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AUR

Australian Universities' Review



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The *Australian Universities' Review* (*AUR*, formerly *Vestis*) is published by the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) to encourage debate and discussion about issues in higher education and its contribution to Australian public life, with an emphasis on those matters of concern to NTEU members.

Editorial decisions are made by the Editor, assisted by the AUR Editorial Board. The views expressed in articles in this publication, unless otherwise stated, are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Editor, the Editorial Board or the publisher.

Although some contributions are solicited by the Editor or the Editorial Board, *AUR* is anxious to receive contributions independently from staff and students in the higher education sector and other readers.

AUR publishes both articles and other contributions, including short commentary and satire. Articles will be assessed by independent referees before publication. Priority is given to contributions which are substantial, lively, original and have a broad appeal. Responses to previously published contributions are encouraged.

AUR is listed on the DIISR (formerly DEEWR and DEST) register of refereed journals.

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Style should follow the APA Referencing Guide, 6th edition. Style sheet available at www.aur.org.au/submissions

References in the text should be given in the author-date style:

King (2004) argues...

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Archive

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For a web reference:

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Dates thus: 30 June 2010.

'ise' should be used rather than 'ize', e.g. *organise* not *organize*.

'per cent' should be used rather than '%' in the text.

Abbreviations should be avoided, but if their use is necessary, they should be explained at their first use.

Neither male nor female pronouns should be used to refer to groups containing persons of both sexes.

Figures, photographs and illustrations should be provided in high resolution (300dpi) EPS, PDF, JPEG or TIFF format, numbered consecutively in the order in which they appear (or are cited). Figures should be drawn precisely and boldly.

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Letter from the editor

Ian R. Dobson

In this second and final *Australian Universities' Review (AUR)* for the year, *AUR* continues its role as a purveyor of thought-provoking and diverse scholarly papers and opinion pieces. Higher education's major issues are tackled by a range of authors. On the staff front, there are papers and opinion pieces on staff mobility, casualisation of the academic workforce, women in academia, academic leadership and academic rights with a focus on Malaysia. Looking at students, there are papers about low socioeconomic status and international students' decision-making, the attractiveness of joint ventures with Chinese universities, and Australian universities' websites and their efficacy in helping students with mental health problems find out what their university offers by way of service.

'Big picture' papers also feature in this issue. Infrastructure funding for Australian universities is put under the microscope, and this issue also features a hypothetical: what if the Group of Eight universities (minus the Australian National University) were to merge. Read on and see if you agree. Two papers have a quality focus. One examines TEQSA and risk, and the other considers quality and the dreaded MOOCs.

On the TEQSA front, it should be noted that this paper was accepted for publication prior to the establishment of

the Review of Higher Education Regulation in May 2013. The Report of the Review, released in August 2013, made recommendations that may change TEQSA's approach to risk-based regulation.

Finally, the ever-fertile mind of Richard Hil speculates about Australian vice-chancellors competing in a TV game show to see who is the nation's most ruthless. If that works, how about sticking all the vice-chancellors on a tropical island, and have them compete against each other, to have their university survive the next round of financial cuts. They might come up with a really clever slogan that will save the day!

As has become the norm, *AUR* also features several book reviews. Read, enjoy, and buy (or borrow).

As you browse through these pages, please remember the hard-working production team, the editorial board and the reviewers, without whom there would be no *AUR*. Thanks to all from the editor.

Ian Dobson is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at University of Ballarat, an Adjunct Professional Staff Member at Monash University, Victoria, Australia, and editor of *AUR*.

Letter to the editor

Dear Editor,

In our article 'Australian higher education and the Course Experience Questionnaire: Insights, implications and recommendations' (*AUR* 55(1), 2013: 27-35), we inadvertently reproduced text and references from previously published work on the same topic as our paper, without acknowledging it as a direct quote.

The authors express their sincerest apologies to the authors of the original work, as well as to *AUR*'s editor and readers for the inconvenience caused due to our inattention to detail. The words not attributed as a direct quote came from Davies, M., Hirschberg, J., Lye, J., Johnston, C. & McDonald, I. (2005). *Is it your fault? Influences on student evaluations of teaching in tertiary institutions*. Retrieved from http://www.tlu.fbe.unimelb.edu.au/papers/Is_it_your_fault.pdf

I note that the corrected version of our text was provided to you, and that the online version of the article has been corrected.

Yours,

Joy Talukdar, Tania Aspland & Poulomee Datta

Letters to the editor are gratefully accepted. Please send your letters via email to editor@aur.org.au

Overcoming adversity among low SES students

A study of strategies for retention

Ameera Karimshah

Monash University

Marianne Wyder, Paul Henman, Dwight Tay, Elizabeth Capelin & Patricia Short

University of Queensland

The Bradley Review in 2008 and the Australian government's response echoed policy concerns that young people from low socioeconomic status are underrepresented in tertiary education. In order to address this, responses to both recruitment and retention are necessary. While many studies have looked at reasons for student attrition, few investigated the factors that enabled students from low socio-economic status (SES) backgrounds to stay in university. Over 1,000 domestic undergraduate students at the University of Queensland completed an online survey, in which students from low SES backgrounds were compared with students who were not. It was found that while most students experienced a combination of financial, relationship, mental and physical health stress, students from low SES backgrounds experienced more stressors as well as higher levels of stress. While the majority of respondents were aware of student support services, these did not appear to be a major influencing factor on students' reported decisions to stay at university.

Introduction

Students from low socio-economic status (SES) backgrounds are underrepresented in higher education (Chapman, 2004; Coates & Kraus, 2005; James, 2007; DEET & NBEET, 1990; DEEWR, 2008). Several higher education reforms in Australia have tried to redress this issue. In 1990, student equity became a national priority alongside the introduction of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme) (HECS). Despite these efforts, however, the proportion of low SES students in higher education remained relatively unchanged (Chapman, 2004; Coates & Kraus, 2005; James, 2007; DEET & NBEET, 1990; DEEWR, 2008). Indeed, as recently as 2008, the Review of Australian Higher Education (The Bradley Review) suggested that a low SES background remained one of the main barriers

to accessing higher education and that students from low SES groups were more likely to drop out of university (DEEWR, 2008). In response to the Bradley Review, different funding initiatives were established to enhance the participation of low SES students. Universities now have recruitment and retention strategies aimed at low SES students (DEEWR, 2009). In 2009, the Australian government promised to invest \$437 million to improve income support for students from low SES backgrounds (DEEWR, 2009). In addition, the cap on Commonwealth supported places has been removed. It was argued that the capping of university places stems from an elitist view which limits the chances of lower SES students to enter higher education (Bowers-Brown, 2006).

Research on low SES students to date has largely focussed on the rate of participation and the risk factors that lead

to student dropout (Assiter & Gibbs, 2007; Landrum, 2002; Murtaugh, Burns & Schuster, 1999; Whalen, Saunders & Shelley, 2010). Explanations range from individual factors such as motivation to study and time constraints, to socio-cultural elements such as a lack of family support for higher education. Authors such as Tinto (2008), Sullivan (2001) and Schoon (2008) discuss how social and cultural dynamics within the institution act as exclusionary factors for low SES students and cause them either not to attend university at all or to leave after a short period. These factors include unfamiliar cultural practices and expectations, a lack of outreach programmes designed to recruit low SES students and a lack of transitional support for students who may be the first in their family to attend university. While important, this focus upon risk factors provides limited insight into the factors that enable student retention. Knowing why students leave does not directly explain why they stay. Risk factors are contributors to attrition, but the presence or experience of such risks does not always lead to attrition. Understanding how students continue to study in the presence of such risk factors, or have some level of resilience that allows them to quickly recover from a setback, is a critical next step in enhancing student retention and equity.

This paper reports research examining the issue of retention among low SES undergraduate students at the University of Queensland (UQ). As a member of the Group of Eight major research universities (Go8), UQ is noted for its high tertiary education entry standards. It currently has a student population of 45,550, with 32,460 undergraduates. In 2010, UQ had 14.32 per cent low SES students based on the Census District measure, which compares with an average of 8.95 per cent in Go8 universities (DIISRTE, 2011, Appendix 5.4). The focus of the research was to identify the strategies that students use to continue in their studies when faced with adversity and stress. The study addressed two key questions: (a) Are the stressors that low SES students experience different from other students? and (b) What are the factors that contribute to their retention? In considering the statistical findings, this paper also considers existing conceptual understandings of student retention and attrition.

Conceptual understandings of low SES student retention and attrition

Various conceptual approaches have been deployed in the past to understand the factors underpinning low participation rates of low SES people in tertiary education. Some approaches focus on social factors, such as cultural capital

and social integration, whereas others focus on individual factors, such as self-agency and self-efficacy. The research reported here was informed by these various traditions in research design and interpretation of results.

Following the seminal work of Bourdieu (1984), cultural capital is a concept that has been used to understand the differential involvement of SES groups in higher education. The term 'cultural capital' refers to those practices, experiences, perspectives and knowledge that one generation passes to the next that enables an individual to prosper within certain cultural factions (Godina, 2008). Universities are viewed as socially structured, and the habitus or constitution of the dominant cultural faction favours those whose cultural capital is aligned accordingly (Harker, Marhar & Wilkes, 1990). Parents who themselves are highly educated (which can be used as an indicator of SES) are interpreted as securing access to educational institutions that embrace and reproduce the cultural practices, assumptions, values and expectations of the university to their children during the course of their life (Jamrozik, 1991; Devlin, 2011). It is reasoned that students who enter university who have this cultural capital are better prepared for success at university (Devlin, 2011), whereas a non-traditional student whose cultural capital does not align with the university finds it difficult to integrate into university life (Bamber & Tett, 2001). The effect of this is demonstrated in a recent study of Australian first year university students which found that low SES students were more likely to say that they had difficulty adjusting to the teaching style of the university as well as understanding the material compared to students from medium to high SES backgrounds (James, Kraus & Jenkins, 2010). The small numbers of low SES students participating in higher education can also be viewed as indicative of this dynamic. Bamber and Tett (2001) suggest that too much burden is placed on the student to adjust and that an equal amount of burden should be placed on the institution's teaching and support practices to accommodate non-traditional students' learning styles better.

Also indicative of this dynamic is the student's ability to integrate socially and interact positively in their institution's social and academic domain. That is, students with high cultural capital can more easily 'fit in' to university life than students whose cultural capital does not align with the university as an institution (Tinto, 1975; Yorke & Longden, 2004). Institutions that accommodate different types of cultural capital have more diversity in their student body and higher retention rates. Moreover, students from non-traditional backgrounds report feelings of 'class bias' within elite higher education institutions and voice

their preference for institutions that do not require them to alter their habitus (Thomas, 2002). As cultural capital is a powerful facilitator of social integration one of the major challenges for institutions is how to better prepare low SES students for university life. Strategies to enhance student equity that have come from this approach have focussed on improving learning and teaching approaches as well as encouraging students to take part in activities and programmes outside the classroom (Kift & Moody, 2009; Crosling, Thomas & Heagney, 2008; Crosling, Heagney & Thomas, 2009; Tinto, 2008).

What the cultural capital or social framework does not take into account is the student's self-motivation or self-agency, that is, their personal ability to minimise the impact of adversity on their studies (Seymour & Hewitt, 1997). Mortimer and Shanahan (2003) define this practice as the way in which 'individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstances'. Clausen (1993) called this 'plentiful competence', which means that the individuals' self-confidence, investment and dependability affect their future trajectory through selecting opportunities that give them a head start.

Adding to the self-agency framework is the idea of self-efficacy, as defined by Bandura (1977). This concept can be described as a belief in one's ability to complete a specific task. Bandura's definition has been explored and expanded upon in a number of different studies to include one's ability to persist in difficult situations, engage with challenges, persevere through failure and attribute success to their own aptitude (Ketelhut, 2007; Collins, 1984; Lent, Brown & Larkin, 1984). Several studies link self-efficacy to educational success (Gore, 2006; Zajacova, Lynch & Espenshade, 2005; Zimmerman, Bandura & Martinez-Pons, 1992; Chemers, Hu & Garcia, 2001). Studies such as these have found that self-efficacy has a strong impact not only on academic performance, but also on stress, coping strategies, health and overall satisfaction (Chemers *et al.*, 2001). However, the concept of self-efficacy as a predictor of educational success tends to place sole responsibility on the student and does not take into account the role of social dimensions or the institutional inflexibility that perpetuates inequality (Devlin, 2011).

Research approach and design

In building on the literature, this study sought to operationalise the key concepts of cultural capital, social integration, self-agency and self-efficacy in the design

of a survey. The survey was designed for undergraduate domestic students and consisted of both closed-ended quantitative and open-ended qualitative questions. International students were identified and excluded in the collection of the results as their SES experience may be very different to domestic students and Australian government equity policy does not directly include international students. The survey was made available to all students online via the student portal towards the end of second semester 2010. The survey was advertised on that website and posters and flyers were distributed on the University of Queensland (UQ), St Lucia campus, specifically targeting the student counselling, accommodation and health service areas and the Student Help On Campus (SHOC) office. St Lucia is UQ's main campus and is close to inner city of Brisbane. The survey was conducted in this way to gather information about both low SES students and students in other SES categories in order to statistically compare the two groups. The timing of the survey allowed first year students to be involved as they had been at university for almost a year and would have made a decision to continue after their first semester. It was determined to be both equitable and appropriate to conduct an internet-based survey. UQ students are required to use online technology to participate in their studies and both internet and computer access are available at campuses and at students' homes through the University's student web system.

As the aim of the research was to understand the retention strategies for low SES students, focus was given to this group in the analysis of the survey's qualitative data. The survey was designed to measure the extent to which cultural capital, social integration and self-agency/efficacy influenced a student's ability to remain in university. A copy of the survey instrument is available from the authors upon request. The quantitative questions were divided into three categories. The first category involved a set of demographic questions (including gender, living situation, faculty, year and whether they were studying full time or part time). The second category consisted of questions that assessed students' stress and the effect it was having on them. This was measured by asking students to indicate from a list of personal stressors including financial problems, health problems, family issues and relationship issues those that related to them. Students were asked what effect each of these stressors had on their studies, if they had ever considered dropping out and if they had ever had an interruption to their studies. The third section asked what students felt their motivating factors for remaining in university were. It also asked

whether or not they were aware of university support programmes, if they had ever used them and how helpful they had been. Data was also gathered on students' perceived levels of support from their lecturers and tutors, and also their level of social integration. Students were asked if they had a network of friends, if they participated in social clubs/activities and if they felt they belonged at the university.

The above quantitative questions were supplemented by a series of qualitative questions that were designed to gain a greater insight into the responses. They were targeted specifically to students who indicated being affected by some stressor and who had considered dropping out or had returned from an interruption to their studies. The students were asked open-ended questions, which required them to reflect on events that may have affected them. The qualitative questions were designed to gather data to expand understanding of the variables that contributed to student retention and explore the personal strategies individual students employed to overcome their stress. These sections also allowed for unexpected themes to emerge from participants, and gave students a platform on which to share their personal stories.

Given the centrality of SES in the study, it was important to consider carefully how low SES students could be identified. Socioeconomic status is used and defined in a wide range of ways, including dimensions of income and wealth, educational level and occupation/employment status. In the field of education policy the official Australian government proxy measure of an individual's SES is the postcode of their home residence, or SEIFA (Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas) with low SES being indicated by postcodes for permanent home address falling within the lowest 25 per cent of the population of a given region (ABS, 2006). However, this aggregate postcode measure is highly contested, as an individual's SES can be different from their area average (Cardak & Ryan, 2009; Pink, 2006; Sirin, 2005).

Research suggests that SES is a multifaceted concept which is more accurately measured on an individual and/or family basis (Sirin, 2005; Cardak & Ryan, 2009). More specifically, Duncan, Featherman & Duncan. (1972) suggested that SES is a tripartite concept that incorporates parental income, occupation and education level. Multifaceted measures have been applied widely in research pertaining to educational retention as they are believed to provide a more accurate depiction of SES (Cardak & Ryan, 2009; Pink, 2006; Sirin, 2005). As this research viewed SES as closely linked to contributing factors such as cultural

capital and social integration, a multi-dimensional measure was used in this study. Three items were used:

- Postcode, according to the SEIFA (Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas) categories (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006);
- Level of parental education; and
- Financial disadvantage defined as being in receipt of government income support (including Youth Allowance and Austudy).

Students who met two out of the three categories were identified as low SES, based on the reasoning that the presence of two categories provides a stronger indication of low SES. It also helped to reduce the limitations of any one measure. It is argued that using all three categories would be too restrictive and exclude struggling students, and one category would overinflate the low SES rates. This multi-dimensional approach is commonly used in research to understand social disadvantage (e.g. Saunders 2011).

As the focus of this research was to understand the retention strategies used by low SES students, the qualitative responses were only analysed for low SES students. The research team conducted initial thematic coding based on the low SES qualitative responses, reading the comments in their totality and identifying key themes that emerged. The coding process produced categories such as 'health stress' which was then broken down into sub-themes of 'mental' and 'physical', 'physical health issues of someone else' and 'mental health issues of someone else'. All answers were then analysed independently by two researchers using these thematic categories. When there was divergence, answers were discussed, and where necessary, new sub-categories or codes created, until a consensus between the two researchers was reached.

In order to test the reliability of the respondents' answers, some questions were asked that related to previous questions. For example, students were asked if they had ever considered dropping out, followed by who or what mainly influenced them to stay. The data of participants who answered 'no' to the first question, but still answered the second one was discarded as invalid. Similarly, information was gathered about students' levels and perceptions of social integration using a string of related questions which when analysed together provide increased reliability of this measure. Inter-coder reliability of the qualitative data was achieved through the process of two researchers analysing and thematically coding the data separately, then collaborating and discussing convergence and divergence, and reaching agreement on a uniform understanding and classification of the data.

Results and discussion

The final sample consisted of 1,002 valid responses, which represents approximately 3.1 per cent of the total population of undergraduate students at UQ (UQ, 2010). Of this, 15.8 per cent (n=158) were identified as low SES using the criteria outlined above. This is significant in terms of the representativeness of the data as this is a similar proportion to the reported percentage of low SES domestic students enrolled at UQ at that time (14.32 per cent) (DIISRTE 2011, Appendix 5.4), although different measures are utilised. There were more women (71 per cent) than men (29 per cent) in the full sample, compared with UQ's ratio of 55.4 per cent/44.6 per cent (UQ 2010). Participants came from all faculties and all undergraduate year levels.

The analysis of both closed and open questions provided insights into two key aspects of low SES tertiary students' experience at UQ in relation to their retention in undergraduate study. The first considers the range and depth of stressors low SES students experience vis-à-vis other students. The second relates to retention processes among low SES students, namely what enabled students who had contemplated dropping out of study to continue.

Understanding the stressors

The data demonstrate that close to half of students report having experienced at least one of the four pre-given stressor types surveyed - financial problems, health problems, family issues and relationship problems - regardless of SES level. For each type of stress a higher percentage of low SES students experienced that stressor; however, significance was only found for financial problems and family issues (Table 1). Experiencing multiple stressors is more problematic than one. Importantly, over half of the surveyed population had experienced two or more stressor types (57.3 per cent) and 11.5 per cent had experienced all four. Low SES students were more likely to experience multiple stressors compared to other students, with the former experiencing a mean of 2.10 stressors and the latter 1.76 stressors, and 41.8 per cent of low SES students experiencing three or more stressors compared with 31.2 per cent of other students (Fisher's Exact .007). These findings replicate research which suggests that student dropout is often due to a combination of problems rather than just one specific issue and that one problem can lead to several others (Long, Ferrier & Heagney, 2006; Crosling, Heagney & Thomas, 2009).

Table 1: Stress by Socioeconomic Status

	Low SES %(n)	Other SES %(n)
Financial Problems*	69.9 (110)	53.1 (448)
Health Problems	44.9 (71)	40.8 (344)
Family Issues*	51.3 (81)	42.1 (355)
Relationship Issues	44.3 (70)	39.7 (335)

(*Significant at <.05)

In addition to experiencing more types of stressors, the impact of stress was greater for low SES students than other students. Seventy-two per cent of low SES students indicated that these stressors affected their university studies moderately to a lot, compared with 60 per cent of other students ($X^2=11.2$; $p=.01$). Further, 39 per cent of low SES participants had considered dropping out due to their stressors, compared with 28 per cent amongst the other group ($X^2=6.2$; $p=.01$). Qualitative analysis of the low SES respondents further found that stressors are often interrelated and occur in succession.

Of the four stressors, financial stress was the most prevalent. Over half of the quantitative responses from low SES students (69.9 per cent) and other SES students (53.1 per cent) indicated some kind of financial stress (Table 1). While there was no statistically significant difference between low

In addition to experiencing more types of stressors, the impact of stress was greater for low SES students than other students.

SES and other SES in paid work or the number of hours worked ($X^2=3.6$; $p=ns$), qualitative responses suggested that in addition to financial problems, low SES students often lacked financial support from their parents, had difficulty in applying for and receiving ongoing payments from Centrelink, Australia's agency for the administration and distribution of many welfare benefits, had a lack of sufficient paid work and found that the necessity to work had a negative impact on their study time. It would thus appear that despite apparently similar levels of employment, there were significant differences between low SES and other students in their financial support environment. It is also possible that low SES students faced greater expenditure than other students. Financial stress also had a negative impact on general wellbeing. One participant said,

'I have found that financial stress is something that if there is only something really little going on it affects me so much!!! It is something that will just stay at the back of your mind and I found if you think about it too much I personally could nearly get a panic attack...'
(Female, 2nd Year).

While health issues appeared to be of significant concern to low SES students, with just under half of the qualitative responses indicating some kind of personal health issue that affected their studies, there were no statistically significant differences between the two SES groups (Table 1) in their reported experience of a health stressor. It is possible that health issues affected both SES groups, but the accumulation of stressors may make health stressors worse for low SES students. Indeed, the qualitative responses from low SES students suggested that health problems impacted somewhat on their ability to study and at times led to other stressors such as financial stress as they were not able to work and it was difficult to keep up with the cost of doctors and medication. For example, one student said:

'Experiencing health problems whilst studying is extremely difficult to deal with as you need to take time to rest and recover but you don't have the time to as you need to complete required assessment. Also if you are ill and cannot work this further adds to financial stresses.' (Female, 4th Year)

Students from low SES backgrounds were significantly more likely to experience family issues: 51.3 per cent compared with 42.1 per cent did so ($X^2= 4.5$; $p=.03$). Furthermore, about one-third of the qualitative responses of low SES students indicated that students' stress was caused by parents or family. Examples of this include parents separating, students living away from home for the first time and a general lack of family support for studying. This category also had links to the mental and physical health, and financial problems of family members that, although not directly involving the student, had a great effect on their stress level.

'I struggle to get along with my family at times and feel that they don't support me in my studies, which makes me feel a bit lonely at times when my uni work is tough and I just want someone to talk to.' (Female, 3rd Year)

Issues with personal relationships also affected both groups of students with no significant difference found between them (44.3 per cent compared to 39.7 per cent, $p=.477$). Qualitative responses indicated that the breakdown of intimate relationships caused low self-esteem and depression which in turn caused a lack of motivation to study and affected grades. A small proportion of the qualitative responses also indicated that stressful relationships with friends affected their studies. Falling out with or not being able to spend time with friends due to financial constraints were among the contributing factors.

Understanding retention processes

Government and universities responses to supporting low SES students arguably focus on formal programmes of support, including student services, and the student experience with teaching staff, such as staff-student ratios. Their contribution to retention was examined, but was not found to be particularly important to low SES students. In contrast, informal social support networks and self-agency were found to be important for retention. Previous research has also indicated that a lack of social integration and feeling lonely at university are important factors for those who drop out (Crosling, Heagney & Thomas 2009).

Support services

Although 82 per cent of all respondents were aware of the existence of student support services, the rate at which these services were being accessed was low (Table 2). Although financial stress was the most prevalent of all the stressors above, the data show that financial advice services are among the least accessed (3.2 per cent of low SES and 1.2 per cent of others). Academic programme advisors (39.2 per cent low SES and 30.1 per cent other SES) and the health service (35.4 per cent low SES and 24.2 per cent other SES) were the most utilised services.

On average, low SES students accessed all types of student support services (except for disability support) more frequently than the other SES group. However, statistically significant differences between the groups were for accommodation services (15.8/10.0 per cent), programme advisors (39.2/30.1 per cent), and health services (35.4/24.2 per cent).

Table 2: Student Support Services

<i>Student Support Services Accessed</i>	<i>Low SES</i>	<i>Other SES</i>
Accommodation Services*	15.8%	10.0%
Counselling Services	15.8%	14.2%
Financial Advisors	3.2%	1.4%
Programme Advisors*	39.2%	30.1%
Career Advisors	15.8%	13.4%
Health Services*	35.4%	24.2%
Legal Support	5.1%	3.0%

*Statistically Significant < 0.05

Given the low usage rates of student support services despite student knowledge of them, it might follow that the policy and institutional focus on enhancing student services as a support to enhance retention may be misdirected. It could also be that students do not regard the

services as appropriate or of a satisfactory standard to utilise. Indeed, approximately a fifth of low SES qualitative responses found one or more services unhelpful and offered comments on how support services could be improved. Students reflected that the service/s were impersonal, for example, even when the students presented in person to a help desk, they were told to refer online and found it hard to access a person to meet with face-to-face: 'All I wanted was a real person to talk to...' (Female, 3rd Year). Many students also mentioned difficulties in accessing the services. These ranged from not being able to get prompt or gender-specific medical appointments, and not being able to either advertise or access accommodation listings, to more generally knowing the types of services available, and where and how to access them.

Twenty of the 158 low SES respondents also divulged how different services 'let them down' or did not meet their needs, sometimes due to a lack of knowledge and/or professionalism displayed by service providers. These students also shared how they encountered sometimes ambiguous, sometimes contradictory advice. Four respondents said they encountered personnel within different types of student services whose demeanour was considered to be indifferent and rude. These negative experiences led some students to lose faith in accessing these services in the future. Only three low SES students indicated that they were influenced to stay at university by student support services. This echoes research by Benson, Hewitt, Devos, Crosling and Heagney (2009) which suggests that only limited numbers of students seek support from central university support services or other areas of the university. While Benson *et al.* (2009) suggest that low SES students may have felt unable or not entitled to request this type of support, our findings indicate that communication styles and services provided may also not meet their needs. These findings highlight that students may have different cultural experiences and that strategies to address these need to be integrated within every part of the institution (Griffiths 2010). In addition, specific strategies need to be employed to engage with this group. There is some suggestion that equity scholarships may support good academic performance (Aitken, Skuja & Schapper 2004).

Staff Support

The majority of low SES students indicated in their qualitative responses that they felt their lecturers and/or tutors were available and approachable, and this related to the promptness and comprehensiveness of communication afforded to the students. Often, these same students exper-

rienced a level of empathetic understanding from teaching staff. This included building rapport with teachers who would 'check in' on them, making time to meet and respond compassionately to difficult circumstances, by listening but also through being lenient with deadlines. One student stated:

'The lecturers/tutors are empathetic in that they too have been through many of the same experiences. It is in this rapport that I find myself able to relate and share things with them, confide in even.' (Male, 2nd year)

This quotation suggests that some teachers had a somewhat similar background to the student. A corollary is that employment of academic staff from previously low SES backgrounds may increase student retention, and would be an interesting avenue for further research.

It was also clear that the experience with teaching staff was varied. Low SES participants indicated varying relationships between students and academic staff depending on their year of study and class size, and differences between lecturers and tutors. The responses were split between those who thought the smaller class size in tutorials enabled a more intimate learning environment, and others who commented that tutors were less professional or approachable. For example, one student mentioned:

'I feel like from lecturers, it's strictly academic, but with tutes [sic], as they are a small size and therefore more intimate, majority of the time there is a feeling of personal support...' (Male, 2nd Year)

While another commented:

'From lecturers almost always; tutors sometimes take the view they are employed to do the bare minimum.' (Female, 2nd Year)

At the same time, many of the qualitative responses also mentioned that the support students received from lecturers or tutors was of an academic nature only. Around 16 per cent of the low SES respondents said that at some point in their degree they did not feel supported by lecturers and/or tutors. This was mainly due to a combination of not expecting teaching staff to be interested in or have time for students' personal issues, and simultaneously feeling it inappropriate and/or unnecessary to share their personal lives with their lecturers and/or tutors. Only 4 per cent of the low SES participants indicated that staff recommended support services to them. Only one respondent mentioned academic staff influencing them to stay.

These findings align with previous research (e.g. Benson *et al.*, 2009) and highlight the need for improved academic support. The small number of students accessing student support services shows the need for academic

staff to take on supportive roles as they are at the forefront of the student experience and have direct access to students. These observations beg the question as to why teachers may not be more supportive. Recent public debates have pointed to ever increasing performance demands on academics in research, teaching and administration, and an increasing casualised workforce (Hil, 2012) which might well link to the student experiences reported above. The links between teaching support and teaching employment context is therefore worth further detailed investigation.

Informal social networks

The qualitative data provided by low SES respondents revealed that informal social relationships, such as friends and family, play a major role in a student's decision to either stay in university or return after a period of interruption. Thirty-three out of the fifty-three respondents who described retention influences mentioned the importance of friends, family and/or a partner. This is exemplified by the following responses:

'Having a good support network is utterly crucial when busy, stressed and trying to juggle multiple aspects of your life that are all important to you.' (Female, 2nd Year)

'My family and friends. They helped me through during the tough times and supported me not only financially but mainly emotionally.' (Male, 4th Year)

This finding suggests that the strongest influencing factors for retention of low SES students are social, rather than institutional (that is, related to the way the university functions as an institution). Indeed, this research found that for both low and other SES students, having friends at the university significantly contributed to a sense of belonging to the university. For low SES students, 73.8 per cent of those with friends at UQ expressed a sense of belonging at UQ, whereas only 45.2 per cent expressed belonging among those with no friends at UQ ($p < 0.001$), with a similar pattern for other SES students. Unfortunately, the results do not enable us to assess the extent to which friendship networks are new friendships made at university or continuing friendships. Social networking within the university thus contributes to feelings of belonging. Given the observation that low SES students are more likely to have family problems, having relational support through friends at university may be particularly important for low SES student retention. These findings suggest that policies that support and promote social inclusion and support networks could greatly improve the retention outcomes for

this group. Crosling and colleagues (2009) suggest that institutions should take a less traditional approach to orientation and curriculum design to facilitate social integration. They suggest expanding the orientation period to allow students more time to understand the processes of the institutions and create social networks. They also suggest making the curriculum more relevant to the experiences of non-traditional students allows them to participate more effectively in interactions.

Self-agency

The qualitative analysis of retention strategies suggests that almost half of the low SES participants indicated a strong sense of self agency, that is, personal commitment and determination to continue with their studies, a finding repeated in previous studies, as mentioned above. Another major factor for many students was the desire to finish, especially for those who were more than half way through their studies and/or close to graduation. Over one third of low SES respondents shared that they held financial and career aspirations for a more stable, wealthy and interesting future. Many of these students indicated a level of resolve to endure greater financial pressure whilst studying in order to attain better prospects after graduation.

'I decided to continue with my studies because I need qualifications to improve my life. I come from a family with low income and wanted to do better than my parents had.' (Female, 4th Year)

This finding suggests that personal characteristics are also an important element of the equation in understanding retention processes. Although they may not be directly affected by universities practices or programmes, what universities do in other domains may work to enhance or undermine a student's self-agency, a topic worth further investigation.

Conclusion

This paper examined the range and depth of stressors experienced by undergraduate UQ students and how these impacted on low SES students compared with other SES students. Interestingly, while there were no significant differences between the two SES groups on two of the four stressor types, stressors impacted more strongly on low SES students. The stressors were more likely to affect their studies and they were more likely to consider dropping out, thereby indicating that low SES students' attachment to university studies is more precarious than that of higher SES students. This suggests that the characteristics of the students in this study are similar to students who

have already dropped out, in that they are affected by financial, health and relationship stress. It could be interpreted that the difference between these students and those who have left is their use of resources and personal strategies to enable continued study.

A number of key factors influence the retention of low SES university undergraduate students, despite the experience of significant stress. These factors include: social integration within the university, that is, having friends and feeling a sense of belonging; having a good support network in family and friends; and a strong sense of self agency which manifested itself as a determination to finish and a desire to achieve a more financially secure and interesting future. Institutional factors such as staff support and student support services had little or no impact on the students' decision to stay in university. It remains unanswered if these latter supports are essentially not relevant to retention, or not of a standard in which students have confidence.

These findings are significant as they move beyond the heretofore focus on the risk factors that lead to attrition. They importantly point to a range of measures that may enhance the retention of low SES university students. The ability of students to network amongst themselves and socially integrate into the university was identified as an important factor. Universities could accordingly put emphasis on the development of processes that encourage and promote social inclusion and social networking, such as greater support of student groups, peer support programmes and campus spaces for peer-to-peer social interaction.

This research also found that many students, although aware of student support services, were simply not accessing them. It revealed that some services are used more frequently by low SES students than by other students, but many low SES respondents indicated a level of dissatisfaction with the student support services they encountered. Improving these services to better meet the needs of students and promoting them to students may lead to higher levels of retention. Also, further research into the gap between experiencing stress and seeking out help and support services, in particular financial and counselling services, is considered beneficial. Some students did acknowledge the support from teaching staff, though many more mentioned that such staff were often inaccessible or not attuned or responsive to the wider personal stressors in their students' lives.

Given the response to the survey and the time taken by the majority of respondents to fill out the open-ended questions about stress, it is evident that many students

would like to discuss these issues. Further research could include in-depth qualitative interviews with low SES students to share their experiences of difficulty in getting through university. It would also prove beneficial to research those low SES students who have interrupted their studies and then returned to further examine the factors that may have led to their retention.

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International students at Chinese joint venture universities

Factors influencing decisions to enrol

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The People's Republic of China has determined to assume a respected place amongst the world's foremost higher education providers. Its short term strategy is multi-pronged: attracting world-class scholars; attracting international students and encouraging Chinese universities to run branches overseas. As well, a small number of select foreign universities have been invited to contribute to joint venture higher education institutions in China. Joint ventures provide an opportunity for local students to obtain a foreign degree without leaving the country but increasingly they also provide a supported environment for international students to come to China to study. This phenomenon has created some problematic areas. For instance, all current and proposed joint ventures use English as their medium of instruction but the many of the source countries such as Russia, Indonesia, Japan Korea and Malaysia are not English speaking. Why then do international students from those countries choose to study at an English or American university located in China? This study explores the reasons why international students choose to enrol at University of Nottingham Ningbo China, the most established JV in China.

Introduction and context

Although international student mobility has been evident for millennia, over the last five decades analysis of trends and patterns have assumed a greater prominence in higher education research. In part this is due to economic factors and consequently much of the commentary and analysis has assumed a market-driven competitive perspective.

In terms of international student mobility, the situation in China has changed rapidly over the last five years. According to Zhao & Postiglione (2008), 162,695 overseas students enrolled in Chinese universities in 2006. Mainly from neighbouring countries such as South Korea, Japan, Vietnam and Indonesia, there were also a handful of overseas students from the USA and Europe. Since then the Chinese Government has been pro-active in chasing

overseas students and numbers of international students studying in China show a shift. The Ministry of Education's most recent figures state that in 2010 there were more than 265,000 international students studying at 620 mainland Chinese higher education institutions (Ministry of Education, 2011).

Although two-thirds of the students came from other Asian countries, individually the top provider countries were Republic of Korea, the United States, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Russia, Indonesia, India, Kazakhstan and Pakistan. France and Mongolia also provided more than 5,000 students each. However, the most relevant statistic is that 107,432 were studying for academic degrees, whilst 157,658 were pursuing non-degree education. In broad terms, this seems to indicate that two-fifths of the international students currently in China are there to

pursue serious study rather than simply to enjoy a 'China Experience'. This phenomenon is the subject of on-going research; especially in relation to the Chinese government's 'Outline of China's National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020)' prediction that by 2020 the number will top the half million mark, with the majority of them studying for academic degrees (Ministry of Education, 2010).

What is interesting is that progressively fewer students are studying Chinese and more are studying in Chinese (Hou, 2011). Given that China is today one of the largest economies and more people speak a form of Chinese than any other language, why should Chinese universities be expected to teach their courses in English? If international students want to study engineering in China why should they expect to be able to do so in English? This issue needs to be considered in depth because not only it is an important aspect of how effectively international students can operate in a foreign country but also it may become a potentially problematic factor in China's internationalisation process. Regardless of the debate surrounding the issue, for the majority of international students choosing to study in China, the courses on offer are delivered in English.

Joint venture higher education institutions

In practical terms, the Chinese government sees joint venture higher education providers as a potential way to educate those of its nations' top students who are not able to attend top tier universities locally or abroad. Although each joint venture is the result of an idiosyncratic contract between the providers and overseen and endorsed by the Chinese government, there are some basic commonalities. Joint ventures in China are campuses of foreign universities that operate cooperatively with a local Higher Education provider and must be physically located on the mainland of China. They must not have profit as their objective; more than half of the members of the governing body of the institution must be Chinese citizens; and a resident Chinese citizen must hold the post of president. As such, joint ventures are Chinese institutions: 'Sino-foreign cooperative education may serve the promotion of the development and reform of education of our country, and strengthening international competitiveness of education of our country' (Ministry of Education, 2006). There is, however, another key defining characteristic in that the Ministry requires that the 'degree and diploma certificates shall be the same as those issued by the educational institution at its

own country, and acknowledged in its country', which positions joint ventures as foreign institutions (Ministry of Education, 2006). The Ministry resolves the dilemma by referring to 'Sino-foreign cooperative education projects adopting the educational model of 'double campus' (Ministry of Education, 2006). Essentially, joint ventures are a mechanism for well-performing international universities to provide an international experience to Chinese students within China. From the PRC perspective therefore, the most desirable are those that set up campuses in China with the aim of attracting international as well as local students. Two of these are already established: the University of Nottingham Ningbo China (UNNC) and Xi'an Jiao Tong-Liverpool University. A third (East China Normal University - New York University) is preparing to accept students in 2013 and application has been made for a fourth (Duke University-Wuhan University), to be known as Duke Kunshan University. In 2012 Monash University and South East University created a joint post-graduate school in Suzhou. (For a detailed description of the function and structure of joint ventures in China, see Onsmann, 2011).

Whereas joint ventures were primarily established to offer Chinese students the opportunity to attend a foreign university without leaving the country, they have also begun to attract international students to China. Although the vast majority of international students in China elect to study at the top universities, increasing numbers are choosing to enrol in joint ventures. One possible reason for this phenomenon is that the equivalent degree in the home country is far more expensive, even including the additional travel and living expenses.

International students into UNNC

UNNC is the longest established joint venture in China, operating since 2004. In terms of international student intake, it has ambitions to increase its number of international students from about seven per cent to about a quarter of its student population (Yu, 2011). If it hits its target intake of just under 7,000 students by 2014/15 and the proportion of international students stays much the same, that will mean a yearly cohort of up to about 1,500 foreign students. It has some way to go to achieve that. In 2011 there were 262 international students with 45 different nationalities enrolled at UNNC. Of these, 64 were from Britain, mainly from the University's Nottingham Campus. The largest groups of non-UK students were from Russia (35), Indonesia (27), Taiwan (16), Malaysia (14), and Hong Kong (10). In comparison with the national ranking of source countries, it is noticeable that

UNNC attracted no students from Japan, single students from Vietnam and from Pakistan and few from the USA. Conversely it attracted students from the UK and Malaysia, source countries that are not highly ranked nationally. The reluctance on the part of students from the USA and from Japan to enrol at UNNC is most likely explained by the fact that most of those students are enrolling in more highly ranked institutions such as Peking and Tsinghua. That UNNC attracts greater numbers from the UK and Malaysia is probably explained by the University having campuses in those countries. With some significant variations, UNNC generally followed the national trend in international students' source countries. The notable exceptions are Japan and Vietnam as negatively skewed source countries and Malaysia and the UK as positively skewed source countries.

There is one further qualification to be acknowledged. A total of 76 international students were enrolled in non-award courses. These students are drawn from two sources. The majority came via the University of Nottingham's other campuses. A total of 57 (including students originally from Chile, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Nigeria and Uganda) came from the university's UK campus and a further six came from its Malaysian campus. The others non-award students (19) are at UNNC for part of their course courtesy of their individual home universities, all of which have partnership or exchange arrangements with UNNC. Whereas it may be that these students were in China primarily for the cultural experience, it would conversely mean that the other 186 international students enrolled at UNNC were there primarily for the quality of the education or because the degree on offer is British.

In summary, the context at UNNC exemplifies the increasing number of international students who are choosing to study at Chinese universities for multiple reasons: as well as wanting a 'China' experience, students are also looking for a high quality education. Joint ventures offer a further reason. Whereas top tier Chinese universities such as Peking and Tsinghua attract international students because they offer internationally respected courses that lead to acknowledged internationally portable expertise, joint ventures that generally focus on delivering an international education within China for Chinese students are also starting to attract international students. While they as yet do not match the international status of China's top tier universities they do have a different advantage that will be explored further in this study: the currently operating joint ventures offer British degrees and the ones intending to start soon will offer American and Australian degrees.

Aim of the study

The aim of the study was to ascertain the why foreign students enrolled in UNNC courses: what factors weighed most heavily in their decision-making. From the literature scan, it seems that most likely it was a combination of three factors that may be summarised as: the desire for a 'China experience'; the quality of the course on offer; and the obtaining of a British degree. The hypothesis is that there will be a significant correlation between those international students who are doing part of their course (i.e. exchange students) and those who are there for a 'China experience' and a strong correlation between those who are enrolled in a whole course of study and those who came to UNNC because UNNC offers a British degree. The third hypothesis is that neither group's decision to enrol at UNNC was motivated primarily by the quality of the education on offer. The study steers deliberately clear of questioning students' satisfaction with the choice made: it is specifically focused on what factors had the greatest impact on their decision to enrol in a degree course at UNNC.

Literature scan

There has been a fairly slow increase in research into international universities operating branch campuses, particularly in developing countries. The increase in analytic attention paid to such issues has been limited to some extent by the lack of basic data. In some cases this has been attributed to the fact that the phenomenon of branch campuses is relatively recent and higher education institutions are reluctant to disseminate data that is as yet tentative. In other cases, studies have referred to unverified data, resulting in highly contestable claims and conclusions.

More than thirty years ago, Leslie and Brinkman (1987) showed that cost is a significant factor in students' decision-making about whether and where to enrol in higher education, although they acknowledged that this may be affected by the standing of the university. Marguerite Clarke (2007) also suggests that the institution's ranking plays a significant role in the decision-making processes of potential students.

Moogan *et al.* (1999) interpret their study of how secondary school leavers go about deciding whether and where to enrol in tertiary education as showing that their decision-making processes generally follow a series of logical steps, resulting in an informed conclusion. A later study by Moogan and Baron (2003) shows that students' decision-making is significantly affected by the quality of the information that is available to them and how it is made

available to them. Moreover, at least in the north of England, how, when and by whom information about higher education was made available depended on the gender of the student, with males being made aware of higher education possibilities earlier and more expectantly than females. Combined, the studies suggest that any logical structure underlying the decision-making process is dependent upon information being readily if not instantaneously available.

Salisbury *et al.* (2010) found a different gender-based discrepancy in their American study. They cite data that suggest that women outnumber men in studying abroad at a rate of 2:1. Their explanation is that originally studying abroad was seen as an 'experiential learning opportunity for undergraduates ... Majoring in foreign languages or the humanities' (Salisbury *et al.*, 2010; p.616). However, it should be noted that the gender ratio for international students studying at UNNC is 1.06:1.56 in favour of males, even though the campus offers mostly Arts and Humanities programmes, including a substantial number of language courses. In effect, UNNC's cohort supports neither Salisbury *et al.* (2010) nor Moogan and Baron (2003). Nonetheless the gender issue remains potentially relevant.

Much of the extant data on factors affecting international student decision-making about where to study was collated by Mazzarol and Soutar (2002). Basically they separated 'push' factors (that is, reasons to leave the source country) from 'pull' factors (reasons to come to the host country). In essence they distinguished a two-part process: first, the decision to study abroad and second, the decision where to go. In the case of joint ventures, however, especially UNNC, which is for all intents and purposes a British university on Chinese soil, such a distinction may become blurred, as in effect Chinese students are studying abroad without having made the decision to 'leave home'. Conversely, British students at UNNC have made a decision to go abroad to study at a local university. Nonetheless, Mazzarol and Soutar's paper was amongst the first to propose that the decision to study abroad may be distinct from the decision where abroad to study.

Chen and Zimitat (2006) in their study of the motivators for Taiwanese decisions to study overseas came to two interesting conclusions. For students intending to study in Australia, it was the perceived quality of the education on offer. For students intending to study in the USA, it was the influence of family and friends. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive or contradictory but rather an indication that Taiwanese students are not homogenous in their decision-making. Taiwan, Korea and Hong Kong are amongst the largest source countries for students moving to China for higher education.

Boycott (2009) reports on a study conducted amongst Chinese students who were considering studying abroad, and their parents, using the push-pull distinction developed by Mazzarol & Soutar (2002). Whereas the current study concerns non-Chinese students deciding to study in China, some interesting and potentially relevant data arose. Particularly, the study found that students rated (in order of importance, as the most important factors in their decision-making): on-site accommodation; range of programmes available; English speaking environment; language and academic support services; general facilities; international education experience; relatives or friends studying in the same area and social and emotional support services being available. Boycott also found that in contrast with most other studies, students did not rate as important specific knowledge of the institution they were applying to; its cost, quality or closeness to China; immigration prospects or future employment prospects. The factor that most strongly affected the choice of study abroad destination, especially amongst parents, was employment prospects on graduation. While some of those results may be explained by the fact that the study was done in Hong Kong, where parental concern for and influence in educational pathways is more overt (Wang, 2004), in general terms, most of Boycott's factors are evident throughout the literature.

Chen (2008) exemplifies the trend for studies in this sector to become more specific to individual contexts. The paper considers student decision-making in terms of marketing, with a particular focus on how 'twinning' has impacted on Chinese students travelling to Canada for their higher education. Chen proposes three overarching factors influencing why international students choose to go to Canada: the characteristics of Canada; the characteristics of the marketing; the influence of significant others. Further he proposes three factors that affect decision-making about a particular institution: its quality and reputation; the costs and profitability; and the influence of significant others. Chen notes some variation amongst respondents as to the significance of each of the factors, partially explained by demographic characteristics such as age and whether the students are post-graduates or undergraduates. Chen argues that strategic marketing has a significant effect on the decision-making processes.

Most of these studies consider Chinese students moving overseas to study. Onsmann (2011) considered the recruitment of international students to branch campuses, arguing that there are strong indicators that some of China's elite universities are on the rise as desirable places of study for international students. Moreover, the Chinese govern-

ment has indicated that, after a five year hiatus, it is eager to pursue joint venture higher education providers, which in turn suggests that the Chinese Government is intent on not only maintaining a high level of international students who are here to enjoy a 'China experience'; but also to capture an increased share of those students who are in China because of the quality of the education on offer.

Wilkins and Huisman (2011) consider both directions in their study of international student decision-making. They questioned 160 international students enrolled in a British university as to whether they had considered enrolling in a branch campus of any university in their home country and found that 64 per cent of undergraduate students, 72 per cent of taught postgraduate students and 100 per cent of research postgraduates would not consider enrolling in a branch campus. As the international students were

already there, such results may have been expected: the fact that a third of undergraduates would consider a branch campus in their home country is probably the most interesting datum. Wilkins & Huisman introduce five factors as influential in students' mental processes resulting in their decisions to study abroad: quality of the course;

convenience of the enrolment process; language skills development; value for money; and the attractiveness of the UK as a place to study and work.

The literature suggests that there are three potentially decisive considerations that emerge as broad factors that are likely to influence international students when they first make their decision to study at a joint venture in China. First, they are seeking a 'China Experience', particularly if their home institutions support it. Second, they enrol because they consider the quality of the courses on offer to be attractive. Third, they desire a British degree – even if they are not British students abroad. Most likely their decision-making processes will refer to all three factors to greater or lesser degree. These factors form the basis of the investigation.

The Study

Development of survey instrument

The development of the survey instrument was in the first instance guided by aim of the study and the literature scan, which indicated that a short and tightly focused

questionnaire is, in general, most likely to deliver useful data. In order to ensure content validity the study used a one-step deductive approach to item development, based on a thorough examination of extant literature on choice determinants amongst international students (Chen, 2008; Cubillo *et al.*, 2006; Maringe & Carter, 2007).

