The Changing Profile of the Educator: selecting management principles for tomorrow's university

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Abstract

Faced with disturbing demographic trends and economic uncertainty, university administrators in industrialized democracies are resorting to strategies that are arousing controversy in the academic world. The very spirit in which institutes of learning are run has been affected, with serious implications for the professional figure of the educator.

Paradoxically, at a time when management theorists in the vanguard of research are re-discovering the need for a deeper sense of form, mission and values in business theory and practice, some educational administrators are embracing reductionist approaches to cost- efficiency reminiscent of the early exercises in 'scientific management'.

Symptoms of unrest and decreased motivation are endemic and serious appraisal is needed of the longer term effects of recent policy on the morale, performance and retention of teaching staff. A clarification of principles is an essential first step before measures that may appear immediately beneficial create further negative effects on the institutional identity and sense of mission of the university itself.

Much can be learned from business management experience but the transferability of certain chosen strategies has not always been critically evaluated. The stakeholder model of organization appears far better suited to the long term needs of the academic institution than others currently favored in early attempts at rationalization, but needs closer conceptual analysis.

While writers on business ethics have, for some time, raised questions on the social responsibilities and moral conduct of corporations, it has been assumed that universities in some sense led by example and had no need for such self-examination. In an evolved society, university administrators, since they also use public funds, have a particular responsibility to promote certain principles and provide a model of labor relations and social organization to the community at large.

Introduction

At a time of intense financial anxiety and fear of falling enrolment, calls for greater order and administrative efficiency in education are ever more strident and a somewhat simplistic faith is being displayed in strategies and mechanisms, borrowed in haste from the corporate world.

This paper attempts to identify some of the difficulties that arise when assumptions underpinning business practice are transferred to school and university. It stresses the specific nature of the educational process and of the highly particular professional profile of those engaged in teaching. There is clear need for a re-examination of the aims of tertiary education in tomorrow's society and for a clarification of the principles upon which university management strategies rest, before administrators race to apply measures that have enjoyed success in a very different context.

Today, the managerial issues confronting universities transcend cultural and national frontiers, and there is increasing evidence of administrative failure and inadequacy. Teaching staff protests at prolonged underpayment closed down the University of Hawaii in April 2001. Italy's Ministry for Universities is being prosecuted by the European Court of Justice for condoning discriminatory labor practices, [1] while Britain's Association of University Teachers is preparing an offensive against a 'savage casualisation' of teaching posts.[2] In the discussion that follows, examples are drawn from different national histories and situations. Many of the problems touched on are common to school and university and certain observations, inferences and prescriptions apply to both.

Education and Management: the call for efficiency

In 1909, Frederic W. Taylor, widely regarded as the father of scientific management and remembered for introducing the stopwatch time study,[3]was asked by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to help in 'an economic study' of administration in educational organizations. Taylor sent his protégé M. L. Cooke to do so and his lengthy report astounded the academic world. It condemned 'inbreeding' (the hiring of your own graduates), deplored inefficiencies inherent in the system of committee management and criticized excessive departmental autonomy while recommending pay based on merit not longevity, an end to tenure for professors and the forced retirement of unfit teachers. The president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology responded contemptuously that the report was

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1 *The Europeans*, May 21, 2000 carries the background story to this long and acrimonious dispute.

2 *Autlook, Bulletin of the Association of University Teachers*, no.217, January 2001.

3 Daniel Nelson, *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management* (Maddison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 40-42.

written "as if the author received his training in a soap factory." [4]

In the current economic climate, educational policy makers and administrators are under scrutiny and few would dare be so openly dismissive of outside appraisal, even in the face of criticism often less informed by research than Cooke's.

The harsh choruses condemning waste, academic indulgence and inefficiency are not new. The quieter voice of history clearly demonstrates both how swiftly calls for efficiency and retrenchment in education have followed economic downturns and the error of responding to such demands with too great haste. England's Revised Code on Education of 1862, bringing Sir Robert Lowe's changes to ensure that schooling "... if not cheap shall be efficient and if not efficient shall be cheap", was the first attempt to legislate merit pay for teachers in 'payment by results' based on a brutally simplified school leaving examination. Yet, such is society's fickle perception of education's role that within eight years England was rushing to emulate Prussia in developing a greatly expanded and far more expensive system of compulsory education in the interests of industrial competitiveness.[5]

