which she is part of.

Funding

This work has been carried out as part of the PICT 2017–2110 (Project of Scientific and Technological Innovation), subsidized by the National Agency for Scientific and Technological Promotion (ANPCyT) belonging to the Ministry of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation (MINCyT) of Argentina.

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