Second, a face validity exercise was done with a panel of expert colleagues drawn from UNNC's Centre of English Language Education, Centre for Sino-foreign Universities, the Provost's Office, International Student Office and the School of Education being asked to comment on a draft questionnaire, both in terms of item validity and fitness of purpose. Comments and feedback from a pilot study were incorporated in a revised version of the questionnaire.

The methodology – using the convenience sampling method of distributing a paper-based survey to be self-

...there are three potentially decisive considerations that... influence international students... to study at a joint venture in China... [T]hey are seeking a 'China Experience',... they consider the quality of the courses on offer to be attractive... [and] they desire a British degree...

completed by respondents – was prompted by the fact that all students live on campus (in a specially designated dormitory). However, it was considered that the distribution of the survey would be easier via email with a one-click link embedded. The questionnaire was emailed to 262 international students at the University of

Nottingham Ningbo China as an embedded hyperlink to a commercial survey package. Two reminder emails were sent; the first after one week, the second a week later. The return rate was 45 per cent, yielding 117 (n=117) usable responses that were automatically numerically coded for statistical identification and tracking purposes only. Individually therefore, respondents remained unidentifiable. A Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test measuring the adequacy of the sampling produced a value of 0.755, which, because the cut-off point is 0.60, indicates that the sample used (n=117) was adequate for the study. Further, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (p=0.000) indicates that the data were suitable for exploratory factor analysis.

Results and analysis

Steyerberg *et al.* (2000) found that where data sets are small, better output is obtained with a limited number of pre-specified predictors and that incorporation of external information for selection and estimation improved the stability and quality of the analysis. Hence, the first ten questions were descriptives that profiled the respondents according to demographic responses: age; gender; nation

of prior study; years of study at UNNC; course; level; and pre-knowledge of the campus. They revealed that 72.6 per cent of those sampled were undergraduates. This corresponds with the percentage of postgraduate students being 27 per cent. The gender divide was slightly skewed towards male at 57.7 per cent. Nearly half the student body was enrolled in Business and Economics courses (49.1 per cent). Engineering and Science claimed nearly 20 per cent of the enrolments and International Communications just over 16 per cent.

Nearly 85 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had few or no problems with English, even though only 24 per cent had done their secondary schooling in the UK or other English speaking countries compared with 15 per cent in Indonesia and 9 per cent in Russia. Nonetheless, the general profile of the total international student cohort enrolled at UNNC matches the national international student profile, given the exceptions already noted between UNNC and China in general.

Perhaps the most interesting statistics are those concerning the amount of due diligence by international students on UNNC whilst deciding where to pursue their studies. While 44.6 per cent indicated that they had done 'a lot', the same percentage indicated that they only done 'some', and more than 10 per cent indicated that they had done none at all. A further question asked how they heard about UNNC to which 34.5 per cent responded 'word of mouth'; 25.5 per cent answered that they had looked online; 23.6 per cent from an education agent and 10.9 per cent said they had heard about UNNC at an education fair.

The second section consisted of ten questions seeking to ascertain the relative importance afforded to the three target factors: to enjoy a 'China experience'; the quality of the courses on offer at UNNC and the attraction of a British degree.

By way of an explanatory comment, question 11 (I was attracted by having a 'China Experience', to enjoy the culture, learn the language, meet the people and to travel) was basically a yes/no response to the question of whether having a 'China experience' was considered important during their decision-making process. It was structured to allow respondents to qualify their yes response as important, very important or crucial. Slightly less than 10 per cent indicated that it was not important. Of the other 90 per cent, 19.8 per cent indicated that it was important, 36.6 per cent indicated that it was very important and 33.7 per cent indicated that it was crucial.

As might be expected, there is a strong correlation between this item and item 12, which asked whether the home campus offers an exchange programme

($r=0.566$ at 0.01). Just under 30 per cent of international students enrolled at UNNC are there on exchange programmes (57 from the UK; 19 from other partner universities). Correspondingly, 33.7 per cent of respondents indicated that home campus support was important, very important or crucial. A fourth option (not important) might have been confusing, as it could have been interpreted as either being available and not considered important or not being available. The latter was intended to be covered by the 'not applicable' option. However, overall, the results reflect the demographic reasonably accurately.

Of the respondents who indicated that they did not consider the cultural experience of living in China as important, 30 per cent were Russian (which may be explained by the well-established exchange of higher education students between the two countries); 15 per cent from Lesotho (all of whom were scholarship holders); 15 per cent from China (which is predictable) and the rest were individuals who came from Ghana, South Korea, the Netherlands and Mauritius respectively. In summary, even for those who came to UNNC primarily for the quality of the courses on offer or because they wanted to obtain a British degree, the attraction of China as an exotic location remained undiminished. Therefore, item 11 was considered a separate factor labelled Cultural Experience.

Beyond the appeal of spending time in China for cultural rather than academic reasons, the factors influencing the decision to enrol in UNNC courses clustered into two principal factors after an alpha factor analysis with Varimax rotation, chosen in order to maximise reliability, was used to estimate latent variables, with identified factors having an Eigenvalue >1 and factor loading >0.45 .

Three items, 13 (UNNC uses English as the medium of instruction), 16 (UNNC offers a British degree) and 18 (UNNC has an English campus), clustered significantly as a factor that may be explained by the desire of potential students to obtain a British degree. Bearing in mind China's determination that joint ventures must provide qualifications that are recognised in the home country of the partner institution, it seems inevitable for that factor to be a draw-card for students who are considering where to enrol for their tertiary studies, and indeed so it proved to be.

As well as the strong correlations between the three items, each item individually scored highly. UNNC using English as the medium of instruction scored a mean of 3.23 ($\sigma=0.94$); offering a British degree scored a mean of 2.91 ($\sigma=1.08$) and having an English campus scored a mean of 2.24 ($\sigma=1.08$). It seems that for international

students at UNNC, the desire for a China experience, though influential in their decision-making processes, is secondary to perceived importance of obtaining a British degree. The strength of the correlations as well as the high raw scores indicate that for the majority of international students, the idea of earning a degree from an English university is by far the most important consideration when they are deciding on where to study. This leads to the question of whether the perceived quality of the courses plays an equally important part in their decision-making: i.e. whether a British degree was seen intrinsically as a good degree.

The third potential factor arose from the clustering of the items that referred to Course Quality, a factor relating to the assumed quality of the courses on offer. These items were items 14, 15 and 17. However, although the correlation between the items is strong, each item scored relatively low. The quality of UNNC's resources had a mean of 2.04 ($\sigma=1.06$), with 44.1 per cent of respondents indicating that they knew nothing about it. The graduate destinations (a heavily used marketing statistic) had a mean of less than 2 ($\sigma=1.03$), with nearly half (49 per cent) of respondents indicating that they knew nothing about it. The quality of the courses on offer was considered somewhat more important, with a mean of 2.6 ($\sigma=0.90$), but even there, only 17.6 per cent of respondents considered it crucial. Further investigation may find out whether students see a British degree as inherently good; primarily as a means to migrate to Europe; or as a dependable pathway to further study at the University of Nottingham either in China or in the United Kingdom – or indeed a university elsewhere in Europe. In any case, the current study indicates that as a factor influencing international students in their decision-making process to enrol at UNNC, the quality of the courses on offer is ranked below the allure of obtaining a British degree.

Although students said they did consider the quality of the courses on offer whilst making their decision to enrol at UNNC, less than half of the respondents actually did any extensive due diligence about the courses before enrolling. Most either did no research (10.7 per cent) or only a bit (44.6 per cent), which suggest that the claim for it to be important in their thinking is at best theoretical and throws into doubt the significant correlation (0.427 at 0.01) between the responses to the due diligence question and the importance of the quality of the courses on offer: It also indicates that students who were concerned with the quality of the education on offer at UNNC during the course of their decision-making were more likely to do some due diligence by checking out the university.

However, the correlation between due diligence and graduate destinations was far less strong ($r=0.257$ at 0.005), which may be expected seeing that half the respondents indicated that they had no knowledge of UNNC's record when they enrolled.

As expected, exploratory factor analysis extracted three factors: English Degree (accounting for 29.06 per cent of variance) Course Quality (12.48 per cent) and Cultural Experience (11.50 per cent). Together they accounted for 52.9 per cent of variance. Cronbach's alpha coefficients (α) were consistently at 0.7, which is generally considered to indicate acceptable reliability (Nunnally, 1978).

Discussion and conclusion

The analysis of the data shows a number of significant correlations that answer the research question. It is apparent that international students refer to three common factors in their decision-making processes when considering whether to enrol in UNNC courses. The most influential of these factors is the end product of a British degree. The second most influential consideration is the appeal of spending time in China for reasons separate or complementary to their academic ambitions. Third is the quality of the courses on offer at UNNC. The data suggests that this hierarchy is widespread among the international student cohort and that it is only slightly affected by either the course of study selected or the country where the student did their secondary schooling.

These results both support and contradict previous studies. Wilkins & Huisman (2011) for example found that international students in the United Kingdom ranked the quality of the education on offer as the most important criterion in their decision-making processes that lead to them studying overseas. This study tends to suggest the emphasis lies on the United Kingdom part rather than the quality part. However, their population was mainly Asian students (principally from China and India) whereas the current study has a population mainly drawn from English, Russian and Indonesian students. Further studies that consider the decision-making patterns of Chinese students who enrol at UNNC may move the results closer to those found in other studies.

Any study such as this must be very circumspect in suggesting that its conclusions are more widely applicable than in this particular instance. As well as bearing in mind that the data was generated by responses to a survey that were post hoc recollections after varying time periods, each joint venture institution has an individual and distinct agreement with the government of the province in

which it is located, and as such will have varying operational practices. The University of Nottingham Ningbo China has particular relationships with its home campus in the United Kingdom; with Zhejiang Wanli University, its partner institution; and with the Ningbo Education Board. Each places varying demands and expectations on UNNC, which in turn gives it a unique and distinct character.

UNNC places heavy emphasis in its marketing rhetoric on the claim that, in the words of its Provost and Chief Executive Officer, 'all our graduates find employment, start their own businesses or move on to postgraduate studies at top-ranking universities around the world. Our graduates are in demand among employers here in China and elsewhere because the University of Nottingham has an outstanding reputation as a provider of internationally excellent education' (UNNC, 2011, p. 2). While on the one hand such a statement can be taken as mere puffery, on the other some specific claims are made that could be subjected to closer scrutiny. For instance, the order in which the graduate destinations are listed is not indicative of relative weighting. More than 70 per cent of UNNC's graduates go on to further study – although the percentage of those who go on to study at 'top-ranking universities around the world' depends entirely on how one defines 'top-ranking'. Given that UNNC starts with a highly select intake, that statistic is hardly surprising. The percentage of graduates who go on to paid employment is a little over a quarter. Further, as the intake is generally from very wealthy families, those who go onto employment are more likely to do so because of family connections rather than a UNNC degree. The percentage of graduates who take an entrepreneurial route is very small, around one per cent. In any case, nearly two-thirds of international students enrolled at UNNC were not concerned or did not know about UNNC's graduate destination record when they enrolled. Whether local students are swayed by the rhetoric remains to be seen.

The University of Nottingham in the United Kingdom has genuine cause to claim that it offers 'internationally excellent education' because in 2008 it was named 'Entrepreneurial University of the Year' at the prestigious Times Higher Education Awards. It won because of the success of its entrepreneurial activities and 'the commitment to nurturing the most enterprising and globally minded graduates in British higher education'. Whether that applies to UNNC's graduates is subject for further research. Currently the numbers are small but nonetheless such statistics, spin and puffery are the basis for the mutually beneficial relationship with the Ningbo Education Board – a relationship that itself is an area for further research

and analysis. More importantly, a similar research exercise targeting local students who chose to enrol at UNNC is likely to further our understanding in this emerging area of international higher education. Finally, the most obvious area for further research is to ask all students on graduation whether their expectations have been met.

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Monitoring international interest in transnational academic mobility to Australia

A mixed-method approach

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In a recent study, the issue of transnational academic mobility of academic staff, considering moves to higher education institutions in Australia, was examined using a web-based portal that attracted interested parties from around the world with information about Australian academic career opportunities. Web analytics were used as the research mechanism for generating quantitative data that identified the regions of the world from where most interest was being generated. Passive observations were made, leading to commentary on the regions of particular interest, the effectiveness of web analytics as a research tool, and the strengths and limitations of such an experiment. Whilst this study highlighted some interesting trends there were a number of inherent limitations. To build on these findings, and to overcome the original experiment's limitations, an online questionnaire was introduced to extract additional quantitative and qualitative demographic data. In utilising this mixed-method approach, a more detailed profile of those interested in transnational academic mobility to Australia, has been developed. A number of interesting new findings emerged about the characteristics of those looking at academic careers in Australia, and a more detailed depiction of the transnational nature, and multicultural make up, of the academic profession has been realised.

Introduction

Hopkins (2011) developed a mechanism for monitoring interest in transnational academic mobility to Australia that utilised web analytics, the collection, measurement, monitoring, analysing and reporting of web usage data, to identify the geographical locations of visitors to a website providing information about academic careers in Australia (Hasan, Morris, & Probeta, 2009). From a total of almost thirty thousand data points collected over a twelve month

period, the highest level of interest was identified as being from users within Australia (12.7 per cent), followed by UK (8.4 per cent), US.edu (3.2 per cent), New Zealand (3.1 per cent), Canada (2.3 per cent), Germany (1.6 per cent) and France (1.1 per cent); with the site being accessed by users located in 46 different countries overall.

Whilst the research succeeded in collecting a valuable set of data that highlighted the nations where the highest level of web activity was originating, a number of limitations were also identified. The results were restricted

in detail to simply the country that the IP address of the user was located in, so the actual nationality of that user could not be determined, and other details such as gender, age, qualifications and area of career interest were also unknown.

This research now extends beyond the realms of the original experiment to incorporate an online questionnaire that was designed to extract details about the users' age, gender, country of birth, country of residence, current position, highest qualification, fields of academic interest, reason for interest in Australia, and other countries they would consider for an academic career.

Background

Universities, like many modern organisations, operate and compete for business on a global scale; 'Information technology; the knowledge economy; increased mobility for students, faculty, programmes, and providers; and an integrated world economy propel this internationalisation' (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 303), making it a topic of great focus and debate. The added dimension brought by educational internationalisation poses new challenges for academic institutions and opportunities for staff, where new factors and considerations must be deliberated (Knight, 2003; Sanderson, 2011).

Students see value in learning about other cultures as part of their university education and believe multicultural communication skills to be very important in a globalising world (Coryell, Durodoye, Wright, Pate & Nguyen, 2010; Walker, Yecies & Freund, 2009). As a result universities are working to increase the international exposure of their institutions to meet with this increasing interest from overseas (Yates, 2002). Similarly, academics regard living and working overseas, and gaining international experience, as an effective mechanism in developing their knowledge and skill sets. This notion of academics moving between territorial boundaries is called 'transnational' academic mobility (Kim, 2009; Kim & Locke, 2010).

Over the last 20 years, the level of transnational movement of academic staff has steadily increased due to a number of factors. The rise of the global market and globalisation as a whole have obviously been a major influence, as well as the affordability and ease of international travel and improved communication methods, but additionally new recruitment policy strategies and the relaxation of trade policies by many national governments have led to greater intake of overseas academics. Changes in immigration policy in countries such as the UK, USA, Canada and Australia favour highly skilled workers and

academics, especially those specialising in areas such as science and technology (Kuptsch & Pang, 2006; Tremblay, 2005).

Mobility in the academic profession is generally presented as something positive and associated with a range of benefits (Edwards, Bexley & Richardson, 2011; Musselin, 2004). It has been suggested that researchers who show a high level of mobility have been exposed to different schools of thought and could therefore be more likely to pursue new and unexplored research topics (Robken, 2007). Similarly 'senior academics, whose qualifications enable them to move laterally, as their interests suited them, articulate experience-based knowledge on a wide range of topics' (Hoffman, 2008, p. 10).

This doesn't only apply to senior academics. The European Charter for Researchers (ECFR) is a set of general principles and requirements which specifies the roles, responsibilities and entitlements of researchers and recognises the value of all forms of mobility as a means for enhancing the professional development of researchers; 'Employers and/or funders must recognise the value of geographical, intersectoral, inter- and trans-disciplinary and virtual mobility... as an important means of enhancing scientific knowledge and professional development at any stage of a researcher's career... they should fully value and acknowledge any mobility experience within their career progression/appraisal system' (ECFR, 2006, p. 20). Indeed, in a recent study involving Australian research students it was discovered that 40 per cent expect to work outside of Australia in the medium- to long-term and that these migration flows of academics, into and out of Australia, are important for the cross-pollination of knowledge within the occupation (Edwards *et al.*, 2011).

Academic mobility is not a new phenomenon, and much research was done on this topic as far back as the 1950s and 1960s (Lazarsfeld & Thielens Jnr, 1958; Marshall, 1964); but advances in technology, and the internet in particular, have made the task of advertising and searching for academic positions overseas all that more accessible and achievable. This paper builds upon the findings of previous research conducted into the issue of the mobility of academic staff to Australia, and observes the geographic mix of academics interested in migrating to the Australian higher education sector.

Higher education in Australia

Australia is a country with rich traditions in immigration. Ever since James Cook became the first European to encounter the eastern coastline of Australia in 1770, with the British Government deciding to establish a colony at

Botany Bay seventeen years later (Baker, 2002), it has continued to attract a steady mix of migrants from around the world; never more so than today.

Australia's population reached an estimated 22.5 million in September 2012 and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) is forecasting a gradual annual rise in net overseas migration to a level of approximately 262 000 by June 2016 (DIAC, 2012). Census data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) also show that 26 per cent of Australia's population was born overseas, and a further 20 per cent had at least one overseas-born parent, which is a greater proportion than that of any other recognised migration country (ABS, 2011).

There are 39 universities in Australia (AEN, 2013), most being government owned and largely funded by the Australian Federal Government's Department of Employment, Education and Training (Abbott & Doucouliagos, 2003), and 17 of which are listed in the top 500 of the Shanghai Jiao Tong University (SJTU) Academic Ranking of World Universities 2009 (SRC, 2009). All higher education providers in Australia must be listed on the Australian Qualifications Framework Register of Recognised Education Institutions and Authorised Accreditation Authorities in Australia – this register being developed under the instruction of the Commonwealth, State and Territory Education and Training Ministers (CSHE & CHEMP, 2008).

On average, Australian universities now receive 15 per cent of their annual revenue from international student fees (Sheil, 2010). Indeed, for the tax year 2009-2010 Australia's overall education services exports were estimated at \$19.1 billion, a 10.2 per cent (\$1.8 billion) increase on the previous year (ABS, 2010).

The number of full time, or full time equivalent, members of staff employed at Australian universities has grown by 27 per cent over the last ten years – from 61,192 in 1999 to 77,491 in 2009. The number of senior lecturers (Level C) has grown to 9,159 from 7,673, and lecturers (Level B) from 10,277 to 12,753, over the same period (DEEWR, 2009). At the same time academic mobility out of Australia is also at record levels, although in numerical terms it is more than counterbalanced by the inflow of immigrant academics. In the field of sciences for instance, 'more than 2,000 of the science academics (almost one third) in Australia attained their highest qualification from a higher education institution outside Australia' (Edwards & Smith, 2009, p. 22), with Hugo (2005) predicting that 'Australian universities over the next decade will be faced by their largest recruitment task for three decades. This task will be addressed in a context of the most competitive international labour market for the most skilled aca-

demics, scientists, technologists, and researchers that has ever existed. If Australian universities are to maintain their current levels of excellence, let alone enhance them, a range of innovative human resource strategies will need to be initiated.'

This level of activity and mobility makes Australia a particularly interesting subject upon which to base this study – with such an inflow of immigrant skilled academics, attempting to identify the global regions that are generating the most interest is an important issue for investigation.

The Internet as a research tool

Data collection via the Internet 'is one of the most revolutionary changes in the market research industry in the past 40 years' (Taylor, 1999, p. 52). Its key advantage being its ability to facilitate access to subjects that would be difficult to reach via other mechanisms (Jones, 1999), regardless of geographic constraints, and in real time. Browser-based research is highly flexible and can take many different forms; 'not only can any paper-and-pencil study appear on a browser, but the medium can also provide unique, new opportunities for a researcher' (Stanton & Rogelberg, 2001, p. 201). The Internet has an almost unlimited audience, there is no need to know who your audience is or to invite them, as they will come and find you if you're offering information they are interested in, and there are tools available that will collect data for you automatically; these instruments can be left running, collecting data, unattended. For these reasons, an Internet-based approach was seen as the most effective mechanism for collecting primary data from very large, global, extremely diverse cohort (Hewson, Yule, Laurent & Vogel, 2003; Illingworth, 2012).

One of the emerging trends of the 21st century is the use of the Internet as not just a tool for retrieving information, but also as a resource for self-help and guidance (Amir, Gati & Kleiman, 2008). Evidence exists to suggest that individuals are increasingly turning to the Internet for the task of career exploration: that is, those activities that individuals engage in for the purpose of promoting career development, choice, or adjustment (Boyce & Rainie, 2003; Gore, Bobek & Robbins, 2006; Kommers & Rainie, 2002). It is estimated that approximately four million users do exactly this everyday (Boyce & Rainie, 2003). The Internet now means that the effort, and cost, of searching online for career opportunities are completely independent of the proximity of the job seeker to the actual vacant position. Access to information about vacant positions is just as readily available whether you are located in the

same city or on the other side of the world (Stevenson, 2009; Tso, Yau & Cheung, 2010).

This online career exploration therefore raises the possibility of using the Web to observe and monitor aspects of human behaviour (Goncalves & Ramasco, 2008). The Internet offers more data than ever before on the habits and preferences of customers, and web analytics offer a mechanism for recording and documenting this information (Phippen, Sheppard & Furnell, 2004). Web analytics is the collection, measurement, monitoring, analysing and reporting of web usage data to help better understand visitor experiences (Hasan *et al.*, 2009; Hopkins, 2011), which can be employed in monitoring visits to websites whilst discretely collecting data about those visitors. This has obvious business applications but can be used as a powerful tool for research. Therefore, in order to measure global interest in transnational academic mobility to Australia it was decided that one mechanism would be to establish a web portal and extract web analytics data about the visitors to that site over a twelve month period.

In addition to analytics data it was also decided to link the web portal to an online questionnaire in an attempt to acquire further demographic data about the visitors to the site. In utilising this mixed-method approach

it was hoped that a more detailed profile of those interested in transnational academic mobility to Australia could be developed.

Google Analytics

Google Analytics (GA) is a free web analysis service offered by Google, originating in 2006 as a result of Google's acquisition of the web analytics software firm Urchin, which facilitates the capture of detailed statistics about the visitors to chosen websites.

GA is a user-friendly application that provides time series data about the behaviour of visitors to a website. It can identify how they arrived at a site, whether they were referred to the site via a search engine, a referring site, or are a direct visitor (Plaza, 2009), and whether they are new visitors, return visitors, paid search traffic or non-paid search traffic. The location of the visitors can be broken down into different levels of detail, such as continent, country or city; and GA can be used to track web-enabled phones, mobile websites and mobile apps. It is primarily a tool for measuring the success of a website, marketing

effort, products and services, and is accepted as the industry standard (Ledford, Teixeira, & Tyler, 2009).

Once a GA account has been set up any number of website domains can be tracked via the GA dashboard. After entering the URL of the site you wish to track a section of code is automatically generated which must then be pasted in to the header section of the html source code of the web pages that are to be tracked. Approximately 24 hours after this process has been completed tracking of the analytics of that page begins.

Methods

The aims of this study were two-fold:

1. To triangulate the GA analytics results with those of an online survey to create a richer, more detailed, depiction of transnational interest in academic mobility to Australia
2. To assess the suitability of GA as a data collection tool, in comparison with the method employed in a previous study which was based around raw logs.

This mixed methods approach to research is rapidly growing in popularity and gives researchers the freedom to mix and match different design components, from individual mono-methods,

to increase the potential for answering research questions in a more detailed manner. Described as 'the natural complement to traditional quantitative and qualitative research,' the approach acknowledges the importance of more traditional quantitative and qualitative research but offers an additional 'powerful third paradigm choice that often will provide the most informative, complete, balanced, and useful research results' (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007, p. 129). A mixed methods approach allows triangulation, limits weaknesses that may be inherent in any single methodology, and removes the possibility of common method bias (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2002). However it does generate more results and, therefore, usually requires lengthier discussion and analysis.

Establishing a web portal

To examine these research themes a web portal, a site that provides users with online information and information-related services (Yang, Cai, Zhou & Zhou, 2005), was established as the survey instrument. The portal had

The Internet now means that the effort, and cost, of searching online for career opportunities are completely independent of the proximity of the job seeker to the actual vacant position.

to be designed in such a way as to generate significant interest amongst those parties looking for information on academic vacancies in Australia, by offering valuable information on the subject, and structure it in a way that would make it easy for potential users to find.

The website academicjobsaustralia.com was originally developed for this research in November 2008, and was designed to act as a gateway containing links to typical content that users, looking at the possibility of a career in academia in Australia, would be interested in. Such content included a listing of and links to all major universities in the country, direct links to each university's careers/jobs pages, and links to information about the geographical location of their numerous campuses.

This researcher had recently been through the process of looking for, and securing, an academic position in Australia himself, so was able to draw upon twelve months of his own experiences as to what kind of information users would most likely be interested in finding out, in an attempt to maximise the appeal of the site. All the design, development, platform testing, and piloting of the new website was done in-house, and off line, with research students assisting in testing the robustness and accuracy of the site's operation.

The Google search engine was chosen as the main distribution outlet for this study as it is the most used search engine on the web, with an 85 per cent global market share (Netmarketshare, 2012), which indexes billions of web pages, and is accessible to users all over the world via the use of keywords and operators. Within the first three months of the site's launch, due to increasing traffic and interest, the site was also automatically listed on the Yahoo! search engine, reaching a further eight per cent of the global search engine traffic. The same can now also be said for the world's third largest search engine Bing (with a four per cent share of the global market).

At the time of writing, when searching the term 'academic jobs Australia', the site was listed on the first page of results on the Google.com search engine, in second position. It also features in second position on Bing.com, and is in the number one non-sponsored link position on Yahoo.com. As the author has a background in web design there were no external costs associated in developing the website, or marketing it to appear on the first page of results listing on the Google search engine, but there were hosting costs of approximately A\$100 per year.

The GA dashboard, with its ability to accurately identify the location of website visitors, was configured to monitor traffic to this portal in order to establish where the



Academic Jobs in Australia
 Australia's academic reputation is on the rise, officially home to six of the top 50 universities in the world* its credentials for boasting institutes with high standards of teaching and research are in the ascendance. This has led to an influx of academic talent entering Australia, on 457 skilled visa programs, making 'University Lecturer' one of the top 10 most demanded migrant occupations in 2010-11 (www.gettingdownunder.com).

Printed below is a list of links and information that I collated whilst planning my migration, from an academic career in the UK to one in Australia, in 2008. Links will take you directly to the homepages of all major universities in Australia, and to details of any current vacancies they might have, in addition to useful information about the location of their various campuses.

*Source: QS Quacquarelli Symonds

Institution	Homepage	Vacancies Page	Campus Locations
Adelaide University	www.adelaide.edu.au	www.adelaide.edu.au/jobs	Adelaide (SA), Singapore (Asia)
Australian Catholic University	www.acu.edu.au	www.acu.edu.au/careers	Melbourne (VIC), Ballarat (VIC), Brisbane (QLD), Canberra (ACT), Strathfield (NSW), Sydney (NSW)
Australian Maritime College	www.amc.edu.au	www.amc.edu.au/management-and-logistics/career-opportunities	Launceston (TAS)
The Australian National University	www.anu.edu.au/index.php	jobs.anu.edu.au	Canberra (ACT), Coonabarabran (NSW), Darwin (NT), Bowley Point (NSW)
Avondale College	www.avondale.edu.au	www.avondale.edu.au/staff:jobs_at_Avondale	Cooranbong, Sydney (Both NSW)
Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education	www.batchelor.edu.au	www.batchelor.edu.au/people/current-vacancies	Batchelor (NT), Alice Springs (NT)
Bond University	www.bond.edu.au	www.bond.edu.au/employ	Robina (QLD)
Carnegie Mellon Heinz College	www.heinz.cmu.edu/australia	www.heinz.cmu.edu/recruiters	Adelaide (SA)
Central Queensland University	www.cqu.edu.au	www.cqu.edu.au/jobs@cqu	Brisbane (QLD), Bundaberg (QLD), Emerald (QLD), Gladstone (QLD), Gold Coast (QLD), Mackay (QLD), Melbourne (VIC), Noosa (QLD), Rockhampton (QLD), Sydney (NSW)
Charles Darwin University	www.cdu.edu.au	www.cdu.edu.au/ohrs/jobsetcdu.html	Alice Springs, Casuarina, Jabiru, Katherine, Nhulunbuy, Palmerston, Tennant Creek, Yulara (all NT)
Charles Sturt University	www.csu.edu.au	www.csu.edu.au/jobs	Albury-Wodonga, Bathurst, Dubbo, Orange, Wagga Wagga (all NSW)
Curtin University of Technology	www.curtin.edu.au	jobs.curtin.edu.au	Bentley, Geraldton, Kalgoorlie, Margaret

Figure 1: academicjobsaustralia.com web portal

main areas of interest lie for information about academic careers in Australia.

Online Survey

Online survey research is an efficient approach for leveraging the Internet in gaining access to specific cohorts of people, regardless of geographical location or time zones, in a short space of time (Garton, Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 1999). By being able to access these virtual communities researchers have the ability to isolate groups of individuals that share specific interests, attitudes, beliefs, positions or characteristics, despite the fact that they might be living thousands of miles apart (Wright, 2005; Yun & Trumbo, 2000).

The nature in which online surveys are designed also means that they collect data automatically, allowing researchers to simultaneously work on other projects, and don't require additional costs such as stationery, postage, and travel (Llieva, Baron & Healey, 2002; Wright, 2005).

In this instance, a short online questionnaire was developed that consisted of nine questions designed to extract details about users' age, gender, country of birth, country of residence, current position, highest qualification, fields

Table 1: Online questionnaire questions

Question	Answer Options
1. Age	Under 25 25-39 40-54 55+
2. Gender	Male Female
3. Country of Birth	Textbox
4. Country of Residence	Textbox
5. Current Position	PhD Student Research Assistant Postdoctoral Researcher Lecturer Senior Lecturer Associate Professor Professor Other (additional text option)
6. Highest Qualification	PhD Masters Bachelors Other (additional text option)
7. What is your objective in searching for information about academic careers in Australia?	Just looking Interested in short-term employment Interested in long-term employment Interested in long-term employment leading to residency/citizenship
Which specific fields of academia are you most interested in (e.g. Medicine, Computer Science, Engineering etc.)?	Textbox
Are you also interested in academic opportunities in countries other than Australia? If yes, please list:	Textbox

of academia they are interested in, reason they are interested in Australia, and other countries they might consider holding an academic position in. A hyperlink to the questionnaire, hosted by surveymonkey.com, was added to the bottom of the academicjobsaustralia.com portal page.

Results

Google Analytics

The GA dashboard presents an audience overview report that allows visitor data to be broken down by any date range, via the use of a dropdown calendar menu. This



Figure 2: Drop down menu facilitates the selection of specific data date range

Country / Territory	Visits	↓	City	Visits	↓
1. Australia	1,658		1. Sydney	557	
2. United Kingdom	947		2. Melbourne	419	
3. United States	741		3. Brisbane	221	
4. Canada	270		4. London	160	
5. New Zealand	267		5. Singapore	153	
6. India	190		6. Auckland	123	
7. Germany	166		7. Adelaide	94	
8. Singapore	156		8. Perth	94	
9. Greece	129		9. Canberra	90	
10. Ireland	126		10. Athens	83	
11. Japan	120		11. Dublin	79	
12. Netherlands	120		12. Hong Kong	74	
13. Malaysia	101		13. (not set)	64	
14. Italy	90		14. Wellington	56	
15. China	84		15. Kuala Lumpur	47	
16. Hong Kong	74		16. Dubayy	35	
17. South Africa	69		17. Manchester	35	
18. France	61		18. Hobart	34	
19. Iran	52		19. Edinburgh	34	
20. Switzerland	48		20. Glasgow	34	
21. Spain	48		21. London	32	
22. Turkey	48		22. Berlin	32	
23. Portugal	47		23. Toronto	31	
24. United Arab Emirates	46		24. Oxford	31	
25. Sweden	43		25. Christchurch	29	

Figure 3: The geographical distribution of the top 25 unique visitors by country and city

facilitates the easy generation of daily, weekly, monthly or annual reports; or indeed for any specific period required. As the online survey incorporated in this experiment was live from 1 November 2011, until 31 October 2012, this was the time selection taken in order to align with the survey results for that period.

Over that twelve month period there were a total of 10,278 visits to the site, from 6,468 unique visitors, residing in 114 different countries. GA derives these locations by mapping IP addresses to physical geographic positions and, by using a function called Advanced Segments, these results can be adjusted to display only the unique visitors to the site, filtering out return visitors. This study is not concerned with returning visitors so, from this point on, only unique visitors are discussed.

The largest proportion of unique visitors was identified as originating from within Australia itself (25.6 per cent), followed by the UK (14.6 per cent) and the USA (11.5 per cent). The city where most visitors resided was discovered to be Sydney, closely followed by Melbourne, and then Brisbane. The cities that represented the most unique visitors, lying outside the Australasia region, were found to be London (UK), Singapore, and Athens (Greece). GA is also capable of segmenting visitor by their continents and sub-continent, as well as by country and city as they have been here.

GA also captures the preferred language setting that visitors have their web browsers configured to. This measurement can be important in capturing the native language of the user as many countries now have extremely diverse populations speaking different languages and dialects. The visitors accessing the site were found to be using 71 different language browser settings, the vast majority of which (88.2 per cent) were set to a version of English (US/UK English etc.). The second most popular language setting was Chinese-Taiwan (1.4 per cent), followed by French, Japanese, and German.

Although not utilised in this particular experiment GA also captures data relating to the visitor's service provider, browser type, operating system, screen colour/resolution and Flash/Java support, as well as differentiating between direct, referral, search, mobile and tablet traffic. The availability of this data has significant potential to influence future research.

Survey Data

Over the one year experimental period, a total of 111 responses were received. The survey data was recorded automatically, via Survey Monkey, and later extracted into MS Excel to generate the following graphs. Respondents were found to be born in 32 different countries, whilst residing in 28 different countries, the largest percentage being from the 25-39-year-old age range, and there were exactly twice the number of male respondents to female respondents (n=74 vs. n=37), which supports the findings of Jöns (2011) which state that female academics are generally less geographically mobile than their male counterparts. Sixty-three per cent of respondents (n=70) had a PhD whilst 26 per cent (n=29) were currently undertaking one (Figure 4).

After PhD student the next most popular currently held positions were Lecturer, Senior Lecturer and Post Doctoral Researcher. 'Other' miscellaneous positions included educator, sessional teacher, and Dean.

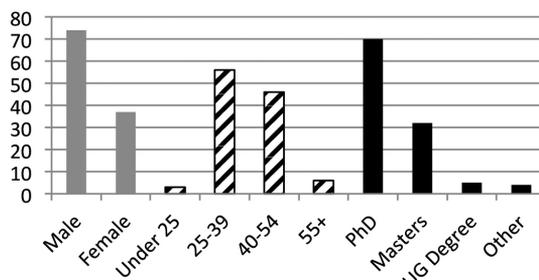


Figure 4: Gender, Age Groups, and Qualification Level

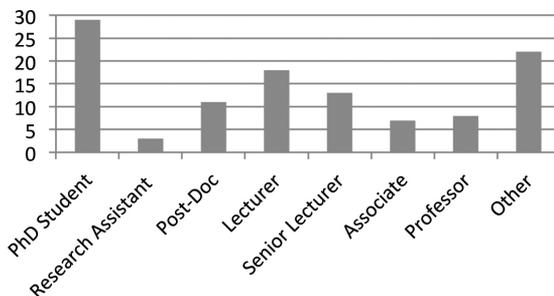


Figure 5: Current Position

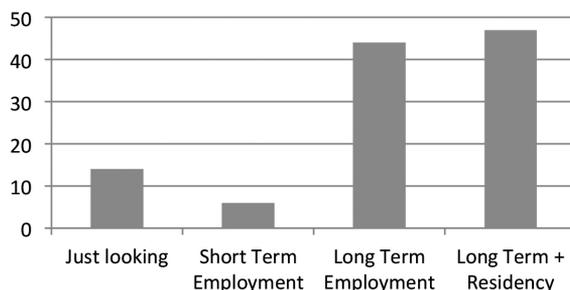


Figure 6: Strength of Interest

These results were closely aligned with the GA data, collected over the same period, identifying those taking part in the survey as residing mainly in Australia, UK, USA, New Zealand and Canada, considering this was such a smaller sample size.

When comparing the country of residence results, with those of country of birth, it can be seen that a much lower number of people were born in Australia compared with those residing there (n=15 vs. n=27). Similarly, with New Zealand only three participants were born there but nine were residing there. This supports what census data says about the percentage of Australians and New Zealanders that were born overseas being greater than that of any other recognised migration countries in the world (NCS, 2006). A similar pattern can also be identified in the results collected for the UK and USA.

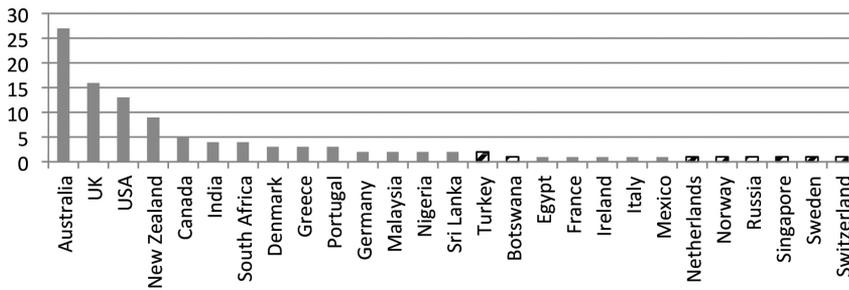


Figure 7: Country of Residence

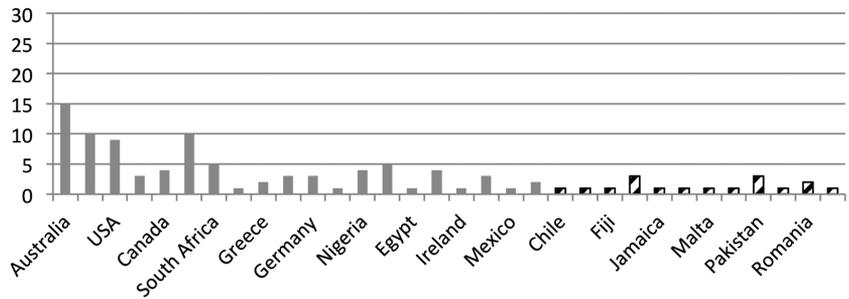


Figure 8: Country of Birth

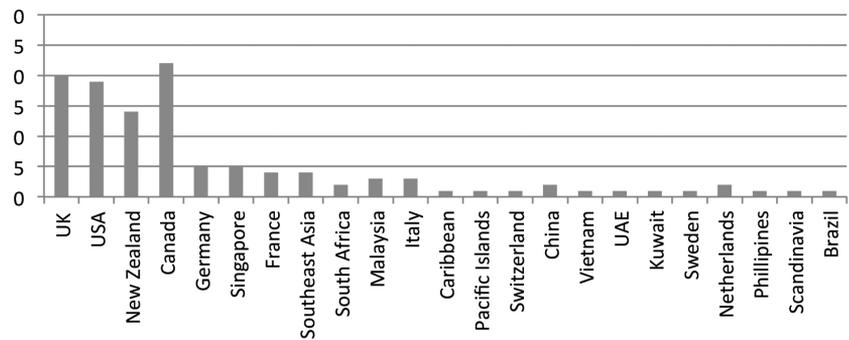


Figure 9: Other countries of interest for transnational mobility

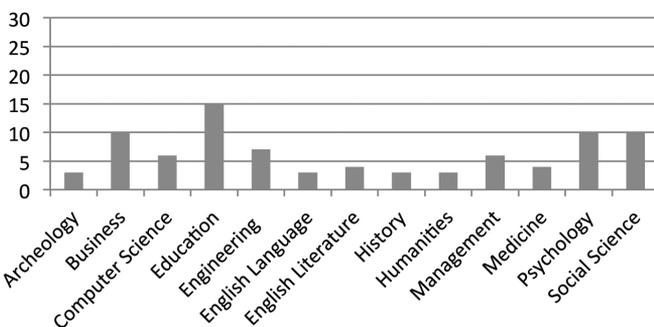


Figure 10: Main academic fields of interest

It can also be seen that a disproportionately high number of people were born in India, compared to the percentage of those identified by GA as residing there; whilst only four people who took part in the online survey were residing in India, 10 people overall were actually born there. If this is a representative sample it can then be projected that a greater number of Indian-born academics (in the region of 500) are accessing the site each year than the GA results would indicate. This would make them the fourth largest cohort after their Australian, US and UK counterparts. There were also participants in the online survey residing in Turkey, Botswana, Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Singapore, Sweden and Switzerland, but nobody taking part in the survey was actually born in those countries (as highlighted in Figure 7). Conversely, nobody residing in Bangladesh, Chile, Cyprus, Fiji, Iran, Jamaica, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Pakistan, Poland, Romania or Tanzania accessed the site but, according to the survey results, there were a number of participants born in each of those countries (as highlighted in Figure 8).

Survey respondents expressed an interest in 89 different academic fields in total, and their interests were as diverse as Urban Planning and Criminology to Neurogastroenterology and Anthropology. The highest levels of interest, however, were found to be in the Education (n=15), Business (n=10), Psychology (n=10) and Social Science (n=10) disciplines.

Experimental Limitations

The Internet population has sometimes been regarded as being non-representative, with certain members of the global population, or in spe-

cific countries, not having equal access to the Internet as others. Women, people of limited financial resources, members of some racial and ethnic minorities, people at low education levels, and older age groups may all fall into this category (Zhang, 1999). These factors could limit the accuracy of the results from this study, though to what extent is obviously unknown. However, it can be assumed that, in the global workspace, the use of the Internet would be the primary mechanism in locating information regarding higher education vacancies, especially overseas, so perhaps this is not too significant a limitation.

The web portal established for this experiment is available in English language only, which may have limited its audience although, as Australia is an English speaking country, a high level of English would most likely be expected from applicants looking at academic opportunities in Australia.

Despite there being a large number of Chinese academics working in institutions across Australia, this research has not been able to extract any significant data to identify the level of interest coming from that country. Whilst Google Analytics was able to recognise a number of Chinese visitors to the web portal nobody from China took part in the online survey. This is possibly due to the strict internet access laws in China, meaning that users might not have been able to take part in the SurveyMonkey-hosted online survey.

Conclusions

The mixed method approach adopted by this research combines the strengths of web analytics and online surveys in mapping the current landscape for interest in mobility into Australian academic careers. Google analytics enabled the identification of the geographical location of visitors to the *academicjobsaustralia.com* website, down to city level and over specific date ranges, and detected the users' preferred language options; whilst the addition of an online survey into the experimental method allowed the analytics data to be blended with general demographical information about the visitors' country of birth, highest qualification, current position and specific areas of interest.

On analysing this combination of results it was concluded that those interested in an academic position in Australia are mostly male, highly qualified, between the ages of 25 and 54, living in Australia, USA or UK but possibly born in India, Sri Lanka or South Africa, speaking English, are looking for a long-term academic appointment in the field of education, business, psychology or social

science, and are also interested in transnational academic mobility opportunities to Canada, UK or USA. This is a richer, more detailed, depiction of transnational interest in academic mobility to Australia than was possible with the original experiment.

Compared with the previous instrument that was based around raw logs, the GA version of web analytics was found to offer greater accuracy in the identification of the location of visitor, where the level of detail achievable was only at country level, and was able to resolve an issue regarding the location of '.com' domains that allowed more accurate data on US visitors to be captured. With raw logs numbers can also be grossly overestimated due to the nature in which search bots and automated queries are counted together. The numbers reported by Google Analytics actually underestimate traffic slightly, and the software has very strict rules regarding what should be considered to be a visitor or a page view (Scocco, 2011). This would explain any discrepancies between the number of visits recorded during this and the earlier experiment, and indicates that the GA data is a more accurate reflection of interest in the portal. GA's tracking is regarded as being extremely reliable to the point where it is now widely considered as the industry standard.

Building upon the findings established in the earlier experiment (Hopkins, 2011), this research set out to record a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data about international interest in transnational academic mobility to Australia, to produce original findings that would overcome earlier limitations, encourage further debate, and influence future educational policy making. It was successful in achieving that, through the unique combination of Google Analytics and an online survey, and was able to develop a more detailed depiction of that transnational nature and multicultural make up of the academic profession. In being able to ascertain the users' locations, and knowing some basic demographical information about them, academic recruiters may want to focus their efforts on areas that generate a lot of traffic, knowing there is a confirmed audience in situ. Alternatively, areas currently generating little traffic may be identified as untapped markets.

It is believed that this research makes a significant contribution to the existing body of academic literature, concerning academic migration to Australia, and that the method employed herein has great potential for application in many other fields of future academic research.

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Students seeking help for mental health problems

Do Australian university websites provide clear pathways?

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Mental health problems in young Australians continue to be a major public health issue. Studying at university can generate social pressures particularly for youth, which have been associated with the onset of a mental illness or a worsening of an existing condition. Many universities provide health services to support students with health problems. However, many young people do not have effective help-seeking strategies and are in need of well-defined pathways to locate appropriate assessment of, and support for, their emotional needs. There has been no Australian study that determines the ease with which students can identify health services. This study involved a systematic search of web sites of 40 Australian universities to identify the types of services offered and their relative accessibility. The use of several key words generally resulted in the identification of a broad range of health services, however, information on 'mental health services' was more difficult to locate. The study makes recommendations for universities to improve accessibility, and develop more supportive policy and inclusive management of mental health problems.

Introduction

Mental health problems have been described as an epidemic among university students (Kim *et al.*, 2011; Kay, 2010). Reports on the magnitude of the problem are abundant in the literature. Several large overseas studies have identified rising mental health problems among young people enrolled in higher education studies (Royal College of Psychiatrists, 2003; American College Health Association, 2007; Zivin *et al.*, 2009; Gallagher, 2007). The mental health component of the care provided for higher education students, in the United Kingdom, continues to be at the forefront of debate and discussion involving health and safety on university campuses (Stanley & Manthorpe, 2001; Stewart-Brown *et al.*, 2000).

In Australia '...it is estimated that 23 per cent of the total Australian adult population are affected by one or more

mental disorders in any given year (Australian Department of Health and Ageing, 2007, p. 15). Patel *et al.*, (2007) provide data indicating that 27 per cent of those aged between 18 and 24 have a mental health disorder (p. 1302). In 2010, higher education enrolments reached 1,192,657 of which 803,726 (67 per cent) were under the age of 26 (DEEWR, 2010). Ergo, the age groupings for university enrolments correspond to that of age groups most likely to have a formal diagnosis of mental health problems, supporting the significance of a study of this kind. The current enrolment numbers in Australian higher education suggests that the absolute size of the problem is substantial.

Although young people have the greatest need for mental health services, they are also the 'least likely to seek help' (Rickwood *et al.*, 2007, p. S35). The National Survey of Mental Health and Wellbeing (ABS, 2007) stated that only '29 per cent of children and adolescents with a mental health problem had sought professional help'.

Rickwood *et al.*, (2007, p. S35) refer to a 'Queensland study of 3,092 young adults in the 15-24 age range, and concluded 39 per cent of males and 22 per cent of females would not seek help from formal services for personal, emotional or distressing problems'. The Australian Government has responded by providing \$54 million to establish a National Youth Mental Health Foundation, Headspace, created in 2006, as an initiative aiming to strengthen the existing system by introducing a new stream of multidisciplinary care. A major goal of mental health policy in Australia and similar countries has been to reduce barriers to service utilisation for those with mental health problems (Harden *et al.*, 2001). The current mental health system is not adequately resourced to deal with young people who have mild to moderate mental health issues (Stallman, 2010) and those that have the greatest need for these services, namely those with elevated psychological distress, are no more aware of youth specific services (Yap *et al.*, 2012; Headspace, 2012).