When colder economic winds prevail, education is often the scapegoat. Even in Japan, where schools and universities might justifiably claim much credit for the nation's remarkable economic performance following World War Two, a new approach to school management is emerging as fears of recession grow. An April 2000 amendment to the School Education Act stated that administrators without teaching licenses could be employed 'in cases of particular need'. As a result, a new policy to recruit school principals with backgrounds in industry, banking and commerce is being implemented by the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education. An observation made by one of these new figures illustrates the new approach:

How much do you suppose class lessons cost, including management and personnel expenses? I worked it out. It comes to 14,000 yen an hour. Well, I wonder whether the lessons as they're now taught are worth that kind of money.[6]

This isolation of a single element in a wider context and the attempt to apply concrete input- output criteria demonstrates a paradox. Theorists in the forefront of research into industrial relations, including Diana Winstanley of London's Imperial College Management School, are increasingly committed to promoting a holistic style of management, emphasizing inclusion and stakeholding in the workplace.[7] They stress the enduring value to business management of the work of humanistic psychologists such as Bowlby, Maslow and Rogers whose work inspired the transformation of post- war educational practice.

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4 Wren, D.A., *The Evolution of Management Throught* (New York: John Wiley, 1979), 186.

5 See Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education*, 1760-1870 (London 1960).

6 "Entrepreneurial talents filling top school posts." *Asahi Evening News.* March 24, 2001.

7 See Diana Winstanley and Christopher Stoney, 'Inclusion in the workplace: The Staleholder debate', in P. Askonas and A. Stewart (eds.), *Social Inclusion: Possibilities and Tensions* (MacMillan, 2000), pp.244-261.

By contrast, many recent re-organizations of school and university have been dominated by considerations of short-term cost reduction. They concentrate on the apportioning of individual responsibility for negative performance in a superficial evaluation of efficiency expressed in the language of 'liquidity', 'downsizing' and 'rationalization'.

The historical weight of industrial perspectives and prerogatives on state educational policy making has always been felt when broader lines were drawn,[8] and the development of a schooling system designed to produce a competent work force has been a characteristic of industrialized societies. Universities, however, were for long exempt from overt pressure to tailor their educational vision to the needs of industry. Indeed, when Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson spoke, at the Labour Party Conference of 1963, of the need for the nation's new universities to adapt to the 'white heat' of technology, the observation was considered highly provocative and unusual. Since that time, references to the changing nature of industry and society have been integrated in their rhetoric, but for universities to apply a corporate style of recruitment, to transform their employment policy and to resort to reliance on a highly casualised workforce in the interests of 'flexibility' is a significant departure from established practice..

Since certain strategies, if continued unexamined, will radically change the nature of university management and the profile of the educator, it is vital to clarify the role of higher education in the community. There is a danger that an excessive emphasis on efficiency, cost reduction, and a fascination with 'new technology' might lead to a conception of the educator as an information manager or technical facilitator, whose main role is to help students master the mechanisms of the IT revolution. Already, some appear to regard the lower ranked university teacher as a 'Type 2 white collar knowledge worker', a figure whose productivity and effectiveness can be measured by computer based analysis of the quantity of work completed and 'the satisfaction of those served'.[9]

An immediate and complete adoption of the position that all management policy and practice is inapplicable to the academic world smacks of 'intellectual Luddism'. However, an awareness of significant phases in the evolution of the university ideal might help identify the principles on which it developed and indicate the extent of the contribution of the educator. Higher education was one of the most dynamic areas of economic growth in industrialized democracies in the twentieth century and human resources were at the heart of this success. This should be borne in mind when deciding where the priorities in university management should lie.

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8 This is discussed in the British context in Oliphant, J., 'The Song of Experience, the March of Industry: History and Industry in the Formulation of British Social Policy' in *Daito Bunka Management Society Journal*, Vol. 1 Number 1, February 2001.

9 See the computer analysis models in Mundel, M.E., *The White-Collar Knowledge Worker: Measuring and Improving Productivity and Effectiveness* (Asian Productivity Organization, 1989).

Three views

In the recent past, three distinct impulses, born of separate but overlapping historical phases, have shaped debate on what the university represents, what it should provide and to whom. Examining the role of the educator and the differing emphasis in responsibilities within these conflicting visions might help construct a profile for the future.

The three perspectives might be termed the *traditional-preservationist*, the *iconoclastic*, and the *corporate-technocratic*.

In the first, the university is perceived as the defender of the type of knowledge Matthew Arnold described as 'Culture, the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world, and with the history of the human spirit.' [10] Here, the university teacher is seen to combine a capacity for rigorous scholarship with pedagogic competence and the ability to offer moral and intellectual guidance to the flower of the nation's youth. There exists a strong institutional loyalty and a sense of belonging to a profession with high collective ideals, quite capable of handling all its own significant administrative decisions.

The Oxford English Dictionary definition of the term iconoclast is 'one who assails or attacks cherished beliefs or venerated institutions on the ground that they are erroneous or pernicious.' [11] The radical upheavals in the universities of the 1960s were fired by a deep sense that they remained bastions of privilege which served a selected minority and reinforced the power of the elite by governing the availability of knowledge. Political action, with varying degrees of violence, forced swift change in the structure of the university, the profile of the student and the role of the academic, and promoted the concept of higher education as a right. Although the image of lecturer and student as 'brothers in arms' was short lived, the change in the dynamics of that relationship has since profoundly affected attitudes towards institutional authority. Loyalty is based less on the single institution and more on collectively held principles: freedom of expression, equality of opportunity, social justice.

From the third perspective, the university now resembles a corporation, competing for success or even survival, and must be managed as such. This view is most clearly prevailing in the United States and

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10 Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* (1873 edition), Preface.
11 *Oxford English Dictionary*, Clarendon Press, 1989 ed., Vol. VII.

Japan, where the majority of students attend private universities. However, its influence has been notable in British universities, vying for state funding, where the entire conception of academic employment is being transformed. Here, the emphasis is on administrative efficiency, financial stability and competitiveness in the market. Teaching is organized on a hierarchical basis, 'star' names are sometimes employed to attract students and great attention is paid to 'league tables' indicating perceived strengths and weaknesses of competing institutes. An industrial style of management is more widely seen, tenure is considered a costly anachronism and alternative forms of hiring are becoming the norm. There is a widening gap in status and remuneration between staff at the core and those at the periphery, where teaching is increasingly in the hands of hourly paid and fixed term contract teachers, with even graduate students called upon at times. Investment in technology is often preferred to investment in teaching, where return is less easily quantifiable.

Et in Arcadia ego   Myth, 'Tradition' and the University

One of the most powerful myths sustaining an evolved society is that of the growth of learning. James McLachlan's study of representations of *The Choice of Hercules* shows how this one image reflected the intellectual vision, aspirations and '...the nature of the American college and American culture early in the 19th century'.[12] Hercules, clad in a toga and leaning on his club, surveys to his right the figure of Vice, breast bared, enticing, and to his left:

...the stern figure of Virtue, clad in a dark mantle and holding a book She points to her right, where in a distant, mountainous landscape, we can see a classical figure of a reclining youth with a book, a globe, and a group of earnest philosophers. In the right foreground is placed a pile of books, scrolls, a compass and a plumbline - the traditional attributes of Virtue in Western art.[13]

The power of this ideal was such that the twentieth century brought an expansion of higher education scarcely foreseen at its beginning. In the post-colonial world, even the most impoverished of the newly independent nations has made it a priority to construct universities, as a first step in asserting a cultural identity, whatever the financial strains imposed. Much of the work done within may have been vocational, but the adherence to the form and ritual associated with 'traditional university life' - the High Table, the Latin motto, gowns and ceremony - showed the enduring force of the vision.

The popular conception of university life now largely derives from fictional depictions of Oxford and Cambridge, where privileged white male youths go through their rites of passage. These representations of

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12 James McLachlan, The Choice of Hercules; American Student Societies in the Early 19th century in Lawrence
    Stone (ed.) *The University in Society*, Vol.2 (London, Oxford University Press, 1975), p.449.
13 Ibid., p.450.

the collegiate lifestyle have been an important element in the influential 'heritage' genre of Angle-Saxon literature and cinema.

In *Brideshead Revisited*, Evelyn Waugh describes the undergraduate experience in 1930s Oxford, ... 'a city of aquatint. In her quiet streets men walked and spoke as they had in Newman's day.'[14] His novel depicts a university that is not 'vocational' in that students have rarely chosen their career paths before their arrival and their engagement in social encounters that shape their character and vision is of equal importance to their academic results.