In a selective review of data, Hickie (2011, p. 65) concluded that 'Young people report that mental health problems are among their greatest social and health concerns and are increasingly looking for appropriate new ways to meet their own needs.' There is an increasing tendency for young people to access health resources and services by way of the Internet as a preferred method of seeking help as this activity is anonymous (Burns *et al.*, 2010).

University students

Supporting students' well-being whilst they engage with their studies has been a primary role for educators and their organisations. However, mental health support programmes for university students have evolved in a much less ordered fashion than programmes for primary and secondary school students. Clear evidence of the effectiveness of student support projects within Australian schools has been provided by Fealy and Story (2006) who attribute their success to the use of a 'whole-school approach' adapting the curriculum, school policies and environment to promote student well-being and educate staff and students on mental health issues.

Although university administrators are aware of their duty of care to students, in many cases this duty has not been codified. For this duty to be taken seriously, dedicated resources need to be overtly identifiable on university websites. Mowbray *et al.*, (2006, p. 236) state that 'To appropriately meet the needs of students with mental illnesses, academic institutions and mental health programmes need to form collaborations, where they clearly

spell out who will do what, and not shirk the necessary responsibilities or pretend that the problem does not exist.' Support and resources for university students with mental health problems has been spurred on by the government reports and directives in COAG, (2011) that recognise the need for more mental health services (COAG National action plan on mental health 2006-2011).

Stress and the need for duty of care

Kernan *et al.*, (2011) found that stress associated with psychological problems is concomitant with poorer academic performance and a drain on the nation's development of human capital which is the core business of universities (Eisenberg *et al.*, 2009). University students are thought to be prone to high level stressors due to the transition to university life and a need for scholastic success (Bitsika *et al.*, 2010). Studies have sought to establish whether students have a higher rate of mental health problems compared to peers not enrolled in higher education studies. The intention of these studies was to determine if a university life style and academic workloads were risk factors for mental health problems; the causative links are not yet clear (Stallman, 2010; Blanco *et al.*, 2008). A survey by Storie *et al.*, (2010) of higher education students in Australia using 'age-matched pairs', showed that i) students have higher level of stress than the general population and ii) emotional stress is a prodromal element to formal diagnosis of mental health problems. Stallman (2010) states:

'Compared to the 19.2 per cent of students with very high levels of distress, the most recent Australian data figures (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008) show that only three per cent of the general population have levels of distress this "high" ' (Stallman, 2010, p. 253).

There is controversy about what is expected of universities in terms of their duty of care. Patel *et al.*, (2007) suggest that universities may have a duty of care to provide supportive services for students. Collins & Foote (2005) contend that adult learners should be autonomous in resolving personal problems but do not clarify if personal problems include mental health problems.

'It could be asked whether it is appropriate for the University ... faculty to take responsibility for students' personal problems. Do we have a "duty of care?" Or, because these are adult learners, should we expect them to be responsible for themselves?' (Collins & Foote, 2005, p. 171).

A default response to these questions is partly addressed by Collins & Foote (2005) who suggest that the existence of welfare services, health services, coun-

selling and learning assistance at most universities means that administrators clearly recognised that these services form part of duty of care. Currently, there is a grey area in terms of staff's duty of care towards students who exhibit emotional burdens/psychological disturbance. There is a gap between the expectations of universities and the staff's willingness and ability to respond to student needs beyond the curriculum (Laws & Fiedler, 2012).

Help seeking practices

Most young people support the principle of seeking professional help for mental health problems and have good recognition of depression (Reavley & Jorm, 2011). The social stigma attached to mental health problems is widely recognised in the literature (Crisp *et al.*, 2000, Reavley & Jorm, 2012). Variations in attitudinal responses of lay persons towards those with a mental health problem occur because of cultural as well as national differences (Griffiths *et al.*, 2006). Many young people may avoid mainstream health services because of the fear of being labelled with a diagnosis and prescribed psychoactive medication with problematic side effects (Moses, 2010). However, the extent to which stigma poses a barrier to accessing support is in debate. Golberstein *et al.*, (2008) produced one study indicating that, in the younger population, perceived stigma may not be as important a barrier to mental health care as the policy discourse currently assumes. However, certain sub-groups do have a higher affective response to stigma.

'Perceived stigma was higher among males, older students, Asian and Pacific Islanders, international students, students with lower socioeconomic status backgrounds, and students with current mental health problems.' (Golberstein *et al.*, 2008, p. 392)

The Internet and Help Seeking

Young people have an increasingly close affinity with web based information (Borzekowski, 2006). The Internet is seen as an important means of access to sensitive health information (Kanuga & Rosenfeld, 2004) and can provide users with protection from potentially judgemental interactions (stigmatisation) if they wish to remain anonymous. According to Berger *et al.*, (2005):

Currently, there is a grey area in terms of staff's duty of care towards students who exhibit emotional burdens/psychological disturbance. There is a gap between the expectations of universities and the staff's willingness and ability to respond to student needs beyond the curriculum.

'those with stigmatised illnesses were significantly more likely to have used the Internet for health information, to have communicated with clinicians about their condition using the Internet, and to have increased utilisation of health care based on information found on the Internet, than those with non-stigmatised conditions.' (Berger *et al.*, 2005, p. 1821)

Focus group interviews conducted by Havas *et al.*, (2011) using ten groups of Dutch adolescents (n = 106), aged 12-19 years, found participants:

'... expressed the need for a youth healthcare website offering information, self-tests and anonymous help. They had different ideas about the layout of such a website, which were related to their educational level. Reliability of such a website was an important issue.' (Havas *et al.*, 2011, p. 164)

Students are now commonly using social media to connect with people and resources and there is a similar use of the Internet to seek health information and support (Christensen & Hickie, 2010; Subrahmanyam & Lin; 2007; Bastian, 2008).

Higher education students normally use the Internet daily thereby increasing the potential to use this technology to access mental health information. Horgan and Sweeney (2009) observed that there had been no studies of young peoples' use of, and views on, accessing the Internet for mental health support. The researcher's quantitative descriptive study of 922 university students (18 to 24 years) aimed to elicit views on Internet use to access support. It was revealed that 30.8 per cent of students had searched for mental health information online, predominantly on depression. Whilst 68 per cent of students reported they would use the Internet if they needed mental health support most (79.4 per cent) preferred face to face support. However, the question of the whether a simple referral to a General Practitioner (GP) was a preferred help-seeking pathway for young people posed by Jorm *et al.*, (2007) was met with the response:

'Recent initiatives to extend the uptake of treatment for mental disorders have been centred around GPs as the initial point of help-seeking. Few young people see GPs as a preferred source of help, and action is needed to alter this perception or to reform mental health services to be more attractive to this age group.' (Jorm *et al.*, 2007, p. 556).

Hampshire & Di Nicola, (2011) recognise that an important component in intervention strategies for young

Table 1: Source of Support and Advice

<i>Source of advice and support</i>	<i>2006 %</i>	<i>2007 %</i>	<i>2008 %</i>	<i>2009 %</i>
Internet	16.8	19.1	20.3	22.5
Teacher	9.3	10.5	11.4	11.0
School Counsellor	11.6	10.8	11.5	10.8
Someone else in the community	8.6	8.6	8.5	8.9
Telephone helpline	6.2	5.8	5.9	5.9

Source: Hampshire & Di Nicola, 2011, Table 4, p. 15 (Note: This is an extract only. Data are aggregated and includes items ranked one, two or three by respondents.)

people experiencing personal problems, is to know where they go when they have a problem. The absolute numbers and the trends in the data (2006 to 2009) show the increasing importance of the Internet as a source of advice and support when compared to a teacher or a school counsellor (Table 1).

Why audit university websites for accessibility to health information?

Electronic communication and information giving has become the main method of interface with students; paper and visual displays (posters) are now a secondary form of dissemination. In general, young people, the population of interest, have an increasingly close affinity with web based information access and electronic communication (Borzekowski, 2006). Male and female adolescents spend comparable amounts of time online (Gross, 2004). About one in five youths in America sought information about a challenging health problem using the Internet (Lenhart, 2005) including sexual health (Selkie *et al.*, 2011). The importance of having university web based services for students with actual or potential mental health problems has been reiterated many times.

'In order to prevent adverse social, educational and vocational outcomes, there is a need for young people to have early access to appropriate professional or self-help interventions.' (Reavley & Jorm, 2011, p. 890)

Accordingly, universities can play an important role in providing students with a pathway to web based information on emotional/mental health problems as well as ways to establish face to face contact with a professional skilled in mental health. A review of university websites will give an insight into the accessibility of health services through this medium.

Aims of the study

The aims of the study were twofold:

- To search 40 Australian university websites and document the nature of health services or counselling directed towards students, with a particular focus on mental health services.
- To evaluate the ease with which students with mental health issues can locate information on mental health services and access points.

Search terms

In 2009, an informal audit of 38 university websites was undertaken by the authors to identify university resources aimed at informing students of supportive services should they seek help for an actual or potential mental health problem (Australian Education Network University and College Guide, 2009). This unpublished audit found very few universities had information links beyond student counselling services. There was no definitive literature describing an appropriate or normative set of key search terms; we used the generic search terms 'health services', 'student counselling' and 'mental health'. These terms were selected as those commonly used by our own university website and in student information handouts at orientation. These terms proved to be a useful and consistent Web pathway to locate other university health services.

In 2011-2012 we were prompted to conduct a further Internet search to identify and document current university website health resources. The impetus for the renewed search was based on, i) new governmental initiatives intended to raise the profile of mental health support for young people and ii) knowledge of new requirements, by way of AUQA audits, to demonstrate that Universities had moved toward improving the quality of education (Australian University Quality Agency, now the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency, TEQSA, 2013).

For our 2011-2012 study we randomly selected 10 university sites to trial the reuse of the generic 'help-seeking' terms used in the 2009 audit. Our concern was that the use of generic terms might locate student services rather than specific information related to support for mental health problems. These generic terms did prove successful in accessing specific information about 'health', 'counselling' and 'mental health' services and 'health clinics' in all 10 of the university web sites sampled, suggesting that they would be effective across all 40 university web sites.

The trial of search terms was an important exercise because despite the acknowledgment that the Internet is a vital source of information and intervention for mental health problems for young people, there is no definitive literature on the specific search terms used by students when accessing university websites for help seeking. The generic term 'mental health' is used frequently in Internet sites accessed by young people (e.g. Headspace - National Youth Mental Health Foundation) and, anecdotally, university information provided to students and staff commonly refers to 'health services' and 'student counselling'. There is some evidence to indicate that students will make Internet searches for specific mental health issues such as depression and suicide and alcohol-related issues (Ybarra and Eaton, 2005). Our study was focused on students' help-seeking (i.e. seeking services) rather than their quest for diagnosis of, or information about, specific conditions or issues. Indeed Spink *et al.*, (2004) contended that 'Most users may still lack the specialised vocabulary needed to effectively retrieve the information relevant to their condition'. Spink *et al.*, (2004) further state:

'Often, then, the web-enabled health information seeker must know, within the realm of language, the near-specific location of the knowledge they seek. When an exact clinical term is not known, most laypersons will resort to their only available resource, the popular/lay terminology for the concept, illness, or subject of interest. (Spink *et al.*, 2004, p. 46)

Accordingly we settled on the generic help seeking search terms: (student) health services, (student) counselling, and (student) mental health.

Method

Following the initial 2009 audit of university websites for nature of health services and counselling, we conducted a systematic search of 40 Universities selected from a list provided on the Australian education network website (Australian Education Network University and College Guide, 2013).

Findings from the web searches were augmented by telephone enquiries where information about certain services or staff qualifications was unclear. In accessing the Web links we also identified universities that provided:

- More detailed information about specific mental health issues (e.g. depression, anxiety etc).
- On-campus (or near-campus) clinics staffed by health professionals.
- Specific mental health services and the existence of trained mental health professionals and counsellors.

Scope

The scope of this study is limited to identifying website pathways for higher education students seeking mental health services. This focus on help-seeking is distinct from determining students searching for information on specific health problems for which they may have insight or a formal diagnosis (e.g. depression, psychosis). The study makes no attempt to evaluate the current literature to determine the effectiveness of university-based services, nor does it attempt to make a judgment about the adequacy of the services listed.

Findings

The array of services identified in this study was much greater than those documented in the previous unpublished study by the authors in 2009. Although the search terms used in 2011-2012 were the same as those used in the 2009 audit the number of links to specific information on student mental health and absolute numbers of support services were far greater than in the initial audit. There are two plausible explanations for the difference in findings. First, the establishment of a national quality assurance agency in higher education in 2001 (the Australian Universities Quality Agencies, or AUQA) has provided an impetus for universities to be overt about student support services. Whilst Australian universities have always taken the well-being of their students seriously, the existence of the AUQA agency (now the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA), 2013) has solidified this commitment through its formal attestation (audit) of the Standards applied by universities (AUQA, 2001). Perhaps the abolition of student unions in the Howard Government period also devolved responsibility for student well-being toward remaining organisational structures. The emergence of youth mental health as a National Health Priority is likely to have emphasised the need for specific services (AIHW, 2010).

When conducting the search, the use of the key word 'health' meant that the researchers encountered numerous courses and course resources containing the terms 'health' and 'mental health'; this phenomena required refinements to search strategies thus improving the comprehensiveness of the study. However, some universities prioritised key words such as 'health services' making it easier to identify student health services (for example, the website of the University of NSW). It is possible that students are informed at orientation of special health services with a specific title (e.g.. 'beyondblue'), which

would also assist in prioritising student searches. However such resources would become evident when searching for 'health services'.

A vast majority of universities in the study had websites that directed students to health services. Many directed students also to mental health services. Many sites linked initially to counselling rather than health support and this required deeper investigation by researchers to identify medical health services; some of which were directly linked to mental health support. Although student counselling was a prominent link, it was impossible in many cases to determine if this counselling was social in nature or supported by staff that were mental health trained. If web site information was unclear, telephone calls were made by the researchers to the university switchboard and additional information was gained on the type, availability, and qualifications of staff providing the health service. The vast majority of universities also provide information to students on the nature of common mental health problems (depression, anxiety).

On campus services

A total of 26 out of 40 universities had some form of medical services; these services were provided as an on-campus facility and staffed by doctors and nurses. Twenty-three universities had access to GPs and nurses; 3 services provide student access to nurses only. There was no indication that these health professionals had specialist qualification for mental health. Many campuses (33 per cent) had counselling services but few of these services had staff qualified as mental health nurses; and few campuses had a consulting psychiatrist. Staffing of the clinics varied

with some providing full-time GP services. Other clinics provided visiting GPs on certain days only. Only one private university had no health or other counselling.

Some services were funded by the university (Federal government) and others were privately owned by GPs. Whilst access to service may be influenced by cost to the student we did not determine the cost to students for GP consultations, though many bulk bill. Whilst GPs services may be bulk billed, international students on special visas are a group of students not covered by Medicare.

Off campus Services

Whilst access was universal within most student populations, many universities had geographically diverse locations making it difficult for students to travel to some clinics. Universities with multiple campuses would be most challenging for students who did not have their own transport. Only one university (Canberra) had a special mental health service for youth (Headspace, 2012) on campus and this was also open to the general public. This is an excellent service, though Australian youth still have limited awareness of Headspace (Yap *et al.*, 2012).

Accessibility

The table below indicates the broad accessibility to health counselling and mental health services, using the number of mouse clicks as the measure. This data gives a broad indicator of (a) the ease of accessibility of services to students; and (b) the number of universities providing information about these services. For the 'health services' and 'counselling services' searches, 70 per cent and 83 per cent of university sites respectively required only two

Table 2: Results of searches of university websites

Search Term: Health Services			Search Term: Counselling			Search Term: Mental Health		
Number of mouse clicks	Number of university sites	% of population (rounded)	Number of mouse clicks	Number of university sites	% of population (rounded)	Number of mouse clicks	Number of university sites	% of population (rounded)
2	28	70%	2	33	83%	2	14	35%
3	3	7%	3	4	10%	3	5	12%
4 – topic subsumed under counselling	2	5%	N/A	Nil	Nil	4 – topic subsumed under counselling	10	25%
4	1	3%	0	Nil	Nil	4	4	10%
5	Nil	Nil	5	1	3%	5	Nil	Nil
No hits	6	15%	No hits	2	5%	No hits	7	18%
Total	40	100%		40	100%		40	100%

mouse clicks to find the service, whilst the most mouse clicks required was five. It was interesting to note that six universities (15 per cent) offered no hits to the 'health services' enquiry; there were no discernible commonalities between these six universities.

On the majority of university sites, the term 'counselling services' required minimal searching compared to 'health services'. When searching for 'mental health services', only 35 per cent of university sites provided access to the service with two clicks. Twenty-five per cent of universities included 'mental health services' within student counselling, perhaps on the assumption that students would first search for counselling. An alarming 18 per cent of universities contained no hits on mental health.

The comparison between the search for mental health services and others therefore shows an interesting outcome. Whilst we cannot offer any formal conclusions, it seems clear that most universities now offer some form of health counselling and mental health services. In this study we found the mental health services took more effort (clicks) to find, with seven (18 per cent) of universities provided no specific services related to mental health that could be found with simple search techniques. These results are displayed in Table 2.

Discussion and conclusions

The study indicates that the majority of Australian universities provide information for students who have a compromised sense of well-being and are seeking assistance. The relative ease with which information can be gained suggests that universities have an awareness of the need for such information and recognise that they have a duty of care to provide some level of health or counselling services. The ease with which on-campus health services can be located on websites suggests that most universities appreciate the need for student access to qualified care; however, levels of service and range of services differ. The type of health professional available for consultation also differs. Access to mental health services produced a markedly different result, with only 35 per cent of universities providing access within two clicks. Website links to mental health support services were not always obvious and required further exploration of service sites and the pathways used to locate services were often not intuitive. Almost 20 per cent (one-fifth) of universities offered no intuitive web approach to mental health services. These findings strongly suggest that universities have not provided the same level of access to mental health services as other services and this suggests that more effort is

required to make mental health services more accessible.

Given that universities provide differing levels of support, and that there are many that do not provide 'on-or-near' campus clinical facilities or have intuitive information about mental health services, the question remains – what is the duty of care required of universities and what nature and level of resources are required to enable them to discharge their duty of care to students? The incidence of mental health problems amongst young people is clearly recognised in the literature, yet the study shows that it is the least accessible of the three services we searched for.

The challenge for future researchers

The current literature has not examined the effectiveness of any of the health services provided by universities and there is a dearth of literature that examines the success rates of counselling and other health services. Further, there is no data that identifies the number of students with mental health problems that seek help from universities. From this study, we conclude that students can reasonably navigate the university websites, but we do not know what proportion of students with mental problems use university services, nor do we know if these services are effective when used.

The challenge for future researchers therefore is to determine:

- i. How accessibility to mental health services on university websites can be improved.
- ii. The nature and level of mental health services that should be provided for universities to be able to discharge their duty of care.
- iii. How best to motivate those in need of help to undertake timely action and seek help.
- iv. The effectiveness of appropriate help seeking pathways within universities.

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Hypothetical: The Case for an Australian 'Group of Seven'

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This paper examines the hypothetical cost-savings that might ensue from a merger of most of Australia's major research universities. The results of the textual analysis show that a merger of these universities has the potential to reduce expenses and professional and support staff salaries, increase comprehensive income returns and improve accountability. The use of combination reporting also helps unify the presentation of the financial accounts of these prestigious universities which could greatly assist its stakeholders in making key financial decisions.

Introduction

Using the instrument of combination reporting, this study explores the potential cost savings that could arise from the hypothetical construction of a merged Group of Seven university (Go7). For the perspective of this paper, the Go7 is part of Australia's prestigious Group of Eight (Go8) universities which comprise the Australian National University, which was established under federal legislation and is reputedly 'Australia's strongest research university in scholarly outputs' (Marginson & Sawir 2006, p. 344), and the Go7 universities that include the Universities of Adelaide, Melbourne, New South Wales, Queensland, Sydney, Western Australia and Monash University.

The aim of this study is to examine not only whether it is possible to construct Go7 combination reports, but also whether these reports provide evidence of potential improvement in cost savings. Ernst & Young (2012) urged Australian universities to lower their operating costs to become more competitive on the global market. Reporting is a critical aspect of accountability in a university context, but the power of business combination reporting

analysis in a university milieu may offer unique insights into performance measurement in this exploratory study. Accordingly, the following research question is posed: Using the instrument of combination reporting, what potential cost savings could arise from the construction of a merged Go7?

This paper is based on a number of assumptions and therefore has a number of inherent limitations. It deals with a speculative possibility, the merger of seven Australian universities, treating this in large part as an accounting exercise. Comments on issues of policy, governance, federalism, international organisation and culture that mergers entail are therefore limited. The study makes no recommendations as to how a joint national Go7 could be set up through legal and political channels, although it should be acknowledged that moves for consolidation would require legislative and political will from national and state governments as well as Go7 and non-Go7 universities.

A further limitation of the study is that although there may be a financial benefit if the Go7 merged, universities have their individual histories, philosophies, research speciality, and instructional functions, which in combination

form an intrinsic non-monetary valuation that this paper ignores. Put another way, the speculative possibility of this study places great emphasis on financial gain from a merged Go7. In exploring the case for a merged Go7, the study also makes no recommendations for the consequences of such a merger on non-Go8 universities. However, the results of the study may be of interest to non-Go7 universities, particularly the implications of a merger for their own ambitions in cost-cutting.

This study makes the assumption that if reporting analysis stimulates innovative thinking or solutions for operational questions of joint university performance, then this specialised accounting information might be of interest to legislators, politicians, academic strategists and taxpayers in the Australian states. Although the paper's primary audience is the Australian policy community, the implications of this paper may also be of interest to academic leaders outside Australia who are considering cost reductions through mergers using the instrument of combination reporting.

Literature review

Ethnostatistics, the empirical study of how academia constructs numerals and statistics in scholarly research, is a form of quantitative sense-making that assumes that numerals and statistics are produced and used in a highly-constructed way to advance some understanding of a set of circumstances (Gephart, 2006). For the producer of statistics, the informal aspects of quantification accompany technical rules and practices. For the user of statistics, sense-making of and behaviour towards numerals and statistics are embedded not only in measures and measurement instruments but also in documentation and texts that make persuasive assertions about realities (Carlson, Downs & Wert-Gray, 2006; Helms Mills, Weatherbee & Colwell, 2006).

This paper turns to ethnostatistics to make the case for a merged Go7. Motives for university mergers vary. Rowley (1997) considered the case for mergers of higher education institutions in the United Kingdom. Typically, mergers of higher education institutions were struck between one university which had a relatively large number of students and relatively high income and another university with a relatively lower number of students and relatively low income in the same geographic region. Here, the motives for mergers of higher education institutions included academic compatibility and complementarity and responding to change (Rowley, 1997). Mergers of higher education institutions were also motivated by perceived efficiencies, greater market share, improved valuation and

empire building (Rowley, 1997). Skodvin (1999) notes that the main forces behind mergers of higher education institutions include achieving administrative, economic and academic gains, yielding qualitatively stronger academic institutions, better management and improving the use of administrative resources and physical facilities. The achievement of administrative economies of scale and efficiencies saves money; the elimination of duplicative courses and the improvement of academic integration and collaboration may strengthen the new institution's position in the national and international higher education markets (Skodvin, 1999).

In the quest to promote public sector accountability by higher education institutions, Australian state auditors-general conduct audits of the independent universities. For example, under Section 31 of the *Public Finance and Audit Act 1987* and Section 25(2) of the *University of Adelaide Act 1971*, the Auditor-General of South Australia audits University of Adelaide. Auditors-general also conduct annual assurance audits of universities in order to make opinions about their controls, financial statements and key performance indicators (see, for example, WAAGO, 2012). For example, in a recent audit, the University of Western Australia received clear audit opinions on financial statements, controls and key performance indicators and was considered low-risk against five indicators for assessing financial performance, ensuring the continuing integrity of their financial control environment (WAAGO, 2012, p. 7).

Each university is required to prepare statements of comprehensive income, financial position, changes in equity, cash flows and notes comprising significant accounting policies and other explanatory information. Inherent in the perceptions about any university is the issue that there is sound financial reporting. The university balance sheet is an important document that indicates both the economic resources under the control of the university (a mix of domestic and foreign currency assets) and its economic and legal obligations (liabilities and equity), providing information on the university's financial structure, liquidity and solvency. The university income statement reflects the entity's profitability and spending patterns although it is not a complete measure of university performance, which is normally assessed through its track record on a great number of issues. The university's statement of changes in equity and reserves gives account of the entity's equity and reserves, distribution to shareholders (normally the government), changes of equity through retained earnings or losses, and changes in reserve accounts.

Using university financial statements to prepare combination reports involves a number of considerations. Variation may exist in accounting methodologies for recording university assets and liabilities, which may have an impact on the university's profit and loss. Universities may vary in their treatment of capital, in some cases making provisions for unrealised gains not included in the capital element of the balance sheet. They may also vary in their method of distributing or retaining profits and losses, disclosures of their relationship with government, risk management, and auditor appointments.

Some of the Go7 have had difficulties in complying with their accounting obligations. For example, VAGO (2012) gave the University of Melbourne a qualified opinion because of their accounting treatment of non-reciprocal research and capital grants. The University of Melbourne also received a qualified audit opinion because their accounting treatment of non-reciprocal research and capital grant income as a liability was not in accordance with Australian Accounting Standards. Accounting standards which require grants which are non-reciprocal in nature to be recognised as revenue in the year they are received—when the entity gains control of the funds (VAGO, 2012).

Monash University financial sustainability was also assessed as medium risk overall due to its poor self-financing indicators (VAGO, 2012). Audit opinions on the financial reports of Monash Educational Enterprises and Monash South Africa Ltd contained an 'emphasis of matter' comment. The comment emphasised each entity's reliance on continuing financial support from its parent entity to sustain its operations (VAGO, 2012). At 31 December 2011, Monash Educational Enterprises and Monash South Africa Ltd together owed \$41.6 million to Monash University. Monash University's financial sustainability was assessed as medium because weak self-financing indicators had an impact on their ability to maintain and replace assets. Monash University was also assessed as medium risk in 2011 (high risk in 2010), due to the cost of its voluntary separation programme being felt more in 2010 than in 2011.

Cost-savings initiatives rest at the heart of Australian universities. For example, the University of Sydney currently has a cost reduction strategy because its revenue estimates fell well below the targets set by its 2011–2015 Strategic Plan (AONSW, 2012a; 2012b). It also has a substantial capital expenditure programme, particularly in terms of repairs and maintenance, and faces reductions in international student enrolments (AONSW, 2012a; 2012b).

'The cost reduction strategy, finalised in February 2012, aims to: reduce non-salary expenditure by \$28.0 million in 2012; restrict employment costs of general staff, casual staff and contractors; reduce overall academic staff costs by approximately 7.5 per cent. These objectives are to be achieved during 2012 through voluntary redundancies, flexible employment contracts and natural attrition. The National Tertiary Education Union has filed a dispute with Fair Work Australia and conciliation hearings have commenced (AONSW, 2012a, p. 55).'

Given the potential arguments for university mergers, the method of the combination reporting analysis is examined, taking into account the imperatives of cost savings.

Methods

Annual reports for the year ending 2011 from the individual Go7 universities were gathered to conduct textual analysis of their annual reporting. These resources were also available online.

There is a statutory obligation for the seven universities to report. The annual report provides an important means by which to communicate accountability of an entity to a wide audience (Yuang, Taplin & Brown, 2012). Textual analysis was facilitated by a form of business combination reporting analysis which focused on accounting, auditing and investigative skills to form a basis for the exploratory investigation of the final accounts and statements of the seven universities in terms of their performance. In this way, the study is able to express an opinion on the credibility of the accounts. A large part of the exploratory analysis was based on evidence from the phenomena of final accounts to form opinions on the accountability and value of the accounts.

It was assumed that there were no inter-Go7 university transactions and that no Go7 university held assets and liabilities belonging to the other six Go7 universities.

Results

The tables below show expenses, operating income and comprehensive income as a percentage of revenue for the state-based Go7 Universities.

As shown in Table 1, all individual Go7 universities generate considerable revenue, ranging from \$786.4m (the University of Adelaide) to \$1,800.4m (the University of Melbourne). The revenues of Melbourne, Queensland, Monash, Sydney and New South Wales all exceed \$1.4b; the revenues of Western Australia and Adelaide are comparatively smaller, each well below \$1b. Together the Go7

Table 1: Operating income and comprehensive income of Go7 for 2011

University	Adelaide	Melbourne	Monash	NSW	Q'land	Sydney	WA	Total (Go7)
	\$'000 (%)	\$'000 (%)	\$'000 (%)	\$'000 (%)	\$'000 (%)	\$'000 (%)	\$'000 (%)	\$'000 (%)
Revenue	786,441 (100.0)	1,800,353 (100.0)	1,597,175 (100.0)	1,469,737 (100.0)	1,705,365 (100.0)	1,595,485 (100.0)	831,628 (100.0)	9,786,184 (100.0)
Salaries – Academic Staff	217,141 (27.6)	461,983 (25.7)	440,301 (27.6)	418,266 (28.5)	424,909 (24.9)	480,743 (30.1)	257,316 (30.9)	2,700,659 (27.6)
Salaries – Other Staff	181,097 (23.0)	425,455 (23.6)	400,627 (25.1)	370,029 (25.2)	392,778 (23.0)	415,747 (26.1)	218,108 (26.2)	2,403,841 (24.6)
Non-salary expenses	340,430 (43.3)	776,019 (43.1)	649,277 (40.6)	592,556 (40.3)	694,902 (40.8)	590,671 (37.0)	306,167 (36.9)	3,950,022 (40.3)
Total expenses	738,668 (93.9)	1,663,457 (92.4)	1,490,205 (93.3)	1,380,851 (94.0)	1,512,589 (88.7)	1,487,161 (93.2)	781,591 (94.0)	9,054,522 (92.5)
Operating income before impairment	47,773 (6.1)	136,896 (7.6)	106,970 (6.7)	88,886 (6.0)	192,776 (11.3)	108,324 (6.8)	50,037 (6.0)	731,662 (7.5)
Impairment of financial assets		(48,044)	(10,348)			(19,808)		(78,200)
Operating income after impairment	47,773	88,852	96,622	88,886	192,776	88,516	50,037	653,462
Comprehensive income (other)								
Revaluation PPE#		88,569	798	39,573	(169,171)	8,548		(31,683)
Financial assets gains (losses)	(8,412)	(36,010)	(25,928)	(13,837)		(32,193)		(116,380)
Actuarial losses	(5,666)			(35,884)		(11,286)		(52,836)
Reserve transfers		(55,877)	3,322			(4,833)		(57,388)
Other	(4,273)		(9,217)	(33)	200	1,289		(12,034)
Comprehensive Income	29,422 (3.7)	85,534 (4.8)	65,597 (4.1)	78,705 (5.4)	23,805 (1.4)	50,041 (3.1)	50,037 (6.0)	383,141 (3.9)

In very general terms, revaluation of property, plant and equipment (PPE) may arise when the entity's non-current assets are revalued to current market price.

generated nearly \$9.8b in 2011, a considerable amount of income for a potential merger.

Individual Go7 universities also have considerable total expenditures, ranging from \$738.7m (the University of Adelaide) to \$1,663.4m (the University of Melbourne). In total, Go7 universities generate over \$9b of expenditure. Only the University of Queensland generates operating income, before impairment of financial assets, in excess of 10 per cent of revenue (11.3 per cent); the other six Australian universities registered 7.6 per cent or lower, with Adelaide the lowest at 6.1 per cent. Table 1 shows the Go7's operating income before impairment is 7.5 per cent of its revenue.

When these expenditures of revenue are broken down into academic salaries, other salaries and non-

salary expenses, a pattern emerges. Over 40 per cent of expenditure of Go7 revenue is devoted to non-salary expenses, and just less than 25 per cent of expenditure of Go7 revenue is allocated to salaries for staff other than academics. Go7 expenditure on academic salaries represents 28 per cent of total revenue. The University of Adelaide, the smallest of the Go7 universities by revenue and expenditure, spends over 43 per cent of its revenue on non-salary expenses; the University of Melbourne, the largest of the Go7 universities, also spends over 43 per cent of its revenue on non-salary expenses. Clearly, there would be opportunities in a Go7 merger to cut back expenditures on both non-salary expenses and salaries for other staff. There is also scope to cut back expenditures on academic salaries.

Table 2: Statement of financial position of Go7 as at 31 December 2011

<i>University</i>	<i>Adelaide</i>	<i>Melbourne</i>	<i>Monasb</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>Q'land</i>	<i>Sydney</i>	<i>WA</i>	<i>Total (Go7)</i>
	<i>\$'000</i>							
Current assets:								
Cash	32,339	177,886	52,154	94,608	380,394	210,866	105,305	1,053,552
HTM # Financial Assets	-			156,029		-		156,029
Other Current Assets	132,305	158,355a	81,501	85,794	134,636	111,658	62,185	766,434
Total Current Assets	164,644	336,241	133,655	336,431	515,030	322,524	167,490	1,976,015
Non-Current Assets:								
Financial Assets	119,875	1,086,344	342,425	386,042	175,433	731,330	436,754	3,278,203
Deferred Govt. Super Contribution	69,869	120,074	183,819	960,312	-	1,046,509	-	2,380,583
Land	218,087	764,334	365,250	246,828	378,587	171,377	266,708	2,411,171
Building including WIP #	754,807	2,086,892	1,383,147	1,172,921	1,703,480	1,489,295	674,288	9,264,830
PPE #	48,054	52,318	124,440	129,570	352,756	286,294	60,601	1,054,033
Other Non Current Assets	70,627	224,587	238,715	37,555	115,330	740,079	92,839	1,519,732
Total Non Current Assets	1,281,319	4,334,549	2,637,796	2,933,228	2,725,586	4,464,884	1,531,190	19,908,552
Total Assets	1,445,963	4,670,790	2,771,451	3,269,659	3,240,616	4,787,408	1,698,680	21,884,567
Current Liabilities	104,902b	577,852a	321,579	371,366	321,777	305,493c	118,293	2,121,262
Deferred benefit obligations	65,669	120,074	183,819	1,050,871	-	1,087,300	9,476	2,517,209
Other Non Current Liabilities	155,934	310,906	296,494	112,092	177,977	28,592	103,878	1,185,873
Total Liabilities	326,505	1,008,832	801,892	1,534,329	499,754	1,421,385	231,647	5,824,344
Net Assets	1,119,458	3,661,958	1,969,559	1,735,330	2,740,862	3,366,023	1,467,033	16,060,223
Equity:								
Capital and Reserves	939,361	2,535,764	1,131,494	473,898	1,639,350	1,002,066	107,609	7,829,542
Retained Earnings	180,097	1,126,194	838,065	1,261,432	1,096,676	2,363,957	1,359,424	8,225,845
Non Controlling Interest	-			-	4,836	-	-	4,836
Total Equity	1,119,458	3,661,958	1,969,559	1,735,330	2,740,862	3,366,023	1,467,033	16,060,223

HTM (financial assets held to maturity) WIP (construction work in progress) PPE (property, plant and equipment) a, b, c include 8,820,000; 4,200,000 and 3,528,000 of defined benefit obligations respectively. For a, 8,820,000 has also been included in current assets.

As depicted in Table 1, the returns on comprehensive income (Go7 with 3.9 per cent) are much lower than the returns on operating income (Go7 with 7.5 per cent).

It should be emphasised here that Melbourne's comprehensive income is only in surplus because of a revaluation of land and buildings. Losses on financial assets are estimated to be \$84,054,000, consisting of impairment expense on available-for-sale financial assets at \$48,044,000; valuation losses on available-for-sale financial assets taken to equity at \$21,893,000; and valuation loss on cash flow hedge at \$14,117,000. However, the loss on the cash flow hedge would be offset by a gain on the underlying asset or liability if it is 100 per cent effective. The University of Queensland's depreciation of land and buildings at \$169,171,000 is probably due to the flood damage in that state. Total losses on financial assets are estimated to be \$116,380,000 and total actuarial losses on defined benefit schemes are estimated to be \$52,836,000. A potential Go7 merger could potentially seek improved comprehensive income returns.

Table 2 shows aggregated and comparative figures for the Statement of Financial Position which provides a broad picture of the universities' assets, liabilities and equity.

Around \$21.9b of Go7 assets are represented by \$5.8b of liabilities and \$16.1b of equity. In a mark of the complexities of combining Go7 accounts, the asset-deferred government superannuation contribution and the liability-deferred benefit obligations arise due to unfunded superannuation benefit obligations to employees who were members of State Superannuation schemes under their former employees (such as Victorian College of Arts becoming part of the University of Melbourne). The obligations are unfunded because there is a shortfall (present value of obligations exceeding fair value of funds' assets) in the State Superannuation Scheme. The asset arises as the Commonwealth Government has agreed, with some state governments, to make up the shortfall. This means the asset should equal the liability, which it does for four universities but not for the Universities of Western Australia, New South Wales and Sydney. For University of Western Australia, it may be that the asset is not separately disclosed, although the University of Western Australia may pay as costs arise. The excess of liability over asset is substantial for the Universities of New South Wales and Sydney. For the University of New

South Wales this is partly due to a shortfall in the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) fund, which provides defence-funded postgraduate study, but may also be due to the possibility that the Commonwealth Government may not cover the shortfall for Non-Contributory State Superannuation Schemes. (This also applies to the University of Sydney which has made provision for non-coverage of the shortfall.)

A merged Go7 might be able to manage these thorny issues through greater attention to detail through combination reporting analysis. Presently a number of questions on management of costs arise from the analysis. The first question relates to the value of the deferred government superannuation contribution asset. The reimbursement is not guaranteed but there is no reason to believe (at present) that the Commonwealth Government would not continue to meet the shortfall. The concern is that this asset represents nearly 30 per cent of UNSW's total assets and nearly 22 per cent of University of Sydney's total assets. A further concern is the extent to which this possible non-coverage applies to the other universities. The last column of Table 3 below shows the impact on the percentage of land and buildings as a percentage of total assets if this contribution is excluded.

In addition, the business combination reporting analysis raises the question as to why the University of Queensland is the only university to treat the obligation as a contingent liability. There are, in other words, some idiosyncrasies in the accounts which might be made more consistent through a potential merger.

A third question concerns the difference in the amount of liability between the Universities of New South Wales and Sydney and the other five universities. Differences

Table 3: Buildings and land with buildings to total assets of Go7

<i>University</i>	<i>Buildings to Total assets (%)</i>	<i>Land & Buildings to Total Assets (%)</i>	<i>Buildings to total assets (%) (excluding deferred government grants from total assets)</i>	<i>Land & Buildings to total assets (%) (excluding deferred government grants from total assets)</i>
Adelaide	52.2	67.3	54.8	70.7
Melbourne	44.7	61.0	45.9	62.7
Monash	49.9	63.1	53.5	67.6
NSW	35.9	43.4	50.8	61.5
Queensland	52.6	64.2	52.6	64.2
Sydney	31.1	34.7	39.8	44.4
WA	40.0	55.4	40.0	55.4
Overall (Go7)	42.3	53.4	47.5	59.9

do not appear to arise from size, as Melbourne has nearly the same total assets as Sydney. It could be that the New South Wales State Superannuation Board followed a different asset portfolio policy to other State Boards or it could be that the extent of the shortfall has not been recognised in the other states. The reason is not clear.

As shown in Table 2, in total the Go7 holds \$21.9b of assets, of which non-current assets are \$19.9b. As depicted in Table 3, most of these non-current assets (\$11.7b) are held as land and buildings. Total assets excluding the government superannuation contribution make up \$19.5b.

A merger could substantially reduce the amount of these assets, thus reducing costs. The University of Adelaide has the highest percentage (67.3 per cent) of land and buildings to total assets but the University of New South Wales percentage jumps from 43.4 per cent to 61.5 per cent if the Commonwealth Government superannuation contribution is excluded.

Conclusion

Combination reporting analysis demonstrates that there would be potential cost-savings in merging the Go7 Australian universities. The results of the analysis in this paper show that a merged Go7 could lead to a reduction of the substantial costs in non-salary expenses and salary costs of staff other than academics that are presently incurred by each of the seven individual universities. Other potential cost savings include a reduction in the huge net losses resulting from speculative foreign currency trading, minimisation of substantial risks from holding extensive foreign assets, and improvement of worrying governance issues through unusual dividend practices and balance sheet reserve manipulation.

There are other benefits from a potential Go7 merger. A merged Go7 not only unifies the financial accounting reporting of the prestigious Australian universities, but also emphasises the importance of the accountability of universities for their use of state as well as federal funds, particularly in restraining universities from financing non-core activities. This accountability may be enhanced by improving transparency in university financial statement reporting. Combination reporting analysis highlighted the difficulties Go7 universities face in treating the assets-deferred government superannuation contributions and the liability-deferred benefit obligation.

Findings from this study would be of interest to a great many internal and external stakeholders of the seven Australian universities. Universities' financial statements are used by a plethora of stakeholders. These include taxpay-

ers with an interest in the universities' use of public money; governments, with a keen interest in calculations of annual dividends to be paid to the government; commercial banks who look for appropriate practices of financial statement disclosure; external suppliers and lenders who are interested in the universities' ability to meet their obligations to them; credit rating agencies and financial market investors; and purchasers of university services. The findings from this study might be particularly useful for political strategists in the Australian federal government.

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A precarious presence

Some realities and challenges of academic casualisation in Australian universities

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Drawing on various secondary sources and direct encounters with casual academic staff, this article examines the emergent context and lived experiences of casualisation in Australian universities, with specific reference to on-going developments in teaching arrangements across the sector. Particular attention is paid to the challenges associated with the 'precarious' nature of casual employment and what this means in terms of engagement with academics in more secure forms of employment and their respective institutions more generally. The article concludes by inviting continuing academics to reconsider both how they think about and engage with large scale casualisation in their midst, and what this might mean from an activist standpoint that views such employment arrangements as disempowering and iniquitous.

Introduction

Over recent years, casual academic employees have been disparagingly referred to as domestic servants, indentured labourers, army reserves, workhorses and even slaves (see Matchett, 2008). Many senior university academics and administrators, on the other hand, like to consider casuals (publicly, at least) as a new post-industrial breed of flexible, choice-rich, adaptable personnel, capable of multi-tasking and happy to remain in the margins of university life. Within the sector itself, casualisation is considered as something of a 'dirty secret' whereby – as one of our colleagues put it: 'everyone knows it's going on, but we really don't like to talk about it.'

Casuals, of course, see themselves and the world of work in a little different light. Numerous surveys indicate that casual academic staff would like to be more integrally involved in university affairs; generally prefer secure employment; and would appreciate the opportunity of embarking on a genuine academic career path.

Most casuals want more secure and less precarious jobs, either as permanent or part-time members of staff. They do not want to feel, as many do, like expendable flotsam on turbulent institutional waters dictated by the vagaries of supply and demand and cost-cutting practices (Coates, Dobson, Edwards, Friedman, Goedegebuure & Meek, 2009; Junor, 2004).

The National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU, 2012) recently estimated, on the basis of a simple head count, the aggregate number of casual academic employees in Australian universities at around 67,000; or 9,265 'units' when calculated in terms of full-time equivalent (FTE) positions. Of this population, 57 per cent are women, most of whom struggle to balance various domestic and professional demands on their time. Additionally, casuals undertake most of the more demanding areas of teaching with more than 50 per cent of all undergraduate teaching performed by casual staff (May, Strachan, Broadbent & Peetz, 2011).

Such statistics are, however, only crude indicators of the casual academic workforce. There are two significant

problems with obtaining accurate data in respect of this particular group of university employees. The first concerns the ways in which Australia's universities record and report numbers of casual staff. Invariably, such tallies derive from FTE calculations that are sent annually to the university statistics section of the designated Commonwealth Government department (Bexley, James & Arkoudis, 2011; *cf.* Coates & Goedegebuure, 2010). Although the eventual findings convey general data, they do not allow for a clear picture in relation to how many casual staff actually work in universities at any given time and, set against the turnover of casuals and employees on fixed-term teaching contracts – which, anecdotally at least, can be significant – the overall picture gets murkier.

The second related problem in calculating casual academic numbers is that many universities are remiss in keeping accurate records of how many such employees they may have on their books. This may seem extraordinary in a system so pre-occupied with measurement, but the presence of what one university administrator privately referred to as 'ghosts in the machine', was confirmed by a leading higher education researcher from the University of Melbourne, who stated ('off the record') that many universities have extremely shoddy and incomplete methods of data collection when it comes to casuals. For example, casuals who no longer work for a university often remain on the books. At other times, they may be given contracts long after being 'employed', or they have simply 'disappeared' (that is, been summarily dismissed) and their records duly discarded. Given the precarious nature of casual employment, 'disappearances' of casual academic staff are not uncommon in the sector, since casuals can rapidly, and often without explanation, be granted no further contracts and, therefore, are dispatched from the workplace, never to be seen again.

In short, given the high turnover of casual academic staff and the absence of complete records, we may never know the precise number – FTE or otherwise – of those who pass through the university system. Therefore, based on what, in effect, amounts to a guesstimate from the Centre for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Melbourne, casual academic staff constitute the majority of academic staff, with the actual proportions varying according to each institution, but most apparent in regional universities. As such, the role of casual academic staff in universities is pivotal, especially when it comes to teaching. In some cases, casual staff undertake up to 80 per cent of first year teaching and more than 50 per cent of all university teaching, which is euphemised as 'sessional' labour. Additionally, casual staff members often

coordinate large core units (without proper remuneration); mark excessive numbers of assignments; and undertake administrative duties for which, again, they are not adequately remunerated (Connell, 2012, p. 13).

The growth of the number of casuals over the years has also become a major focus of the sector quality regulator—the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA)—highlighting the relatively poor reputation that Australian higher education institutions have on an international level, partly because of their general failure to offer secure employment to the ranks of casual academic staff and, importantly, because of the perceived poor standard teaching resulting from the sector's over-reliance on casual staff who often have only a passing knowledge of their allocated teaching areas (Probert, 2013).

Such perceptions are the result of systemic rather than individual failings. For instance, it is widely recognised that sessional staff often receive little induction or professional development in respect of teaching, are generally less available to students (because of limited time allocation), and are generally marginalised within their schools and departments because of the fragmented and discontinuous nature of their employment and because of organisational cultures that are less than inclusive (Probert, 2013, p. 35). Significantly, the casuals' plight appears to receive little support from their non-casual colleagues, with whom they often have a one-sided 'arrangement of convenience' that liberates non-casual staff from heavy teaching and marking loads.

Even though the NTEU has placed its support behind the creation of 2,000 entry-level Scholarly Teaching Fellow positions in order to reduce the unsustainable levels of exploitation among casual teaching staff (Rea, 2012), sector managers are likely to sanction this new category of workers by offering conversion into 'teaching-only' or 'teaching-focused' positions of eligible casuals. It remains to be seen to what extent this newly created category of 'university teachers' will be able to escape exploitative terms and conditions, as well as the further casualisation and marginalisation among Australia's academic workforce (Probert, 2013).

Probert's (2013) discussion paper draws attention to current developments that will have significant effects on the future of Australia's academic workforce, as well as the role of teaching at Australian universities itself, which hitherto has been characterised by a widespread cultural acceptance of the nexus between teaching and research. Further institutional ramifications are likely to unfold in the wake of heated industrial debates that appear to dominate current national enterprise bargaining negotiations

relating to proposed reductions to the number of casuals at all universities. Such measures, if accepted, will further alter the position of casuals in the context of the academic workforce. For non-casual employees, the consequences of these reforms are far-reaching particularly when it comes to the common managerial attempt to assert the nexus of teaching and research activities. Indeed, as Probert (2013, p. 38) suggests, the inherent risks involved in 'unbundling' the traditional role of academics, may lead to a situation that encourages 'the stratification rather than differentiation of roles'. This may, in turn, create yet another perceived 'inferior' echelon of workers required to generate sound financial returns in a globally competitive environment.

Explaining mass casualisation

Various explanations have been offered to account for the disproportionately high numbers of casual academic staff in Australian universities. The Commonwealth Government has attributed the rise, in part, to: various cost-cutting measures; the drift of full-time academics away from the workforce because of factors such as ageing, take-up of other professional positions, retrenchments and redundancies; and/or general disillusionment with academic pay and conditions. Often, vacant full-time teaching positions have been filled by casual staff, with up to four casuals taking up the reins of a single continuing position (Bexley, *et al.*, 2011).

In 'Transforming Australia's Higher Education System', DEEWR (2009) noted that the then Australian Labor Party government under Prime Minister Kevin Rudd anticipated that Australian universities would utilise a significant part of additional funding for the purpose of workforce renewal and growth. It was recognised that job insecurity, as experienced by casual academic employees, along with other organisational factors, were significant contributors to a drift away from the profession (DEEWR, 2009, p. 23).

Notwithstanding the deepening crisis over the decline in continuing appointments, it is apparent that rather than creating more permanent positions to counter the increasing number of retirements among baby-boomers, as well as greater student demand, the trend in casualisation remains upwards (Rowbottom, 2010a). Of particular significance is the rapid growth of casuals and fixed-term appointments among 'early career academics' who are forced to join the 'post-doctoral treadmill' (Edwards, Radloff & Coates, 2009), which is characterised by an almost endless series of repeat sessional contracts, without ever leading to a substantive, permanent appointment. Such

employment practices make little sense when put into the context of the anticipated demand for some 40,000 extra staff, by 2030, to cover the growth of the sector and the estimated replacement of some 16,400 staff who will retire over the next few decades (Bexley *et al.*, 2011, pp. 2-3). Hugo predicted, in 2005, that approximately 50 per cent of Australia's on-going academics would retire between then and 2015 (see May *et al.*, 2011, p. 2).

Australia's casual academic employees are part of a much larger population of over two million Australians who experience varying degrees of precarious employment. Integral to the employment practices of the neo-liberal economy, academic casuals represent the changing face of industrial relations whereby occupational mobility, choice and flexibility over-ride job security and longevity (Travers, 2011; Bexley *et al.*, 2011).

The report of the Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia (Howe, Biddington, Munro & Charlesworth, 2012, p. 14), defines insecure work:

... as poor quality work that provides workers with little economic security and little control over their working lives. The characteristics of these jobs can include unpredictable and fluctuating pay; inferior rights and entitlements; limited or no access to paid leave; irregular and unpredictable working hours; a lack of security and/or other uncertainty over the length of the job; and a lack of any say at work over wages, conditions and work-organisation... [and] challenges... most often associated with non-permanent forms of employment like casual work, fixed-term contracts, independent contracting and labour hire—all of which are growing.

Generally, 30 per cent of all academic casuals have been in casual jobs for more than 3 years; 20 per cent for more than 5 years; and 10 per cent for more than 10 years. This means that 60 per cent of all casuals have been in a position of insecure employment for 3 years or more (Rea, 2012a, pp. 19-20).

Additionally, all academic casuals are subject to the idiosyncrasies of academic supervisors, deans and heads of school. By virtue of their employment status, the vast majority of casuals have no entitlement to sick leave, holiday pay, or long service leave, and can be fired 'at will', without any right of appeal. Furthermore, casuals do not generally receive support to progress their research skills and publications output, and are rarely—if ever—involved in curriculum development, all of which are commonly considered core activities of an academic. Ultimately, the result of such precarious arrangements is a workforce that exhibits distinct signs of stress and insecurity, made worse by the perceived necessity of adhering to the expectations of their supervisors in an institutional

context that is increasingly characterised by competitiveness, diminished collegiality and excessive workloads (see Gottschalk, 2007; McInnis & Anderson, 2005).

Casualisation and the market

Universities operate in a ruthlessly competitive global environment in which everything possible is done to lessen 'costs', including employment costs. Typically, these are reduced through a variety of institutional means including the employment of a relatively cheaper casual academic workforce which is required to deliver course materials on a 'session-by-session' basis. However, the employment of casual academic staff impacts negatively on the quality of teaching in higher education by what amounts to the *ad hoc* allocation of specialist teaching areas and the erosion of continuity resulting in the diminution of intellectual capital. Casualisation also limits sustained, independent inquiry and the involvement of casuals in community affairs, as well as opportunities for public intellectualism – a problem besetting most Western universities (Ferudi, 2012). Arguably, universities as largely publicly funded institutions are doing a disservice to the public interest, by deliberately undermining a long-fought battle for academic job security and, by implication, academic freedom. As Robinson (2012, p. 21) observes:

[W]ithout security of employment, moreover, they [casual academics] cannot effectively exercise their academic freedom. Institutional censorship need not be the blunt and visible instrument of dismissal, but rather simply a quiet contract for non-renewal.

Equally, the 'quiet contract' may enforce a culture of institutional compliance and acquiescence, since casuals, who are often desperate for continuing employment, seek to avoid conflict by adhering tacitly to the expectations of their immediate supervisors and colleagues. The precarious nature of casual employment, in effect, means that compliance is achieved through the application of iniquitous employment arrangements that privilege powerful institutional agents, thereby rendering casual academic employees vulnerable to the vagaries of those in more secure forms of work (Brown, Goodman, & Keiko, 2010).

As noted above, there is also a gender dimension to precarious employment. Many female academic casuals (who make up the bulk of casual academic employees) seek to balance home and work in often highly stressful circumstances (May *et al.*, 2011). As noted, casuals tend to hold multiple positions at several different universities, suggesting that they struggle to achieve acceptable levels of income or the conditions associated with continuing

employment. For women in diverse household arrangements, the insecure nature of casual employment can mean material hardship, lack of job security, and diminished prospects of career advancement (see Hosking & Western, 2008; Wright, Williamson, Schaubert & Stockfeld, 2003; Strachan, Troup, Pectz, Whitehouse, Broadbent & Bailey, 2012).

Any lingering doubts about the challenges facing casual academic employees are surely dispelled by the latest survey of casual employees conducted by the NTEU's (2012) Casual Teaching and Research Staff Survey 2012. Based on interviews conducted with 1,243 employees across a range of Australian regional and metropolitan institutions and disciplines, the study makes for salutary reading. Here are some of the salient findings, which confirm some well-established trends:

- Most casuals worked far more than the hours for which they were paid.
- Sixty per cent did not attend staff and other faculty meetings.
- Most casuals presided over tutorials of 20 or more students, although many taught much larger groups.
- Nearly half had no rooms to meet or consult with their students.
- Many received little or no induction or staff development training.
- Most did not have access to the resources required to do their work (in some cases including adequate rooms, phones, or access to a computer).

Beyond such worrying conclusions, we still know relatively little of the lived realities of casual employment in today's university system. While there are data alluding to disempowering employment and work practices—like late contracts, lack of induction, training and development, poor resources and support, as well as the teaching of unfamiliar units, and so forth—few studies make plain the routine personal and professional challenges faced by casual academic staff (Brown, Goodman & Yasukawa, 2006). The following narrative extracts, collected over a period of some two years from conversations with other researchers and colleagues who were all employed as casuals, or on fixed-term teaching contracts, tell us a good deal about the lived-experiences of people who aspired to become non-casual academics.

Stories from the frontline

As noted, the Centre for the Study of Higher Education, the NTEU and the LH Martin Institute have pointed to challenges facing casual academic employees, and there is

even a website that enables casuals to record their experiences of precarious employment in the sector (Bexley *et al.*, 2011; Coates & Goedegebuure, 2010). Not surprisingly, the site includes a litany of familiar complaints of the sort identified above. Below are some additional accounts that could well be included on the site. A particular theme highlighted here relates to the relationship of casual academics to their full-time colleagues, and the actions—or lack thereof—taken by those in more secure employment in respect of those who are in precarious positions (particularly when it came to advancing the employment prospects of casual employees). This has become a recurrent theme not only in our own encounters, but throughout the relevant literature (Bryson, 2004; Gottschalk & McEachern, 2010; Kimber, 2003).

'Jim' is a highly intelligent casual employee in his mid-forties who, during protracted periods of casual employment at a regional university, obtained a PhD. He was employed by the university for over two years, during which time he experienced a range of difficult challenges, not only in terms of keeping on top of his workload (which included duties commonly carried out by 'Level B' employees, such as unit coordination), but also in negotiating the challenging conditions present in his school's organisational culture. He claimed to have witnessed arbitrary decision-making in respect of his casual colleagues (for instance, as to which subjects they would teach and what exactly they would be paid for), patronage (decisions based on favouritism) and outright intimidation and bullying by both other academics and the school head (for a general discussion on patronage, see Martin, 2009).

Shocked and distressed by what he saw as the exploitation and powerlessness experienced by casual academics, 'Jim' decided, as the advocate of the school's casuals, to undertake a survey of what they were experiencing, the results of which were eventually communicated at a tense and sombre staff meeting. The full-time academic staff had known for some time about the inequities experienced by their casual colleagues, but had either remained silent, or mouthed their objections only in private.

But 'Jim' was a person of conviction and determination, and so presented to the meeting his data on the school's governance. Among the conclusions was that casuals were routinely left out of the decision-making processes; held

little sway over course content; and felt generally marginalised and estranged from the institution in which they worked. They also complained about many of the things identified in the aforementioned NTEU survey. One of us was at the meeting, and also remained silent, other than to mouth support into the ear of one of the colleagues who leaned over and (presciently, as it turned out) whispered: 'that's the end of his career, here'. And so it proved. The casual academic advocate was almost immediately cold-shouldered by his unit supervisor and the head of school. He was never reappointed and nothing was heard from him again. No-one mentioned what happened to him and, instead, the hegemonic order was preserved. (The said person did, however, go on to a successful academic career in a major metropolitan university and is now a leading international expert on environmental govern-

The casual academic advocate was almost immediately cold-shouldered by his unit supervisor and the head of school. He was never reappointed and nothing was heard from him again. No-one mentioned what happened to him and, instead, the hegemonic order was preserved.

ance). In reflecting on his experience as a casual, 'Jim' reserved most opprobrium for his former full-time colleagues, who he considered as less than forthcoming or supportive when it came to the iniquitous treatment of himself and his casual colleagues; 'I suppose that was my biggest disappointment',

he later remarked.

Another academic casual, this time in a metropolitan university, was a keen aspirant to the scholarly life. In the midst of research for his PhD and balancing several jobs just to get by, 'Rod' was subjected to all the disempowering and humiliating practices associated with patronage, being referred to, at one stage, by the head of school as a 'good lad' and having to comply with decisions he thought objectionable, such as teaching units of which he had no knowledge. He was also compelled, as he saw it, to undertake work for which he was not adequately paid; and having his views on unit material routinely dismissed. Additionally, he was never consulted in relation to key issues about course-coordination, nor was he invited to offer ideas as to how units could be improved in terms of content or delivery. At other times, he was chastised publicly by an administrator for imagined misdemeanours to which he hesitated to respond for fear of retribution from those upon whom his employment depended. Invariably, his contracts were processed long after he had started teaching, and there was no promise of renewal, let alone a career path toward full-time employment. Rarely did he spend meaningful time with other academics and

only spoke with students during allocated consultation times. There was precious little sense of an academic 'community' or the abiding collegiality that should make university a congenial place in which to work. But again, his most heartfelt response to such circumstances was in relation to his permanent colleagues:

[A]s some staff unconsciously sometimes said, casuals were not considered 'real staff'. And they ranked well below tenured admin-staff in power dynamics. Effectively, casual teaching staff constituted a pool of disempowered labour outside the university as an organisation. The fact that some of them had offices inside the physical campus did not alter this. Casual staff were exploited, bullied, manipulated and disrespected in ways that the general public would never believe. In the historic past, this may have been a form semi-brutal initiation into academia – now it's just how it is...

After three years of loyal service in difficult circumstances, and constantly seeking to do 'the right thing', 'Rod' received no further employment or adequate explanation as to why this should be the case. Suffice to say, any mention of the school in which he once worked is greeted with seething dismissals of its claims to ethical or contractual propriety.

For those casual academics, seeking conversion to permanent employment, often after years of repeat contracts, the response of universities can be less than supportive. Some senior academic managers, in conjunction with human resources personnel, adopt various 'blocking' tactics that include endless excuses to justify the lengthy delays in decision-making process among the hierarchical chains of command, thus resulting in further demoralisation of those employees who are 'promised' some form of permanency when hesitantly accepting excessive workloads during 'summer schools'.

According to many of our former casual colleagues, common excuses for such practices would be: 'wait and see how next year's enrolments in the new course evolve'; 'let's see what next year's budget looks like'; 'as acting head of school only, I am not in a position to make any long-term commitments pertaining to the school's future staffing profile'; 'let's wait until the new enterprise agreement is ratified'; or, 'we will look after you, once your PhD has been conferred'. Other tactics might include constant changing of the criteria applying to the requisites that may determine conversion from fixed-term contracts into a permanent appointment.

Take the case of 'Julia' who, after over eleven years of successive fixed-term contracts and a series of satisfactory Performance Management and Development Reviews

(PMDRs), as well as receiving official awards for teaching excellence, was initially unsuccessful in her bid for conversion to a permanent position. Worse still, the school in which she was employed, began advertising for permanent teaching-focused positions during the same time when she had lodged her application for conversion. The advertised position sought almost identical duties to which 'Julia' had attended over the last six years, during which time she had taken no breaks over six successive trimesters. Despite her 'ticking all the boxes' with regard to required qualifications, relevant experience, and the official recognition of her excellent employment record, she was rejected in her bid for permanent employment on the grounds of a perceived lack of research outputs. What eventually secured permanent employment for 'Julia' was the unrelenting efforts of an NTEU industrial officer who, following rejection after rejection, was successfully able to present her case as coterminous with each and every condition stipulated under the university's enterprise agreement. In addition, the industrial officer was able to highlight the many contradictions in the university's interpretation of the requisite conditions among the different layers of administration and senior officials. Her conversion to permanency was agreed to at the level at which she had been working for the last five years, although she was again placed on probation for a new term of three years.

Compulsory self-reflection?

Such accounts can be multiplied by the hundreds, perhaps thousands, and have swirled around the higher education sector for a decade or more. The less precariously employed—continuing academics—have occasionally commented within and beyond their institutions about the exploitation of casuals, but generally have watched this situation endure under their collective watch. To be sure, industrial action in a small number of universities has been directed specifically at growing casualisation, but these actions have been sporadic and uncoordinated within the sector.

Why is this case? How can such widespread inequities occur in institutional places – in the above cases, schools of arts, social sciences and humanities – where social justice and human rights are espoused as a matter of course in teaching, research and publications? The explanation is of course rather complex but, in part, is attributable to the administrative intricacies and power relations of the neo-liberal, corporate-managerialist university (Connell, 2012). Altered systems of employee regulation, exponential

increases in workloads, and a stifling culture of 'busyness', have rendered the academic workplace unrecognisable when compared to even a few years ago (NTEU, 2009; see also essays in Molesworth, Scullipon & Nixon, 2010). The urgency of responding to the demands of a 'massified' global student market, new forms of cyber technology and the rigours of quality assurance, have each added to the burdens of today's academics (Hil, 2012). Consequently, there is often precious little time to deepen collegial relationships, or to address many of the challenges and inequities that arise in the workplace.

Often, the supervision of casual academic employees can feel more like a burden than collegial endeavour, with contracts requiring completion, administrative demands, and regular supervision being the order of the day (Rowbottom, 2010b). New casuals need to be formally interviewed and inducted into the often bewildering world of university administration, though more experienced casuals invariably find their own way through the bureaucratic thicket. Busyness contributes to an organisational culture in which academics find themselves increasingly sequestered away in highly self-contained and individualised workplaces that afford little space or time for collegial engagement, other than in infrequent staff and other meetings (which in any event, can be highly disempowering forums committed to financial and administrative affairs, rather than ethical or political questions).

To question institutional arrangements or employment orthodoxies in the context of a corporate culture, is to risk being viewed as a 'trouble maker', or as someone not quite in keeping with the main imperatives (or 'strategic' goals/directions) of one's university and, therefore, school governance. Employee compliance, brand allegiance and an institutional commitment to income generation and long-term profitability are all the contextual constraints under which academics now operate. Invariably, therefore, school cultures tend – despite their best intentions – to position casuals as marginal to routine corporate challenges and, although non-casual academics may at times voice their disapproval of never-ending casualisation and the shoddy treatment of their casual academic colleagues, the tenor of political opposition rarely rises above the corridor whisper.

Concerted collective action in relation to casualisation is rarer still, although over the years the academic union, the NTEU, has undertaken surveys, created a website for casuals to express their views, and has fought on behalf of casuals through enterprise bargaining processes. To be sure, this has produced some significant improvements to the situation of some casuals in some universi-

ties, although there is no national strategy to deal with the challenges facing casual academics in the university system. Notwithstanding this perceived lack of active opposition, the 2013 round of (collective) enterprise bargaining will, as indicated before, include policies aimed directly at creating new jobs and replacing a minimum of 20 per cent of a university's casual academic teaching staff with permanent positions (Rea, 2012a, p. 20). Regardless of such developments, the response of continuing academics to the inequities experienced by casual academics has over the years been the growing acquiescence to and normalisation of such practices – so that they become an embodied but 'regrettable' aspect of university governance – occasioning, in its wake, a general inertia brought about by compliance regimes designed to reduce costs, protect the brand, and therefore, to ensure market share.

Arguably, and in effect, by feeling unable or unwilling to speak out, 'turning-a-blind-eye' to patronage and bullying, and by ignoring the often comparable pay and conditions linked to casual work, those in secure, non-casual employment who have remained silent, carry some responsibility for what is a significant and long-enduring injustice. As noted, some academics will speak out about such injustices through their union (although only about 25 per cent belong to the national union), and others have made representations at staff and other institutional meetings, or argued their case in print (Cowley, 2010), only for such arguments to be brushed aside or be consigned to ongoing review, thereby ensuring that the current situation prevails. Yet others have sought to protect the interests of casuals and to treat them with dignity and respect. On other occasions, however, as noted by a number of our own casual colleagues, some academics have treated casuals with disregard bordering on disdain and often appear oblivious to the negative consequences of precarious employment.

For those academics and union representatives with a strong sense of social justice, another survey (or a round of ritualised complaints) may be less important than a commitment by those in secure, non-casual employment to make clear what they consider acceptable or not in terms of pay, conditions and career pathways for their less than fortunate colleagues. More specifically, they might argue against further casualisation in various fora, appoint advocates, call for more equitable governance arrangements, and seek to open up career paths for those who have received recurrent contracts. They might also build close campaign alliances through the tertiary education sector union and state what they

intend to do if significant improvements are not forthcoming. At the very least, the precarious circumstances facing casual academic staff should never be left off school or university-wide agendas.

The NTEU is about to undertake yet another round of negotiations relating to casualisation and, as noted above, some universities have already made headway in this regard. But without explicit sector-wide public commitment and collective action on the part of continuing academics to no longer tolerate blatant exploitation in their midst, there is every likelihood that the many problems associated with mass-casualisation will endure. As part of the struggle against institutional inequities, it is also important to counter the rationalisations of senior university administrators that casual employment is necessarily about 'market flexibility', 'cost saving' and 'choice'.

More importantly, in view of the NTEU's position with regard to converting a significant proportion of casuals into entry-level scholarly teaching fellow positions across the sector nationally, continuing academics will now also have to become more vigilant about the concerted efforts by university administrators to increase the number of teaching-focused roles among eligible casuals, as well as via conversion of some of their existing 'teaching and research' staff. However, as noted by Probert (2013)

[T]he status of teaching-focused appointments in Australian Universities, and the development of full career paths, are widely seen as dependent on greater agreement about what constitutes excellence in university teaching. There is an acknowledged danger that differentiation will, in fact, mean stratification.... Teaching-focused appointments can raise the status of teaching or continue its marginalisation (p. 3).

Not only are the future career-chances of many casual employees at stake here, but the position of thousands of non-casual academics will rapidly become the main issue in a battle between managerial prerogatives and the protection of a long-established culture of academic roles, public responsibilities, rights and entitlements.

Conclusion

In the current context of corporate managerialism and marketised 'casino capitalism' (Sinn, 2010), the demand for casual academics is set to continue along on its current trajectory. Australia-wide, academics are increasingly pressured to comply with the imperatives of neo-liberal ideology and maintain an educational sector that requires an ever-increasing number of 'flexible' workers. However, as Rea (2012b, p. 2) observes:

[T]he academic job is changing, but we cannot let the tenured teaching and research academic become a rarity replaced by rafts of often highly qualified and skilled, but precariously employed learning and teaching professionals employed casually and on short term contracts. This is not educationally or financially sustainable. Teaching is the core business of universities, not to be reduced to a series of projects because of funding shortfalls and mistaken budget priorities.

Yet, to question institutional orthodoxies in relation to employment practices is, like much else in the university sector, to run the risk of being regarded as opposed to hegemonic corporate governance. School cultures in this climate tend to position casual academic staff as marginal to the main strategic challenges of the day, and although continuing academics may voice their disapproval of the iniquitous treatment of their casual colleagues, active, sustained and targeted opposition is a rarity.

Arguably, in order to address the possibility of changing the precarious situation of casual employees, non-casual academics – under the critical leadership of the institution's professoriate – may need to become more assertive and strategically astute in pursuit of justice, fairness and equity in relation to their casual colleagues who, from a corporate perspective, are positioned as short-term, marginalised and ultimately expendable labour. Academic articles like the current one are one form of academic activism, but critical knowledge of social injustice is only one part of a broader struggle to address the inequities experienced by casual academic staff.

Alternatively, non-casual academics will need to be extremely vigilant about the response of university managers with regard to pressures from both the NTEU and TEQSA, albeit each for different reasons, to reduce the unacceptable high levels of casualisation at Australian universities. The proposed erosion of the traditional academic role in the form of 'unbundling' research and teaching (Probert 2013), is likely to create a new category of 'casualties' and a 'reserve army' of cheap(er) labour that will change the essence of teaching in higher education, as hitherto delivered by Australian universities, forever.

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Sixteen years of change for Australian female academics

Progress or segmentation?

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Quantitative methods and secondary data informed by critical realism and a feminist standpoint provide a contemporary snapshot of academic gender ratios in Australian universities, along with historical data, for the entire population of interest. The study is set in the context of the well-researched, worldwide gendered nature of higher education and focuses on female academics in teaching due to the teaching-research status divide and systemic changes such as managerialism that bring teaching into the limelight. Findings reveal that women's overall status continues to improve, albeit slowly. For example, parity in the teaching professoriate may not be achieved until 2033. Apparent gains are patchy in that women tend to be confined to 'bad' jobs as casual teachers and males still constitute a large majority of the academic professoriate. Overall, the increasing numbers of women mask segmentation and marginalisation. The pipeline and critical mass theories are useful explanations for this gender imbalance. The main policy recommendation is to create and privilege ongoing, teaching specialist roles.

Introduction

Universities are highly gendered institutions and this is an international phenomenon. The gender balance in Australian universities is analysed by reporting contemporary data on academic staffing numbers. National gender statistics for the last sixteen years are examined in order to establish trends and benchmarks for academic women's employment status, representation and level, particularly in teaching roles. Teaching is emphasised due to women's unique positioning in relation to this academic responsibility and the ways in which it may exacerbate their lower

status. The paper is organised to first touch on the well-established, extensive literature on the gendered nature of higher education, followed by academic women's orientation to teaching, managerialism and its relationship to academic work and the Australian higher education and equity policy context. The quantitative method is informed by critical realism and a feminist standpoint. Findings are examined in the light of where women are placed in academic hierarchies and in relation to high and low status academic work. This is followed by discussion of the theoretical and policy implications.

Gender in higher education

Universities have long been acknowledged as gendered institutions by virtue of their division and organisation of labour (Allport, 1996; Benschop & Brouns, 2003; Kantola, 2008). Horizontal and vertical segregation were found in many of the countries reported in Bagilhole and White (2011) including Portugal, Ireland and Australia. Horizontal segregation is evident when women have different occupations from men. Vertical segmentation occurs where both genders are in the same occupation and men fill the higher positions (White, 2011). This gender segregation translates into women's lack of advancement and lower status, which is well documented internationally (Abbott, Sapsford & Molloy, 2005; Doherty & Manfredi, 2006; Ebner, 2007; Gopinathan, 2007; Morley, 2012; Niven, 2007; Odhiambo, 2011; Peterson, 2011; Van Den Brink, Brouns & Waslander, 2006).

Homosociability and the perception of women as 'the problem' is a common international phenomenon (O'Connor, 2011, p. 188). Like their overseas counterparts, Australian universities are still male dominated. Despite improvement over time, women academics remain under-represented at senior levels (DEEWR, 2010; Dobson, 2010; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Myers, 2008; Winchester, Lorenzo, Browning & Chesterman, 2006; Wyer, 2009). They earn less than males, even taking human capital into account (Umbach, 2007); are less likely to apply for promotion (Carrington & Pratt, 2003); are under-developed in terms of training provision (Wallace & Marchant, 2009) and specifically, leadership development (Tessens, White & Web, 2011); and suffer similar discrimination from males as professional (non-academic) staff (Wallace & Marchant, 2011). Since some of the research into the gender status of women academics was conducted a number of years ago, it is appropriate to revisit the issue, with fresh data. Here the numerical and status positioning of academic women is investigated with particular focus on teaching.

Women in teaching

The gender division in universities is evident in academic roles where women are more likely to be on the teaching track. Women academics do disproportionately more teaching (McKinney & Chick, 2010; Myers, 2008; Ebner, 2007; Wyer, 2009), are more positively orientated to teaching (Deem, 2003; White, 2003), identify more as teachers, invest more in developing a teaching identity, are more likely to voluntarily practice the scholarship of teaching and learning (McKinney & Chick, 2010; Myers, 2008), prepare more for teaching responsibilities (Wyer, 2009), find

it difficult to fit research in between their teaching, administration and pastoral care responsibilities (Neale & White, 2005) and spend more time on teaching issues (Probert, 2005). Workload allocation may hinder women through a range of interacting factors including heavier teaching loads (Barrett & Barrett, 2011).

Given this emphasis on teaching, examining national gender data and academic responsibilities undertaken by women will provide valuable context for the macro status of women vis-à-vis the various academic roles. These traditionally include teaching plus research for tenured positions, although flexible specialisation is evident in terms of teaching-only and research-only. In particular teaching-only casuals have proliferated in recent years (Coates, Dobson, Goedegebuure & Meek, 2009).

Women's stronger alignment with teaching is problematised in the literature due to teaching's lower status. Whether teaching and research compete or complement each other has long been debated (Mehallis, 1997). Teaching is central to universities' role and is the main source of funding (Subramaniam, 2003), yet, it is undervalued compared to research (Cretchley, 2009; Fletcher, Boden, Kent & Tinson, 2007). Promotion to the professoriate or senior management largely depends on research output (Riordan, 2011). Policy maintains the divide between low-status teaching and high-status research, which exacerbates the divide between women and men (Acker, 2008).

Gender, teaching and managerialism

New public management (NPM) is evident in the higher education sector, with the aim of achieving economic efficiency, through a managerial model that emphasises top-down control (Carvalho & de Lourdes Machado, 2011; Goransson, 2011). One consequence of the efficiency drive is the use of contract and casual staff for carrying out teaching duties. This has led to more precarious employment with segregation between the 'official/formal' career track and the 'hidden/informal' (non-career) track which carries a heavy teaching load and no allowance for research (Santiago & Carvalho, 2008, p. 211). It also leads to more focus on and measurement of research, particularly where it brings in external funding (Carvalho & Santiago, 2008). Goransson (2011) concluded that male domination exists across various forms of governance and that managerialism is not necessarily more or less conducive to women achieving top positions. Nonetheless, the effects may be more subtle and occur at lower levels such as segregation between teaching and research and the career and non-career tracks.

The Australian policy context

Varying national policies across different countries provide greater or lesser support for women in the workforce and in universities in particular. These policies address work-life balance, equal employment opportunity (EEO), affirmative action and parental leave. Australia's equal opportunity framework is less comprehensive than EU countries (White, 2011). In Australia, there have been years of legislative, social and policy change, but women still lag in seniority (Still, 2006). Universities and other institutions undertook extensive action to enhance the position of women (Chesterman & Ross-Smith, 2006) and significant improvements were achieved between 1995 and 2005 (Winchester *et al.*, 2006), however the culture promoted by the femocrats of the 1990s might be waning (O'Connor, 2011).

Regarding broad legislation and policy, Australia was somewhat later than New Zealand in implementing national policies such as EEO, but Australian universities have been at the forefront in paid parental leave compared to other organisations (White, 2011). Nonetheless, Australian women in general are less likely to work full-time with low participation rates for women with young children (KPMG 2010 in White, 2011). Initiatives include legislation (Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act, 1999), agencies charged with recognition, lobbying and reporting on that act (*Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA)*, 2012), new flexibility provisions in the *Fair Work Act 2009* and the Gender Equality Blueprint 2010 (White, 2011).

Since 1999, the peak body for higher education management has had an articulated commitment to gender equity. Universities Australia (UA) (formerly the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee) has had three action plans for bringing about greater gender equity and a more inclusive culture in universities (AVCC 1999, 2006; Universities Australia, 2010). UA's action plans and focus on universities taking responsibility for more inclusive cultural changes have been informed by the UA Executive Women's Committee. Elements of these plans relating to academic women have focussed on factors that contribute to increasing the numbers of women into senior management roles, increasing the number of women at C, D and E levels and pipelining women from PhDs into academic roles. The 2006 plan recognised an increase in the numbers of women at Academic level C but also uneven progress across the sector. Among its targets were to increase the percentage of women at level D from 16 per cent in 2004 to 25 per cent by 2010, increase the number of women at level D from 24 per cent in 2004 to 35 per

cent in 2010, increase the number of women academics with PhDs, increase the number of women in senior management positions and examine the gender ratios by discipline and the gender ratios of those with PhDs by discipline. Additionally, the 2010 Strategy sets targets for increased numbers of women at senior management level and at senior academic levels across disciplines and signals data on women in research (e.g. Bell and Bentley, 2005; Dever, 2008).

It is interesting to note that women's roles in teaching are not mentioned in the three plans and career development seems predicated on attaining a PhD as the minimal qualification for advancement with attainments in research and management as frameworks for success in promotion. All three plans appear to subscribe to the pipeline theory (White, 2004). There is less overt evidence of cultural change targets, although this may be implied through increased numbers of women leading to critical mass (Kanter, 1977). However, it must be acknowledged that UA and its predecessor have invested in development programmes for academic women, individual universities have also engaged in gender equity policies and development strategies and there has been an inspiring example of a cross-institutional programme, the Australian Technology Network Women's Executive Development (ATN WEXDEV).

We also acknowledge the statistical data provided by the Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIISRTE) on the higher education workforce and the work done by Macquarie University and Queensland University of Technology (2011) in developing more nuanced statistical analysis regarding gender comparisons. The latter does not, however, refer to women's position in regard to the three categories we use as units of analysis in this paper.

A long-term, retrospective, quantitative, national view of how gender equity has changed over time provides ideas about how the policy context has manifested in changes to women academics' status. The central research questions are thus:

1. What is women's representation in Australian universities?
2. What is the relative position of women academics vis-à-vis teaching and research?
3. How has women's status changed regarding academic level and particularly the teaching professoriate?
4. What do the results suggest about the policy context's efficacy?
5. How might women's patterns of participation in teaching be accounted for?

Method

Critical realism, a belief that there is an independent reality, informs this study, which utilises verifiable statistical information (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). However, the research is also informed by a feminist standpoint, putting women at the centre (Harding, 1991). From this perspective, meaning is also constructed from the results. A quantitative research design using secondary data was deployed, ensuring that results were not confounded by personal accounts or perspectives of participants (Halse, Deane, Hobson & Jones, 2007). Data was extracted from the Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education ([DIISRTE], 2012a) for Australian university staffing numbers, gender and roles. DIISRTE provides aggregated, de-identified information on these and other variables dating back to 1989. Only data from 1996 was included as it was most accessible and there are previous reports using earlier information (AVCC, 2005; Burton, 1997; Carrington & Pratt, 2003). The data represents the entire population of interest to 2012.

One government department has collected higher education data (although names have changed due to changes in government and ministerial reshuffles). The same standards, variables and interpretations appear to have been maintained, thus overcoming problems of secondary data such as quality and lack of control over choice of variables (Boslaugh, 2007). Generally, consistent table and appendix numbering facilitated access to the same figures for each year, from Staff (year): Selected Higher Education Statistics. The file format varied. From 1997 to 1999 it was provided as Reports and Tables in PDF, from 2000 to 2007 as Reports and Tables in Excel and from 2008 to 2012 as Full time Equivalence and Appendix 1-Actual Staff FTE in Excel. Universities rather than all higher education providers were included. Academics were distinguished from professional staff, labelled other in the DIISRTE data. The term professional is used here to designate general or non-academic staff (Sebalj, Holbrook & Bourke, 2012; Wallace & Marchant, 2011). Data usage conformed to Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations [DEEWR] (2012) protocols, with permission from DIISRTE.

Academic levels and roles

Academic employment relationships in Australian universities vary and include ongoing, full time (tenured) positions, part time or fractional appointments which may be fixed term (e.g. three years) and casuals (sessionals) who are employed for specific tasks such as tutoring for a semester or marking. Casuals are temporary, may have

irregular hours rather than full time, are not ongoing and typically are teaching-only. Tenured academics in Australia generally have both teaching and research responsibilities (labelled here as teaching-plus-research) but academic work can also be teaching-only and research-only. Numbers in each role (teaching-plus-research, teaching-only, research-only) for each year were extracted from Appendix 1.6. FTE for Full-time, Fractional Full-time and Actual Casual Staff by State, Institution, Function and Gender (DIISRTE, 2012a). Casual numbers in teaching-plus-research were negligible and not included. Totals were aggregated for each role by gender. Appendix 1.6 includes actual casuals for the previous year, enabling casual numbers to be reported with more reliability.

Australian academics (faculty) are classified in five levels of seniority from A to E, with the lowest being Associate Lecturer (A), followed by Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor and Professor (E), with the latter two constituting the professoriate. The DIISRTE data recorded levels as below lecturer (A), lecturer (B and C recorded separately) and above lecturer (D and E recorded together). Gender details to calculate proportions at each academic level were extracted from Table 1.7 FTE for Full-time and Fractional Full-time Staff by State, Higher Education Provider, Current Duties Classification and Gender, and aggregated by gender for each classification level. Table 1.7 does not include casuals (DIISRTE, 2012a).

Results

To provide context and indicate the population's scope, total numbers for academic and professional staff in Australian universities rose by 38.25 per cent, from 83,099 to 114,882, in the period 1996 to 2011 (FTE including casuals) (DIISRTE, 2012a). This was accompanied by rising student numbers, of which there were 634,094 in 1996 (DETYA, 2001) and 1,137,511 in 2011 (in public universities) (DIISRTE, 2012b). Thus student numbers grew by around a half million (79.39 per cent) and grew more rapidly than staff numbers. Academics made up less than half of all university staff in 2011 at 47.67 per cent, whereas previously they were in the majority. Gender equity for students was achieved in 1987, in terms of gross numbers (DETYA 2001). For staff as a whole (academic and professional) it was achieved in 2001 (50.50 per cent, FTE including casuals) (DIISRTE 2012b).

To deconstruct this apparent gender equity, the following gives a fine-tuned analysis of females and males in the three main academic roles (teaching-plus-research, teaching-only and research-only). First, those academ-

ics who are concerned with teaching are examined, as teaching comes into sharper focus with massification of the system (Birrell & Edwards 2009), documented above in the 80 per cent rise in student numbers and also women's particular relationship to teaching, noted in the literature review. A further reason for focussing on teaching is that this is where significant shifts are taking place that particularly affect women. In this analysis the designation teaching academics includes those who were classified as teaching-plus-research or teaching-only, but excludes research-only. Gender proportions for teaching academics from 1996 to 2011 are shown in Figure 1 (full time equivalent [FTE] including fractional and casuals). The total number of teaching academics grew from 31,877 to 39,450 or 24 per cent. Women still represent less than half, but their proportion rose to 46 per cent, up from 35 per cent in 1996. The increase in teaching academics was largely fuelled by women.

Figure 1 showed teaching-plus-research and teaching-only. Figure 2 separates out teaching-only, which rose steeply. The numbers almost doubled in fifteen years and escalated in the last two. As of 2011, there were 12,472 teaching-only. This constitutes nearly one-third (31.62 per cent) of the total for teaching-plus-research and teaching-only.

Women's share of teaching-only rose from 48.98 per cent to 54.22 per cent in 2011, with parity at 50.52 per cent in 2004. The increase in teaching-only is further constituted by a large proportion of casuals, whose numbers nearly doubled from 5,435 in 1996 to 10,244 in 2011, as shown in Figure 3. This casual total represents 82.13

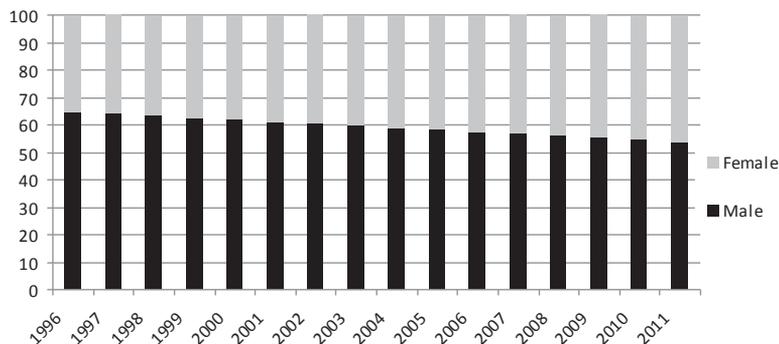


Figure 1: Percentage of female and male teaching academics

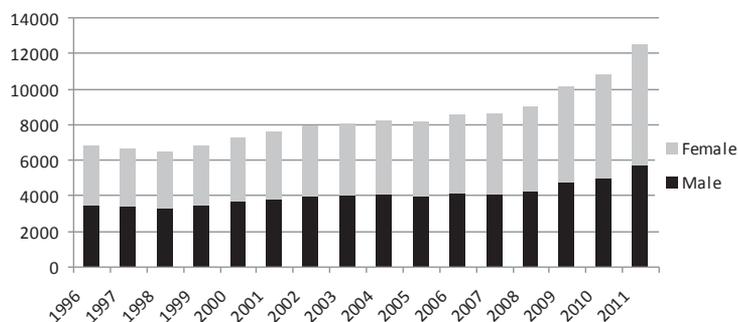


Figure 2: Numbers of male and female teaching-only

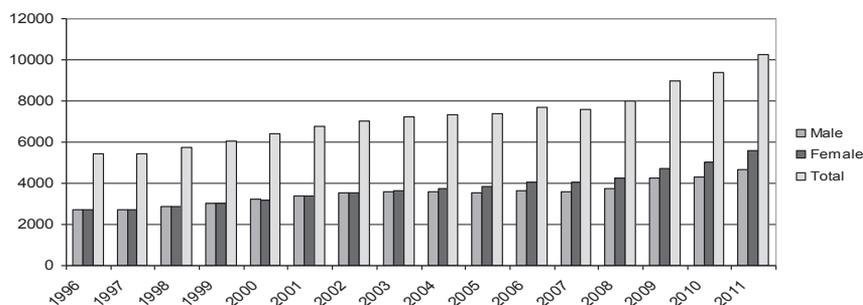


Figure 3: Number of casual teaching-only, male, female and total

per cent of all teaching-only. In summary, the number of teaching academics has increased, largely through swelling in teaching-only numbers (rather than teaching-plus-research), many of which are casual. Within these trends, women make up a greater proportion, but only in teaching-only, casual do they constitute more than half.

Turning back to women's overall representation in teaching, an average increase of 0.71 per cent per year in female teaching academics is demonstrated in Figure 1. Projecting from this trend, it would be around the year 2020 (seven years) before women constitute half of

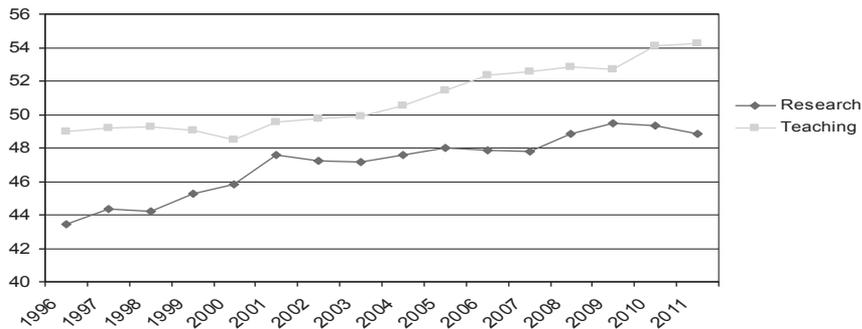


Figure 4: Percentage females in teaching-only and research-only

university teaching academics. On the other hand, given the rapidly mounting teaching-only results in Figure 2, numerical parity may be realised sooner, but would then be achieved by women in teaching-only, casual positions, not teaching-plus-research.

In contrast to results for teaching presented thus far, there are also research-only academics. The DIISRTE data did not indicate whether research-only positions were ongoing or short term, however, the numbers almost doubled from 8,246 to 15,308 from 1996 to 2011. The proportion of women was consistently under half but overall rose from 43 per cent to 49 per cent. The most recent numbers suggest that the upward trajectory reversed from 2009, as shown in Figure 4.

Women’s status in the academic hierarchy

Turning next to the question of women’s hierarchical status, results for academic classification levels are shown in Figure 5 (teaching-plus-research and teaching-only fractional and full time, excluding casuals).The figure plots the percentage of women compared to men at each academic

level. Women in the professoriate (Level D and E) increased steadily over the sixteen years, doubling from 14.00 per cent in 1997 to 29.20 per cent in 2012. This represents an average increase of approximately 1 per cent per year. If this trend continues it would be 21 years (2033) before women reach numerical parity in the teaching professoriate. It is likely that separating the two

levels of the professoriate would show more women at the lower level D rather than E (Strachan *et al.*, 2012).

From Figure 5, women’s representation at the lowest level (Level A) has not changed from around half over the period, whereas all of the higher levels increased, consistently in parallel. This suggests that women and men enter academe and occupy the lowest level in roughly equal proportions, but beyond this they do not advance at the same rate, with women still under-represented at senior levels. However, the next level up (Lecturer or Level B) achieved parity for the first time in 2009 at 50.04 per cent and continued to increase slightly.

Discussion

To answer the five research questions: first a picture emerged of gender parity at student level in the late 1980s, across all university staff early in the new century, shortly followed by parity for women academics but confined to teaching-only roles. This occurred in 2004 and only because of a rapid increase in female casuals. Thus

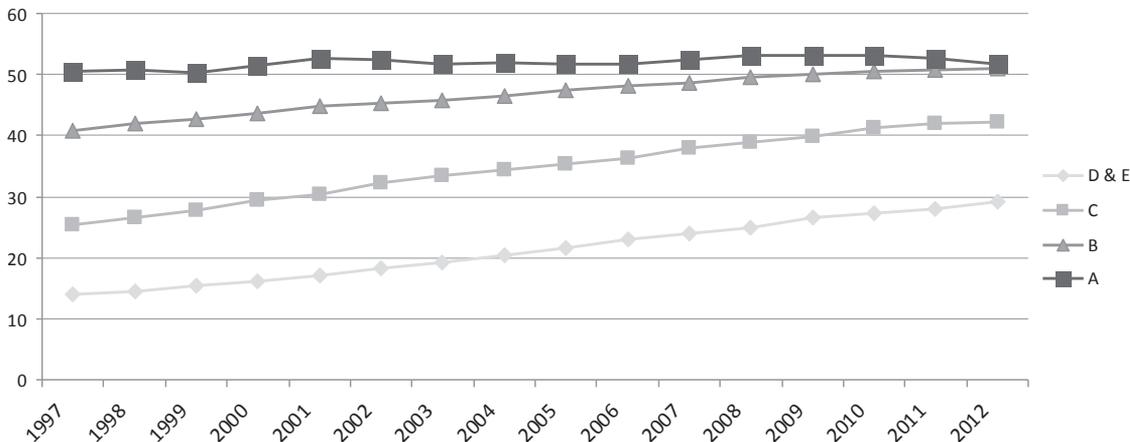


Figure 5: Percentage of females compared to males by academic level

there is numerical feminisation (Leathwood and Read, 2009) for overall student and staff numbers, both of which exceed fifty per cent females. This represents a 'mass' but whether it is a 'critical mass' remains to be seen. In terms of more contemporary progress, in teaching-plus-research women are still under-represented. Research-only roles approached parity in 2011, but a persistent upward trend was less evident here than in all other results. In academic roles that include research (particularly the career track, ongoing, teaching-plus-research) numerical parity has yet to be achieved.

The results reveal overall increased numbers of females, however it is patchy and slow. Labour is still divided along gender lines and parity in the professoriate could be twenty one years away. There is evidence that the pipeline continues to 'leak'. It may still be just a matter of time (Benschop & Brouns, 2003; Chesterman & Ross-Smith, 2006), but a lengthier one than first envisaged. On the other hand it may be more accurate to refer to the pipeline fallacy (Allen & Castleman, 2001), since the slow rate of change may still reflect current discriminatory practices and systems. Change is slow but inexorable as it reflects wider managerialist trends including: massification; tightening budgets; higher numbers overall; teaching quality focus and more of professional staff, women academics, teaching-only positions and casuals. The situation is improving but the figures raise concerns for those seeking full equity. The results confirm Morley's (2006) argument that women are winners and losers because they have been 'allowed in' to academe but are still confined to lower levels and now, as the results reveal, located in insecure or 'bad' jobs, not on the career track. Horizontal segregation is evident in women in teaching-only roles and vertical segregation in men occupying higher levels. Thus it could be argued that managerialism (and other forces) have produced a two-track, gendered workforce. The results also support May, Strachan, Broadbent and Petzt (2011) who studied casuals in Australian universities using superannuation data, providing a different perspective from the FTE data utilised here. They also report significant gender segregation in the casual workforce and estimate that each FTE may represent five to seven individuals. Thus the actual number of women in casual teaching-only reported here is severely under-represented and the human impact much more significant.

To answer the next research question about women's position regarding teaching and research, they are clustered in the lower academic levels, form part of a large and increasing mass of teaching-only and are a significant element of the escalating casualisation of teaching. The

relative position of women vis-a-vis teaching and research is that they are over-represented in teaching. There were different patterns for teaching-only and research-only. If gender was not a consideration, the patterns would be the same and thus the results reinforce the gendered division of labour (Benschop & Brouns, 2003).

Third, there has been some improvement in gender status measured on representation at academic level, with women's proportion of the teaching professoriate doubling, but still well below half. The trend is consistently upward and can be extrapolated to predict gender equity in another generation. Fourth, the results imply that the Australian policy context has been at least partially efficacious, however improvement is inordinately slow. There are danger signs in terms of populating the sector with women in roles and employment arrangements that are less than attractive. In terms of the fifth and final research question, fully accounting for female academic patterns of participation is beyond the scope of this research but two key theories carry weight, as discussed next.

Implications for theory

Three main theories about gender issues are useful for discussing the results. One common concept is the pipeline. In higher education it is based on the assumption that as more women complete first degrees, more will continue to post-graduate studies, academic careers and advancement into the professoriate and senior management (Bell & Bryman, 2005; White, 2004). The pipeline effect is partially supported here with women continuing to enter the pipeline at the lowest level and their representation at higher levels continues to improve. However, although many women are entering the system, not all of them are in the pipeline. Ongoing teaching-plus-research roles are required for success and higher status, yet many of the women are teaching-only casuals. At present, it seems inconceivable that an Australian university would appoint a vice-chancellor whose career had been teaching-only, therefore increasing female numbers in teaching-only or non-ongoing positions will not create the requisite pipeline for ultimate success. The male career trajectory is still the typical path into senior management (Bagilhole & White, 2011).

A second theoretical concept is critical mass, which is the number of individuals representing a minority needed to change organisational culture (Morley, 1994). A third of women in numerically male-dominated workplaces can create better balance and change organisational dynamics to foster genuine inclusion of women (Kanter, 1977). Given that women in the Australian professoriate

reached thirty per cent in 2012, perhaps this critical mass will change the dynamics and accelerate the progress of women. However, if women are dispersed with little chance to communicate they do not constitute the critical mass that can lead to change (Etkowitz, Kemelgor & Uzi, 2000). Many of the women entering the system are in teaching-only, casual roles. They are on the periphery and have few opportunities to communicate and partake in universities' collegial or social life (NTEU 2012; Strachan *et al.* 2012) and thus may not form a critical mass. There may also be an opposing, negative reaction against the 'invasion' of women (Raman *et al.*, 1996). Perhaps these countervailing forces explain the results, in that there are more women in universities but they tend to be excluded from the pipeline and may not be able to form a critical mass. Therefore it seems less likely that the sheer rise of female, casual teaching staff evident in this research will effect significant change.