E.M. Forster's novels have probably been more influential than any in propagating stereotypes of varsity life, while his own fostering of chosen protégés, his Cambridge 'Apostles', is by now legendary. At the start of *The Longest Journey, a* group of students discourse in great earnest in a college room overlooking a meadow:

"The cow is there," said Ansell, lighting a match and holding it out over the carpet. No one spoke. He waited till the end of the match fell off. Then he said again, "She is, the cow. There, now". ...It was philosophy. They were discussing the nature of objectivity.[15]

This imagery is interwoven with the notion of the college as a defender of 'intellectual heritage', particularly cherished by those who deplore the 'socializing' of the university in the last three decades of the twentieth century. The opening of the doors to a greater number is seen as detrimental to a highly principled set of institutions dedicated from time immemorial to the moral and intellectual development of a rigorously selected group of mature youths destined to contribute to the future of their respective societies in politics, religious life and the higher professions. The lowering of admission standards , the weakening of academic rigor and the failure to complete courses are indicated as incontrovertible evidence of modern decline. This highly idealized reading of the university's historical role is still common today, particularly in nations with higher education systems of recent origin.

Lawrence Stone's extensive study of the changing nature of Oxford's student body over four centuries challenges this rigid view of an exclusive and primarily intellectual university. His work shows an academic community never averse to compromise and pecuniary gain.[16] At all times since the 16th century, it has accommodated two distinct types of student; those seeking an avenue of professional advancement, earlier in the church and more recently in the professions, alongside students from the elite attending the university as a finishing school and content to leave after one or two years without a degree or in later years with 'a gentleman's third' . At Oxford, the latter category appears to have shown little commitment

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14 Evelyn Waugh, *Brideshead Revisited* (1945, 1982edition), p.29.

15 E.M. Forster, *The Longest Journey* (1907, Penguin edition 1985), p.7.

16 Lawrence Stone, The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1910 in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *The University in Society*, Vol.1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp.9-10.

to scholarship. In the late 16th century the average student entered at 15.5 years old and left two years later without a degree,[17] while evidence from the mid-17th century points to a definite lowering of entry requirements under economic pressure. Hence two of the phenomena most commonly denounced today are not unprecedented.[18] This should be remembered when the defence of 'historical' standards is raised in debate on a further widening of the student body in the near future.

The battle to preserve the experience of high-education for a deserving male minority has been lost long since, but the figure of the academic in the 'traditional' university deserves consideration, since the successful evolution of the modern university grew from his or sometimes her, labor.

The material fortunes of the university don have undergone great changes; from the time of the impoverished figure of 16th century Oxford, eating frugally in college halls to the 'rich idler' of the early 18th,[19] to the predominantly lower middle class professional described in Halsey and Trow's study of British academics in the 1960s.[20] But what has remained constant, through the infinite expansion of the university system, has been the expectation that the academic should demonstrate competence in three spheres; research, pedagogy and, in more senior roles, administrative decision making on academic and financial matters. Pedagogy has been taken to include what today is named tutoring or counseling, and once was called 'moral tutoring'. Individual professional responsibility was balanced between these.

In the terminology of modern management, the university was an essentially 'people based' organization. The tutor was a figure whose influence remained on students for life. Iris Murdoch, who herself taught philosophy at Oxford, describes a visit to one such figure by his middle aged former students after a summer ball in *The Book and the Brotherhood*[21] :

Levquist was retired but continued to live in college where he had a special large room to house his collection of books, left of course to the college in his will...His successor in the professional chair, one of his pupils, continued in an insecure and subservient relation to the old man.

Absorbed as he is by his books, among which he often sleeps, but still able to make penetrating remarks on the characters of men he had taught thirty years hence, the old tutor exemplifies the personal loyalty and respect for learning accorded by the college and the close personal involvement between tutor and student. The bond between teacher and college or university helped forge an institutional identity, on which its economic fate rested. Sentiment played its part in this, a fact recognized and exploited by college fund raisers long before universities appointed 'business managers'.

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17 Ibid., p.74.

18 Ibid., p.57.

19 Ibid., p.45.

20 A. H. Halsey and Trow, I.M, *The British Academics* (London Faber and Faber, 1971).

21 Iris Murdoch, *The Book and the Brotherhood* (1987, Penguin edition 1988), p.19.

C.P. Snow's novel, *The Masters*, might be read as a commentary on managerial decision making in the old university manner. The incestuous struggles of college fellows unfold in a series of clandestine manouvres surrounding the election to replace the dying Master of the college. Resistance to change is expressed in a discussion on the fact that the aged Gay, the college's senior academic and holder of fourteen honorary degrees, is clearly incapable of even remembering the name of the incumbent but holds a crucial vote:

'I've always thought they should be disfranchised,' said Nightingale.