These two theories, the pipeline and the critical mass, focus on the numbers, however another explanation that could be taken into account looks at processes behind these numbers. Discrimination against women in higher education takes place in complicated and subtle ways with the micropolitics of power and its effects evident on a day-to-day basis. Women are treated differently in social relations and their professional and intellectual capital are devalued and misrecognised (Morley, 2006). Further, the sociocultural contexts themselves produce gender differences rather than them being 'natural' characteristics of women. The dominant group maintains control over resources (Ely & Padovic, 2007). It may well be these processes that see women confined to the casual or contract teaching-only roles, where control over resources, in this case 'good jobs', is maintained.

Implications for policy and practice

There are several implications for policy and practice. Universities should persist with equity strategies and policies, as improvements are being achieved. On the other hand, senior management in universities must be aware of the negative equity implications of appointing large numbers of women in teaching-only, casual roles. These staffing decisions are made at lower organisational levels in a fragmented fashion, yet they have a significant, cumulative, negative impact on women. The issue needs to be addressed from a sector-wide perspec-

tive to ensure the mounting marginalisation of women is arrested.

This accords with Barrett and Barrett (2011, p. 153) who also argue that 'although not usually seen as a strategic matter, this low level activity is actually cumulatively pivotal to staff promotion prospects'. Union campaigns to reduce casualisation, although not specifically aimed at women, would have desirable gender impacts. The tendency towards teaching-only, or unbalanced, academic portfolios, hinders women's career advancement due to less time for research and lower research outputs (Barrett & Barrett, 2011). This of course assumes that research is and should remain the key criterion for promotion. One solution is to exhort and enable more women to do more research. Another solution would be to privilege teaching.

To counter marginalisation of women in teaching-only,

To counter marginalisation of women in teaching-only, casual positions, new ongoing, full-time or fractional, teaching specialist positions should be created to replace half of the casual numbers.

casual positions, new ongoing, full-time or fractional, teaching specialist positions should be created to replace half of the casual numbers. These new positions could have their own professional career track through the levels, with new qualifica-

tions and training as teachers (perhaps rather than doctoral qualifications) and combine skills in educational design, learning technology and teaching practices. This opportunity could also be open to teaching-allied professional staff. Other arguments for this recommendation include efficient workforce utilisation compared to the conventional two semesters per year model, the demands for digital learning offered more frequently and more flexibly, the preferences of some casuals for ongoing employment (May *et al.*, 2011; Strachan *et al.*, 2012), massification of the sector, the impact of casualisation on teaching quality (Coates *et al.*, 2009; May *et al.*, 2011) and professional staff's interest in and commitment to teaching (Wallace & Marchant, 2011). Finally, as May *et al.* (2011) suggest, harnessing the large number of casual jobs and transforming them into ongoing positions could solve the biggest challenge facing universities: the ageing workforce and loss of experienced, senior academics.

These arguments could be criticised as perpetuating the managerialist ideology that has changed the nature of universities and resulted in the two-track division in the first place. Nonetheless, the nature of universities is transforming and will continue to do so (Bokor, 2012). Privileging the role of teaching specialist would be part of a paradigm shift in terms of what constitutes an academic

and the qualifications, roles and responsibilities that are necessary. The argument that teaching-specialist positions should be created may be worrying for feminist scholars and attract resistance. It changes the fundamental nature of traditional universities and blurs boundaries between academic and professional staff. In reality these shifts are already manifesting. Newer universities do not necessarily operate on traditional lines, higher education now consists of many non-university providers who are teaching-only institutions and in the online space, academics are 'subject matter experts', who work with professionals as educational designers and teaching technology specialists to co-create, manage and deliver courses.

Thus the suggestions offered here are aimed at making accommodations to managerialism and other forces that will potentially improve the situation of female (and male) teaching-only casuals within this context. Further, it is argued that recognising the role of professional staff in teaching would benefit women, even if authors who subscribe to the traditional division between academic and non-academic staff (Carvalho & de Lourdes Machado, 2011; Goransson, 2011) would prefer to keep this status divide intact. This argument would seem hard to sustain on feminist grounds. Goransson (2011) discusses two specialised career tracks in universities: (scientific) research and management. The third should be teaching.

Limitations and further research

As with all studies, there are limitations and opportunities for further research, of which nine are identified here. First, the results only address overall numerical progress not the more subtle cultural process. Investigating the nuances of other social indicators (Eckstein, 2012) should follow. Women in casual, teaching-only roles could be interviewed to ascertain perceived advantages and disadvantages. Recent NTEU (2012) research with casuals throws some light on this question but the qualitative data does not specifically focus on gender. Power and gender identity in teaching-only roles need to be examined. In terms of the micropolitics, further research could investigate, with in-depth, qualitative analysis, both the staff who make these appointments (typically heads of departments possibly on recommendations from tenured academics) and the women who accept these appointments. How do gender identities and organisational processes interact to fill more teaching-only casual positions with females? What features of universities combine with women's identities to construct them as casual teachers? Comparisons between different universities in terms of processes

for appointing teaching-only casuals, as opposed to the across-the-board numbers reported here, might answer these questions.

Second, the results are limited to staffing in universities, not other higher education providers. It seems likely that due to their teaching focus these other providers may have a higher concentration of females in teaching. On the other hand, since they do not do research and teaching is the 'main game', it may be that males dominate. Examining these other institutions could add to understanding of women's status in the whole sector. Third, the results for status by academic level do not include research-only staff as the focus was on teaching. Including research-only would address the overall teaching and research gender balance. It is likely that doing so would render the results even less favourable for women, given men's domination of research. Fourth, the results for the professoriate should be disaggregated between the two levels, as combining them conceals the lower proportion of women who are full professors.

Fifth, extending this research beyond Australia would add valuable international perspectives and indicate whether the trends are national or universal. Sixth, the professoriate is the traditional senior level in universities and fulfils an iconic function. Nonetheless, it would be timely to re-examine the number of academic women in management positions not just academic levels *per se*. Seventh, changes in the numbers and roles of women in the professional stream, over the same period, should be researched, to create a more complete picture and honour calls to remove apartheid between academic and professional staff.

Eighth, although not uniform across Australia, academic workloads within traditional teaching-plus-research tend to be classified as teaching-focussed, research-focussed or balanced and are a matter for individual universities to decide. These arrangements differ from the teaching-plus-research, teaching-only or research-only divisions in the data used here. Analysing workload allocation models and gender differences within teaching-plus-research could be useful to examine further whether the gender divide also exists within the traditional academic role responsibilities. Ninth and finally, it would be worthwhile revisiting and replicating this research in five, ten and twenty years to ascertain if the trends identified continue to full parity across the academic roles and levels, or even to the point where women represent the majority of teaching-plus-research roles and the professoriate. Since this research makes specific, time-based predictions they can be subsequently checked. It may be that the critical mass acceler-

ates change or that resistance and micropolitics ensure that the current male hegemony prevails.

Conclusion

The research is justified as an update on the status of women in Australian universities. In terms of gross numbers, progress was evident for students, staff overall and teaching-only academics. Women are advancing in the professoriate and it is possible that true gender equity may be achieved in another generation. Gender numbers have improved but mainly by recruiting women into easy-to-fill, casual, teaching-only roles, thus creating an appearance of equity without the ongoing actions needed to create sustainable change. The policy context appears to be working, but the slow rate of change in the pipeline, critical mass and career track suggests other mechanisms at play.

The main implications for theory were that both the pipeline and critical mass usefully account for some of the results as well as explaining implications for women who are not in the pipeline, the leaking pipeline and the inability of casual teaching-only women to form a critical mass. Micropolitics and the interaction between organisation systems and gender identity may also be at play. The main policy recommendation is to create ongoing, full time or fractional career-track, teaching specialist roles for academics and professionals. This is fraught with challenges in terms of both entrenching the subordinate status of women and questioning the inherent nature of universities as research-based institutions. Nonetheless, today's managerialist pragmatics, including massification and quality concerns, justify such an idea.

In summary, that females make up half of university students and overall staff numbers implies that equity has been achieved, but this more fine-tuned, nuanced examination shows that the raw numbers mask ongoing, systematic under-representation of academic women in the desirable career-track roles and higher status levels. The gendered nature of higher education and the traditional division of labour are still evident. The latter is becoming more pronounced with the concentration of women in teaching-only, insecure roles. There has been considerable progress but also further segmentation and marginalisation.

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TEQSA and risk-based regulation

Considerations for university governing bodies

Jeanette Baird

The advent of a new national regulatory and quality assurance regime in Australia, through the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA), presents additional requirements to university governing bodies, for compliance with standards and for risk management. This paper discusses TEQSA's approach and potential vulnerabilities for TEQSA as the regulator. It then analyses issues for the membership, role and conduct of university governing bodies arising from TEQSA's requirements. The challenges and potential hazards of TEQSA's model for university governing bodies are outlined, with particular reference to the differences between the risk management and strategic goals of institutions and of the regulator. While focusing on the situation in Australia, the analysis is relevant to university governance in other countries where risk-based regulatory approaches are under development.

Introduction

Australia has had a new national quality assurance and regulatory system for all providers of higher education, including universities, since 2012. A new agency, the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA), is obliged under its legislation to ensure its regulatory regime complies with the principles of reflecting risk, proportionate regulation and regulatory necessity.

The proponents of TEQSA have indicated that its use of risk-based regulation will be a leading-edge development for higher education quality assurance internationally (Bradley, 2011), although there is weak evidence for its role in improving quality assurance (see Edwards, 2011, for a review).

All university governing bodies have an interest in ensuring that risks to their own university are well-managed. The intersection of institutional risk management and sector-wide risk-based regulation can therefore be expected to be of particular interest to governing bodies, for its implications for the performance of their duties.

Although the principle of reflecting risk originally may have been interpolated into the TEQSA legislation at the insistence of the universities (Group of Eight, 2011; Gallagher, 2012), it accords with international interest by governments in improving regulatory regimes through differential attention to institutions of higher and lower risk across diverse industry sectors (Bartle, 2008; OECD, 2010; Peterson & Fensling, 2011) and in risk-based public policy-making (Rothstein & Downer, 2008, 2012).

The potential for risk-based approaches to be applied to higher education and specifically to quality assurance in higher education has been recognised over the past several years (Raban & Turner, 2006; Huber, 2009; Edwards, 2011; HEFCE 2012). And, at the level of practice in Australia, risk ratings were being used some by State bodies before TEQSA assumed their higher education regulatory functions (VRQA, 2010). Moreover, at the same time, universities in many countries have given – and been asked to give – much more attention to internal risk management (HEFCE, 2005; Bayaga & Moyo, 2009; Brewer & Walker, 2010).

TEQSA's regulatory principles sound admirable in theory but when combined with the standards that all providers are expected to meet continuously and a formal, structured

approach to risk management, its risk-based regulation has significant implications for the governance of universities. Certainly – although perhaps somewhat worryingly – governing bodies of universities such as the Australian National University and the University of Melbourne cannot assume that just because their university has an international reputation, TEQSA will automatically regard them as ‘low-risk’ providers (Cram, 2010; Hilmer, 2012).

In exploring the considerations for university governance of the new regulatory framework, the contents of TEQSA’s regulatory and quality assurance toolbox are unpacked, with a discussion of the challenges in implementing risk-based regulation. Subsequent sections of the paper analyse the requirements and actions needed by university governing bodies to respond to TEQSA. Challenges of the TEQSA approach for regulated institutions are then discussed, with commentary on both opportunities for improved university governance and hazards for governing bodies.

TEQSA’s regulatory and quality assurance toolbox

TEQSA’s regulatory and quality assurance toolbox is extensive (Craven, 2011). Under its legislation, the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency Act 2011, TEQSA possesses the typical powers of many external quality assurance agencies in respect of institutional accreditation (registration) and programme accreditation of providers. A set of Threshold Standards for each of these forms of accreditation has been enacted (TEQSA 2011), and it is these standards that TEQSA must use in the exercise of its functions. One particular feature is that all providers (including universities) are expected to be continuously compliant with these accreditation standards. It is not enough for a provider to only demonstrate that it complies at the time of accreditation.

TEQSA has been given the usual authority to seek and obtain information, but its authority is supplemented by broader and more hard-edged powers to enter premises and seize documents if necessary. Other features of the legislation give TEQSA effective power to take action if it has any concerns about a provider’s compliance with the standards. A provider must disclose to TEQSA each material change, including changes to ‘key personnel’ such as members of the governing body. The actions that TEQSA can take could be anything from a letter of inquiry to the commencement of a new accreditation process.

TEQSA may also conduct thematic reviews of issues across the Australian higher education sector or across groups of providers.

In addition to these powers, TEQSA has also developed a Regulatory Risk Framework, with the laudable aims of making transparent and systematic its approach to risk-based regulation against its standards for providers and programmes.

‘Regulatory risk management as detailed in this Framework is a precursor to more formal regulatory intervention. Regulatory risk enables TEQSA to identify and understand risk to quality higher education, at both a provider and sector level, and informs decisions about where to focus and prioritise TEQSA’s regulatory activity in response’. (TEQSA, 2012)

TEQSA has identified the major risks it wishes to prevent. These are: risks to students, e.g. a failure to ‘deliver quality educational outcomes’; the risk of provider collapse; and a risk to the Australian higher education sector’s reputation for quality.

The Framework sets out 46 risk indicators, grouped under TEQSA’s provider standards. Some of these indicators suggest obvious risks to compliance, such as ‘a history of significant breach of standards’, but others identify organisational features that may or may not prove to be a risk to standards, such as an ‘overseas body corporate’.

TEQSA has conducted preliminary risk scans and states that it intends to undertake more comprehensive risk assessments, and then to discuss with individual providers the risk controls they have in place, to arrive at its own final risk profile for each provider. This is an ambitious agenda, driven by an apparent desire by TEQSA to become the ‘risk manager’ for the entire Australian higher education sector (Gallagher, 2012). The extent to which such a role would limit university autonomy is unknown but must be a concern of this approach to external quality assurance.

Many external quality assurance agencies would dream of having such a large and flexible range of powers as TEQSA but there are of course challenges in ensuring that these powers, when used together, do not result in a disproportionate regulatory burden or, indeed, that they do not distort the behaviour of universities and other higher education providers in ways that are undesirable for the sector as a whole. Others have addressed the potential for TEQSA to impose an increased regulatory burden (e.g. Hilmer, 2012). The discussion below suggests that university governing bodies will need to be alert to the potential for such distortion.

Challenges for risk-based regulators

The vulnerabilities for agencies in using risk-based regulation, including agencies with responsibility for higher

education, have been well-addressed by various authors (Baldwin and Black, 2007, 2010; Peterson & Fensling, 2011; King, 2011; Raban, 2011; Rothstein, 2011).

The potential dangers include assuming that the agency's views on what constitutes a risk will always be the same as those of government or the public generally, especially if the public's views mix both subjective perceptions of risk and objective evidence. Other challenges lie in an expectation that all major risks can be identified by the agency, while ensuring the agency does not neglect apparently low-level risks that become pervasive and over time erode the standing of the sector as a whole. Further, there is the difficulty of demonstrating a counterfactual (avoidance of problems) as a public benefit to weigh against the possibly substantial public costs of the agency's risk identification and mitigation activities. This demonstration of benefits can be more difficult if investigations are conducted in confidence.

Depending on the approach taken, risk-based regulation may place too great an emphasis on the risk posed by individual providers rather than on how to raise compliance across the sector. The agency may also fail to consider the relative merits of cheaper and more expensive interventions to reduce risk across the sector (Baldwin & Black, 2007).

Some of these vulnerabilities seem likely to be magnified in the higher education sector, where the extent to which particular developments present risks to quality is not clear. As an example, the significant 'unbundling' of academic work, to separate programme design from teaching, may or may not present a risk to quality in a mass higher education system.

To counter these vulnerabilities, an agency such as TEQSA is likely to respond in some sensible ways, by developing open public statements on the approach it will take, such as TEQSA's Regulatory Risk Framework, and conducting periodic thematic reviews or research to investigate the extent to which an issue in the sector presents a credible threat to the maintenance of standards. Other actions that can be taken include: requiring providers to continuously disclose significant changes or developments; ensuring that standards are regularly updated in line with changing norms; and supporting quality enhancement activities to improve compliance.

All these forms of response are provided for in the TEQSA legislation, although as yet TEQSA has not shown any particular inclination to support quality enhancement activities.

However, agencies such as TEQSA may also try to limit their vulnerabilities by other strategies. These include:

taking an all-embracing and conservative view of risk; seeking very large amounts of information from providers (Gallagher, 2012); following up media reports in case there is fire underneath the smoke (and because government ministers expect it); using both scheduled reviews and risk-based approaches; and, in effect, doing everything they can to ensure they are not 'blindsided' by the unexpected. It seems probably that TEQSA will not be immune to a temptation to reduce the risks it assumes when implementing risk-based regulation.

TEQSA's current model for risk-based regulation is arguably provider-centric, rather than risk-centric. An alternative model, not yet developed by TEQSA but certainly available to it, would be for it to engage a wide range of stakeholders in an inclusive 'social dialogue' (Bartle, 2008; Peterson & Fensling, 2011) about the major broad risks to quality in higher education. Notwithstanding TEQSA's intention to engage with individual providers in dialogue about their risk and risk controls, and its use of thematic reviews, the approach described by TEQSA to date appears more quantitative and technocratic (Bartle, 2008) than one designed to address the larger uncertainties about risks in mass or near-universal higher education.

Direct considerations for university governing bodies of TEQSA's standards and risk-based approaches

The TEQSA model raises both direct and indirect considerations for the conduct and functions of university governing bodies. Direct considerations arise from the Provider Standards and risk indicators that address corporate governance, while the indirect consequences derive from requirements for continuous observance of the Standards, continuous disclosure and the Regulatory Risk Framework as a whole.

It should not be forgotten that all Australian universities have had prior experience of mandatory National Governance Protocols that were once linked to funding. Those universities that are members of Universities Australia have signed on to a Voluntary Code of Best Practice for the Governance of Australian Universities (UA, 2011) that covers many of the matters that are included in, or implied by, the Provider Standards.

Provider Standards on corporate governance

Several of the TEQSA Provider Standards on corporate governance are very similar to those in the Voluntary Code, although the Code includes much greater detail about the functions and duties of members and governing

Table 1: TEQSA risk indicators for corporate and academic governance

<i>Risk indicator</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Weak academic governance structure	A clear academic governance structure plays a key role in protecting the integrity of the provider's core activities of teaching and research (where applicable to provider category). Considerations would include whether academic governance arrangements provide a clear separation between corporate and academic governance (including a properly constituted academic board and course advisory committees), support the maintenance of academic standards, and whether independent student organisations are incorporated into processes.
Weak corporate governance structure / processes	Sufficient capacity for good leadership, with respect to both corporate and academic governance, is important to effective functioning as a higher education provider and managing the delivery of education outcomes. Consideration of appropriateness of qualifications and experience of senior executives, including mix of academic and corporate leadership. Governance processes include clarity of roles, responsibilities, policies and corporate processes (e.g. planning, conflict of interest, internal audit, etc)
Weak risk management plan / processes	Lack of an effective risk management plan / capability can result in ineffective allocation of resources and compromise the achievement of objectives.

Source: TEQSA Regulatory Risk Framework, February 2012

body performance. These Standards address: expertise-based membership of the governing body; monitoring of risk and risk controls; and the establishment and review of an appropriate system of delegations, for financial, academic and managerial activities. These requirements, and related requirements, such as the requirement that members of the governing body be 'fit and proper' persons, are unlikely to be problematic, although they may be onerous to report on.

Provider Standard 3.3 states: 'The higher education provider's corporate governance arrangements demonstrate a clear distinction between governance and management responsibilities'. The implication is that universities may need to actually define for themselves what the difference is between governance and management, and state how the difference is observed in practice. However, early indications are that some universities may be using organisational structural diagrams to 'show' a separation between governance and management without actually describing what the separation means.

In similar vein, Provider Standard 3.7 states: 'The higher education provider's corporate governing body protects the academic integrity and quality of the higher education provider's higher education operations through academic governance arrangements that provide a clear and discernible separation between corporate and academic governance, including a properly constituted academic board and course advisory committees'. The requirement for an academic board is not an issue for Australian universities but it is not clear if TEQSA will seek other forms of evidence to demonstrate that this requirement is met.

In general, however, university governing bodies will not be affected to any significant extent by these require-

ments, which can be satisfied through documenting existing practice or by developing new statements to overtly indicate compliance.

Risk indicators

The Regulatory Risk Framework sets out three risk indicators for corporate and academic governance, with explanations, as shown in Table 1.

These indicators, in effect, amplify the requirements in the Provider Standards, but the second and third of these highlight the extent to which TEQSA may make qualitative judgments about whether or not corporate governance or risk management is 'weak', even if there is no breach of the Provider Standards. These indicators also introduce an element of double jeopardy, as presumably any non-compliance with the Provider Standards, or other 'risk flags' could lead to a 'risk flag' being placed on corporate governance as well. The third of these indicators raises issues because it may suggest that a university's identification and mitigation of risk should match TEQSA's risk assessment, which as discussed below should not be the case.

Indirect consequences for university governing bodies of TEQSA's standards and risk-based approaches

Continuous compliance

Providers are expected to continuously comply with TEQSA's Provider and other Threshold Standards. Governing bodies presumably will need to receive and consider regular reports on the university's compliance and any instances of non-compliance (Pattison, 2011), and a number of Australian universities have already set up

elaborate compliance templates. Some of the other Provider Standards may require action by university governing bodies, especially those on financial sustainability and the promotion and protection of free intellectual inquiry.

Continuous disclosure and motivational posture

University governing bodies will need to know what has been reported under the 'material changes' (continuous disclosure) provisions of the legislation, but they will also need to know why. That is, a university will need to establish its 'motivational posture' (Braithwaite *et al.*, 2007) towards TEQSA, where motivational postures are defined as:

'conglomerates of beliefs, attitudes, preferences, interests, and feelings that together communicate the degree to which an individual accepts the agenda of the regulator, in principle, and endorses the way in which the regulator functions and carries out duties on a daily basis.' (Braithwaite *et al.*, 2007, p. 138)

Early signs are that some universities will choose not to engage closely with TEQSA, and will take a view that many possible 'material changes' are not useful to disclose. Various presentations and media articles have expressed universities' concerns about regulation by TEQSA (e.g. Hilmer, 2012; Larter & Maiolo, 2012) while stopping short of issuing a direct challenge to the regulator. However, other universities seem likely to adopt quite different motivational postures, working collaboratively with TEQSA.

Need to gain intelligence of TEQSA's views on risks that it will investigate

TEQSA's interactions with providers on matters of risk are confidential. Although this is helpful to the individual provider, other universities may find it difficult to obtain information or intelligence on the types of risks that TEQSA has investigated and why, needing to obtain details from personal networks or occasional media reports (Lane, 2012b). Such information is nonetheless important, to assist the university to monitor its own potential for an 'inquiry' from the regulator and to confirm its motivational posture.

Risk management

Universities need sophisticated risk management systems, not only to meet their own internal needs but also for the governing body to monitor the university's ratings against the TEQSA risk indicators, and to avoid other triggers in the legislation that would draw attention to themselves and thus may require the university to engage in discussions with the regulator to justify the university's risk controls and stance. There is also a need

to ensure that the governing body itself does not present an area of risk.

From an institutional perspective, TEQSA's risk-based regulation seems likely to produce the slightly paradoxical situation that avoiding the regulator's attention may be the biggest external risk to be managed, due to reputational risks (Power *et al.*, 2009).

Many Australian universities have very well-developed enterprise risk management systems, but they will now need to extend these further, to ensure a balance between the university's approach to risk and that of TEQSA, as discussed below.

Governing body membership

There has been a pronounced turn in Australia to expertise-based membership of university governing bodies in Australia, reinforced by the TEQSA Provider Standards and risk indicators. University governing bodies will need to address requirements for expertise, possibly at the extent of stakeholder and community membership. They may find they need members with stronger skills in risk management, as well as more members with demonstrated expertise in higher education. Certain governing body members will acquire additional work in monitoring compliance with TEQSA requirements and reviewing the associated risk factors.

Opportunities and potential hazards for university governing bodies

Opportunities

TEQSA's Standards and Regulatory Risk Framework seem likely to act as they are intended to in drawing the attention of governing bodies to key features of university performance and operations. Indeed, there may be opportunities for governing bodies to use TEQSA's requirements to improve the accountability of management and the quality of reporting they receive. Governing bodies may be able to refer to TEQSA's requirements for good corporate governance processes if they need to press for additional support or professional development to better fulfil their roles.

A number of TEQSA's risk indicators draw attention to important areas of outcomes, e.g. student retention and progress, financial sustainability and graduate employability. These indicators may already be among the university's key performance indicators, or if not, there is a case to say they should be. There are thus opportunities for alignment between the indicators that the university governing body should monitor and those that TEQSA will monitor.

There may also be opportunities for university governing bodies to receive better-integrated reporting. TEQSA's approach implies an incorporation of the 'compliance' aspects of quality assurance into risk management, and it has been suggested that these could be further aligned with university financial and strategic planning (Edwards, 2011).

Hazards

The major hazards for university governing bodies of the TEQSA model include: increased business uncertainty; assuming that the university's attitudes to risk should be the same as TEQSA's; assuming that TEQSA's requirements suffice for the university's internal quality assurance; giving too much attention to conformance obligations and too little to innovation; and the costs of compliance.

As the regulator of a quasi-market sector, TEQSA aims to set conditions for market-based transactions to occur with confidence. However, TEQSA's approach may have the effect of actually increasing business uncertainty for universities.

As noted above, there are challenges for universities in finding out what TEQSA will construe as a risk or as a material change. TEQSA invites higher education institutions to discuss with it any innovations or new arrangements that may seem to fall outside the provider standards but, at this stage, TEQSA is not able to provide 'binding rulings' on how it formally would treat such changes. The likelihood of such uncertainty is magnified where there are several regulators, as there continue to be in Australian higher education (including the state and territory auditors-general), that may well have different views about risks (Peterson & Fensling, 2011).

'Who is at risk, and whether they can self-manage that risk, is an important consideration in deciding whether and what type of regulatory intervention is required...' (Peterson & Fensling, 2011, p.14). It is not yet clear what would convince TEQSA, as the regulator, that any specific university could self-manage risks such as a rising attrition rate.

Importantly, governing bodies should not assume that the university's and TEQSA's ideas about risk will be, or should be, the same. TEQSA's objective is to minimise risks to the sector as a quasi-market system but for a university, the purpose of risk management is not risk management *per se* but rather the management of possi-

ble threats to the achievement of its strategic objectives (Brewer, 2012).

TEQSA's risk indicators focus on the negative aspects of risk whereas, for an enterprise, risk has the potential upside of increased reward. A university's risk appetite for new ventures may well be greater than that of TEQSA, especially if the consequences of realised risks are lower for the university than for the 'national reputation' as envisaged by TEQSA.

Further, institutions are better placed to know their own risks than any external body. An emphasis on addressing TEQSA's risk factors should not mean that other internal risks or risk symptoms are overlooked. It is possible, therefore, that a university's enterprise risk management will need to be augmented, to accommodate two parallel but not identical series of risk assessments and controls,

one for TEQSA requirements and one for the university's strategic and operational needs.

Another potential hazard is that too great an emphasis on meeting the regulator's requirements could disturb the equilibrium between conformance and perfor-

mance (Cornforth, 2004; Carnegie & Tuck, 2010) in university governance and strategy (Hare, 2012). While this may seem improbable, university governing bodies will need to be clear-sighted in distinguishing between the university's needs and their obligations under the TEQSA legislation.

TEQSA's Threshold Standards are minimum standards: they are not designed to focus on excellence. Therefore, university governing bodies should not assume that merely meeting TEQSA's requirements will be adequate to ensure the quality of outcomes it desires.

All universities need to innovate, and continually renew themselves, and their governing bodies must give sufficient attention to what is coming over the horizon. The signs are that Australian university governing bodies will need to consider their university's strategic positioning extremely carefully over the next few years. There are simply too many studies that suggest serious consequences for traditional universities from a combination of disruptive change and current stresses (Christensen, 2011; Gallagher, 2012; Price & Kennie, 2012). The new strategic choices made by governing bodies will need internal quality assurance mechanisms that prioritise the most critical elements of the 'brand 'offer'.

A university's risk appetite for new ventures may well be greater than that of TEQSA, especially if the consequences of realised risks are lower for the university than for the 'national reputation' as envisaged by TEQSA.

Moreover, the strategic decisions of universities in shaping their future paths will inevitably bring them into conflict with TEQSA Standards, which after all are 'lagged' standards based on normative consensus views of minimum good practice. The Standards are built around the twin conceptions of 'providers/institutions' and 'programmes', even as the rise of open courseware and other software tools suggests they should focus more on 'unbundled' components, such as the quality of teaching and student learning or the validity of assessment.

A final hazard that university governing bodies must be alert to is the overall regulatory burden and the costs of 'managing' the regulator, including the costs of personnel and time. Some of these costs are: providing information to the regulator, including disclosures; intelligence-gathering about the regulator, and discussions with the regulator about risk controls. To these must be added the costs of scheduled institutional re-registration and possible participation in thematic reviews.

Conclusions

Much has been written about the challenges for regulators of implementing risk-based regulation, but there is less commentary on the effects on the regulated institutions. Although the principle of risk-based regulation in higher education appears reasonable, the ways in which it is given effect could present particular challenges for university governance.

The analysis above has drawn out a range of issues for Australian university governing bodies in coming to terms with TEQSA's approach. Some of these issues are easily addressed but even the primarily administrative activities to produce elaborate demonstrations of compliance will take time and energy. Other matters have the potential to shape the business and conduct of governing bodies in more significant and possibly counterproductive ways.

Determining a 'motivational posture' towards TEQSA is one early task. University governing bodies need to be alert to their responsibilities in respect of TEQSA's requirements and to the subtle differences between systems that meet the university's needs and those that address TEQSA compliance. They must avoid the potential for 'TEQSA work' to take their attention from difficult strategic choices and to distort their perspectives on risk.

The Australian higher education sector is not yet fully convinced of the value of TEQSA's model of risk-based regulation. Some have even suggested that a risk-based approach may undermine international confidence in the overall quality assurance regime (Lane, 2012a). This seems

unlikely, as it appears that TEQSA will continue with regular scheduled provider reviews in addition to its ongoing risk monitoring. However, universities collectively may have a role to play in initiating dialogue with TEQSA on how its risk-based approach can become more pro-active in supporting the Australian higher education sector.

Several other countries have developed, or have indicated a desire to develop, risk-based approaches to quality assurance and regulation for their higher education sectors. The observations in this paper may assist university governing bodies in those countries to assess the likely effects of such approaches on their behaviour and conduct.

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Redefining & leading the academic discipline in Australian universities

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Disciplines have emerged as an alternative administrative structure to departments or schools in Australian universities. We presently investigate the pattern of discipline use and by way of case study examine a role for distributed leadership in discipline management. Over forty per cent of Australian universities currently employ disciplines, especially within faculties of sciences, engineering and medicine. No trend is observed according to institutional age, state, or historical origins. Effective planning, retention of corporate knowledge and good communication are important during the transition period. Moreover, it is vital that professional staff continue to work closely alongside academics as extended members of the discipline. Distributed leadership encourages this interaction. The duties of a discipline leader can be similar to those faced by a head of department. Universities should therefore establish clear policies, position descriptions and appropriate remuneration packages in order to recruit, train and retain staff within this emerging academic management role.

Introduction

An academic discipline is well understood as a branch of knowledge or field of study within universities and other institutes of higher education (Trowler, 2012). Historically, the term originates from the Latin nouns *discipulus* (pupil) and *disciplina* (teaching) and was introduced during the Middle Ages for training within the professions of theology, law and medicine (Krishnan, 2009). More academic disciplines have evolved over time in order to accommodate new areas of knowledge, initially within the physical and life sciences (19th century) and later within the social sciences (20th century). Indeed it can be argued that academic disciplines display characteristics similar to those of living organisms as they grow, repro-

duce and evolve into new areas of study, while others may disappear altogether due to obsolescence.

In the modern era, it has been argued that academics should be prepared to move away from a discipline-based model of universities and embrace a broader, more integrated view of their activities to the benefit of their students and corporate clients (Coaldrake & Steadman, 1999). For some academics, however, the term academic discipline remains closely aligned with one's sense of academic identity and provides an important link to colleagues beyond the walls of their home institution. Subsequently, disputes can arise over the future direction of academic disciplines, with debates sometimes reaching the general public (Rowbotham, 2013). From the viewpoint of the corporate institution, academic disciplines, in the form of study areas, are displayed prominently on

website home pages for the purpose of recruiting students within an increasingly competitive market. In addition, codification of disciplines has become an integral part of information provided by universities to government bodies for the purpose of recording and measuring activities in teaching and research (Pink & Bascand, 2008; Trewin, 2001). We presently consider the term discipline, however, as an emerging organisational structure within universities.

An historical view reveals that groups of closely related disciplines (e.g. organic chemistry and inorganic chemistry) have been traditionally organised into departments or schools (Friedman, 2001) (although the term school has also been used as an alternative to faculty depending upon the field of study). Departments are typically led by a chair or head who is responsible for managing the daily operation, as well as the strategic direction of the academic unit. As the number of academic disciplines increased, so too has the number of academic departments. Nevertheless, the creation of each new academic department carries a significant cost to the university that may not always be matched by the associated income (Friedman, 2001). This problem has especially been an issue in Australia's publicly funded institutions where the income received per full time equivalent student has been generally in decline for more than twenty years (Coaldrake & Steadman, 1999; Miller, 1995). In the wake of the global financial crisis, the cost of running a modern university is likely to be under even tighter scrutiny. Therefore, while departmental mergers and faculty restructures are not new (Friedman, 2001) it seems likely that they will become more prevalent in the years ahead and that innovative approaches to academic management will be explored. The emergence of disciplines in Australian universities is a good example of this.

Pattern of discipline use within Australian universities

A review of public web sites for Australian universities (between August and November 2012) reveals that 16 out of 39 institutions employ disciplines (as defined by a named organisational unit with appointed discipline head or leader), with use being evident across multiple faculties in at least eight institutions (Table 1). No pattern of use is evident according to Australian state, historical origin or age of the institution. A clear trend, however, is observed toward use of disciplines within faculties of sciences, engineering and medicine (16 out of 16 cases where used). In a few institutions, a mixture of both disciplines and departments are used and information displayed on

some discipline web pages indicates that these academic units formerly existed as departments (e.g. Discipline of Physics at the University of Adelaide) (University of Adelaide, 2012). It should be noted that substantial variation is also observed with respect to higher order structures where the terms faculty, college and school appear to be used interchangeably according to field of study (e.g. faculties of business generally referred to as business schools), perhaps often to follow examples set by prestigious institutions (e.g. Harvard Business School). In the case of Swinburne University of Technology, reference is made to academic groups that could presumably operate in a similar manner to schools, departments, or disciplines in other institutions.

The name given to an academic unit is no doubt less important than its actual functions and responsibilities. Likewise, a head of discipline may well have the same responsibilities and duties as a head of school. The decision to use new terminology, however, suggests a desire to create something new that is intended to improve the overall performance of the institution. For example, creation of disciplines might be used as a way to reduce operational costs, improve efficiency and facilitate outputs in areas of teaching or research focus of strategic importance to the university. Such changes may in fact have very little impact on most managed academics (Winter, 2009) since the weekly coal-face activities of teaching and research still need to be conducted irrespectively of whether they reside within a discipline, department or school. Significant questions arise, however, for the academic manager (Winter, 2009) placed in charge of leading a discipline and principally, how does their job differ from that of a traditional academic leader? The former departmental head is also presented with significant questions as they must now either acquire an alternative leadership role or return to life as a managed academic (Smith, Rollins & Smith, 2012). As illustrated in the following case study, the transition to a discipline-based structure can impact significantly on both academic and professional staff members. Moreover, we propose that the model of discipline leadership is a critical factor for success.

Case Study: The Discipline of Medical Sciences at QUT

Historical Perspective

The Queensland University of Technology (QUT) has a relatively long history in higher education by Australian standards having been formed from over a dozen former colleges and schools of adult education dating back to

Table 1: Summary of academic structures used within Australian universities

Based upon information obtained from publicly available documents on each university's web site between August-November 2012. It should be noted that many universities include additional research focused structures including institutes and centres. All institutions are 'public' unless otherwise noted.

<i>Institution</i>	<i>State or Territory</i>	<i>History</i>	<i>Academic Structure</i>	<i>Discipline use</i>
Australian Catholic University	National	Est. 1991. Former colleges of education	Faculty →School	
Australian National University	ACT	Est. 1946. Formerly Canberra University College (1930)	College →School →Division or Department	
Bond University	QLD	Est. 1989. Private, not-for-profit	Faculty or College →School →Department/Discipline	Limited use (e.g. School of Medicine).
Central Queensland University	QLD	Est. 1992. Former technical institute	Faculty →School	
Charles Darwin University	NT	Est. 2003. Former community college	Faculty →School →Discipline	Limited use within School of Environmental and Life Sciences.
Charles Sturt University	VIC & NSW	Est. 1989. Former agricultural and teachers colleges	Faculty →School	
Curtin University	WA	Est. 1986. Former technical college	Faculty or School →School or Department →Discipline	Limited use (e.g. Discipline of Applied Physics).
Deakin University	VIC	Est. 1974. Former technical college	Faculty →School	
Edith Cowan University	WA	Est. 1991. Former teachers college	Faculty →School	
Flinders University	SA	Est. 1966	Faculty →School →Dept or Discipline	Extensive use across multiple faculties.
Griffith University	QLD	Est. 1971. Sections formerly teachers colleges	Faculty or School →School or Department	
James Cook University	QLD	Est. 1970. Former annex of the University of Queensland (1961)	Faculty →School →Dept or Discipline	Extensive use across multiple faculties.
La Trobe University	VIC	Est. 1967	Faculty →School →Department	
Macquarie University	NSW	Est. 1964	Faculty →School or Department	
Monash University	VIC	Est. 1958	Faculty →School or Department	
Murdoch University	WA	Est. 1973	Faculty →School	
Queensland University of Technology	QLD	Est. 1989. Former technical and teachers colleges	Faculty →School →Discipline	Limited use within Science & Engineering Faculty.
RMIT University	VIC	Est. 1992. Former technical college	College →School →Discipline	Extensive use across multiple colleges.

<i>Institution</i>	<i>State or Territory</i>	<i>History</i>	<i>Academic Structure</i>	<i>Discipline use</i>
Southern Cross University	NSW	Est. 1994. Former teachers college	School	
Swinburne University of Technology	VIC	Est. 1992. Former technical college	Faculty →Academic Group	
University of Adelaide	SA	Est. 1874	Faculty →School →Discipline	Extensive use across multiple faculties.
University of Ballarat	VIC	Est. 1994. Former adult education and teachers colleges	Schools →Discipline	Predominantly within School of Health Sciences.
University of Canberra	ACT	Est. 1990. Former adult education college	Faculty →Discipline	Extensive use across multiple faculties.
University of Melbourne	VIC	Est. 1853	Faculty or School →School or Department	
University of New England	NSW	Est. 1954. Former college of the University of Sydney	Faculty →School →Discipline	Limited use (e.g. School of Science and Technology).
University of New South Wales	NSW	Est. 1949. Former technical college	Faculty, College or Academy →School →Department	
University of Newcastle	NSW	Est. 1965. Former technical college	Faculty →School →Discipline	Prevalent within schools of science, mathematics and engineering.
University of Notre Dame	NSW & WA	Est. 1989. Private Catholic university	School	
University of Queensland	QLD	Est. 1909	Faculty →School	
University of South Australia	SA	Est. 1991. Former technical and teachers colleges	Divisions →Schools or Colleges	
University of Southern Queensland	QLD	Est. 1992. Former technical college	Faculty →Department or School	
University of Sydney	NSW	Est. 1850	Faculty →School →Discipline	Extensive use within Business School, Sydney Medical School and Faculty of Health Sciences.
University of Tasmania	TAS	Est. 1890	Faculty →School →Discipline	Limited use (e.g. School of Medicine).
University of Technology Sydney	NSW	Est. 1988. Former technical college	Faculty →School	
University of the Sunshine Coast	QLD	Est. 1994	Faculty →School →Discipline	Prevalent within Faculties of Science, Health, Education and Engineering
University of Western Australia	WA	Est. 1911	Faculty →School	
University of Western Sydney	NSW	Est. 1989. Former agricultural college	School →Discipline	Limited use (e.g. School of Medicine).
University of Wollongong	NSW	Est. 1975. Former part of University of New South Wales	Faculty →School	
Victoria University	VIC	Est. 1990. Former technical college	Faculty →School	

1849 (Kyle, Manathunga, & Scott, 1999). The university in its present form originates from two major reforms: the Binary System introduced in the mid 1960s under the Menzies Federal Government that produced the Queensland Institute of Technology (QIT; 1965), followed by the Unified National System introduced under the Hawke administration that saw a newly created Queensland University Technology (1989) merged with the Brisbane College of Advanced Education (1990).

The origins of medical science as a teaching discipline at QUT date back to the days of the Central Technical College (1908), but the first bachelor's degree course in medical laboratory technology commenced in 1973. Various academic units have been charged with the responsibility of developing this discipline over the years including the Department of Medical Technology within the School of Health Science (1978). In addition to producing graduates in medical laboratory science, the teaching duties of the discipline have developed to include majors in biotechnology, microbiology and biochemistry. Moreover, the unit has been responsible for provision of numerous foundation units in anatomy, physiology and pathology for several health-related degree courses.

With the introduction of a faculty-based structure in 1985, the academics responsible for the discipline's development were originally placed within the Faculty of Health Science, but were subsequently transferred as members of the School of Life Sciences to the Faculty of Science in 1990 at QUT's Gardens Point campus in Brisbane. At this same time, a strong emphasis was placed upon the development of a research culture at QUT. Within the School of Life Sciences, research development was driven primarily within the Centre for Molecular Biotechnology (1988). Notably, this research centre was located within the same building as the majority of school academic staff thus facilitating access to research infrastructure. This relationship was maintained until creation of the Institute of Health & Biomedical Innovation (IHBI) in 2005 that resulted in relocation of the school's biomedical research facilities to a dedicated research facility across town at QUT's Kelvin Grove campus.

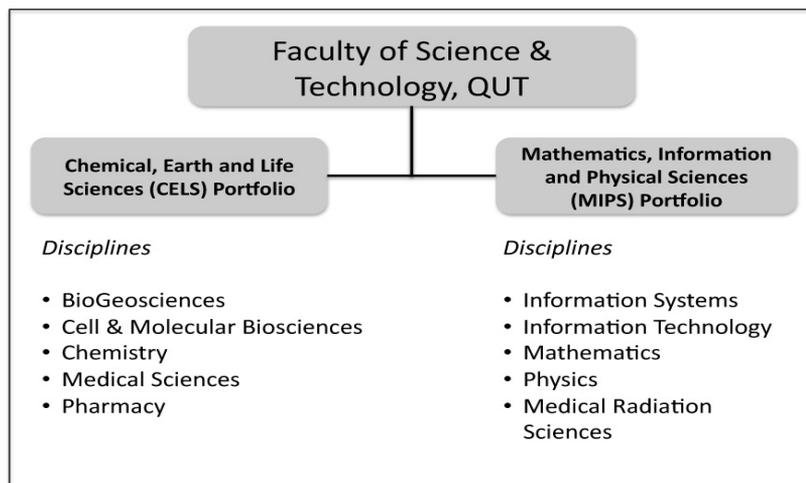


Figure 1: Operational structure for the Faculty of Science and Technology (FaST) at the Queensland University of Technology (1 January 2010–31 December 2011).

Discipline creation

The Discipline of Medical Sciences was established in January 2010 as part of a broad faculty restructure that resulted in the Faculty of Science merging with the Faculty of Information Technology. The new faculty structure (Faculty of Science & Technology or FaST) consisted of two large academic units called portfolios, each led by a director charged with the responsibility of managing five disciplines (Figure 1). The Discipline of Medical Sciences resided within the Portfolio of Chemical, Earth & Life Sciences alongside the disciplines of Cell & Molecular Biosciences (CMB), Pharmacy, Chemistry and Biogeosciences. Each discipline consisted of approximately 20 members of academic staff led by a head of discipline. During this transition phase, the academic staff members of the former of School of Life Sciences were distributed between the disciplines of Medical Sciences, Cell & Molecular Biosciences and Pharmacy. In doing so, the school's traditional teaching discipline areas of anatomy, physiology and pathology moved to Medical Science, with microbiology, biochemistry and molecular biology going to Cell & Molecular Biosciences. Thus, these two disciplines can be considered to be as multi-disciplinary in composition as many departments or schools at other institutions.

Owing largely to historical affiliations, the majority of research active academics along with their research staff and students were relocated to the Discipline of Cell & Molecular Biosciences. In contrast, the Discipline of Medical Sciences contained relatively few research active staff with only 3 out of 20 staff members having published papers based upon original research within the 12 months prior to the faculty restructure. At the same time, the high

demand for foundation units in anatomy, physiology and pathology throughout the university, resulted in a teaching workload for academics in Medical Sciences (average of 11 hours per week) that was approximately double that for academics in Cell & Molecular Biosciences.

During discipline creation, all professional staff members were reassigned to a centralised operational group of technical (Technical Services) and general professional staff. Thus instead of a head of school supported by a team of administrative staff (e.g. personal assistant to head of school, financial officer, timetabling officer, admin support officers and facilities manager), each discipline was administered by a head of discipline supported by a few administrative staff (portfolio hub) shared between all disciplines within a given location. In the case of Medical Sciences, this arrangement resulted in the assignment of 1.5 full-time equivalent (FTE) administrative staff shared between academic staff from up to four separate disciplines within the same building. The duties assigned to these local admin staff were quite basic (e.g. room bookings) with more extensive tasks being referred to a specialist within an off-site centralised pool (e.g. staff appointments).

Significant changes were also experienced with respect to financial operations. While the former head of school had the responsibility of managing income attributed to both teaching as well as research activities, heads of discipline were only assigned a research budget. All teaching-relating income was therefore managed at the level of faculty thus facilitating cross-subsidisation of disciplines in need of financial support. Each head of discipline was however provided with \$85K of discretionary funds by the faculty, notionally with the view that it could be used to hire a postdoctoral scientist to maintain the activities of his or her research programme while managing the discipline. Heads of discipline also received a management loading above their base salary.

A final feature of the newly created discipline-based structure worth noting is the creation of a more diverse combination of discipline backgrounds within the reporting structure. For example, within the former school-based structure, the academic staff member responsible for managing staff within the disciplines of anatomy,

physiology and pathology (a cell biologist), had previously reported to a biochemist (head of school), who in turn had reported to a food scientist (executive dean). In contrast, under the new discipline-based structure, the head of discipline (the same cell biologist) now reported to a geologist (portfolio director), who in turn reported to a computer scientist (executive dean). Such diversity may not be uncommon in large university departments and faculties, however, it requires those in higher positions of authority (dean and portfolio director) to rely more upon the advice from those managing discipline specific areas of teaching and research. Likewise, the discipline head may be required to work much harder to explain the purpose and value of initiatives of strategic and operational importance to the discipline.

Immediate impact of discipline structure

As Medical Sciences staff returned to work from their summer vacation in January of 2010, many things remained unchanged. For example, classes still had to be prepared for and grant submissions to major funding bodies written. With respect to research, the prior establishment of a dedicated research facility (IHBI) pro-

vided a significant buffer, in the short term, for research active staff from each discipline. Indeed, research-intensive staff and their students were largely unaffected by the faculty restructure and in fact generally identified themselves as members of research programmes rather than belonging to a discipline *per se*. For teaching academics, however, it quickly became apparent that the operational environment had changed substantially. Basic issues such as access to photocopying facilities or class timetabling issues could no longer be quickly addressed by directly contacting someone familiar with the discipline and located within the organisational unit. Instead, staff members were required to send their requests for information to generic e-mail addresses assigned to separate areas such as travel & finance or timetabling. In some cases, a familiar person was the immediate recipient of such e-mails, however, a voluntary early retirement scheme prior to the faculty restructure resulted in significant loss of corporate knowledge. The few professional staff assigned locally to each admin hub were invaluable. However, they were

Basic issues such as access to photocopying facilities or class timetabling issues could no longer be quickly addressed by directly contacting someone familiar with the discipline and located within the organisational unit. Instead, staff members were required to send their requests for information to generic e-mail addresses assigned to separate areas such as travel & finance or timetabling.

largely limited to dealing with basic issues such as stationery requirements and printing, and so sometimes bore the brunt of frustrated academics accustomed to dealing with 'good old Jim!' An added complication was that since the local admin staff were managed by a centralised portfolio office, the actual faces behind the desk often changed on a weekly and sometimes daily basis according to needs elsewhere within the wider portfolio.

While this new operating environment initially caused a significant degree of frustration, most staff eventually adjusted their work habits and accepted the change as a matter of fact, replacing old contacts with new as sources of vital information pertaining to their weekly activities. Heads of disciplines, however, were now faced with the longer-term challenge of how to build teaching and research within the new operational structure.

Building the discipline

Despite adjusting to the daily realities of new faculty structure, academic staff within Medical Sciences retained the general concerns regarding access to resources and career development that are typical of most academics working within any academic structure such as: 'How do I build my research?', 'How do I improve my teaching?', 'How do I manage the balance between teaching and research?', and ultimately, 'How do I get promoted?' Such questions would typically be raised directly with the head of discipline by either e-mail or face-to-face meeting, but the relatively small size of the group afforded the opportunity to discuss core issues as a combined group through regular discipline meetings. At the same time, the head of discipline was charged with the responsibility of building research through increased number of higher degree students, research grants and publications. A critical element in addressing the goals of the academic manager and managed academics alike was to adopt a management style based primarily on a distributed leadership model.

While there has been recent interest in studying the potential benefits of distributed leadership in higher education (Jones, LeFoe, Harvey, & Ryland, 2012), it is in our experience rare to find this approach being proactively used within academic departments. In brief, the model is based upon the individuals within a group ultimately sharing responsibility and ownership for goal setting and decision-making. Alternatively, the model can be considered to recognise the value of knowledge distributed within and between operational groups. Ultimately, the model encourages respect for the contribution of individuals to the daily operation and strategic direction of the combined group. An orchestra provides a practi-

cal example of this leadership model since, despite the requirement for leadership roles, the performance of the group is dependent upon the coordinated knowledge and input of all members of the group. In this sense, while overall responsibility for the performance may ultimately reside with the conductor, it is critical that all members of the group play their part to the best of their abilities. This compares with a more traditional academic culture where authority and power is more closely aligned with one's level of seniority with key decisions regarding the group's direction being made by a less collaborative and less transparent 'top-down' approach.

The decision to adopt a distributed leadership model within the Discipline of Medical Sciences at QUT owes as much to the practicalities faced following removal of traditional academic support structures as to a conscious decision made by the head of discipline on behalf of the group. An analysis of leadership style, however, for the head of Medical Sciences immediately prior to commencing duties using the Life Styles Inventory™ (LSI) survey tool (Human Synergistics) (Cooke, Lafferty, & Rousseau, 1987), revealed a primary trend towards the 'blue' or 'constructive' styles 'humanistic-encouraging' and 'affiliative' which are consistent with a distributed leadership model (Figure 2). As a consequence, the academic staff assigned to the discipline met regularly as a group to discuss the overall direction of the academic group. Importantly, any professional staff with whom the academics were required to work with on a daily or weekly basis were also invited to attend these meetings and were effectively regarded as extended members of the discipline, essential to creating the 'orchestra's performance'. Notably, the head of discipline only made important decisions regarding the discipline's direction after engaging in focused group discussions to consider all available evidence and to ensure collective ownership of the group's direction. The aim behind this strategy was not necessarily to achieve group consensus, but to encourage a collaborative, transparent and evidence-based approach to decision-making.

Risk analysis

Having established a model for managing the discipline, a risk analysis was conducted to identify key priorities for the group's development. For the purpose of this exercise, the level of risk was defined as a combination of:

- An event or operating environment that either presently or in the future would be considered to negatively impact on the ability of the discipline to achieve its goals.

- The current or predicted probability that this event or operating environment would occur.
- The severity and nature of consequences associated with the event or operating environment.

The outcomes of this risk analysis are summarised in Table 2, with risks to discipline success being classified according to broadest goals in research, teaching and service.

In summary, the primary events or operating conditions that posed the greatest threat to discipline success were:

1. Relatively high teaching and administrative loads (average of 11 contact hours per week with average class size of 150 students).
2. Lack of research funding, especially for emerging programmes.
3. Lack of exposure to potential higher degree research (HDR) students.
4. Lack of research active staff.
5. Lack of adequate teaching staff.
6. Lack of access to teaching income.

In response to the above risks, the discipline implemented a number of counter-measures aimed at risk remediation over the following six to twelve months.

- In response to 'high teaching loads' - A thorough review of teaching loads across the discipline was conducted and wherever possible staff reassigned to assist in areas of highest need. Moreover, a formal request for additional staff was made to faculty in accordance with teaching load and the associated discipline income that was managed by faculty.
- In response to 'lack of research funding' - The entire discipline research budget combined with most of the head of discipline's discretionary budget was used

Figure 2: Circumplexes that display outcomes of Human Synergistics' Life Styles Inventory™

Figure 2 shows circumplexes that display outcomes of Human Synergistics' Life Styles Inventory™ surveys completed for: (A) head of Medical Sciences Discipline at the Queensland University of Technology (2009) compared with (B) averaged data for staff in leadership positions within the Australian and New Zealand higher education systems (company data as of December 2012). Both results are derived from the combined opinions of the subject's immediate line manager, a sample of peers and a sample of direct reports (N=9 for Part A and N=9976 for Part B). In sharp contrast to the industry data, both primary and secondary styles for the head of Medical Sciences were assessed as residing more strongly within the 'blue' or 'constructive' segments that are considered to:

'Reflect a healthy balance of people- and task-related concerns and promote the fulfilment of higher-order needs. Styles associated with this orientation are directed toward the attainment of organisational goals through the development of people. Constructive styles account for synergy and explain why certain individuals, groups, and organisations are particularly effective in terms of performance, growth, and work quality' (Human Synergistics, 2012a).

Moreover, scores within the 'red' or 'aggressive/defensive' styles are considerably lower than average that suggests a significant shift away from styles that:

'Emphasise tasks over people and are driven by underlying insecurities. In the extreme, these styles lead people to focus on their own needs at the expense of those of the group. Though sometimes temporarily effective, Aggressive/Defensive styles may lead to stress, decisions based on status rather than expertise and conflict rather than collaboration' (Human Synergistics, 2012b).

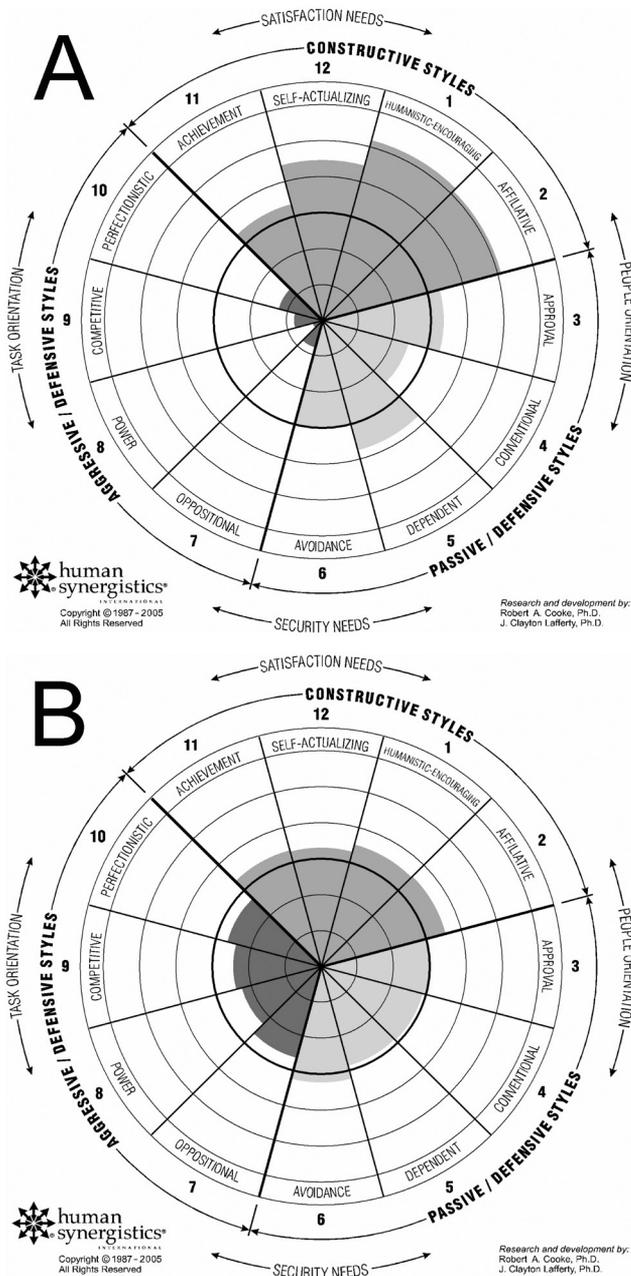


Table 2: Outcomes of risk analysis for Discipline of Medical Sciences at QUT – May 2010

Goal	Negative event or environment	Incidence/probability	Consequence	Level of risk
Research	High teaching loads.	High – Average weekly contact hours for Medical Sciences staff is 11 hours.	High – Lack of time to conduct research.	High
	Lack of research funding.	Moderate – Only 3 out of 8 research programmes are currently well funded.	High – Inability to conduct research.	Moderate to high
	Lack of exposure to potential higher degree research (HDR) students.	High – few Medical Sciences staff currently teach into research career oriented degree programmes.	Moderate – Reduced ability to recruit HDR students.	Moderate to high
	Lack of research active staff.	Moderate – 4 staff lack formal training in research and the research careers of 6 other staff have stalled due to high teaching loads.	High – Reduced capacity to conduct research.	Moderate to high
	Lack of access to research infrastructure.	Low – Most staff have access to facilities albeit at another campus in most cases.	High – Inability to conduct research.	Low-moderate
Teaching	Lack of adequate teaching staff.	High – One unit without a unit coordinator and two additional units taught by staff on temporary appointments.	High – Inability to run teaching units. Potential loss of staff to other institutions.	High
	Lack of access to teaching income.	High – Disciplines currently receive no income related to teaching.	High – Inability to respond quickly to increasing demands posed by internal and external (inter-faculty) clients.	High
	Lack of teaching qualifications or experience.	Low – 50 per cent of staff have over 10 years teaching experience. New staff to undertake formal training in higher education.	High – Poor quality of teaching.	Low-moderate
	Lack of discipline expertise.	Low- Currently maintain good knowledge of unit content including within the professional medical science degree programme.	Moderate – poor quality of teaching units. Failure to receive course accreditation.	Low
Service	Failure to engage with professional bodies and industry.	Low – Currently maintain a good level of engagement especially with respect to pathology industry.	High – Lack of relevance and industry support for teaching and research programmes.	Low-moderate
	Poor rate of staff participation.	Low- Currently maintain a good level of staff participation in service activities including faculty committees and involvement in professional societies.	Moderate – Reduced profile for discipline within and external to QUT.	Low

to establish a Discipline of Medical Sciences Small Grants Scheme. This scheme resulted in distribution of between \$5,000 to \$20,000 to each of the research programmes relative to performance, but recognising the need for seed funding by small and emerging groups as well.

- In response to 'lack of exposure to potential HDR students' - All staff were encouraged to provide details of potential honours and HDR projects for promotion by faculty, and to attend faculty open days for poten-

tial honours degree students. Potential students were also directly invited to attend an informal presentation of the discipline's research interests over free pizza. Further incentive was provided via a limited number of vacation research experience stipends and 'top-up' scholarships for students who had successfully applied for postgraduate research scholarships. As a more long-term plan, a formal submission was made to the faculty curriculum review committee to increase the availability of medical sciences teaching units within QUT's

Table 3: Statistics for academics within Discipline of Medical Sciences at QUT (2010-2012*)

Description	Year		
	2010	2011	2012
Staffing			
Number of full-time on-going staff	17	16	
Number of full-time contract staff	2	4	
Total staff	19	20	
Teaching			
Number of teaching units per semester	18 18	18 18	
Mean number of students enrolled per unit	~150	~150	
Average face-to-face contact hours/week	~11	~11	
Research			
Percentage of staff engaged in research	50%	85%	
Number of research higher degree students (includes honours, masters and PhD students)	13	30	
Number of original research publications (i.e. excluding reviews)	6	15	16

*Details for publications extended to 2012 to allow for delay between work being completed and date of publication.

Bachelor of Applied Science degree programme which at this time was the main feeder course for undergraduate students progressing to research higher degrees in science.

- The remaining priority areas involving staffing and funding could only be addressed by direct application to faculty via the portfolio director. A written case in support of these measures was therefore submitted for faculty consideration in June 2010 along with details of the completed risk analysis.

Discipline performance

Strategies for research student recruitment led to remarkable increases in the number of higher degree research students between 2010 and 2011 (Table 3). The number of original research publications by discipline staff also increased and was sustained into 2012 (taking into account the delay between undertaking experimental work and eventual publication). Two new nationally competitive grants were also awarded to the discipline over this period (National Health & Medical Research Coun-

cil project grants) resulting in approximately \$1m in research income. These achievements were accompanied by an overall increase in the number of staff engaged in research from 50 per cent to 85 per cent. It should be noted, however, that this increase was assisted in part by a university-wide academic staff recruitment programme aimed at early career academics (Early Career Academic Recruitment and Development or ECARD programme). Medical Sciences recruited two new academic staff via the ECARD programme during the period of review.

With respect to teaching, most academics within the Discipline of Medical Sciences routinely received student evaluation scores that were well-above the institutional average. At this same time, several academics within the discipline made a leading contribution towards redesigning the university's courses in medical laboratory science and biomedical science according to emerging regulatory requirements for academic institutions in Australia. Importantly, the new biomedical science degree programme, which is principally tailored towards undergraduate students interested in pursuing research as a career, contains majors in anatomical sciences and physiology, built upon existing and emerging Medical Science units.

Discipline fate

Despite the apparent, albeit short-term, success of the Discipline of Medical Science, a further faculty restructure in the later half of 2011 resulted in this academic unit being reunited with academics from the Discipline of CMB to create the School of Biomedical Sciences within the Faculty of Health. The new school structure is somewhat similar to the former School of Life Sciences with the exception that all professional staff members have been retained within a centralised faculty pool. Since the main faculty office, however, is located on another campus, a team of approximately a dozen professional staff have been assigned to manage the daily operations of the School of Biomedical Sciences as well as the needs of staff from a newly created Clinical School which is split between two campuses. Each school is led by an academic head assisted by a small group of academic directors who are responsible for managing and developing the teaching and research interests of the school. The notion of disciplines continues in the traditional sense (teaching areas), but no longer serve any formal management role. Instead, academics within the school are now largely managed through policies developed by the faculty-based professional staff, administered via the head of school and academic directors. Naturally, this has been quite a difficult change to endure for former Medical Sciences staff after

having experienced the benefits afforded by a distributed leadership model.

Discussion

The short duration of the Discipline of Medical Sciences at QUT naturally makes it difficult to measure effectively the impact of the group's initiatives and the true value of disciplines in general. Nevertheless, the experience gained through two major faculty restructures in quick succession enables a number of important observations to be made. We discuss these observations with the intention of assisting other academic and professional staff in the process of planning or implementing similar changes to faculty operations.

Managing the change

The concept of change in higher education is far from new (Coaldrake & Steadman, 1999; Miller, 1995) and indeed the events described presently with respect to academic structures are no doubt just the 'tip of the ice berg' for what is to come given the emergence of an increasingly globalised higher education market and rapid development of on-line knowledge content. Irrespective of the size and nature of changes to come, the present case study has taught us a number of important lessons about change management in high education. First and foremost, effective planning around maintenance of core functions is essential. As mentioned above, basic teaching and research activities for the most part should continue to operate as usual, as long as support structures are quickly established and clearly identified. In particular, it is essential to define quickly and clearly staff members responsible for key operational processes (e.g. class timetabling, travel requests etc). Having found the new person to deal with, it is naturally equally important for this person to have the knowledge necessary to fulfil the request. To this end, retention of corporate knowledge by retaining as many former school staff as possible in equivalent roles post restructure is highly desirable. Moreover, prior to restructuring every effort should be made to carefully document prior procedures for the purpose of training new staff if required. Such efforts can be significantly hampered, however, when restructures are immediately preceded by voluntary early retirement or redundancy rounds.

Impact of research institutes

While there is often concern raised regarding the widening gap between undergraduate teaching and research

activities of universities, the increasing relocation of research to within university research institutes does offer considerable short-term advantages during faculty restructures. Thus in the present case study, research only staff from the former School of Life Sciences who had relocated to IHBI, were relatively unaffected by the creation of disciplines. Research active teaching staff also benefitted by being able to use institute-based support staff, while faculty processes remained unclear. The relocation of research infrastructure to stand alone research institutes does however raise significant questions about the future role of academic units and even faculties themselves in research management. For example, in the present case study where the Discipline of Medical Sciences initially contained few research active staff and had no control over research infrastructure, it is questionable whether research outputs should have been included as key performance indicators for the group. Irrespective of what indicators are used for disciplines, significant complications can still arise when it comes to recruiting new academic staff if there is misalignment between the requirements of faculty-based academic managers and institution-based research managers. In short a partnership must be forged between academic managers with access to teaching income which pays academic staff salaries, and research managers who control access to research infrastructure. Such an arrangement was initiated in the present case study, but there was insufficient time to implement necessary measures prior to the second restructure.

Role of professional staff and distributed leadership

In the present case study, all but for a small contingent of professional staff (other than technical support staff) were both operationally and physically relocated to a centralised faculty pool and this practice has largely continued within the present faculty. The physical disappearance of most professional staff from within the same building as academic staff had a significant impact on the working environment, but most academic staff adjusted to the change in time and normal operations continued albeit for the occasional teething problem. While we have not examined faculty financial records for evidence of savings arising from this change it stands to reason that a shared arrangement of professional staff across multiple disciplines may well have translated to a significant reduction in operating costs. In the absence of hard evidence, however, we cannot assume that the centralisation of professional staff was ever intended to reduce their numbers.

In fact, centralisation may have improved the efficiency of faculty operations and freed up a number of professional staff to engage in new areas of strategic importance to the university. The relocation of professional staff to outside the traditional academic unit does however pose a challenge to academic-professional staff communication. To this end, we credit a significant component of the discipline's success to employment of a distributed leadership model. As predicted by Jones, *et al.* (2012), the distributed approach facilitated communication with professional staff and fostered a positive level of engagement by staff, both within as well as outside the discipline, including academic staff from other disciplines and professional staff providing technical support for laboratory classes. This broader community of academic practice was not only important for maintaining existing teaching efforts, but also facilitated the discipline's leading role in redesigning two undergraduate courses. In contrast, use of a more traditional top-down or centralised leadership model (i.e. using 'aggressive/defensive' leadership styles outlined in Figure 2), by another discipline over the same time period, caused significant friction both within and between disciplines and contributed to a number of staff members resigning or relocating to another faculty. The other discipline also failed to effectively engage as a group in curriculum reform, which posed a significant risk to the future financial viability of the academic unit.

Future of disciplines and discipline heads

The prevalence of disciplines within Australian universities (greater than 40 per cent) suggests that these new academic units are likely to be a feature of the national higher education sector for some time to come. Indeed, several recruitment advertisements have appeared over the last twelve months for positions of head of discipline or discipline leader at Australian universities. It is very likely that the duties and responsibilities of these roles will vary according to institution and so it will be interesting to see if a more generic interpretation evolves over the next few years. The University of Adelaide for example broadly defines the role of discipline head as a leadership position in a support role to a head of school (University of Adelaide, 2013). In the present case study, heads of discipline reported to a portfolio director, but given the number (five), size (approximately 20 academic staff) and diverse nature of disciplines within each portfolio (Figure. 1), the head of discipline was effectively required to function in a similar manner to a head of department or school. Responsibility without an appropriate level of authority is, however, a frustrating and ineffective way

to manage academic units and does little to encourage retention of academic staff in management positions. Interestingly, similar conclusions have been drawn from a recent survey of staff employed in middle management positions ('programme leaders') within universities in the UK (Murphy & Curtis, 2013) with 'role confusion' being identified as a major issue of concern. Universities should therefore establish clear policies, position descriptions and appropriate remuneration packages in order to recruit, train and retain staff within these emerging types of academic management roles. Based upon the present analysis of leadership style using the Life Styles Inventory™ (LSI) survey tool (Human Synergistics) it is tempting to speculate that this tool might be useful for screening potential candidates for leadership roles including heads of disciplines. The primary purpose of this tool, however, is to aid in the development of managers by assisting reflective practice and thus should be used to coach rather than select leaders.

Conclusions

Academic disciplines have emerged as a significant management structure within Australian Universities and seem likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. This practice is especially evident within faculties of sciences, engineering and medicine, but is not restricted to these study areas. The former Discipline of Medical Sciences at QUT, based on a distributed leadership model, provides a positive model for future disciplines to follow. There is insufficient published literature at this time to conclude whether the Discipline of Medical Sciences can be regarded as a typical example, and similar levels of success might yet be achieved using a variety of alternative management models. Caution should be taken however against following a more centralised leadership model, as this can significantly hamper sufficient levels of engagement and collaboration with the broader university community required for institutional performance and growth.

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Could MOOCs answer the problems of teaching AQF-required skills

in Australian tertiary programmes?

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From 2015, Australian universities will be required to demonstrate that their programmes explicitly teach and assess achievement of, knowledge and skills, and the application of both as specified by the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF). Over the last twenty years, the sector has applied significant effort and resources to embedding the development of skills through tertiary programmes. Despite these national and institutional efforts, employer and industry concerns remain about the quality of graduate skills. The authors propose a 'massive open online course' (MOOC) approach to teaching and assessing AQF required skills. As an example, the paper identifies the skills MOOCs that would need to be developed by experts in each skill area for AQF level 9 masters by coursework programmes. The proposed MOOC would include assessment tasks and rubrics allowing students to develop and demonstrate achievement of the AQF required skills. The assessment tasks could be used by institutions to provide evidence of attainment of coursework masters standards.

Introduction: Skills, universities and employer requirements

For the past 20 years, accrediting bodies, business, industry and the Australian government have exhorted Australian universities to demonstrate that their students develop generic and transferable skills through their programmes (Business Industry and Higher Education Collaboration Council, 2007 [BIHECC]; Department of Education, Science and Training, 2002; Fraser & Thomas, 2013).

In 2011, the Australian Business Higher Education Round Table (BHERT) conducted a series of industry-

based round tables in which employers repeatedly referred to deficits in teamwork, problem-solving and communication skills, while acknowledging that these skills are essential for future leaders and the knowledge economy (BHERT, 2011). At the same time, the Business Council of Australia argued that the challenges involved in adapting to new and changing workplaces require that graduates possess effective generic skills (BCA, 2011:29). 'The ability of graduates to contribute effectively in the workplace will be increased if the knowledge they have gained is up-to-date and is complemented by good technical and generic skills' (BCA, 2011:13).

Echoing employers' concerns, the Australian Government's report 'Advancing Quality in Higher Education' also underlines the need for these skills:

5.3 That to obtain assurance that the generic skills of graduates are meeting the needs of the economy, a literature review and scoping study be undertaken to examine the practical feasibility and value of a survey of employer needs and satisfaction with graduates as part of the suite of Government endorsed performance measures (AQHE, 2012, p. 4).

Industry, employer and government concerns align with the findings of the Australian Learning and Teaching Council (ALTC) funded 'National Graduate Attributes Project'. Barrie, Hughes and Smith (2009, p. 1) reported that most Australian universities have been 'unable to achieve the sort of significant systematic changes to student learning experiences, required to achieve their stated aims of fostering graduate attributes'.

Through the last decade of the 1900s and the first decade of the 2000s, the sector has applied significant effort and resource to embedding the development of skills through tertiary programmes. The ALTC and its predecessors funded several national graduate attributes projects that have produced frameworks, principles and guides for the thorough embedding of skills, in particular at the undergraduate level (Barrie *et al.*, 2009; Oliver, 2010). Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) audits have required that universities demonstrate the embedding of skills throughout their programmes. Universities have responded by mapping skills across the curriculum at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels (Barrie *et al.* 2009). Despite these national and institutional efforts over two decades, concerns remain about the quality of graduate skills.

The Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency (TEQSA) has clearly signalled its determination to probe institutional compliance with the revised AQF descriptors and standards, as well as Discipline Threshold Learning Outcomes, requiring greater evidence of the attainment of skills, not merely mapping them. Clearly, there is a need at the sector level to mesh the AQF Standards descriptors, TEQSA Threshold Standards, and Discipline Standards, as well as industry requirements for employability skills, and to assure the attainment of the skills through the completion of tertiary programmes.

Skills are variously termed 'employability skills', 'soft skills', 'generic skills' and 'graduate attributes'. In this paper we use the term 'skills' to refer to those that the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF) requires of Australian tertiary programmes. It is also important to note that con-

cern regarding the development of generic skills appears to be a worldwide issue (Andrews & Higson, 2008; Fain, 2012; Johnson, 2011; Sharma, 2013).

Curriculum mapping – a potentially useful tool but not the answer

Historically, the curriculum for a subject was developed by an individual discipline expert and, along with the programmes to which it contributed, was approved by the University's Academic Board. More recently, curriculum mapping became a feature of programme approval documentation (Barrie *et al.*, 2009). Curriculum mapping also has been undertaken in response to the 'Discipline Standards' in many cognate fields: for example, the University of Tasmania ALTC project to ensure minimum common Threshold Learning Standards in science (Kelder, Jones & Yates, 2012). Mapping of the curriculum specifies where broad programme objectives, including institutional graduate attributes and generic skills, are 'taught' in the curriculum. Arguably, some institutions have relied on curriculum mapping as a quality assurance measure in the development of skills. However, in spite of the use of curriculum mapping, employers continue to express concerns about the lack of skills of many graduates (BIHECC, 2007; BCA, 2011). While a potentially useful tool to analyse intended learning outcomes and curriculum content, curriculum mapping of skills is not a reliable proxy for the development and achievement of these skills, and it was never meant as such.

The development of skills in subjects relies on the knowledge and abilities of individual academic staff who must translate them into discipline contexts. There appears to be limited success in widespread change in academic learning and teaching practices, particularly in relation to the embedding of skills in the curriculum (Hacker & Dreifus, 2010). Specifically, with respect to generic skill development, the Australian research indicates that academics often lack the expertise and confidence to teach and assess such skills intentionally (Barrie *et al.*, 2009; Oliver, 2010). More recent research from the Office of Learning and Teaching funded Assessing and Assuring Graduate Learning Outcomes project reveals that often when academics develop programmes, they do not refer routinely to skills such as creativity and ethical understandings in the programme, nor do they use assessment types that might appropriately assess skills and understandings of skills (Crisp *et al.* 2012). Rather there is an over-emphasis on communication skills, especially written communication (Barrie *et al.*, 2012).

Plan B

From 2015, Australian universities will be required to demonstrate that their programmes explicitly teach, and assess achievement of, knowledge and skills and the application of both as specified by the AQF (2013) for the programme level. If, after 20 years of concerted effort, universities are still generally unable to successfully embed the development of skills into disciplinary curriculum, we argue that it is unlikely that we will be able to do so by 2015. A TEQSA imperative for demonstration of attainment will not overcome the lack of generic skills expertise that the literature suggests is a key reason why skills are not developed uniformly well across the sector (Barrie *et al.*, 2009; Oliver, 2010).

Given these contextual factors, in this paper we argue that consideration should be given to developing stand-alone, expert-developed AQF skills MOOCs that can be undertaken by students as adjuncts to their programmes, or that can be tailored by programme directors to their specific discipline field and university context. The skills MOOCs would therefore function as supplementary or complementary to specific discipline skills; those academics who are confident and 'expert' in the generic skills would utilise the resources to inform their existing programmes, others would direct students to undertake the stand-alone modules as complementary to their discipline work. While acknowledging that skills are best learnt when embedded in the context of the discipline (Hughes & Barrie, 2010), we believe that it is time to accept that this approach has had limited success in Australian universities. It is timely to develop 'Plan B'. We further argue that the advent of MOOCs may offer a solution if universities were to collaborate in developing and/or adopting MOOCs for key AQF skills, and that such MOOCs could represent an efficient and rational approach to the small 'market size' of Australia. Such an approach would obviate the need for each institution to develop its own generic skills programmes/components.

The MOOC phenomenon

In this era of increasing demand for higher education, enrolments in MOOCs demonstrate that students appreciate the opportunity to access a subject through online modules (Kolowich, 2012a). It seems clear from the popularity of MOOCs that a major attraction for students is flexible online access to 'experts' in the field. For some institutions, developing a MOOC represents 'brand visibility' and the opportunity to experiment with new technologies. For other institutions, and for educational systems, governments, and educational visionaries such as

Bill and Melinda Gates, the attractions are cost effectiveness, scalability, rationalisation in core basic subjects, open educational resources and the possibility of customisation for different contexts, as at San Jose University (Kolowich, 2013a).

The vast majority of individuals accessing MOOCs do not seek credit, as Kolowich (2012a) reports:

(in) edX's first course, a virtual lab-based electrical engineering course called Circuits & Electronics: 155,000 students registered for the course when it opened in February, but only 23,000 earned a single point on the first problem set, and 9,300 passed the midterm. When the course ended, 8,200 students took the final. Just over 7,000 earned a passing grade and the option of receiving an informal certificate from edX.

Even these low rates of completion (10-20 per cent, Kolowich 2012b) support the notion that students are willing to access online information that they need, when they need it. As many have argued (Ernst & Young, 2012), the mass 'democratisation of education' through MOOCs may signal a move to self-study and lifelong learning, among postgraduates in particular, to supplement their disciplinary studies, as boundaries between formal and non-formal institutions blur. Australian universities have already started to use online approaches to university-wide skills MOOCs for students to access when and as needed ('iwrite', University of Sydney; 'student teams' University of Queensland; and the Australian Technology Network (ATN) Learning Employment Aptitude Programme).

MOOC critics such as Legon (2013) point to the issues of assuring quality, assessment of learning, and obtaining credit for those who do complete. These issues have not been resolved in the current phase of MOOCs, and these questions are perhaps more important for students than the matter of the business model, which is raised by Kolowich (2012b) and others. We argue that the escalating rate in the use of portfolios in undergraduate and postgraduate programmes as a form of demonstration of the less tangible and generic learning outcomes of disciplinary programmes, would provide the impetus for students to complete skills MOOCs (Hallam, 2011; JISC, n.d.). The trial proposed later in this paper would demonstrate whether that belief is warranted. The issue of credit-bearing MOOCs is moot at this point, while the sector as a whole grapples with the accreditation matter. In the US, the American Council on Education has now accredited five Coursera MOOCs, and is assessing more from Udacity (Kolowich, 2013b), although accrediting these subject by subject would appear prohibitively expensive. However, it does indicate a degree of quality agency and sector acceptance.

Discussion

MOOCs and the AQF skills

The recent emergence of MOOCs offers a potential platform for the development of AQF skills at each AQF level. With a national unified system of university education, comprising national Discipline standards and AQF standards, and a national quality agency to enforce those standards, all within a declining budgetary environment, universities should surely be looking to a core curriculum of generic skills which are shared across the sector. The skills MOOCs could be developed collaboratively across the sector, and universities could customise the resources to suit their institutional contexts. This approach is currently described as a 'wrapped MOOC' (Glance, 2013). Alternatively, an organisation like Open Universities Australia could host the skills MOOCs, allowing free access to all students (this would require funding for OUA).

While research over the next few years will provide the evidence, or not, of the efficacy of MOOCs, it is timely for the Australian sector to trial at least one skills MOOC. Timing of running the MOOC could be trialled, with maximum flexibility preferred, perhaps with the MOOC running on a rolling basis three times a year, including during the traditional 'summer' break. Whether the MOOC would be offered for credit or not would sensibly be part of the trial. In all likelihood the MOOC would be a part of a life-long learning portfolio of student work. However, each institution will still need to be able to demonstrate the skills achievements of its graduates, so a for-credit MOOC would provide that evidence.

No Australian university has the sort of funding that has been devoted to Coursera, Udacity, Futurelearn and edX MOOCs, although several Australian universities have joined with Coursera to produce individual units. The University of Queensland's Vice-Chancellor suggests that production of a quality MOOC is 'upwards of \$100,000' (Hare, 2013), suggesting that a national collaborative approach to skills MOOCs is rational economically. To date, there is no indication that prestigious international universities will develop skills MOOCs and if they do, they certainly would not be developed within the AQF context. The MOOC platform offers a possible 'solution' to the issue of assuring that generic skills are included amongst the learning outcomes of Australian postgraduate programmes.

AQF level 9 coursework masters skills

For the purposes of illustrating the development of AQF skills through MOOCs, we have chosen to work with

AQF level 9 for coursework masters programmes. We have chosen this AQF level for two reasons: 1) almost 25 per cent of Australian higher education students are enrolled in a postgraduate coursework degree (Edwards, 2011); and 2) the demonstrable development of AQF skills through postgraduate coursework programmes remains a significant problem, particularly since most graduate attribute projects have focussed understandably on the undergraduate level. (Barrie *et al.* 2012).

Table 1 illustrates our mapping of skill MOOCs. We also include MOOCs on Indigenous awareness (Universities Australia, n.d.) and inter-cultural awareness. We include inter-cultural awareness, as postgraduate students, especially those undertaking a level 9 qualification, may not have benefitted from previous studies designed to develop graduates for a globalised world.

The development of the AQF skills MOOCs

The development of sector level AQF skills MOOCs would incorporate an online instructional design approach that maximises the potential of open digital technologies to:

- Allow independent study and application by students.
- Provide authentic assessment tasks for AQF 9 skill learning outcomes.
- Provide samples of student assessment tasks at Level 9 to assist markers to assure standards across institutions.
- Allow programme directors to customise and embed the MOOCs into their programmes.

A sector level approach to develop the AQF skills MOOC for level 9 coursework masters students could include:

- The identification and agreement of experts in each of the skills areas to develop the MOOCs.
- The determination of the length of student study/engagement time for each MOOC (e.g. 10 – 20 hours).
- The development of a contemporary, student-centred framework for the MOOCs based on current research into mature age student learning and online learning.
- The development and trialling of one 'pilot' AQF skills MOOC.
- The development of student learning activities that assist students to develop and apply the skill.
- The development of assessment tasks and marking rubrics to assess the achievement of skill learning outcomes.
- The development of resources, in a variety of contemporary digital media, and references.
- The development of guidelines for programme directors to assist them to customise and embed each MOOC into their programme.

Table 1: Mapping Coursework Master's AQF Skill Requirements and MOOCs

<i>AQF skill specification</i>	<i>MOOC</i>
Cognitive skills to demonstrate mastery of theoretical knowledge and to reflect critically on theory and professional practice or scholarship	(1) Academic literacy (2) Critical reflection
Cognitive, technical and creative skills to investigate, analyse and synthesise complex information, problems, concepts and theories and to apply established theories to different bodies of knowledge or practice	(3) Inquiry and problem solving in technical contexts
Cognitive, technical and creative skills to generate and evaluate complex ideas and concepts at an abstract level	(4) Creative thinking (5) Critical thinking (6) Numeracy
Communication and technical research skills to justify and interpret theoretical propositions, methodologies, conclusions and professional decisions to specialist and non-specialist audiences	(7) Written and oral communication (8) Digital communication
Technical and communication skills to design, evaluate, implement, analyse and theorise about developments that contribute to professional practice or scholarship	(9) Professional and ethical practice (10) Collaboration and teamwork
	(11) Indigenous awareness
	(12) Inter-cultural awareness

- The development and review of the MOOCs by expert panels.
- The trialling and evaluation of all 12 AQF skills MOOCs with students and programme directors.

The selection of the experts who develop the MOOCs would be potentially contentious. However, an Office of Learning and Teaching convened committee, similar to the Discipline Standards Committees, could draw on expertise across the sector, perhaps using their existing tender processes.

The model and its value

A MOOC approach for Level 9 programme skills would provide a model for other AQF levels, but perhaps more importantly, a suite of resources that would allow institutions to embed self-study and application of AQF skills

relatively quickly into their masters programmes.

The value of this approach is multifaceted. In a cash-strapped sector, significant potential savings in duplicated effort and resource development could be made across the country. Students could access the AQF skills MOOCs as and when they need ‘just in time and just for me’. The development of the skills MOOCs would strengthen coursework masters programmes so that they explicitly develop the requisite Level 9 AQF skills essential for professional practice and/or scholarship, while making explicit to students the various skills that they have developed. The use of the OUA platform, at least initially, would enable wide access by masters students: as a Moodle user, OUA shares an open source LMS with the majority of Australian universities, and one which espouses the philosophy of open education.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the continuing problem of explicit teaching and achievement of employability skills through our tertiary education programmes. We speculate that the recent emergence of the MOOC phenomenon may provide a solution to this perennial problem. By utilising skills experts to develop, model and facilitate the embedding of skills into programmes, or as stand-alone MOOCs for inclusion in portfolios of student work, the sector may be able to finally address the serious concerns of business, government and industry regarding graduate employability skills. We suggest that it is timely for the sector to trial the development and impact of a skills MOOC, in the first instance developed for postgraduate students. Given the apparent lack of expertise that many Australian academics have in the area, we suggest that this first MOOC target the development of creativity skills.

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Commonwealth infrastructure funding for Australian universities: 2004 to 2011

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This paper provides an overview of recent trends in the provision of general infrastructure funding by the Commonwealth for Australian universities (Table A providers) over the period 2004 to 2011. It specifically examines general infrastructure development and excludes funding for research infrastructure through the Australian Research Council or the research funding programme of the Education Investment Fund.

The Rudd Labor Government was elected in 2007 with a commitment to expand participation in higher education, culminating in a policy to ensure that 40 per cent of all 25- to 34-year-olds in Australia held a qualification at the bachelor's level or above by 2025. The reform agenda to attain this goal was established in the government's policy blueprint, Transforming Australia's Higher Education System, and included a number of key initiatives in capital expenditure and spending on student income support (DEEWR, 2009).

A key component of this agenda has been a renewed focus on infrastructure funding for higher education, both generally and as part of the Rudd-Gillard push to ensure the higher education sector is equipped to handle increased student demand, in keeping with the recommendations of key inquiries such as the Bradley Review of Higher Education (the 'Bradley Review'), where it was observed that:

Over the last decade there has been relatively limited funding available specifically for the development of capital infrastructure or its refurbishment. This has meant that there is a backlog of renewal and refurbishment projects in the sector and some facilities are now sub-standard and inadequate for teaching and research purposes (DEEWR, 2008, p. 171).

Since then, initiatives by the Rudd and Gillard Governments to boost infrastructure funding have centred around the creation of the Education Infrastructure Fund - drawing on resources from its 2007 Howard Government predecessor, the Higher Education Endowment Fund - whereby the Commonwealth has allocated \$4.15 billion through the Education Infrastructure Fund to support higher education and vocational education and training infrastructure development, as well as other specific measures detailed below. Interestingly enough, the Bradley Review found that these measures were probably sufficient to ensure infrastructure provision across the

higher education sector, provided the principal in the Education Infrastructure Fund was not accessed directly, as opposed to its income stream.

Given the recent focus on infrastructure funding in higher education, an important question that needs to be asked of recent expenditure is the extent to which it has been managed both geographically and also across institutional settings. It may well be the case that the overall picture of the system clouds attention to areas which require further funding to allow the Commonwealth to meet its objectives in terms of equity and participation.

This paper provides a preliminary assessment of how Commonwealth infrastructure funding has been distributed across the higher education system over the period 2004 to 2011, the most recent period for which final data are available at the time of writing.

Trends in Commonwealth infrastructure funding in higher education

The Commonwealth provides infrastructure funding to higher education through a variety programmes. The analysis below draws on programme data provided by the then Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) to assess patterns in this spending with specific reference to the 39 'Table A providers' (DEEWR, 2012).

It covers the five major capital programmes in operation at various points of the last eight years from 2004 to 2011:

- Capital Development Pool: In operation between 2004 to 2011, with a total of \$362.4 million distributed to individual institutions, as well as \$20.1 million distributed as multi-partner funding involving two or more institutions. The Capital Development Pool was abolished on 1 January 2012.
- Education Investment Fund: In operation from 2008, with a total of \$1,140.6 million distributed, excluding research-related capital funding and prospective funding through the 2011-12 'Regional Priorities Round'.
- Teaching and Learning Capital Fund: Funds thus far only distributed in 2008, with \$492.9 million provided

Table 1: Trends in Commonwealth Infrastructure Funding, By Major Programme, 2004 to 2011, \$ million.

Year	Capital Development Pool	Education Investment Fund	Teaching and Learning Capital Fund	Better Universities Renewal Funding	Structural Adjustment Fund	Total
2004	39.2	-	-	-	-	39.2
2005	36.9	-	-	-	-	36.9
2006	38.2	-	-	-	-	38.2
2007	18.9	-	-	-	-	18.9
2008	61.6	461.8	492.9	495.7	368.2	1,880.2
2009	59.8	498.7	-	-	-	558.5
2010	61.8	180.1	-	-	-	241.9
2011	46.0	-	-	-	-	46.0
Total	362.4	1,140.6	492.9	495.7	368.2	2,859.8

Source: DEEWR (2012) *Announced Infrastructure Funding for Table A Universities*.

to Table A provider universities out of a total pool of \$500 million.

- Better Universities Renewal Funding: Funds only distributed in 2008 of \$495.7 million to Table A provider universities out of a total pool of \$500 million, and
- Structural Adjustment Fund: Funds only distributed in 2011 (thus far) of \$368.2 million to Table A provider universities, including \$8.9 million in multi-partner funding.

All spending undertaken through these funds is included in this analysis, except for research and development funding through the Education Investment Fund, information for which has not been made publicly available, and multi-partner (multi-institutions) funding of \$29 million over the seven year period to 2011. This analysis also excludes the 2011-12 'Regional Priorities Round' of the Education Investment Fund, which will provide \$500 million in funds for the higher education and vocational education and training providers. Full details of projects to be funded under this round were not yet announced at the time of writing.

Table 1 reports on Commonwealth infrastructure funding trends. In total, funding across all funds (excluding multi-partner and Education Investment Fund research and development spending) was equal to \$2,859.8 million between 2004 and 2011, or around \$73.3 million per higher education institution (the 39 Table A providers). To place these figures in context, domestic undergraduate enrolment in Table A providers towards the end of this period in 2010 was equal to 590,605, implying capital expenditure over 2004 to 2011 of \$4,842 per each 2010 student place.

Table 2: Commonwealth Infrastructure Funding (Total over 2004 to 2011) and 2010 Domestic Enrolment (persons), By State

State or Territory	Infrastructure Funding (2004 to 2011), \$m	Share	2010 Domestic Enrolment	Share	Funding Share/ Domestic Enrolment Share Ratio 1
New South Wales	922.2	32.2%	185,704	31.4%	1.02
Victoria	687.0	24.0%	134,566	22.8%	1.05
Queensland	602.9	21.1%	117,364	19.9%	1.06
Western Australia	160.3	5.6%	65,246	11.0%	0.51
South Australia	170.9	6.0%	41,669	7.1%	0.85
Tasmania	42.2	1.5%	13,160	2.2%	0.67
Northern Territory	68.7	2.4%	5,243	0.9%	2.70
Australian Capital Territory	186.2	6.5%	15,776	2.7%	2.43
Multi-State	19.4	0.7%	11,877	2.0%	0.35
Australia	2,859.8	100.0%	590,605	100.0%	1.00

Source: DEEWR (2012) *Announced Infrastructure Funding for Table A Universities*; DEEWR (2011) *Selected Higher Education Statistics*. Note: 1. This is the ratio of Infrastructure Funding to Domestic Enrolment. A ratio of 1.00 indicates share of funding equals the share of enrolment. A ratio greater (less) than 1.00 indicates more (less) funding on a per capita basis, as measured by domestic enrolment.

The distribution of this expenditure varies over time. The earliest established fund, the Capital Development Pool, has been in operation over the entire eight year period and has seen a steady rate of spending over its life, with \$362.4 million being distributed to individual institutions, at an average of \$45.3 million per annum. The Capital Development Pool was the preferred vehicle for infrastructure funding over much of the tenure of the Howard Government which was in office between 2004 to 2007 when \$133.2 million was distributed to universities to spend on infrastructure, accounting for 4.7 per cent of all funding over the eight-year period under examination.

The Rudd-Gillard Governments have been more assertive in funding higher education infrastructure, at least during their first three years in office. The key infrastructure fund established under the Rudd-Gillard Government, the Education Investment Fund, distributed \$1,140.6 million in three years, with total financing of \$2,726.6 million being made available. The balance of funding took place through the other three funds – Teaching and Learning Capital Fund, Better Universities Renewal Funding and Structural Adjustment Fund – mostly in 2008, in large part as a consequence of the global financial crisis which saw the Rudd Government bring forward or initiate new expenditure over 2008-09. In total, \$1,880.2 million of infrastructure funding was allocated in 2008, around 65.7 per cent of total capital funding over the eight years.

Further analysis of this funding across institutions can take place by examining expenditure patterns across three potential groupings:

- A comparison across the States and Territories;
- Notional groupings of the universities themselves (the Group of Eight or Australian Technology Network for instance), as set out in the 2008 Bradley Review; and
- An analysis of university groupings using broader DEEWR classifications for the regional loading policy.

This analysis uses an aggregate measure of student numbers, which is the enrolment headcount rather than EFTSL (equivalent full-time student load) data. International and postgraduate coursework students are excluded from this base because they are full fee paying students, with their fees being adjusted in view of the resources available to fund places and infrastructure for undergraduates. Postgraduate higher degree by research students are also excluded, as they are separately funded via research programmes and the research sub-programmes of the Education Investment Fund, which are excluded from this analysis. The use of 2010 as the base year for enrolments is an appropriate indicator given that 95.3 per cent of infrastructure funding has taken place since 2008.

State analysis

An overview of Commonwealth infrastructure funding trends across the States and Territories can be seen in Table 2. It compares expenditure between jurisdictions on the basis of domestic (undergraduate) student enrolment

in 2010, the most recent year for which full data are available (see Phillimore & Koshy (2011) for details).

Amongst these, institutions in the three most populous states, New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, receive a share of infrastructure funding which is broadly proportional to their share of domestic higher education enrolments. For instance, New South Wales receives 32.2 per cent of funding for 31.4 per cent of students in 2010, a funding share to student share ratio of 1.02. Queensland (21.1 per cent of funding with 19.9 per cent of students) receives funding which is approximately 6 per cent greater than its student share might dictate, with a ratio of the two being equal to 1.06.

The less populous of the States and Territories are split between those receiving less than their student share - Western Australia, which has received 5.6 per cent of funding for 11 per cent of the students, South Australia and Tasmania - and the Northern Territory and Australian Capital Territory, who each receive substantially more funding than the student enrolment share of their institutions might dictate.

Institutional Grouping Analysis

Another way to examine this funding relativity is by breaking the Table A providers down on an institutional grouping basis. We use four commonly identified groupings:

1. The Group of Eight universities: Australian National University, Melbourne, Monash, Sydney, New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia and Adelaide.
2. The Australian Technology Network: Curtin, University of Technology Sydney, RMIT University, Queensland University of Technology, and University of South Australia.
3. The 11 universities founded in the 1960s and 1970s: Tasmania, Murdoch, Flinders, Griffith, James Cook, Macquarie, Newcastle, New England, Wollongong, La Trobe, and Deakin.
4. The 17 post-1988 universities: Australian Catholic University, Canberra, Edith Cowan, Charles Darwin, Bachelor Institute, Swinburne, Victoria, Ballarat, Sunshine

Table 3: Commonwealth Infrastructure Funding (Total over 2004 to 2011) and 2010 Domestic Enrolment (persons), By Institutional Grouping (Table A Providers)

Grouping	Infrastructure Funding (2004 to 2011), \$m	Share	2010 Domestic Enrolment	Share	Funding Share/ Domestic Enrolment Share Ratio 1
Group of Eight	949.7	33.2%	157,289	26.6%	1.25
Australian Technology Network	447.6	15.7%	99,423	16.8%	0.93
1960/70s universities	597.2	20.9%	168,290	28.5%	0.73
Post-1988 universities	865.3	30.3%	165,603	28.0%	1.08
All Table A Providers	2,859.8	100.0%	590,605	100.0%	1.00
Regional Universities Australia	482.1	16.9%	68,117	11.5%	1.47

Source: DEEWR (2012) Announced Infrastructure Funding for Table A Universities; DEEWR (2011) Selected Higher Education Statistics. Note: 1. See Note 1 in Table 2.