'No,' said Brown. 'If we cut them off at sixty-five or seventy, and didn't let them vote after that, we should lose more than we gained.'

'What do you mean?'

'I think I mean this: a college is a society of men, and we have to take the rough with the smooth.'

'If you try to make it too efficient,' I said, 'you'll suddenly find that you haven't a college at all.' [22]

Perhaps there was much to condemn in the opaque, isolated and deeply elitist and reactionary world of the 'closed university' , but the very continuity of the organization and the ideal suggests a certain institutional strength was derived from the academic autonomy, respect for the diversity of the individual and reciprocal loyalty that existed, and was evident in the way deep internal differences were overlooked when broader principles were threatened.

...and the walls came tumbling down

Although what Stone calls an economic symbiosis between rich and poor may have existed in early Oxford life,[23] the colleges all over Europe soon became the preserve of the higher social classes, including only a few 'plebeian' scholars of exceptional intelligence, who had been specifically coached and introduced. In *Jude the Obscure,* Thomas Hardy's hero, a self- taught stonemason with a rare scholastic aptitude receives these words of reply from the head of a college to whom he had written seeking encouragement:

Sir,- I have read your letter with interest, and judging from your description of yourself as a working man I venture to think you have a much better chance of success in life by remaining in your own sphere and sticking to your trade than by adopting any other course. That, therefore is what I advise you to do. ...[24]

Progress towards a more open university has taken different paths in modern societies. The student

22 C. P. Snow, *The Masters* (1951, Penguin 1983), p.43.

23 Stone, op. cit., pp.71-72.

24 Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* (1896, The Penguin Thomas Hardy 1984).

revolution in France, Germany and Italy was more overtly political and considerably more violent than in Britain and was characterized by expressions of solidarity with the working class. Intellectuals gave the movement in those countries a theoretical coherence that strengthened its capacity to influence legislative change. The university began to be perceived as a centre for the control of learning by a restricted minority, a continuance of the *respublica literatorum*, and the earlier religious defence of authority. As Roger Chartrier has pointed out, historical fears of career overcrowding were also a generational factor in restricting access to the university:

The motif of an excess of intellectuals is one of the most evident indications of the strength of the ideology of the *ancien regime* society that saw sons duplicating their fathers and the college or university as an endless bucket line dipping into the same source to supply the dominant classes.[25]

The protest movement, begun in the 1960s, called into doubt the very structure of university life, and soon legislation ensured that the socialized university became reality in France, Italy and Germany where the student movement had a far broader political base. The Italian constitution now grants the right to any student with any grade on his or her secondary school diploma to study any chosen subject at any state university. Attempts by the faculties of certain universities to limit numbers in the late 1990s were repeatedly defeated by the Constitutional Court.

By contrast, the pace of change was far slower in Britain. It was long thought that Oxford and Cambridge were sufficient to provide a cultural, literary, bureaucratic and political elite and no other universities were created until University College, London in 1827. The rush to build the 'redbrick' universities in the 1960s was probably motivated more by economic concern over international competitiveness than ideals of class equality. Britain's 1992 decision to create dozens of new universities, thereby improving statistics on higher education, through changing the name of other tertiary institutions overnight was at one time discussed as the 'Italian solution.' The result has been a massive increase in British undergraduate student numbers also, which has created new strains on management.

Meanwhile, the expansion of university education in the U.S.A. and Japan since the Second World War has had more to do with parental aspirations and improvement of career prospects than with active encouragement from the state. Although state subsidies are a part of finance, the majority of institutes use private, the student is increasingly perceived as a customer and a high degree of administrative autonomy is enjoyed.

The dramatic change in the student body that results from this opening of the gates of academe has implications for governments, university administrators and educators alike, but there has been little

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25 Roger Chartrier, *Cultural History. Between Practice and Representations* (Oxford, Polity Press, 1998), p.138.

evidence of harmony and cohesion in their response.

Those who now stress the economic cost to the state of expanded university education have often not considered the potential costs of the alternative; exclusion. German economists have demonstrated that, at present, everything needed to satisfy the market can now be produced by two thirds of the population, and soon one third will suffice. This will leave a majority economically useless and socially redundant, with inevitable consequences for their self- esteem and concept of citizenship.[26] With its existing infrastructure, the university is the obvious space in which youth can adjust to the complex shifts in the social dimension. Extending the scope of the university beyond the preparation for career involves a recognition of new functions and responsibilities. It may well be that the role of the university will come to include equipping the student to face a future of long term unemployment or unsatisfactory low status jobs with dignity.