Coast, Central Queensland, Southern Queensland, Southern Cross, Western Sydney, Charles Sturt, Bond, Notre Dame and the Melbourne College of Divinity.

In addition, regional enrolments can be analysed for a new grouping of universities from the above list:

5. Regional Universities Australia (RUA): comprised of: Charles Sturt, Southern Cross, New England, Ballarat, Central Queensland and Southern Queensland.

Table 3 reports on infrastructure funding (2004 to 2011) and enrolment (2010) across these major institutional groupings. As is the case with jurisdictions, there appears to be a wide discrepancy in the way funding is allocated to Table A providers. The Group of Eight receive 33.2 per cent of all infrastructure funding (excluding research and development funding under the Education Investment Fund where they are similarly well represented) in comparison with a domestic student enrolment equal to 26.6 per cent of the total. For each percentage point share of the total domestic student enrolment in 2010, the Group of Eight has received 1.25 percentage points of all infrastructure spending between 2004 and 2011.

The Australian Technology Network (funding share-domestic enrolment ratio of 0.93) and 1960/70s (0.73) groupings receive less infrastructure than their student enrolment would dictate, while the Post-1988 group of universities has received an additional 8 per cent of funding over a pro rata allocation on the basis of 2010 student enrolment. The Regional Universities Australia group of universities has benefited specifically from infrastructure funding since 2004, obtaining 16.9 per cent of all spend-

Table 4: Commonwealth Infrastructure Funding, Total over 2004 to 2011, by 2010 Domestic Enrolment (persons), by DEEWR Institutional

Grouping (Table A Providers) Grouping	Infrastructure Funding (2004 to 2011), \$m	Share	2010 Domestic Enrolment	Sbare	Funding Share/ Domestic Enrolment Sbar Ratio1
Regionally Headquartered	621.4	21.7%	97,115	16.4%	1.32
Metro with Regional Students	1413.3	49.4%	315,296	53.4%	0.93
All Table A Providers	2859.8	100.0%	590,605	100.0%	1.00
Other Institutions	825.1	28.8%	178,194	30.2%	0.95

Source: DEEWR (2012) *Announced Infrastructure Funding for Table A Universities*; DEEWR (2011) *Selected Higher Education Statistics*. Note: 1. See Note 1 in Table 2.

ing with around 11.5 per cent of the 2010 student enrolment, implying a share of funding equal to 1.47 times this group's share of enrolments.

DEEWR Classifications and Regional Enrolment

Another way to examine the split in infrastructure funding is to look at spending on institutions with a regional presence or main campus in comparison with other providers as this is larger and more representative than the Regional Universities Australia group. In its assessment of the regional loading scheme, DEEWR identifies two classes of Table A providers:

1. Regionally Headquartered: Ten institutions with a major campus in a regional or remote area – Charles Sturt, Southern Cross, New England, Ballarat, Central Queensland, James Cook, Southern Queensland, Tasmania, Bachelor Institute and Charles Darwin.
2. Metropolitan Institutions with Regional Campuses: Twenty institutions with one or more regional campus – Newcastle, Sydney, Wollongong, Deakin, La Trobe, Monash, RMIT University, Melbourne, Queensland University of Technology, Queensland, Sunshine Coast, Curtin, Edith Cowan, Murdoch, Notre Dame, Western Australia, Flinders, Adelaide, University of South Australia and Australian Catholic University.

The Regionally Headquartered group of universities account for 16.4 per cent of all students, yet received 21.7 per cent of infrastructure funding between 2004 and 2011, indicating a ratio of funding to domestic enrolment of 1.32. Metropolitan Institutions with Regional Campuses received significantly less, around 49.4 per cent of all funding with 53.4 per cent of the domestic enrolment, for a funding to enrolment ratio of 0.93. Other Institutions received \$825.1 million in infrastructure funding,

or around 28.8 per cent of the total compared with their domestic enrolment of 178,194 or around 30.2 per cent of the total. This makes them, along with the Metropolitan Institutions with Regional Campuses group, recipients of below-average levels of infrastructure funding.

Implications: Infrastructure Funding

A preliminary analysis of infrastructure funding between 2004 and 2011 shows this expenditure has tended to favour States/Territories

and institutions with campuses in regional areas. Regional institutions (on two broad measures) received capital grants at a rate at least 30 per cent above their share of the domestic undergraduate student enrolment over this period.

Several institutional groupings receive less than their 'enrolment share' of infrastructure funding, including the Australian Technology Network group of universities, where the share of total infrastructure funding is equal to only 93 per cent of their enrolment share.

This divergence is even more pronounced at the State and Territory level. Notably, Western Australia, with no regional universities and few significant regional campuses, has a capital share equal to only 51 per cent or domestic enrolment share, far lower than average levels of capital funding in total.

Given the stated focus on 'regional spending', some consideration needs to be paid to the underlying motivation for this funding in view of stated government policy commitments to:

- Capital to universities.
- Regional campus development, and
- Increased participation by students from low socio-economic status and/or regional areas.

In particular, there needs to be a clarification of these goals, and the means and strategies to attain them (along with other strategies such as student accommodation policy), in order to ensure clarity and consistency in policy development and implementation and to ensure that policy goals are attained.

Further, the relationship between capital provision and student enrolment load also needs to be considered, particularly in view of the sector's recent deregulation of student places and the potential for 'disconnect' between

policy intention and outcomes where capital provision does not 'follow' student enrolment trends.

Conclusion

In recent years, infrastructure funding in higher education in Australia has increased quite dramatically, with 95 per cent of the \$2,859.8 million invested in capital in the sector since 2004 being spent in the last four years.

A number of institutions in various States and Territories and/or institutional groupings received less than their 'enrolment share' of infrastructure funding between 2004 and 2011. There is also evidence to suggest that similar disparities emerge at the State and Territory level.

Regional universities have received a disproportionate share of the funding compared to their level of student enrolments, and this will be exacerbated once the \$500 million Regional Priorities Round of the Education Investment Fund has been finally taken into account. These disparities have implications for future Commonwealth policy in higher education capital spending, particularly as it intersects with other critical issues such as the promotion of higher education participation by regional students, more than half of whom attend non-regionally headquartered universities. A reconsideration of the direction of capital infrastructure funding is particularly pertinent in the emerging policy environment where base funding is more closely linked to trends and shifts in student enrolments.

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OPINION

Academic Rights 101: An introduction in a Malaysian context

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The concept of academic rights is greatly misunderstood, even among some university academics. This paper provides a summary of the historical development of the academic rights from the Roman to the modern era. Many documents and declarations advocating academic rights have been produced, and this paper presents a discussion of the recent documents. The major components of academic rights are elaborated. These include university autonomy, university accountability, academic freedom, academic obligations, security of tenure and collegiality. Some remarks are also made on the current situation in Malaysia.

Introduction

Academic rights and academic freedom are sensitive issues in some countries, especially if academics become critical of the government of the day. The reaction may range from something light such as a reprimand to something more sinister such as demotion, dismissal, physical attack, imprisonment, torture or even murder (Altbach 2001: NEAR 1). On the other hand, academic rights are treated as being sacred and honoured in some other countries. About thirty countries have included academic rights or academic freedom in their constitutions or national law (ICSU). A sampling of the constitutions is shown in Appendix I.

Historical development

During the Roman era, the academic teachers of liberal arts were regarded as honourable as physicians (Kibre 1962). The *Corpus iuris Civilis* provide for privileges such

as exemption from compulsory public and military duties, special purchase of food, and protection from molestation and bodily harm.

These privileges and rights were also carried into the era of Holy Roman Empire with the *Corpus iuris Canonici*. One additional privilege is protection from creditors for non-payment of debts.

The earliest document on academic rights for a university is the *Authentica Habita* (Kibre 1962, Slack 2012). Also known as *Privilegium Scholasticum*, *The Authentica Habita* was a decree issued by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1155 for the University of Bologna. It set the rules, rights and privileges of the university, its teachers and its students. Some of the rights are:

- Same level of right, freedom and immunity as enjoyed by the clergy
- Freedom of movement and travel
- Immunity from the right of reprisal
- Right to be tried by their masters and not by local civil courts.

- Exemption from taxes and charges for item related to their studies

The next major promoter of academic rights was Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) (Paulsen, 1902, Michelsen, 2010, Serrano-Velardea & Stensaker, 2010). He introduced the idea of a research-oriented university, doing research besides offering professional training. He envisaged the university as a community of teachers and students with independent thinking and a sense of responsibility. The university must foster academic freedom, be autonomous, free from governmental regulation and free to select and organise studies. There should be protection within the classroom and within the field of specialisation of the academic. These are outlined as *Lehrfreiheit* – the right of academics to teach, *Lernfreiheit* – the right of students to learn, and *Freiheit der Wissenschaft* – freedom of scientific research.

In the early twentieth century, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the Association of American Colleges extended academic rights beyond the classroom and outside the university. Their statements (the 1915 *Declaration of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure*, the 1925 *Conference Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure* and the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure*) do not just promote freedom for teaching, learning and research but also for extramural activities (AAUP, 1915; 1940). Academics are seen as valuable social critics and accorded special protection for writing and speech. The statements also introduced the concept of security of tenure. The 1940 statement was endorsed by more than two hundred academic and professional organisations in the USA.

The freedom to speak outside the classroom is reinforced by the UK Academics for Academic Freedom. Their 2007 *Statement on Academic Freedom* called for the right to question and test received wisdom and to put forward controversial and unpopular opinions, whether or not these are deemed offensive. It was signed by more than 600 mainly British academics (AFAF, n.d.).

Another development in the early twentieth century was the 1918 *Cordoba Reforma Universitaria* (History of Education 1918). What started out as a student revolt at Cordoba University in Argentina, has led to the creation of 'autonomous universities' in a number of Latin American countries. The *Liminar Manifesto* (Roca, 1918) advocated for

- Universities to be autonomous from the state.
- Democratisation of universities.
- Secularisation of education programme and university courses.
- Scientific modernisation of curricula.

- Co-governance of universities among academics, students and alumni.
- More full time staff and students.

Even civil authorities are forbidden to enter the university without the permission of the academic community.

Modern developments

In celebrating the 900th anniversary of the University of Bologna, the university and European University Association (EUA) reaffirmed the basic principles of academic rights in the *Magna Charta Universitatum* (EUA 1988). On 18 September 1988, 388 rectors from mainly European universities signed the document. Since then, representatives of 755 universities worldwide from 80 countries have signed the document. Unfortunately, only four of the universities are from the ASEAN region. None are from Malaysia.

The most authoritative and comprehensive instrument on academic rights came from the United Nation Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Its *Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel* was approved by the UNESCO General Assembly in 1997 (UNESCO, 1997). The Recommendation was formulated by a well-balanced committee consisting of the three main stakeholders: representatives representing the governments, university management and academic unions. It outlined not just the rights and responsibilities of the academics, but also of the universities and the state. It has components of university autonomy, university accountability, academic freedom, academic obligations, security of tenure and collegiality.

The international organisation for university management, International Association of Universities (IAU), has also produced a statement on academic rights (IAU, 1998). Its 'Policy Statement on Academic Freedom, University Autonomy and Social Responsibility' was adopted in 1998.

There are also statements and declarations on academic rights issued at conferences and other meetings (Barrows, 1995). These include the:

- Declaration of Rights and Duties Inherent in Academic Freedom, Siena, Italy (1982).
- Declaration on Academic Freedom and Autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education, Lima, Peru (1988).
- Dar es Salaam Declaration on Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility of Academics, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (1990).
- Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility, Kampala, Uganda (1990).
- Sinaia Statement on Academic Freedom and University Autonomy, Sinaia, Romania (1992).

Table 1: Monitoring organisations of compliance with academic right documents

Monitor	Rights document	Document Owner
Joint ILO/UNESCO Committee of Experts on the Application of the Recommendations concerning Teaching Personnel (CEART)	Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel (1997)	United Nation Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)
Magna Charta Observatory of Fundamental University Values and Rights	Magna Charta Universitatum (1988)	European University Association (EUA)
Network for Education and Academic Rights (NEAR)		
Scholar-at-Risk (SAR)		

- Erfurt Declaration on University Autonomy, Erfurt, Germany (1996).

Rights of researchers

Closely related to academic rights, are rights of researchers. The main advocate for researcher rights is the International Council for Science (ICSU). It has produced two statements on rights of researchers: *Revised Statement on Freedom in the Conduct of Science* (ICSU, 1995), and *Statement on Universality of Science in a Changing World* (ICSU, 2004). ICSU is concerned about the rights and freedom to conduct research. This includes right to associate in international scientific activities, access to scientific data and information, and unrestricted travel on scientific business.

The United Nations has also produced a document on researcher rights. It is the UNESCO Recommendation on the Status of Scientific Researchers (UNESCO, 1974). It outlined the rights and responsibility of the researchers, their employers and the state.

Table 2: Monitoring organisations of compliance with researcher right documents

Monitor	Rights document	Document Owner
ICSU Committee on Freedom and Responsibility in the conduct of Science (CFRS)	Revised Statement on Freedom in the Conduct of Science 1995. Statement on Universality of Science in a Changing World 2004	International Council for Science (ICSU)
International Human Rights Network of Academies and Scholarly Societies		
American Association for Advancement of Science (AAAS) Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility (CSFR)		
American Physical Society (APS) Committee on International Freedom of Scientists		

Monitoring organisations

None of the above instruments on academic rights provide any legal or enforcement power. However, most universities complied because academic rights are seen as a required prerequisite in being a university. For some others, it could be to avoid the embarrassment of being ridiculed for being non-compliant. This is because there are many organisations that monitor the level of compliance in universities in various countries. The

major monitoring organisations are listed in Table 1 and Table 2. Some are tied to a rights document while others are not.

The most critical of these monitors is the Network of Education and Academic Rights (NEAR 2). It produces public alerts for transgression of academic rights by universities or countries (<http://www.nearinternational.org/alerts.asp>).

Fundamentals of Academic Rights

The UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel has outlined six main components of academic rights *viz.* university autonomy, university accountability, academic freedom, academic obligations, security of tenure and collegiality (UNESCO, 1997).

University autonomy requires the university to be self-governing on academic, management and financial matters. There should not be any external interference.

However, this does not free the government from social responsibility to support higher education.

With autonomy comes accountability. The university must be publicly accountable for funding, academic standards and uses of resources. There should not be any cover up of institutional censorship.

For academics, academic freedom is the freedom to teach and the freedom to do research. Academics are free to teach and discuss, and not forced to teach against their knowledge or conscience. They are also free to carry out research and disseminate the research results by publication in any media of their choice. In carrying out his or her teaching and research, the academic must be given freedom of movement, association, expression and communication. S/he must also be given equitable access to data, information, research materials, libraries and research facilities. Academic freedom also includes the right to express opinions about the institution or system in which they work.

With the granting of academic freedom, academics have obligations to society to excel, to innovate, and to advance the frontiers of knowledge through research and the diffusion of its results through teaching and publication. However, they must take into account the implications which the results may have for humanity and nature. There must be respect for evidence, impartial reasoning and honesty in reporting, and for academic freedom of others and allow for discussion of contrary views.

Collegiality means there must be shared responsibility with academics in governing the university and other academic bodies. There must be a majority of academic representatives to the academic bodies.

There must also be security in academics' tenure. Employment should be equal for all and based solely on academic qualification, competence and experience. There must be negotiation for the terms and conditions of employment. The facilities provided must be conducive to teaching, research and scholarship. Any disciplinary action must only be for professional misconduct.

Notes on Malaysia

One of the current government policies on higher education is to make Malaysia into an education hub. This is being done through international marketing for students, academics and researchers for its universities. Most of the major universities are deeply involved in university rankings. This has exposed Malaysia to international scrutiny of its universities, particularly the NEAR alerts. Malaysia received eleven NEAR alerts over a ten year period (2002-2011), as shown in Appendix II.

Malaysia has not been paying much attention to developing university ideals and increasing the level of academic rights in its plan of expansion of higher education. Academic rights have been overlooked and are regarded as a hindrance to this expansion plan.

However, Malaysia does need to improve its support for academic rights if it wants to be an international player. This has been advocated by the World Bank (World Bank, 2007). It says improvement is needed by:

Increasing autonomy of public universities and expecting full accountability in return. Empowering universities to make independent decisions about their mission, governance, hiring of their academic leaders, academic and non-academic staff, selecting students, and introducing new programmes and courses.

This would ensure that the general academic context and governance structures create a climate that upholds academic values including autonomy, freedom of expression, collegiality, and integrity.

Let us hope that all the stakeholders in Malaysian universities follow this advice and proudly move themselves onto the international stage.

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APPENDIX I: Provision for academic rights or academic freedom in the constitution or national law of selected countries

Thailand

Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (1997), Section 42.

A person shall enjoy academic freedom. Education, training, learning, teaching, researching and disseminating such research according to academic principles shall be protected; provided that it is not contrary to his or her civic duties or good morals.

Philippines

Philippines Constitution (1987), Article XIV, Section 5 (2)

Academic freedom shall be enjoyed in all institutions of higher learning.

United Kingdom

Education Reform Act 1988, Part IV Academic tenure, Article 202(2) (a)

... academic staff have freedom within the law to question and test received wisdom, and to put forward new ideas and controversial or unpopular opinions, without placing themselves in jeopardy of losing their jobs or privileges they may have at their institutions.

France

Constitution of the Fifth Republic, Education Code, Article L952-2

The academics, teachers and researchers enjoy full independence and complete freedom of expression in the exercise of their teaching and research activities, subject to the reservations imposed on them under academic traditions and the provisions of this code, and to the principles of tolerance and objectivity.

Ecuador

Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador (2008), Article 355

The State shall recognise the academic, administrative, financial and organisational autonomy of universities and polytechnic schools, in accordance with the objectives of the development structure and the principles set forth in the Constitution.

Universities and polytechnic schools are recognised the right to autonomy, exercised and understood as matter of solidarity and responsibility. This autonomy guarantees the exercise of academic freedom and the right to search for the truth, without restrictions; self-governance and management in conformity with the principles of rotation of power, transparency, and political rights; and the production of science, technology, culture and art.

Their premises are inviolable and they cannot be broken into and searched except in those cases and terms applicable to the domicile of a person. The guarantee of internal law and order shall be the area of competence and responsibility of their authorities. When protection of the forces of law and order is required, the supreme authority of the institution shall request the relevant assistance.

Autonomy does not exonerate the system's institutions from being audited, social responsibility, accountability and participation in national planning.

The Executive Branch shall not be able to deprive them of their revenues or budget allocations, or delay transfers to any institution of the system, or shut them down or restructure them either totally or partially.

Mexico

Political Constitution of the Mexican United States (1917 amended 2005) Article 3 (VII)

Universities and all other higher education institutions which the law grants autonomy to, shall have power to govern themselves; they shall be accountable in executing such a power and shall achieve the goals of providing education and promoting research and cultural expressions by protecting always the freedom of teaching and researching as well as the free intercourse of ideas; they shall determine academic curricula and syllabuses by their own and shall establish conditions for the admission, permanence and promotion of their academic personnel; they shall have power to manage their resources. The labour

relations between higher education institutions and their administrative employees shall be regulated under article 123, section A of this Constitution. According to federal labour law such employees shall be considered as special workers. Such a special treatment shall neither interfere with institutional autonomy nor with freedom of teaching and researching. The goals set down for higher education institutions by this paragraph shall also be unaffected by recognising any special labour regime

APPENDIX II: NEAR Alerts on Malaysia

<http://www.nearinternational.org/alerts-country.asp?countryid=73>

1. Malaysian academic suspended after criticising a decree (26 October 2011)

Abdul Aziz Bari, professor of constitutional law at the International Islamic University of Malaysia, was suspended from his position after criticising a decree made by the Sultan of Selangor. He was later reinstated but remains under investigation in what appears to be a clear violation of academic freedom.

2. Malaysian students face legal action for expression critical opinions (23 February 2006)

Five undergraduate students of the University Sains Malaysia in Penang faced legal action for expressing their opinion in press statements and leaflets where they protested about the validity of the campus electoral processes (activities prohibited under the University and University Colleges Act (UUCA) of 1971).

3. Malaysian students acquitted after four years (7 June 2005)

NEAR has been informed by the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) of the acquittal of seven Malaysian students (known as the ISA7) who were charged with illegal assembly on 8 June 2001. BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The seven students were charged with illegal assembly and then suspended from their university studies for their participation in a demonstration on 8 June 2001 (Please see related NEAR Alerts).

4. Imprisoned Malaysian lecturer freed (24 March 2005)

Wan Min Wan Mat, a Malaysian university lecturer who was arrested in September 2002 in connection with the Bali bombings, has been freed a year before his due release date, *ABC News* reported on 23 March 2005.

5. Repeated interrogation of student over critical article (17 February 2005)

The Science University of Malaysia (USM) has for the second time (please see related NEAR Alerts) investigated Ali Bukhari Amir, a senior communications major at the school, for his critical articles on the university. The focus of the investigation has now shifted to the student's website and his role in

founding a writers' association.

6. Systemic repression of Malaysian students decried (7 January 2005)

Malaysian university students have suffered multi-faceted discrimination over the years. In the most recent case a student was suspended for publishing an article in a campus newspaper. The Southeast Asian Press Alliance (SEAPA) has written a letter to Professor Dato' Dzulkifli Abdul Razak and Associate Professor Dato' Jamaluddin Mohaiadin, of the Science University of Malaysia complaining about the system of discrimination.

7. Students on trial after a three year wait (27 October 2003)

The trial against seven students (known also the 'ISA7') arrested during an assembly in 2001, will resume on 27 October 2003. BACKGROUND INFORMATION On 8 June 2001, more than 500 students protested against Malaysia's Internal Security Act (ISA) of 1960 in front of the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur.

8. Students still await trial after three years (7 July 2003)

The Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) has received a report that the academic careers of seven university students who were detained allegedly for illegal assembly on 8 June 2001, continue to wait for the resumption of their studies pending their trial, which has dragged on for more than three years.

9. Fear of torture for two men arrested by Malaysian police (13 January 2003)

Amnesty International has issued an Action Alert the 13 January 2003 regarding the arrest of two men in Malaysia. The two men were reportedly arrested on 11 January 2003 by the Malaysian police under the Internal Security Act (ISA), which allows for indefinite detention without charge or trial. It is not known where they are being held, or whether they have access to legal representation or to their families.

10. Teachers arrested (16 October 2002)

Amnesty International issued an action alert on 16 October 2002. Shaari Mustapha, a religious teacher, and four other people were arrested on 16 October by the Malaysian police under the Internal Security Act (ISA). It is not known where they are being held, or whether they have access to legal representation or their families.

11. Risk of Torture (27 September 2002)

Amnesty International issued this Action Alert on 27 September 2002. On 27 September, Malaysian police arrested Wan Min Wan Mat, a former lecturer at Malaysia Technology University (Universiti Teknologi Malaysia), under the Malaysian Internal Security Act (ISA). It is not known where he is being held and whether he has access to family or legal representation.

Universities at the crossroads: industry or society driven?

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Higher education is viewed as part of the national agenda in transforming Malaysia into a high-income nation. This has resulted in a skyrocketing number of graduates in Malaysia's recent history. Industry relies on higher education as the source of skilled employees, and it is important for industry to attract and retain talented employees in their effort to remain competitive in the market. This article presents an overview of the higher education system in Malaysia that has in the recent years jumped onto the 'industry-driven' wagon. The impacts of both industry-driven and society-driven systems are discussed. The article concludes with practical recommendations for higher education institutions in Malaysia to encourage a balanced higher education policy and strategy that can blend industry-driven and society-driven approaches as a joint-agenda for institutions of higher learning.

Introduction: An overview of higher education system

This section presents an overview of the higher education system in Malaysia. According to the Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia (2012a), the higher education system is envisioned as making Malaysia a centre of higher education excellence by 2020. The Ministry's mission is to build a higher education environment that is conducive to the development of a superior centre of knowledge and to generate competent and innovative individuals of noble character to serve the needs of the nation and world. One of the Ministry's objectives is to produce competent graduates to fulfil national and international manpower needs, with 75 per cent of the graduates employed in their relevant fields within six months of their graduation.

The higher education system in Malaysia is classified into public institutions (government funded) and private institutions (privately funded). Public institutions consist of public universities, polytechnics, community colleges and teacher training institutes while the private institutions include private universities, private university colleges, foreign branch campus universities and private colleges. The Malaysian education system encompasses education beginning from pre-school to university. Pre-tertiary education (pre-school to secondary education) is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education while tertiary or higher education is the responsibility of the separate Ministry of Higher Education.

According to Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia (2012b), the expansion of Malaysian higher education has seen an increasing number of public and private institutions. To illustrate further, public institutions have grown

in number from seven in the 1990s to 20 in 2007 while a total of 471 private colleges and universities have been established during the same period. As such, student enrolment has sky-rocketed over the years. The expansion of the higher education industry has attracted serious attention and discussion from researchers on the surplus of graduates relative to the demands of the labour market (Ismail, 2011; Rodzalan & Saat, 2013).

Graduate employability in Malaysia

Department of Statistics Malaysia (2010) defines the labour force as those aged 15 to 64 years (in completed years at last birthday) during the reference week, who were either employed or unemployed. Employment refers to all person who: (1) worked at least one hour for pay, profit or family gain at any time during the reference week; (2) did not work during the reference week because of illness, injury, disability, bad weather, leave, labour dispute and social or religious reason but had a job, farm, enterprise or other family enterprise to return to; (3) were on temporary lay-off with pay who would definitely be called back to work.

In contrast, the unemployed are classified into the actively unemployed - all persons who did not work during the reference week but were available for work and actively looking for work during the reference week, and inactively unemployed who (1) did not look for work because they believed no work was available or they were not qualified, (2) would have looked for work if they had not been temporarily ill or had it not been for bad weather, (3) were waiting for answers to job applications; and (4) looked for work prior to the reference week.

According to the Department of Statistics Malaysia (2011), the period 2000 to 2010 saw an increase in the number of graduates (degree and diploma holders only) entering the labour market in all years except 2007. The number of graduates that entered the labour market in 2000 was only 1,039,000 persons as compared with 2,096,000 persons in 2010. A similar trend can be observed for employed graduates who increased in number from 1,006,400 persons to 2,030,600 persons in the same period. However, the number of unemployed graduates also showed an increase from 2000 to 2010, from 32,800 persons to 65,500 persons. Interestingly, in 2010, the majority of unemployed graduates were in social sciences, business and law (39.4 per cent), followed by engineering, manufacturing and construction (21.7 per cent) while science, mathematics and computing recorded an unemployment rate of 17.9 per cent. The remaining fields

of study with recorded unemployment rates are health and welfare (6.4 per cent), art and humanities (6.3 per cent), education (3.7 per cent), services (3.0 per cent), agriculture, forestry, fishing and veterinary (1.4 per cent) and general programmes (0.4 per cent).

Employability among graduates is interpreted as the ability of graduates to be employed in their relevant fields within six months of the date of their graduation. The employability of graduates has become a performance indicator in the eyes of the general public to evaluate the capability of higher education institutions to produce graduates who are marketable and readily demanded by industry and the labour market. As a result, institutions have become overly obsessed with employability statistics and offering industry-driven courses to promote colleges and universities.

The use of a graduate employability ratio has becoming popular among institutions in promoting and marketing their tertiary education services. Graduate employability is highlighted in media such as brochures, student handbooks and newspapers, followed by information about the courses offered, campus facilities, financial assistance available and contact information. The idea is to sell places in colleges and universities by making promises that graduates have a higher chance of employment upon graduating from an industry-driven education institution.

An industry-driven higher education system

An industry-driven higher education system is very much the model followed by Malaysian higher education institutions, which aim to offer highly specialised courses to undergraduates. The course syllabus and course contents have often been influenced by direct input from industry. Practical and laboratory sessions are emphasised, while industrial attachment has become a compulsory module in many degree programmes. The purpose of an industry-driven higher education system is to prepare undergraduates within a field of study and equip them with the knowledge and skills required by the respective industries. An industry-driven higher education system aims to enhance the employability of undergraduates so they are able to secure their first job within the first six months from graduation, in line with the objective of the Ministry of Higher Education.

In an industry-driven education system, institutions offer industry-driven courses by designing syllabus and course works to meet specific industry demands. For instance, one public university offers a bachelor of manu-

facturing engineering that allows students to specialise in a range of majors, namely manufacturing process, manufacturing design, robotics and automation, manufacturing management and engineering materials. A potential drawback of undergoing highly specialised courses is that graduates are knowledgeable only in their specific field of study, and largely unfamiliar with other spectrums of knowledge and society.

Industry-driven institutions often make industrial attachment a compulsory subject in students' course structure. Industrial attachment is important as it enhances training skills by developing the manual skills associated with scientific and technological operations. In this way, students become practically competent in their future routine tasks. Also, industrial attachment contributes to training institutions by establishing and strengthening partnerships between industrial and higher education institutions for technical development, particularly in the area of product innovation, product design and construction. Industrial attachment also gives a training institution an opportunity to reveal skill gaps and improve the quality of future training for industrial relevancy.

Such education programmes are attractive to students and parents as it seems to guarantee employment upon completion of study while usually requiring fewer years of study. It gets more people into the system (employment) quickly; everyone is happy (students, parents, government) and things seem to be working well, at least in the short term.

However, higher education institutions that practice industry-driven higher education might neglect the importance of, and need for, a well-balanced spectrum that integrates career, family and life, and produce graduates who are 'good factory people' rather than 'good society members'. Graduates should not be educated only to chase financial stability, but should be able to manage relationships with peers, family and friends. Graduates need to be trained to contribute to communities by being involved in their societies. In short, the industry-driven philosophy of education can be too focused on building 'factory-ordered-graduates', who generally lack interest in community and society.

A society-driven higher education system

A society-driven higher education system aims to build a well-balanced person. It is not only to equip graduates with required technical skills for the labour market, but is also to develop graduates with good personal characteristics, attitudes, habits and social graces that make one

into a good employee in the workplace and a good citizen in the community. A society-driven higher education system emphasises a well-balanced spectrum comprising personal life, career and role in society. Several institutions in the world practice a society-driven philosophy and are successful in churning out holistic individuals.

University of Wollongong, Australia

There are many success stories from around the world, some of which are noted here. The University of Wollongong practices a balanced approach in delivering quality higher education services by emphasising both society-driven and industry-driven philosophies (University of Wollongong, 2012). Wollongong set its long term objectives for 2013 and beyond, and these include offering high quality programmes relevant to the evolving needs of students and the community. The teaching and learning processes aim to develop students into graduates who are equipped to learn, engage and lead in society. The University of Wollongong believes that through society-driven philosophy, it is able to enhance social engagement among its graduates, as well as their workplace skills. Graduates must also have the capability to undertake meaningful roles in managing the challenges of social, environmental and workplace change. The five qualities Wollongong graduates should have include being informed and independent learners, problem solvers, effective communicators and being responsible people. The fifth graduate quality to be 'responsible' is described as creating graduates who 'Understand how decisions can affect others and make ethically informed choices. Appreciate and respect diversity. Act with integrity as part of local, national, global and professional communities' (University of Wollongong Strategic Plan, 2011, p.9).

Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey

Another success story of a society-driven institution is Turkey's Istanbul Bilgi University (IBU). This university is known for its society-driven philosophy in higher education. Its educational philosophy is to produce intellectual, open-minded, creative individuals who will be able to face any challenges in the future (Atakan & Eker, 2007). One significant aspect of its educational philosophy is the use of the word 'individual' rather than 'students'. The founding premise of IBU is that the ultimate goal of the advancement of knowledge is the happiness and well-being of the individual and the society.

With the increasing awareness of ethics in the workplace, employers are looking for individuals who are

honest, accountable and possess high integrity. Institutions are offering courses in business ethics and corporate social responsibility hoping graduates, the corporate leaders of the future will be able to uphold ethics that ensure the well-being of the society at large (Angelidis & Ibrahim, 2002).

As a society-driven institution, IBU integrates business ethics and corporate social responsibility courses into the course structure as electives (Atakan & Eker, 2007). Besides offering and teaching business ethics and corporate social responsibility courses to its students, IBU intends to develop its students' individual and collective sense of social responsibility by serving the local communities, and encourage them to practice what they have learned in lectures and participate in the humanitarian initiatives organised by the university. To note a few, some of the humanitarian initiatives are the provision of education to the residents of the local communities, for the betterment of the communities' overall well-being.

Currently, IBU has numerous projects that contribute to the educational development of the lower income, disadvantaged residents of its local communities (Atakan & Eker, 2007). These projects provide precious opportunities for its students to participate and contribute to the betterment of local residents. Some of the projects offered by IBU to the adults are evening courses in English, accounting, basic computer skills and marketing principles. Also, IBU continuously improves the facilities of three local primary schools, and offers undergraduate scholarships to local young people.

There are numerous benefits for IBU students who are active in such social responsibility projects. Through their participation in such social responsibility projects, it hopes to strengthen students' ability to face real-life problems, enhance cooperation and teamwork for the accomplishment of a project, and hands-on applications complementary to their studies. Furthermore, it is expected that the students will gain a better understanding of the concept of social responsibility, have a greater sense of appreciation for the rights and roles of citizenship in contributing to unfortunate individuals in local communities. Moreover, these initiatives provide the opportunity for people from divergent cultural backgrounds and different socioeconomic levels to become integrated, working together for the betterment and well-being of the local communities.

United International College, Hong Kong

United International College in Hong Kong offers what is termed as Whole Person Education (United Interna-

tional College, 2012). It is a different way of looking at tertiary education, whereby individuals are trained to participate in university life that includes experiential development, sports culture, environmental awareness, emotional intelligence and adversity management. Social work, humanitarianism and volunteerism are emphasised throughout the student's stay in the college. Learning emotional intelligence via activity-based learning is instrumental in crafting individuals who are aware of themselves and their surroundings; individuals who are mature in managing their emotions. Their output is students who are highly society-driven, all-rounded, and sensitive to the economic and social changes in their immediate and larger society.

In order to equip graduates with required soft skills and interpersonal skills, institutions are taking measures by integrating soft skills and interpersonal skills into diploma and degree programmes, either in curriculum or co-curriculum. In curriculum, assignment presentations are made compulsory as part of the coursework to train communication skills and improve students' self-confidence in public speaking. Question and answer sessions following the presentation are believed to be a good technique to enhance one's ability to think critically and offer systematic solutions to problems. On the other hand, leadership, teamwork and collaborative work are best practiced in co-curriculum activities where a group of individuals with different personalities and attitudes work together to achieve a common objective.

A society-driven higher education system aids the development of individuals' soft skills and interpersonal skills, an important indicator of job performance in addition to job-related skills. Soft skills and interpersonal skills are becoming increasingly important as more economies are moving towards being service-oriented. A service-oriented economy requires good communication skills, relationship-building, leadership, teamwork and collaboration. In the modern economy, employers are looking for individuals who are agile and open to criticism, equipped with positive attitudes and able to keep stress under control. Graduates are expected to have conflict resolution and problem-solving skills in managing disputes and potential grievances in the workplace. Organisations are looking for individuals who are able to work in culturally diversified workforces, individuals who celebrate and thrive in diversity. Employees should be able to deliver results despite working in teams of individuals with different values, beliefs and lifestyles.

Looking Forward: Society-Driven or Industry-Driven?

Higher education institutions are compelled to implement a balanced education policy and strategy that blends industry-driven and society-driven approaches as a joint agenda for higher education, to develop a labour force that is not only skilled and knowledgeable, but also produces graduates who are of good character, with good attitudes and social graces.

In his book *Working with Emotional Intelligence* (1998), Daniel Goleman writes about the phenomenon of rising intelligence quotients (IQs) and declining emotional intelligence (EI). He narrates the rise of IQ among children in America in the last three decades with rising IQ and declining EI. Although the intelligence score is rising, more people seem to lack emotional competence. Goleman's colleagues who carried out similar assessment in other nations conclude that the decline of emotional intelligence is worldwide. The consequence includes a rising number of young people subject to despair, alienation, drug abuse, violence, depression, eating disorder, unwanted and teenage pregnancy, dropping out of school and suicide case.

Education and education systems have to evolve if institutions are serious about building a sustainable society. Institutions have to bring back the focus on individuals and society in the higher education system. It is never just about churning out workers for industry, but crafting individuals to meet the demands of society. Industry should be regarded as the subset of society, not vice versa.

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Channel 11 announces *My Uni Rules* in its new summer schedule

Richard Hill

My Uni Rules, a landmark TV series scheduled for next summer on Channel 11, will see Australian vice-chancellors (VCs) face off in the quest to become the nation's most ruthless tertiary head. Contestants will vie to persuade a panel of corporate CEOs, financial advisers and accountants, to see who can come up with the most creative policy concoction to maximise revenue for their respective institutions. VCs will first of all compete in random groups with eventual winners proceeding to sudden death play-offs, leading to a grand-final to be screened live on 10 December.

Despite Channel 11's enthusiasm for this novel game show, controversy has stalked its planning. Some VCs from smaller regional universities have complained that they are ill-matched against VCs from the supposedly more prestigious Group of Eight (Go8) universities. But Director of Channel 11 programmes division, Neville Bull, was having none of it: 'I don't give a rat's about this bunch of weaklings belly aching about their place in the pecking order. Get out there and show us what you're made of! Compete! We're asking our nation's VCs to show how creative they can be in terms of policy formulation. Size has got nothing to do with it! My advice to them is: don't be gutless; be brave, show us some mettle.'

Head of peak body Australia's Universities, Professor Cindy Whackem, said that *My Uni Rules* was 'a grand idea in the great tradition of Australian game shows. It will bring a bit of levity to the higher education sector and demonstrate to the public that VCs aren't put off by a little friendly rivalry'. The federal minister for higher edu-

cation, Dr Cyril Nocar, said 'there's nothing wrong with a little bit of fun. You'll be amazed by the creative talents of our VCs. Take a look at what they've managed to conjure up over the years: bloated class sizes, erosion of entry standards, the dumbing down of curricula, all manner of crazy courses, campuses turned into shopping malls, mass casualisation and the general demoralisation of the academic workforce.' 'I'm hoping,' Dr Nocar added, 'to see some really good left field thought bubbles emerge from this contest, like merging universities with banks; union free institutions, and the creation of virtual teaching staff. Remember; it's a game show but some of these things might eventually become reality, who knows.'

But not everyone was supportive of *My Uni Rules*. A spokesperson from the NEUT was scathing about the proposed programme. 'Have our vice chancellors gone stark raving mad? I know that the free market system has unhinged our regional VCs but I would have expected more from the Go8 heads. I hear they're going to dress in body-hugging Lycra suits, some in lime green and others in Guantanamo orange. How degrading! Can't they retain some semblance of dignity?' But vice-chancellor of the University of Old Wales, Professor Fred Butcher retorted, 'It's a chance to raise our profile and, going forward, to get some prime time coverage and promote what we're doing at universities. Take a look at what I've accomplished so far: I've shoved all our undergraduate students on-line and turned our Knightsbridge campus into a world class research centre crammed full of high calibre income generating researchers. We've also hitched ourselves to the

massive open on-line bandwagon and have a global enrolment of 225,000 students. Those other mugs down the road are still offering on-campus undergraduate courses. Can you believe it?!' Asked about how he expected to perform against other VCs, Professor Butcher replied: 'I'm quietly confident I can kick ass on this one. I know a good policy when I see one. I'll take out the prize.'

Professor Harry Mullet at the University of Crampton shared Professor Butcher's enthusiasm for the show but had some reservations over the damage that might be done to the reputation of Australian universities: 'Look, I think when all is said and done, the sophisticated VCs at the Go8s, many of whom are former corporate finance chiefs, will prevail. But I wouldn't want to see some of the more bizarre policy proposals rolled out in public.' When pressed, Professor Mullet pointed to the goings-on at a well-known regional university: 'Look, the head of the Calvinist University of Australia is a bit of a nutter, right? Last week he was talking about extending student entry to the unborn, giving them advanced standing depending on a range of complex genetic tests.' Asked about this proposal, CUA's VC, Professor Jake Slack, claimed he had been 'misquoted' and that the test should be applied only to the birthed. 'That said', he added, 'nothing can be ruled out.'

News of the show has been greeted with consternation among Australia's timid academic workforce. Senior lecturer in critical nail-polishing studies at the University of Tankton, Dr Bertha Cringe, remarked that 'the involvement of VCs in *My Uni Rules* is the next logical step in their evolution. They've done the CEO clone thing, helped turn universities into corporate factories and justified it publicly through grotesque advertising slogans. They have

danced to the market's tune and, admittedly, been done over by government under-funding, so the only recourse is to parade themselves on game shows.' Head of marketing at Kingsland University of Technology, Doris Drone, took exception to Dr Cringe's comments: 'This kind of blinkered, miserable rhetoric has no place in today's tertiary system. I for one am looking forward to seeing our own vice chancellor giving his all - in lime green Lycra if need be. I'm always excited by some lateral thinking on policy matters.'

Sadly, just as this article was about to go to press, the VC of Northern Cross University, Professor Bill Duckit, had thrown in the towel: 'We haven't had a policy that's ever worked for us so I feel a bit behind the eight ball. Anyway, I'll be too busy working on our strategic review. We've employed a team of US consultants charged with developing some workable policies to take us into the future, assuming we have one.' Asked if he would be watching the contest, Professor Duckit replied: 'of course not.'

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REVIEWS

Your space or mine?

***Reconstructing Identities in Higher Education: The Rise of 'Third Space' Professionals* by Celia Whitchurch**

ISBN 978-0-415-56466-3 Milton Park: Routledge, 2013. 184 pp., £22.99 (paperback).

Review by Carroll Graham

This slim volume is one of the latest offerings in a series from Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE), co-published with Routledge. The publishers promote this series as 'cutting edge research and discourse reflecting the rapidly changing world of higher education, examined in a global context' (Routledge, 2013). Drawing on studies undertaken in Australia, the UK and the US that investigate the roles and identities of staff in higher education, Whitchurch's text fits neatly into this series.

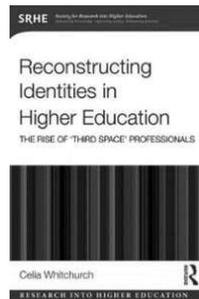
Focusing on a group of staff that Whitchurch calls Third Space professionals, this book pulls together and expands on outcomes of two research studies previously published by Whitchurch in a number of papers and reports (for example: Whitchurch, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Whitchurch & Law, 2010). While there is sufficient new material here to be of interest to readers of those publications, Whitchurch does not presuppose familiarity with her earlier work, and this book has much to offer readers of the *Australian Universities' Review*.

The book is organised into three parts of two chapters each, leading the reader from a discussion of professional identities in higher education to consideration of possible futures arising from changes to these identities. Part 1 reviews literature concerning professional and academic identities, including a typology of professional staff, and introduces the concept of the Third Space. In Part 2, Whitchurch describes and frames the characteristics of Third Space professionals within this typology. Finally, Part 3 considers the implications, both for individuals and institutions, of the move towards the Third Space, and resultant possibilities.

Whitchurch begins her discussion of professional and academic identities with a short analysis of the binary divide between academic and professional activity, in which she finds evidence of increasing alliances between professional and academic staff and a blurring of bounda-

ries between such activities. Accordingly, Whitchurch has developed a framework, or typology of professionals, that describes a continuum of professional identities from bounded professionals, through cross-boundary professionals, to unbounded professionals and blended professionals. Bounded professionals represent more traditional administrative roles, while unbounded and blended professionals work in the Third Space between professional and academic roles. Importantly, individuals may be on the border between different forms of identity, or move between identities according to circumstances. To extend understanding of the Third Space, Whitchurch describes three types of Third Space in higher education. For the integrated Third Space, there is formal recognition by the institution. In the semi-autonomous Third Space, survival is dependent on external funding and individuals develop rules specific to their locale. Lastly, independent Third Spaces occur in patches, despite existing organisational structures. Whitchurch locates her research clearly within the context of institutional projects; yet professionals who work closely with academics, in faculties, schools or departments, are likely to recognise the existence of the Third Space, perhaps particularly the independent Third Space, in many aspects of their own work.

Whitchurch explores what it means to be a Third Space professional, including those from either professional or academic backgrounds. Here, career pathways are less clear, and many participants in Whitchurch's studies could have progressed in either a professional or academic direction. Although she defines key identifiers of Third Space professionals (pp. 79–80), Whitchurch argues there are paradoxes and dilemmas for individuals who work in the Third Space, and for their institutions. Possibly the main paradox is that the Third Space seems both safe and risky for both the individuals and institutions concerned. Aspects that Third Space professionals find appealing,



such as lack of clear boundaries and the opportunity to be creative, others may perceive as risky. Compared to a traditional concept of a professional, in which there are clearly defined core skills, knowledge and attitudes, a Third Space professional works in a changing environment with ambiguity and uncertainty. To thrive in this paradoxical environment, Third Space professionals must embrace and achieve a balance between the tensions, paradoxes and dilemmas between formal institutional structures and processes, and the creative, less-bounded work of the Third Space.

Third Space professionals have the ability to influence events based on experience accumulated over time, from different contexts, and from different circumstances. Exploring these ideas further, Whitchurch defines and describes two categories of Third Space professionals: dedicated professionals, who network within the sector and see their career within higher education, and portfolio professionals, who use their knowledge and experience to move between higher education and other sectors. As it is possible for individuals to move between these categories at different points in their careers, it becomes important for institutions to secure talented people who might move from being a portfolio professional to a dedicated professional (and vice versa). Australian universities might do well to work with the National Tertiary Education Union and professional bodies such as the Association for Tertiary Education Management, to facilitate and encourage networking within the sector, and career pathways for Third Space professionals, to convert talented portfolio professionals into dedicated professionals. In the context of external forces that are producing changes in higher education, Whitchurch concludes that the Third Space, and the professionals who work in that space, reflect changing and expanding agendas for higher education. Third Space professionals can add value to higher education by reinforcing academic agendas through creative thinking, developing social and professional capital, and by interpreting between disparate groups. Recognising the complexities and opportunities presented by the Third Space may benefit individuals, the institutions in which they work, the sector as a whole, and the wider community of stakeholders.

Readers might note indications that data on which some analysis is based are slightly out-dated. For example, Whitchurch asserts that in Australia 'the term 'general staff' has currency' (2012, p. 12). While this was true some 10 years ago when Dobson and Conway published their study (2003), this is no longer the case and the preferred term is now 'professional staff' (Sebalj, Holbrook & Bourke

2012). Whitchurch's data also suggest that integrated forms of the Third Space are less likely to exist in Australia and the UK than in the US. However, with significant changes in higher education over the last decade, including the implementation of widening participation projects, learning support activities and institutional research, there are increasing examples of integrated Third Space work in Australia and the UK. Given the rapidity of such changes in higher education, and the long timeframes for research and publication, such anachronism may be unavoidable. Overall, this book is well-written, discussing and analysing the changing roles and identities of staff in higher education, and should be of value to AUR readers currently working in any space.

Carroll Graham worked for more than 16 years at four universities and is currently a Third Space professional working at the Institute for Sustainable Futures at the University of Technology, Sydney, NSW. She recently completed a Doctor of Education.