Zygmunt Bauman has written on the Dutch thinker Johan Huizinga's notion of *homo ludens* - he who plays - and its relevance to the post-modern, post-industrial age.[27]

The university could, and some would say already does, also serve as a 'managed playground' ; a cognitive, aesthetic, moral and social domain, providing a forum for the enhancement of human relations.

The implications of providing for this multiplicity of needs have not always been fully digested by administrators who increasingly view teaching staff as expendable and cost related and recruit with earlier intakes of student in mind. With universities preparing students for an ever less stable environment, the profile of the university teacher needs redefinition. Max Weber once observed that an academic must qualify not only as a scholar but also as a teacher, and that the two do not at all coincide.

To expect competence in both, as well as administrative skills and an aptitude for pastoral work from staff rendered increasingly insecure and discontented by the nature of their terms of employment demonstrates a clouded managerial vision, and will inevitably produce discord.

The expanded university by now presents too vast and complex an entity to be managed on amateur, individualistic lines, without a clear collective sense of mission and shared principles.

Industrializing the University: the depersonalization of the educator

In Keywords', Raymond Williams discusses the term 'industry', pointing out that its use to refer to an institution or set of institutions for production or trade stems from the 18th century.[28] Long associated with the mill and factory we now find the word in such terms as 'leisure industry' , 'catering industry' and

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26 See Zygmunt Bauman, What it means 'To be excluded' :Living to Stay Apart-or Together? In Askonas and
   Stewart, *op. cit.*, p.77.

27 Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodern Ethics* (1993, 1995 edition), pp.169-171.

28 Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (London, Fontana, 1976, 1983 edition), p.165.

'hospitality industry' , but, to the best of my knowledge, the term 'education industry' has not found favour, since it has a distasteful resonance.

Yet, many of the features of the industrial perspective on cost, labour and productivity are encroaching on educational administration.

The perception of time is one example. One of the features of academic life has been its particular sense of time. The 'academic quarter of an hour' was one of Oxford's observances for many centuries and was indeed one of the few liberties defended by academics in Italian universities in their somewhat dishonourable years of submission to Fascism.[29]

E.P. Thompson's seminal article on the way in which industrial capitalism changed the very concept of time [30] showed how society was jolted from earlier rhythms, where, in Hardy's phrase, 'one armed clocks sufficiently divided the day' .

When university teaching staff are presented with punch cards, and attendance hours are written into contracts, there is a clear indication that trust in the figure of the academic has been eroded and that a management outlook is shaped by commercial practice.

The urge to redefine employment relations in the academic world, where they have evolved on centuries old lines and remain in many ways unique, is understandable. In many countries no contracts exist for permanent staff and the tenured teacher, barring gravely unprofessional conduct, is assured of his or her job in perpetuity. This practice is anathema to the administrator whose new brief is often to reduce costs and divert funds to facilities that enhance the more tangible attractions of the university in the scramble to attract students - 'customers' - and improve standings in the various league tables.

Lifetime employment is declining, even in business cultures such as Japan's, where it was once recognized as an effective management strategy. A survey in the late 1990s showed that half of the companies questioned there did not see it as a key element [31] Not surprisingly, universities across the world, operating in a deregulated field, are seeking cost advantages in recruiting new staff. This represents a shift away from an equal regard for capital and labour as factors of production towards a view of labour as an adjustable variable.

In a phase of sometimes crude and brutal experimentation, some universities have elaborated a core-periphery model of hiring wherein as much work as possible is contracted out on as short term a basis as possible in a more away from the academic sinecure model.

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29 I am indebted to the late Fernando Ferrara of the Istituto Orientale, Naples, for information on the institute during those years.

30 E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism' , *Past and Present*, no. 38 (1967).

31 John Benson and Philip Debroux, 'Human Resources Management in Japanese Enterprise: Trends and Challenges.' In C. Rowley (ed.) *Human Resources Management in the Asia Pacific Region. Convergence Questioned* (London, Cass, 1998), p.68.

The effects on the profession and on the quality of service are beginning to emerge, but are hard to assess as information gathering has been minimal and demoralization is difficult to quantify. England's Association of University Teachers sees accurate research on casualisation as a first step in determining its extent so as to proceed to counter its corrosive effects.

For England and Wales, information on hourly paid staff is not kept, but the most recent, probably conservative, estimate suggested a pronounced and rapid shift towards a casualised workforce. In 1998, in the older (pre 1992) universities, teaching staff were divided as; 66% tenured, 33% on fixed term contracts and 1% paid hourly. As of January 2001, 50% of Level 1 and 2 lecturers were on fixed term contracts, and 62% of teachers appointed in the last five years were on such contracts. Interestingly, only 36% of administrative and 30% of library staff were not employed on a permanent basis. This suggests that the burden of job security sacrifice at the altar of 'flexibility' is not being shared equally. A tentative estimate of the percentage of teaching done by the 'invisible' army of hourly paid staff is 19% in the pre -1992 university and 38% in the newer institutions.[32] It was not uncommon to find 'part time' hourly paid staff doing more teaching than a tenured faculty member in the institutions surveyed.[33]

The psychological effects of casualisation are difficult to ascertain as complex subjectivities are involved, but the early researchers in the field are adamant that a 40-50% turnover rate among hourly and fixed term contract teachers sensing no chance of promotion shows the tendency is 'to move out, not move on':

Havoc is wreaked by the exodus of valuable expertise. Morale plummets as the contracts of colleagues are axed. The fabric of higher education is torn apart as academic freedom and collegiality evaporate. Employers are sitting on a time bomb of their own making.[34]

Despite an increase in aggregate funding, a zeal for cost- efficiency has sometimes led universities to cross the borderline of legality. One English female lecture interviewed described the practice of giving renewable eleven month contracts; the interruption was wrongly assumed by certain universities to absolve then of responsibility for social security benefits.[35] Forcing teachers to sign unfair dismissal waivers as a condition of employment is another widespread and illegal practice in European universities, while the well known case of Italy's Ministry of Universities' downgrading of foreign lecturers to laboratory technician status awaits judgement at the European Court of Justice.[36] This unfortunate tendency to exploit and attack the vulnerable may be rooted both in a wish to delineate the core and the

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32 Colin Bryson, 'The Rising Tide of Casualisation' in *Autlook* (January 2001), pp.5-6.

33 Ibid.

34 Chris Kynch and Alan Williams, 'Representing Members' *Autlook* (January 2001), p.14.

35 Ibid.

36 ALLSI, Italy's Association of Foreign Language Lecturers maintains websites for information on this.

periphery of university staff structures and a frustrated desire on the part of administrations to impose greater quantitative workloads on the academic, long considered as a privileged and relatively 'unproductive' category of professional. One researcher noted that it seemed universities actually welcomed and consciously exploited the financial insecurity of impermanent staff.[37]

Whatever the rationale, the figures suggest that most teaching in universities in the future will be done by non-tenured staff. It is questionable whether such figures can maintain commitment with avenues to promotion closed and little to motivate them but economic need. One female lecturer who gave up a tenured post when her husband was transferred, described her 'portfolio' of jobs in different universities at varied rates of pay, sometimes in a research capacity where she is paid less than the national minimum wage. Her contribution to publications is never acknowledged yet she is unable to refuse work on any terms. As a result, she spoke of herself as an 'academic prostitute'.[38] Another disturbing observation emerging from this recent exploration of the casualised teaching force was made by the freelance journalist, Francis Beckett.

But perhaps the worst thing of all is that every single contract lecturer and researcher I spoke to was very anxious that no one should ever find out that they had told me how they were treated. That's the result of their insecurity, and of the cynical way their superiors use that insecurity.

This fear of becoming a known trouble maker, an 'untouchable' in terms of employment, does not bode well for labour relations and the climate in which teaching and research will evolve in England's universities in the near future.[39]

Human Resources Management in The University

At a time when evidence suggests a hardening of attitudes towards the professional figure of the academic in the modern university, the recent announcement from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology of its imminent cost free distribution of almost all its courses, raises the interesting question of what the university is to 'sell' in the future.

M.I.T will create openly accessible web sites for its courses, lecture notes, syllabuses, exam simulations and even video lectures. In contrast to the sale of on- line courses by other universities, there will be no charge but no credits will be offered. Course materials are intended to serve as a starting point for teacher-student inter-action elsewhere. When asked if the scheme would not deter students from paying the institute's tuition fees, the president replied:

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37 Francis Beckett, The Truth Exposed, *Autlook* (January 2001), p.8.