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Vote 1: Education

***Education, Democracy and Development: does education contribute to democratisation in developing countries?* By Clive Harber & Vusi Mncube**

ISBN 978-1-873927-71-7, Oxford: Symposium Books Ltd, 2012

Review by Raj Sharma

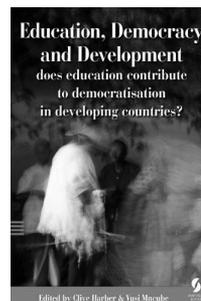
This book examines the relationships between education and democracy with a particular reference to how these relationships manifest themselves in the developing world. The publication commences by contrasting authoritarian and democratic political systems. It then turns its attention to the concept of development and shows how discussions about development have embraced democracy as the aim of political development. It notes that education plays a critical role in terms of whether a country is generally regarded as being developed or developing, observing that the United Nations' Human Development Index is a composite of life expectancy at birth, years of schooling and per capita gross national income. It observes that whilst democracy is associated with countries exhibiting higher levels of economic development, there is no evidence to suggest that democracy actually contributes to economic development. However, the authors believe that democracy in itself constitutes an important form of development.

In the next chapter, the authors indicate that there is evidence for a positive association between levels of education and generalised stated support for democracy in the more developed nations with much experience of democracy. Nevertheless they note that in terms of developing countries, the evidence of contribution of education to democratisation is uncertain. But they found that given a large majority of moderately educated citizens, this will have more positive influence on democracy development than in developing countries that possess a restricted group of highly educated individuals. However, they present evidence to suggest that education contributes indirectly to democratisation in developing countries through economic growth. The book mentions that another study covering sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia found that primary and secondary education had a weak impact on the development of democratic regimes, however, tertiary education was found to provide a positive impact on democracy. But it is noted that if higher education is going to contribute to democracy development, it must oper-

ate democratically and furnish experience of democratic values and behaviours.

In Chapter 3 the book indicates that a democratic school will exhibit certain characteristics including: a commitment to the values of democracy; sharing of power over decision-making between students, staff and parents; exclusion of physical punishment and bullying; giving the children a say in making rules for classroom behaviour; and the stakeholders will be trained in democratic skills or capabilities. The book then mentions some examples of progress towards democratisation of certain schools in developing countries. For instance, it is noted that the UNICEF Child Friendly Schools in six developing countries are based on principles of democratic participation, child-centredness, and inclusiveness. But it observes that whilst such schools were working towards democratic forms of education, the degree of sharing of decision-making power with students in terms of learning and teaching was somewhat limited. The authors believe that at the heart of creating more democratic schools is changing teachers' education in a way that permits student teachers to learn in a more democratic way so that they can then work more effectively in the democratic schools of the future in developing countries. It is further contended that if the political goal of a society is democracy, then explicit education for democracy ought to be provided covering the knowledge, skills and values necessary for democratic citizenship. This could be achieved in schools through curriculum such as 'Social Studies', 'Civics', 'Citizenship' and the like. The book notes that formal civic education courses were widely promoted by organisations in Africa, South America and Asia during the 1990s in order to facilitate the transition to democracy. It observes that more governments in developing countries are implementing courses aimed at increasing education for democracy. However, such courses can be used as a form of political socialisation simply to reinforce the duty to respect those in power.

The next chapter notes that whilst there are examples of



good practice about education for democracy in developing countries, this is still largely the minority situation and a range of factors retard progress in this direction. The book indicates that the modern and bureaucratic school in developing countries is often a façade with the school functions sustaining such marked features as teacher absenteeism, unprofessionalism, sexual misconduct and corruption, as well as cheating in examinations and violent conflict. Indeed, it observes that one of the key factors that serves as obstacle to greater educational democracy is the deep-rooted authoritarian ideology in formal schooling within developing countries. The book notes that there are a ways whereby schools operate in an authoritarian manner within developing countries including:

- It is noted that Arab classroom teaches reverence to authority figures and complete submission to their will and the students are taught not to question traditional sources of knowledge and wisdom.
- The heads of schools in many developing countries have been described as despots.
- Non-democratic discrimination is often faced in schools by children of low socio-economic status (e.g. lower caste children in India) and female students.
- The use of corporal punishment in schools in developing countries is a source of concern, given evidence of physical and psychological harm to children.
- The main teaching style in developing countries is teacher-centred and with the prevailing pedagogy of transmission of facts.
- In many developing countries' teacher education perpetuates authoritarian practices by focusing on traditional, unreflective and teacher-centred pedagogy.

The authors believe that several factors have made it difficult to move education in a more democratic direction. For example, it may be that those in power wish to institute political control through political indoctrination or socialisation. Further, a shortage of material and human resources may act as obstacles towards democratisation of education. There are also cultural values and practices that can present barriers towards achievement of more democratic practices in schools. Finally, corruption in education contradicts some of the basic tenets of democracy including openness, fairness and social equality.

Given the negativities of the previous chapter, Chapter 5 presents a positive outlook through the presentation of the South African case study, in a country that has tried to transform its education system in a democratic direction at all levels. The chapter notes that schooling was a significant site in the struggle against apartheid and that the post-apartheid governments in South Africa since 1994 have attached con-

siderable importance to educational reform. The first South African White Paper on education emphasised education as human capital development and as a meritocratic attempt to move away from unequal social and economic reproduction of apartheid and towards more equal opportunities for all. The emphasis continues to be on the role of education in providing South Africa with the skills necessary for economic competition in the global market place. The post-apartheid education policy also places major emphasis on the role of education in the creation of a more democratic and peaceful society. The authors note that South African Government policy was subsequently changed for the introduction of a curriculum that encourages more active and participant classrooms, developing more independent and critical thinkers, and introducing new governance structures in which parents, teachers and learners are involved in more democratic forms of decision-making and school organisation. Although this is the stated aim, the practices at the school level are somewhat variable. For instance, the authors note that at a school in Soweto, the matriculation pass rate is over 90 per cent. However, at other South African schools, low pass rates, teacher absenteeism, low morale, violence etc. constitute significant difficulties. Therefore, it appears that whilst the South African educational policies are sound and democratic, actual implementation is somewhat variable and requires future improvements.

The publication focuses on the development of democratic education (or lack thereof) in the context of developing countries with the major focus being on primary and secondary education. Given the increasing internationalisation of higher education, and the associated relatively large movement of tertiary education students from developing to developed countries, the book will undoubtedly be of interest to those involved in Australasian tertiary education.

Adding a personal corollary to this review, my own life experience saw me having primary schooling in a developing country and secondary and tertiary education in Australia. This experience coincides with much of what is stated in this book. For instance, at primary school, students were 'to be seen and not heard' and violence in the form of corporal punishment was perpetrated against young, defenceless children. In contrast, my secondary education in Hobart, Tasmania was very different. Teachers sought input from students to help them improve their learning. They always encouraged us to learn and develop, without resorting to physical violence against students in the classroom.

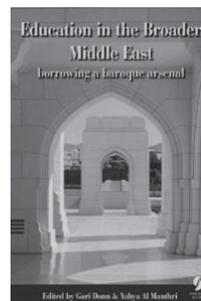
Dr Raj Sharma is a higher education consultant and former Associate Director (Resource Planning & Analysis) and Senior Research Fellow at Swinburne University, Melbourne, Victoria.

Education 1, Baroque Arsenal nil?

***Education in the Broader Middle East: borrowing a baroque arsenal* by Gari Donn and Yahya Al Manthri (editors)**

ISBN 978-1-873927-86-1 Oxford: Symposium Books, 2013, pp 201.

Review by Andrys Onsman



The broader Middle East ranges from the not-as-yet officially recognised Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic in West Africa to the Kyrgyz Republic in central Asia, which means that it covers a substantial part of the Islamic world. But it would be unnecessarily simplistic to say that because they are all principally Islamic countries they are similar in any other regard because the region encompasses a vast array of anthropological, biological, religious and political diversity. Further, there is as much conflict within the region as there is between it and its neighbouring states. In *Education in the Broader Middle East: borrowing a baroque arsenal*, Donn and Al Manthri include chapters on Pakistan, Palestine, Qatar, Oman, Turkey and the Arabian Gulf States, which although overlooking many of the broader Middle Eastern countries, at least gives the reader a reasonably broad sample.

In their earlier book, *Globalisation and Higher Education in the Arab Gulf States* (Symposium, 2010), Donn and Al Manthri expanded on the suggestion by Philip Altbach that there exists a central magistracy, a group of countries that are the generators and distributors of knowledge, which they then 'mark up and sell on' to countries on the periphery. In the earlier volume, they also introduce the idea that the structure of knowledge generation and distribution that the magistracy employs to export knowledge to the peripheral countries is outmoded and inappropriate: a 'baroque arsenal' that depends too much on neo-liberalism as a guiding principle. They suggested Finland as a good example of a country that developed its own structure and purpose of knowledge generation, thereby circumventing the inequitable education trade routes that keep the magistracy and the periphery in their respective places. However, the notion of social justice being at the heart of education does not seem to fit readily into Donn and Al Manthri's conception of how the exportation of a baroque arsenal is manifestly keeping the magistracy in the central business district and the rest of the world in the suburbs.

The first chapter, by Sajid Ali, is an engaging account of the state of play of the tensions between public and private education in Pakistan. In the absence of other studies and analyses, the reader has to accept what are essentially opinions at face value. That is a good thing because Ali's chapter throws up as many questions as it provides answers and I sincerely hope that others will take up the challenges. Pakistan is an important part of the sub-continent, generally seen as a viable portal between the West and the Islamic East. Ali neatly implies that whilst that is so, it will also cause a tense dynamic within the country. While the West tends to read 'private school' as the provision of exclusively expensive and socially privileged education to the wealthy, madrasahs are also private schools. Just like private schools don't necessarily churn out self-centred carbon copies of their neo-liberal parents, madrasahs don't all train gullible children to become fundamentalist suicide bombers.

Overall, Ali appears a reluctant subscriber to the belief that Pakistan has indeed 'borrowed a baroque arsenal' in its attempts to construct and manage its education system. How, when and from where education ideas arrive is a much more complex business than a simple holus-bolus transnational importation. Moreover, the dynamic tension between private and public education in Pakistan has been evident and unstable since the notion of state responsibility for education was first considered. Rather, Ali suggests that a magistracy, if it exists, has active agency and influence in shaping aims and structure but that it waxes and wanes according to a complex set of criteria and ultimately it has less impact on the ground. Nonetheless, Ali rightly recognises that with foreign aid comes foreign pressure, citing the influence of the USA but disappointingly does not mention the aid that comes from Saudi Arabia, which also comes with strings attached.

That aside, Ali poses the question: how can education in Pakistan best serve the needs of the country when the

country itself gives education such low priority? It is a question that Naveed Malik also asks elsewhere in his report on the progress of the Virtual University of Pakistan. However, Malik's view is much more optimistic and, it must be said, better supported by references to accessible documents and studies. I doubt that Malik sees institutions like the Virtual University of Pakistan as anything but innovative world leaders. It is in stark contrast to Ali.

There are two facts to be acknowledged about Palestine. First, it is not yet universally recognised as a separate state. Second, it is almost entirely dependent on foreign aid for its continued existence. Mohammed Alrozzi pulls no punches in his analyses of how precarious Palestine's place in the world is. On the other hand, the author is also given to making sweeping, grandiose statements that bear little detailed scrutiny. For example, he asserts that in the distant past, knowledge transfer between states was smooth and uncompromised: a 'soft' human activity. That may be right if it happened between states that were equals but most of that kind of education transfer came with colonisation and imperial expansion. Empires left (and continue to leave) long-lasting educational footprints long after they imploded as multination states. Still, the point that Palestine is particularly prone to undue foreign influence because it is substantially dependent on foreign aid is pertinent. In addition, it is worth considering what impact that has on an Islamic country when the vast majority of its aid is sourced from countries that place economics above religion.

The suggestion that aid should be given without strings attached is a beautiful, humane and naïve concept that continues to grace religious homilies, birthday cards and books that have minimal text but lots of photos of puppies and children. In reality, the expectation that the world should be a benevolent benefactor is akin to believing that rights come without responsibility. Nowadays, all major providers of international aid, China, the USA, Euro-zone, Saudi Arabia, the UK, and so on, see it in terms of *quid pro quo*, albeit that not all want their backs rubbed in the same way. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has ensured that education is no longer a social responsibility but a marketable commodity with a price tag.

Alrozzi questions the conditionality that state and corporate aid to Palestine demands. On the other hand, he cites in detail the mismanagement of funds by the trade and further education sector, an apparent black hole that has consumed vast amounts of aid money without producing significant improvement in outcomes. Few benefactors are going to keep giving if the recipient keeps wasting it. Nonetheless, he objects to aid coming with guidelines on how it is to be

used for two reasons. First, the various aid agencies have differing guidelines. Second, 'elite' groups are too ready to change curricula, methodologies and structures in order to gain access to aid. Specifically he points the finger at the Palestinian National Authority's current Prime Minister Salam Fayyad, who Alrozzi cites as the most successful fundraiser, for having faith in 'neo-liberal pillars for development'. Alrozzi argues that 'adopting global trends usually affects and undermines the local' and that 'global standardisation may not be suitable for the current Palestinian condition' but does not explain what 'global standardisation' or 'the current Palestinian condition' actually is.

Alrozzi's principal concern seems to be that because Palestine is entirely dependent on foreign aid, because that aid comes with (neo-liberal) strings attached, and because the most successful acquirers of aid tend to accept those strings, the indigenous people are at risk of being involuntarily coerced into a schooling system that may not maintain and develop their uniqueness as Palestinians. Alrozzi does not elucidate what the uniqueness of Palestinians actually is but we get the message that it isn't neo-liberal. Overall, Alrozzi's analyses, although interesting, are often questionable. For example, his conclusion that the USA cutting of its funding to UNESCO, a source of funding for Palestinian education, was the direct result of the UN recognising Palestine as a member state. He does not mention that the USA cut funding to most of its international and national aid programmes in response to its national debt exceeding 17 trillion dollars. In addition, UNESCO services not just Palestine, and the USA has consistently confirmed its support of a two state solution to the region's on-going conflict. At last count, the USA provides more aid to Palestine National Authority than all other known donors combined.

The other disappointment in this chapter is Alrozzi's silence on the nature and quantity of aid coming from other Islamic (either Sunni or Shiite) countries in the region. Nor is there any mention of China's increasing contribution to the Palestine National Authority's coffers. Are the conditions attached to any such aid suitable for the current Palestinian condition (whatever that may prove to be)? It may be incorrect to assume that only Western donor countries are targeted in order to propagate the notion of a magistracy but it is an obvious conclusion to draw.

The next two chapters consider aspects of the Qatari education system. Brooke Barnowe-Meyer tackles kindergarten to year 12 while Tanya Kane examines a medical school. The former offers a clear definition of what the increasingly maligned magistracy is: the pool of international consultants and 'experts'. Throughout the chapter,

the word 'expert' is encased in quotation marks, presumably to indicate that the author does not accept that they are indeed experts. It is hard to fathom why: we generally accept that expertise is both propositional and temporal. If she wants to question the legitimacy of individuals who are members of the so-called magistracy, then provide the reasoning and data so that the reader can verify her opinion. That's what scholarship is. A word does not mean what I choose it to mean, it means what we collectively recognise it to mean.

Qatar has fewer people than Wollongong. When they overhauled their education system, which manifestly wasn't working because for example, far too few girls were allowed to enter or graduate, the country employed the international, US-based, not-for-profit consultancy group RAND to come up with a better system. It took them four months to come up with a suggestion. Barnowe-Meyer considers this too fast, referring to a 'mere' four months but RAND referred to its area of expertise, i.e. what it knew best, and presumably why it was engaged in the first place, to come up with a plan for reform based on autonomy, accountability, variety and choice and a blueprint for putting the new structure in place.

The curriculum was to have at its core studies of Arabic, English, science and mathematics, 'considered by RAND and Qatari leaders as most critical for the nation's future social and economic growth'. The phrasing suggests that RAND imposed the core curriculum when in fact it was in the original brief of the project. There is no mention of Islamic Studies, which is also a core subject. There is no acknowledgement that the four subject areas are at the heart of all Gulf States' curriculums. There is no acknowledgement that these subjects are most likely to impact positively on the perceived skills shortage. There is no recognition that Qataris want it. Barnowe-Meyer insists that because RAND used an extant (American) system, it is an example of how the magistracy imposes baroque arsenals on vulnerable peripheral countries and therefore must be bad. After reading the chapter a few times, I still have no idea whether it is or not. Admittedly, my leaning is towards social justice and my experience in the Middle East has clarified the probability that my cherished desire for universal equality and liberty isn't always the same as that held by others, particularly when religion is thrown into the mix. However, I can live with that.

Barnowe-Meyer accuses RAND of 'selling' Qatar a repackaged Charter School structure, when it knew that it had 'flawed theoretical foundations'. However, several of the papers cited in the chapter show that in fact RAND made key changes to the model in order to overcome

those flaws. For example, neither choice nor accountability figured large in earlier manifestation but the RAND proposal has them at its heart. Also unacknowledged by Barnowe-Meyer, the proposed structure also accommodated flexibility so that it could be adapted to changing circumstance. Therefore it is difficult to reconcile her argument that the 'past and present shortcomings of the charter-school model in the United States' show the RAND proposal for Qatar is an example of the magistracy forcing a baroque arsenal on a peripheral state. A more plausible interpretation is that the people employed to come up with a proposal that is likely to improve the extant system that isn't working, adapted a system, recognised as a 'work-in-progress', to accommodate the wishes of those who employed them. In practice, the new system greatly increased the participation of girls in education.

Barnowe-Meyer ends the chapter with a provocation: 'Rather than adopting the best in international institutional and curricular arrangements, Qatar may indeed be sidled with an outdated and intensely baroque system antithetical to the nation's hopes and potential for true reform.' The contentious issues gathered in that one sentence beggar belief. What exactly does she champion as 'the best in international institutional and curricular arrangements'? What are 'the nation's hopes and potential for true reform'? Having received RAND's proposal, the Qatari government had made no commitment to implement it. It chose to do so after consideration. Obviously, Barnowe-Meyer believes they were either coerced or hoodwinked into doing so. The Qatari administrators that I have met and talked with did not strike me as either gullible or corrupt.

Tanya Kane, the author the next chapter, also makes a comment about the RAND project that seems to contradict the earlier position:

RAND introduced an Independent School Model based on a curriculum structured by standards, assessments, professional development and the use of data as performance indicators. This standards-based system enveloped the principles of autonomy, accountability, variety and parent-choice. These reforms have resulted in the use of internationally benchmarked standards, the creation of learner-centred classrooms, facility upgrades, a restructuring of the power and authority structures of the education system and a more comprehensive system of teacher training (p. 90).

However, Kane too suggests that the magistracy, of which RAND is part, receives money for 'their outmoded/second-hand programmes' when they sell them to the countries on the periphery. Her reconciliation of the disconnect is interesting. She acknowledges that 'education exchange has been going on for centuries' but the

nature of the 'current wave of globalisation is different as it incorporates new roles, markets, agents, tools, rationales and policies'. Unless that difference can be substantiated with evidence, it seems a poor argument. It is just as valid to say that education exchange has always incorporated new roles, agents and so on.

Before turning to the substance of the chapter, there is another crucial conceptual bone of contention that warrants airing. The neo-liberalist magistracy is consistently decried as an inappropriate source of educational reform in the Middle East. On the other hand, Kane states that the Gulf States' education systems are still at an emergent stage. Actually, the Middle East has a rich and well-documented history of education. Admittedly, at various times it excluded women, infidels and an array of others, but whether or not you approve of the indigenous way of doing things is ultimately a personal preference. Qataris are both mostly Wahabi Muslim and a minority in their own country. Getting the education system right for the nationals may not suit the other four-fifths of the country's residents or any international academics who seek universal social justice and equality but that does not mean we can impose our various wills upon them. It is their country after all. If you describe the Qatari education system as emergent, you will need to be clear about what it is emerging from. Kane seems to be suggesting that it is emerging from its indigenous, fundamentally Wahabi Muslim state to one that is transnational and (neo) liberal. If that is a fair summation of her interpretation, it is not one I agree with.

Throughout this book, there is an assumption that neo-liberalism is not just primarily but exclusively concerned with using education to create a labour resource and this chapter is no exception:

Treating education (1) as a commodity, and (2) as job training rather than an enrichment of the human mind with inherent (as opposed to economic or societal) value, is generally considered a neo-liberal perspective, and one fostered by the imperatives of global capitalism. (p. 88)

That seems more an imperative of Marxism but in any case, I'm not sure what 'an enrichment of the human mind with inherent value' actually is. What value is inherent to either enrichment or the human mind? And surely a well-educated population, even in neo-liberal terms, is also a human cohort capable of making informed decisions. Is it not possible for education to be both vocation/career preparation and mind enriching?

Kane qualifies her study of the establishment of an American medical college in Qatar with a note pointing

out that her 'informants report that much has changed in the intervening (i.e. between then and now) period as the Qatari campus now exerts more local ownership over the programme'. The note comes at the end of the chapter – perhaps it should have come at the start.

In 2002, Weill Cornell Medical College-Qatar (WCMC-Q) inducted its first cohort. Established as a joint-venture operation, it offers graduate qualifications that are recognised in both Qatar and in the USA. Unlike joint ventures in China (set up as legally separate entities that issue degrees recognised by both countries), WCMC-Q issues Cornell degrees. According to Kane, the Qatari leadership insistence on this arrangement has stymied any attempt by the magistracy to sell Qatar a baroque arsenal. Seeing that most joint ventures around the world have similar arrangements, it is a rather hollow claim.

What is fascinating is that Kane describes how Qatari educators at WCMC-Q lead the localisation processes. Rather than accepting Cornell's course holus-bolus, they managed to adopt, adapt or reject as they saw necessary and in the process nudged Cornell into improving its learning-centred approach at home. It was hardly the behaviour of a supposedly subservient peripheral state cowering before a supposedly dominant magistracy. It was mutually beneficial international cooperation, a free-flow of education ideas and practice across borders and cultures.

The whole idea of magistracy is blurred further in Sana Al Balushi and David Griffiths' chapter on the school system in Oman: the term 'magistracy' is not mentioned nor is the idea implied. In fact, the authors refer to ideas being imported from other Gulf states; and from other Arab states, as well as from Scotland, Canada and the UK. Nor is there a suggestion of resentment on the part of Omani educators at having been forced to buy an outdated cast-off from bully-boy central agencies. Instead the authors present a picture of a benign Sultan doing his best to propel Oman, one of the least affluent oil states, into the 21st century as the equal of anyone. It was particularly pleasing to read that, unlike Australia, Oman is not using learning analytics as accountability measures for teachers. Al Balushi and Griffiths' main concern is that as Oman pushes on with its so far tremendously successful reforms, it should develop, support and listen to the pool of talent within its borders, as well as adopting and adapting the best from the world. It's a strategy difficult to argue with.

Moreover, Al Balushi and Griffiths offer a conceptual under-pinning for their contentions. Globally, educators should take a long hard look at the assumptions that guide their reform. They suggest (without reference to any studies) that the general assumption

... is that all education systems that function effectively and produce high-quality learning should share the same values and operational principles and that local differences regarding their stage of development are of little relevance (p. 108).

While that may well be the case, the point would be more effectively made if it were clear which states or international agencies do provide educational support without regard to the recipient's stage of development. Instead, the authors go on to show that Oman has already heeded the warning and imported things that were of avail, given where the country was in terms of its development and that Oman imported their strategies and materials from other GCC countries (as opposed to having them imposed upon them by the magistracy). This, in turn, implies that the point, worthwhile as it undoubtedly is, is moot in this instance.

Overall, the chapter is both a good summary of the impressive educational development that has happened in Oman and provides some sound advice about where and how it may profit from future strategies. It argues that the progression Oman has made from a state with a fundamentally non-existent schooling system to a state that is borrowing elements from abroad to create a working system, now needs to transform that into a system that generates direction and capability from within. It's a point well-made but applicable to every country on the planet and hardly the result of Oman having borrowed a baroque arsenal.

Özlem Yazlik makes a number of good points in her analysis of international influences on literacy education in Turkey. Given that I knew next to nothing about Turkey's educational progress since Atatürk (and nothing at all about the time before it), Yazlik's contextualisation was extremely helpful and fascinating. Yazlik is a feminist writer, more often than not a precarious position in Islamic countries, as well as a champion of universal literacy in Turkey. But first, she argues, we need to be less culturally strident about what literacy actually means in particular contexts and environments. The West generally insists on a vocational emphasis but shouldn't basic literacy be more than that? It's a philosophical, moral and ethical question that has far-reaching consequences. *New Literacy* places a greater emphasis on how a range of literacies (or literacy competence) in a wide array of situations is much more personally empowering. Yazlik sees literacy 'under attack from neo-liberal policies of marketisation and privatisation of education' (p. 135) and that because the country does not yet have an established national education system, these policies have led to greater gender, class and regional inequalities. In (large)

part, this is the result of non-government organisations rather than the government providing school and adult literacy programmes. Yazlik calls for more localised curricula to provide 'real life' literacy.

It is interesting to compare Yazlik's chapter with Jeroen Smits and Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör's paper from a decade earlier in which they report that 90 per cent of non-Turkish speaking women (i.e. Kurdish and Arabic women) had not finished primary education. They and their husbands were substantially less well off than their Turkish-speaking compatriots were. It's a substantial concern because they make up about five per cent of the population. Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör is also a Turkish feminist scholar, concerned about child labour and social justice, and her take on literacy, grounded firmly in linguistic capital theory, seems generally to match with the neo-liberal policies of marketisation, albeit that there is an obvious intersect of concern for the personal empowerment of the most disadvantaged of the Turkish population.

Appropriately then, the penultimate chapter in the collection is Salha Abdullah Issan's overview of gender and education in the Arabian Gulf States. Issan starts with the question that many of us who offer analyses of Arabian education have grappled with: how might the requirements of modernity be reconciled with the maintenance of traditional Arab values? It is a question that the Arab educators and policy makers also grapple with. Issan points out that all the Gulf States have legislated for gender equality but it rarely manifests in employment. Issan's emphasis on employment equality seems at odds with the previous chapter's argument that women's education ought not to be predominantly vocational:

In fact educational attainment is, without doubt, the most fundamental prerequisite for empowering women in all spheres of society. Female education encompasses both social and economic dimensions that can contribute to female empowerment (p. 146).

Without it, Issan argues, women will be 'unable to access well-paid, formal-sector jobs and advance within them' (p. 146). She then goes on to show that even with that, women in the Gulf States are still knocking their heads against a low glass ceiling. Arab men, she suggests, are happy to have women working for them but are less so to work for women.

The chapter offers neat summaries of context and environment within each of the Gulf States, which together show the wide range of gendered life in the Gulf States. Each has a different balance between the enabling factors and constraining factors for women. The main problem as she sees it, is that once they have attained a high

level of education, social dictates prevent most of them from using it. The exceptions are few and far between and generally prove the rule. It's a point well-made and may be why Arab women are turning to their own businesses, physical and virtual, local and international, for opportunities.

The proposition that Arab women increasingly starting their own businesses has been mentioned anecdotally in a number of papers and articles but as yet I haven't seen any figures, so it's difficult to get a sense of scale. Further, there are also some indications (again, as yet unsubstantiated) that Arab women are increasingly speculating on local and international stock markets, and acquiring independent wealth in that way. If nothing else, such stories may challenge stereotypes of Arab women.

On the other hand, there are reasons why such stereotypes retain their currency – even if they are no longer universally justifiable. Flying into Riyadh recently, I sat next to a Saudi Arabian woman in western clothes, listening to trip-hop music on her iPod, returning from doing business in Europe. When the plane started its descent, she changed to the archetypal Arab dress decreed by the Wahabist regime. She told me that she moved easily and happily between the two environments, and contrary to what I expected, indicated she was happy to follow the traditional customs of her homeland when she was there. It is simply one story, and she was very likely an exception and her blended way of living admittedly available only to a few but if nothing else, she demonstrates another possibility.

Issan's chapter has a polemic touch that serves it well as a deliberately provocative piece. There is no mention of a baroque or any other kind of arsenal of educational ideas being borrowed. Instead it argues that the cause of the extant gender inequality is not the education system but the social systems into which female graduates are delivered. It is about social justice and economic parity.

The final chapter by Jane Knight lends perspective to the collection. She doesn't mention, either directly by name or by implication, the existence of a magistracy but she does define terms that have been used rather loosely in the previous chapters. We get a clear distinction between internationalisation, transnational education, borderless education and cross-border education; as well as clear explanations of what a host of other terms mean in her discourse. For that alone, I recommend this chapter as essential reading for any undergraduate course with this as a focus. However, much more than a glossary of terms, Knight's chapter also defines the state of play in the Gulf States:

There are stark differences in why and how cross-border education is used in the Gulf region. This demonstrates that one model of cross-border does not fit all countries. The local context, culture and national priorities dictate the cross-border-education approach (p. 178).

Using relatively recent figures, Knight steadily considers how the manifestation of cross-border education in the region has gone through three generations of change, how it has been adapted by each state in accordance with its priorities and where the problems lie. One of those is the risk that a state can import sub-standard programmes but as at least two and probably four of Gulf States have established hubs, that likelihood is relatively small. I would argue that it is probably smaller there than it is, say, here in Australia, where we have higher education providers offering an array of programmes of widely divergent quality.

Knight's chapter is somewhat at odds with much of the rest of the collection in two ways. First, there is no reference to a magistracy or a suggestion that countries in the broader Middle East are being exploited by it. There is no hint of anyone 'off-loading' ... failed experiments in countries of 'the centre' (back-cover) onto unsuspecting, gullible broader Middle Eastern countries. Second, the chapter is scrupulous in its definition of terms and its focus on specific analysis, eschewing any tendency to go beyond the verifiable and justifiable. Both the writing and the argument are sparkingly clear.

Surprisingly, there is no conclusion to the volume; no pulling the strands presented in the individual chapters together into a coherent, cohesive whole. Whereas the introduction gave an outline of the intention of the collection, there is no summary of how the editors believe that it was achieved. The omission is disappointing because I would have appreciated understanding how the disparate chapters in this book work together to provide substance to the claims made in the introduction. Donn and Al Manthri claim that:

Middle Eastern policy makers would say: 'We should borrow tested education reforms to achieve excellence in educational outcomes: or from a different stand point we should lend the tested ideas to the nations in need of development.' All of this is done to 'quick fix' education systems to deliver results. Yet time and time again these reforms result in further social and political desperation leading to an urgent need to find yet another education policy reform (p. 9).

Actually, most of the subsequent content demonstrates that such is far from the case. Many of the chapters describe thoughtful strategies and practices that have local aspiration at heart, implemented by erudite and canny Middle Eastern policy makers.

There is enough of substance in this volume to make it a worthwhile purchase for anyone with an interest in education in the Broader Middle East, but I advise reading it with a skeptical eye. And perhaps, read Jane Knight's chapter first.

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Managerialism & Business Schools – A Review Essay

Confronting Managerialism – How the Business Elite and their Schools threw our Lives out of Balance by **Robert R. Locke & J. C. Spender**

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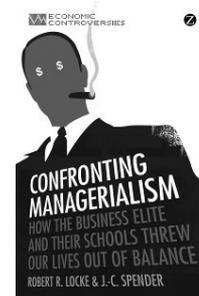
Review by Thomas Klikauer

Managerialism is when management goes into overdrive spreading its ideology to everything from factory administration to how your sex life can be managed through a common set of managerial tools. While the literature on and 'for' management has become cumbersome in today's globalised business, management schools and universities (Baritz, 1960), writings on managerialism remain a rarity. Given the hundreds of business schools and thousands of academics in management studies, it is interesting to note that there are only two books on managerialism – apart from edited volumes, publications with 'managerialism' as a sub-title, and published conference proceedings. The two notable, serious, and comprehensive books on managerialism are Enteman's *Managerialism: the Emergence of a New Ideology* (1993) and the Locke and Spender volume considered here.

Canadian management writer Morgan warned us against the use of definitions in 1986. But Locke and Spender's book starts with just such a definition. The authors write: 'Managerialism is defined as follows: what occurs when a special group, called management, ensconces itself systematically in an organisation and deprives owners and employees of their decision-making power (including the distribution of emoluments) – and justifies that takeover on the grounds of the managing group's education and exclusive possession of the codified bodies of knowledge and know-how necessary to the efficient running of the organisation' (p. xi).

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But there is a problem with this definition. The Locke and Spender book fails to consider what Wollongong academic Sharon Beder (2006) has exquisitely described as 'Free Market Missionaries'. In other words, what separates management from managerialism is managerialism's ideological mission to conquer. Managerialism has assumed a quasi-religious dogma aiming for the colonisation of Jürgen Habermas' (1997) 'lifeworld'. While management can be seen as a mostly internal company affair, managerialism by contrast spreads far beyond the realms of companies. Managerialism has assumed a *Star Trek* Borg-like appearance: 'We are the Borg. We will add your biological and technological distinctiveness to our own. Resistance is futile!'

Ironically, the destructive pathologies of managerialism have not only ended the 'biological and technological distinctiveness' of ordinary companies but are even stronger in the public than in the private sector. Despite the managerial phrase coined by General Motors' CEO, Alfred Sloan, 'the point is that General Motors is not in business to make cars, but to make money', there still are some manufacturing companies that spend attention to making things rather than going overboard on managerialism. In the public realm, however, things are different as the concept of 'New or Public Sector Managerialism' and the impact of managerialism inside universities have shown (Aspromourgos, 2012; Nybooks, 1964). In the words of Paul Keating's former speechwriter, Don Watson (2003, p.166), 'Managerialism came to the universities as

the German army came to Poland. Now they talk about achieved learning outcomes, quality assurance mechanisms, and international benchmarking. They throw triple bottom line, customer satisfaction and world class around with the best of them'.

The Locke and Spender book has a preface and six chapters. The preface defines management as 'getting things done'. This is a common definition of management (Magretta, 2002). However, it simultaneously depicts the intellectual poverty of management studies - 'getting things done'. It was managers who invented management studies, thus establishing a 'management education industry' that is now global (p. xii; see also Jobrack, 2011). Management studies also has an 'obsessive preoccupation with numbers' (p. xiii) and everything quantifiable (Mander, 2001). This narrow-minded focus on numbers cuts off everything that 'makes us human', representing 'the exact opposite of the sign that Albert Einstein had hung up in his Princeton University office. His sign expressed the following core message: "Not everything that counts can be counted and not everything that can be counted counts!"' (Klikauer, 2007, p. 189). However, management studies and managerialism are not about knowledge and understanding - they are about profit, power, the maximisation of shareholder value, and the conversion of society into an 'object of managerial power' (Bauman, 1989).

The first chapter of the Locke and Spender book is Introduction: Managerialism and business school education 1920-1970. In the foremost classical study on managerialism, Enteman (1993) associates managerialism with ideology. Locke and Spender, however, emphasise Managerialism as 'a phenomenon associated with membership in a specific group of managers that share specific attributes - a caste' (p. 2). This is a theme that carries strong connotations to Mills' 'Power Elite' (1956). For the cast of managers who run managerialism, Locke and Spender outline four key ingredients: 'a) the primary value is economic efficiency, or the pursuit of maximum output with minimum inputs; b) managerialism has faith in the skills and techniques of management; c) managerialism develops a top-down class consciousness with a common literature and training regime; and d) managerialism views managers as moral agents working for the greater good' (p. 6). Somewhat forgotten is the centre point of the entire exercise: managerialism's overarching profit motive behind which everything else is secondary. Managerialism can never understand that, for example, a school's prime objective is the education of children - not profits. It can never understand that a hospital's key function is health, not profits. Managerialism does not conceptualise chil-

dren, education, and health - these are mere customers (children), and operational issues (health & education) that can be turned into profits.

The next chapter is on The Failure of Management Science and the US Business School Model. The authors trace the history of 'operational research' that defines the ideology of managerialism's engineering approach (Klikauer, 2007, p. 143-159). This history covers the immediate post-war experience of business schools, the business schools model and its Japanese challenge, and managerialism and Silicon Valley after 1975. It is followed by a chapter on 'US managerialism and business schools fail to find their moral compass' (p. 61) which implies three things:

1. Managerialism can be associated to a moral compass.
2. Managerialism is in search of its moral compass, and
3. Managerialism has failed to find its moral compass.

None of this actually applies to managerialism. It has no moral compass. It has never searched for it and therefore finding 'a moral compass' remains utterly irrelevant. To divert attention away from morality (Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Utilitarianism, environmental ethics, etc.), managerialism has even invented a specific ideological tool called 'corporate social responsibility'. Unfortunately, the Locke and Spender book lacks a detailed discussion of 'managerialism and corporate social responsibility'. Perhaps managerialism's relationship to morality has been brought to the point by none other than Groucho Marx when commenting 'good business is all about honesty and fair dealing; if you can fake that, you've got it made!' (Klikauer, 2012a, p. 6). Paraphrasing Karl Marx, 'with adequate profit, managerialism is very bold. A certain 10 per cent will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent, positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both. Smuggling and the slave-trade have amply proven all that is stated here'. One of managerialism's foremost flagships, the *Harvard Business Review*, for example, listed 939 articles on profit and 29 on morality between 1922 and 2009 which represents a 33:1 ratio. This indicates the true state of the managerialistic opinion of morality as seen from a managerial perspective by the world's foremost important management journal' (Klikauer, 2012a, p. 226).

Nonetheless, not surprisingly for a book by two academics from a country where religion is important and its president closes every speech with 'God bless America', Locke and Spender examine the morality of religion from

Islamic, Confucian, Christian morality, its revival, and resurrection. In their section on 'two cultures', Locke and Spender distinguish between Aristotle's *oikonomikos* (household trading) 'which he approved of and thought essential to the workings of any even moderately complex society', and *chrematistike* (the art of getting rich), which he condemned because it entails trade for profit' (Locke & Spender, 2011, p. 96). Managerialism is one-dimensionally dedicated to the latter. Locke and Spender note that divisions like these also operate inside universities when management studies is set against humanities and where students 'know where the good jobs are and they know the kind of education needed to get them. In the education marketplace, they are the consumers who determine the source of supply. They started to shun the humanities' (p. 98). But 'the bourgeoisie [also] created a superstructure of thought and moral teachings to protect its interest' (p. 99), hence the invention of corporate social responsibility. Like any ideology, managerialism and 'management studies did not abolish ethical considerations but only obscured them' (Locke & Spender, 2011, p. 99; see also Klikauer, 2010).

In managerialism's enterprise of side-lining, diminishing, incorporating, and annihilating ethics and humanities, the ideology of post-modernism became a welcome side-effect: 'post-modernism's attack on positivism had an unintended result because it weakened the position of the humanities in universities more than it did science, technology, and the new paradigm in business schools' (Locke & Spender, 2011, p. 100). In other words, post-modernism paved the way for the triumph of managerialism in universities. Linked to neo-liberalism's concept of state withdrawal of public funding for universities, the latter invented money-making schemes like 'industry partnerships' so that managerial capitalism is able to dictate research agendas and outcomes! On the teaching side, managerialism engineers this through so-called 'accreditation' giving industry direct 'definitional power' over what is taught. This has led, for example, to a replacement of industrial relations by human resources management. It converts the horizontal relationship between trade unions, the state, and management/employers (industrial relations) into a vertical top-down hierarchy relationship beneficial to human resources management, management, and managerialism. Simultaneously, it narrows the social-economical view of industrial relations down to the mere company level of human resources management resulting in all the pathological trimmings known today (Samuel, 2010).

Hence, 'it turns out that at the end of the twentieth century the issue for higher education is not sci-

ence versus humanities but science/humanities versus money/managerialism' (Locke & Spender, 2011, p. 102). It is not unheard of that academic promotions to professorship can only occur based on external grants in a 'money→promotion' linkage. Back are the good old days of 18th century Europe where professorships could be purchased. Locke and Spender (p. 102) explain 'the most successful university discipline...offers:

- A promise of money (the field is popularly linked...to improved chances of securing an occupation or profession that promise above-average lifetime earning).
- A knowledge of money (the field itself studies money, whatever practically or more theoretically, i.e. business finance and/or economic matter and markets).
- Sources of money (the field receives significant external money, i.e. research contracts, federal grants or funding support, or corporate underwritings)'.

The next chapter explains 'Managerialism and the decline of the US Automobile Industry'. It compares US car manufacturing with Japanese and German car companies in the light of the rise of managerialism. The chapter carries connotations to Hall and Soskice's (2001) 'liberal-market' versus 'coordinated-market' economies (Klikauer, 2012b). Perhaps Chapter 4 on 'managerialism, business schools', and our financial crisis is one of Locke and Spender's key chapters. It asserts that 'the rush into finance, to student greed (because of high salaries), to neo-liberal selfishness, justified primarily by the Chicago School of economists led by Milton Friedman (economic theory), and to the general decline in social responsibility in corporation boardrooms...The Business Roundtable (CEOs from 200 of America's largest corporations) explicitly abandoned previously subscribed-to tenets of social responsibility. In 1981, the group's Statement on Corporate Responsibility read: "Balancing the shareholders' expectation of maximum return against other priorities is one of the fundamental problems confronting critical management"' (Locke & Spender, 2011, p. 136). This appears to support my conclusion (Klikauer, 2013). Managerialism has no moral compass while rejecting Locke and Spender's thesis that managerialism simply 'failed to find its moral compass' (p. 61).

Apart from that, 'the recent collapse of the investor capitalism's house of cards revealed to an unsuspecting public the darker side of the relationship that the US management caste and US business schools had cemented with finance capitalism' (Locke & Spender, 2011, p. 137). Just as financial capitalism hardly ever focuses on 'mums-and-dads-investors' - except in the popular business press for public relations reasons - 'the language that manag-

ers and business school academics use in articles about restructuring, mergers, acquisitions, leveraged buyouts, and the like rarely, if ever, touches on how employees are affected' (p. 155; see also Klikauer, 2008). Locke and Spender explain in surprising detail and in clear language how the machinations of what they have termed 'The Money Grid' between business schools, managerialism, banks, rating agencies, etc. work (p. 163). The basic ingredient to all this is 'the belief that everything can be modelled' (p. 171) that positivist science and mathematics explains not only the real world but also lead to fantastic profits and bonuses for some. As a New York commodity trader explain in Bakan's *The Corporation*, 'we could not wait until the bombs rained down on Saddam Hussein – the oil price shot up and we made serious cash...in devastation there is opportunity' (Achbar & Abbott, 2005). When managerialism merges with war through the coalition of the willing/killing – Bush, Blair, and Howard– and US tomahawk missiles devastate downtown Baghdad for no weapons-of-mass-destruction, managerialism linked to war-machine is celebrated in the boardrooms of weapons manufacturers, the oil-industry, and commodity traders. Managerialism's use of positivistic science can fire missiles and measure corporate profits while simultaneously relinquishing morality.

Locke and Spender's assessment that 'the attempt to turn management into a positivist science seems to have misfired' (p. 172) has a long history starting from early critiques such as Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason' (1781) and Hegel's 'Phenomenology' (1807). Kant and Hegel have conclusively shown that methods from physics and mathematics fall short of explaining 'The Human Condition' (Arendt, 1958; Habermas, 1976). Locke and Spender's 'there is no moral crisis on the Street [Wall Street] because there is no morality there' (p. 172) and 'business school talk about ethics is a concoction of fantasy' (p. 173) again confirm the thesis that managerialism has no morality. However, even more toxic, the financial-mathematical instruments of the global 'Money Grid' have led to 'the problem that speed, volume, and spread increased the dimension of evil' (p. 172). In other words, 'managerialism's wanton belief that greed is good and profit maximisation is to be sought at all cost, even, if necessary, through what ordinary people would call swindle' (p. 189), remains fundamentally wrong. It demonstrates again that managerialism has no moral compass.

In a near perfect illumination of the classical question of all conclusions (what can we learn from all this?), Locke and Spender say 'this book blames the business school obsession with numbers for this mistake, that is the con-

ventional wisdom exposed by post-1945 reformers that management education can be based on a science that improves management performance (p. 181) ...this book considers US managerialism to be a principle cause of wealth misdistribution and chief promoter of bad management in the finance industry (p. 185) ...with an average CEO wage of US\$7,700,000 vs. average workers' wage of US\$36,000' (p. 180; see also Kothari, 2010). In the words of Oscar Wilde, a manager might well be a man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing. Despite this or perhaps because of this, Locke and Spender note that 'right now management is in an enviable position of setting its own salaries and bonuses' (p. 188).

Hence, Locke and Spender's conclusion is that 'if people want a solution to the problem that managerialism and US business schools education induces, do not look to America. Look outside the United States' (p. 188). Managerialism's one-dimensional perspective and ideological self-entrapment disallows itself (and management studies) to develop solutions from within. The pathologies of managerialism, as Offe and Wieselthaler (1980) have noted, can never be solved from 'within' but require a discussion 'about' managerialism. In addition, managerialism and management studies' recently invented sideshow of 'Critical Management Studies' (CMS) are the wrong tools. They are determined to fail on this account because managerial society and CMS examine management from 'within' the management paradigm, delivering a mere system corrective to management. While remaining 'within' management studies as a cybernetic-self-corrective in the spirit of systems theory, CMS fails to move beyond management studies and fails to discuss managerialism (Klikauer, 2011).

In the conclusion's sub-section entitled 'Guidelines for Reform' Locke and Spender note 'business schools should not just serve a management caste, but business and industrial firms as entities. Therefore, they must broaden contacts to all firm stakeholders, including members of trade unions and other non-management employees (as, for example, in teaching courses to employee members of compensation committees). To justify their existence as public institutions, business schools must also be proactive in leading management back to social responsibility, or business schools (instead of arts and humanities programmes in universities) should be shut down, since there is ample evidence of the harm they have done, and that other countries have prospered without them...[but]... people in top business schools believe their own propaganda; they – perhaps out of self-preservation and certainly out of self-promotion – have not grasped the idea that good management education can occur without busi-

ness schools or that they should serve broader interests that those of the management caste' (p. 187). Managerialism, however, is interested in shareholders, not stakeholders, treating stakeholders either as threats – trade unions and non-governmental organisations – or simply as externalities (environmental destruction, industrial accidents, sweatshops, child labour, etc.) as perfectly signified in the Ford-Pinto Case (Klikauer 2010, pp. 57 & 144).

Overall, Locke and Spender's book is a brilliantly executed investigation into managerialism, highlighting the key link between business schools and managerialism's pathologies that led not only to the Global Financial Crisis but also depict the impact of managerialism on universities. The book skilfully emphasises the shortcomings of a one-dimensional (Marcuse, 1966) business school education that not only leads to stratospheric salaries and bonuses for some but also simultaneously annihilates trade unions, weakens protective labour laws, eliminates state regulatory agencies, diminishes workplace conditions, lowers wages, and enlarges the working poor, unemployed, and sweatshop labour for others. Perhaps even more damaging has been managerialism's blind faith in mathematical modelling applied by management studies in business schools.

Locke and Spender's book exceeds the 'nice to read' level of many books. It is a comprehensive study entering deep into the 'must read' section for all managerial educators, business schools deans, and other stakeholders in the educational arena. Their book's insightful content is imperative for any debate on managerialism, managerial universities, and the unquestioned and quasi-religious faith attributed to market mechanisms. On the downside, the book is rather short on issues such as 'another world is possible', 'the ethics of resistance', and 'post-managerialism living' (Comité Invisible, 2009; Soederberg, 2010; Klikauer, 2013). Meanwhile, managerialism and its entourage of 'servants of power' (Baritz, 1960) have turned Enlightenment education into a functional and mind-numbing training institution for those who seek to win the rat-race while forgetting that even when they have won the it they still remain a rat (Schrijvers, 2004).

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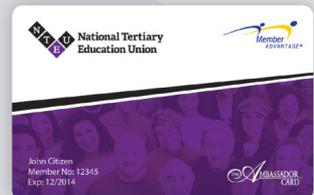
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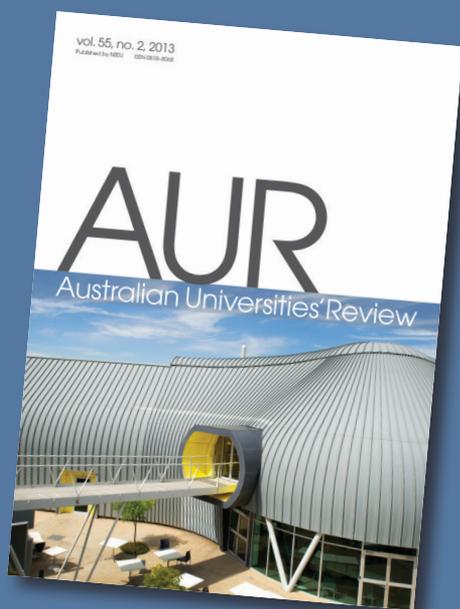


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