38 Ibid., 9.

39 Beckett, op. cit., p.10.

Absolutely not... Our central value is people and the human experience of faculty working with students in classrooms and laboratories, and students learning from each other...I don't think we are giving away the direct value, by any means, that we give to students.[40]

If, on the one hand, the above demonstrates an appreciation of the importance of the human element in the university experience, on the other it is widely accepted that the job security of the academic will inevitably diminish, so we are left with the problem of motivating those not at the secure centre of the institution. Here lies the challenge to management. Clearly, the exploitation of simpler needs and fear described in the recent English research is a poor basis from which to depart.

In this context, Winstanley and Stoney's recent review of progress in 'the stakeholder debate' is useful. The article attempts to bring greater conceptual precision to the notions of both 'inclusion' and 'stakeholding'. Returning to Bowlby's notion that attachment and reciprocity form the basis from which the individual can become committed to membership of a community, the authors explore the implications for leadership and motivation of fostering a sense of belonging, shared goals, and a participant voice and examine the ethical framework of labour relations. They perceive three sources of hostility to the principle of inclusion and the stakeholder approach at work.[41]

The first is the shareholder school of thought that sees inclusion as a threat to competitiveness and damaging to the interests of the organization's 'shareholders'. Where the university is concerned, ambiguity surrounds the question of where accountability lies and whether there are financial 'shareholders'. Whatever the reasons for which universities seek accumulated capital reserves, research on companies shows that long term attention to members' needs and interests can generate synergies of cooperation and information that give a greater flexibility in a changing environment that enhances profit-making capacity. This seems especially important in the university where expertise is so often wasted, and goodwill is so essential..

The second attack is from the left which views stakeholding as the latest in a long line of management strategies to co-opt and control the worker. In contrast to the first view that says the shareholder approach should not be challenged as it damages capitalism, in this argument it is considered futile to do so since the interests of capital and labour are diametrically opposed. Those working towards change in higher education in industrialized democracies are unlikely to be convinced by its economic determinism. Although many academics are distressed by recent managerial approaches, the vast majority do not perceive the employer in this case as a hostile monolith or an ancient class enemy.

The third criticism directed against the advocates of 'inclusion' concerns its conceptual vagueness. The

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40 *Herald Tribune-Asahi Shimbun, April 5* 2001.

41 Winstanley and Stoney, op. cit., p.249.

term has been used to inform company mission statements, to guide practical change and even as a clarion call for the transformation of modern capitalism. As Winstanley and Stoney point out , 'Employers and managers can be encouraged to move in the direction of inclusion voluntarily or can be forced by legislation or other means.' [42] British employers, including universities, have been prosecuted for unfair dismissal under new European directives which have altered workers' rights on such matters as minimum wages, paternity leave, and employee participation in decision making.

Given the respect, not to mention resources, accorded them by society, universities should be in the forefront in providing examples of enlightened practice. To find their administrations operating with scant regard even for minimally acceptable legislative standards is deeply disturbing. The question arises as to whether some form of administrative code of practice, enforced by economic incentives and deterrents might be beneficial in curbing rogue behavior.

Segue

In responding to a social environment with ever fewer certainties, it seems the university must seek clear but not rigid lines along which to move. The first step is to establish the centrality of human resources in the development of higher education in the future. This calls for a respect for human needs, interests and diversity. If this is not demonstrated in practice, the sense of isolation and frustration at the periphery will lead to widescale desertion by the competent and create a new profile of the part-time university teacher, chosen like an emergency plumber for his or her low cost, availability and low aspirations.

An encouragement of reciprocal loyalty brings greater long term mutual benefit to both parties in employment practice than the time based, 'no strings on either side', arrangements under which an increasing amount of teaching is done.

Transparency is a highly desirable feature in establishing where the ultimate responsibility of the university is seen to lie. In difficult times, morale is damaged when it is felt that there is unequal sacrifice among staff, evident in high pay differentials and blatantly unequal conditions.

The area of evaluation and performance assessment, with associated suggestions of the introduction of merit pay, is extremely sensitive, and is more fairly approached on a collective rather than an individual basis.

Where possible, a unified sense of a shared mission for universities in society is preferable to the individual- competitive vision now predominant as struggles for student enrolment and funding intensify.

A new model of leadership, and a less hierarchical structure of authority is called for, while it is vital for

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42 Ibid., p.257.

manager to have a shared experience of the stress, demands and satisfactions of the educational engagement.

Perhaps the critical point is that there be a return to the *gestalt* of management, and a vision of the educational process as a unified whole.

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