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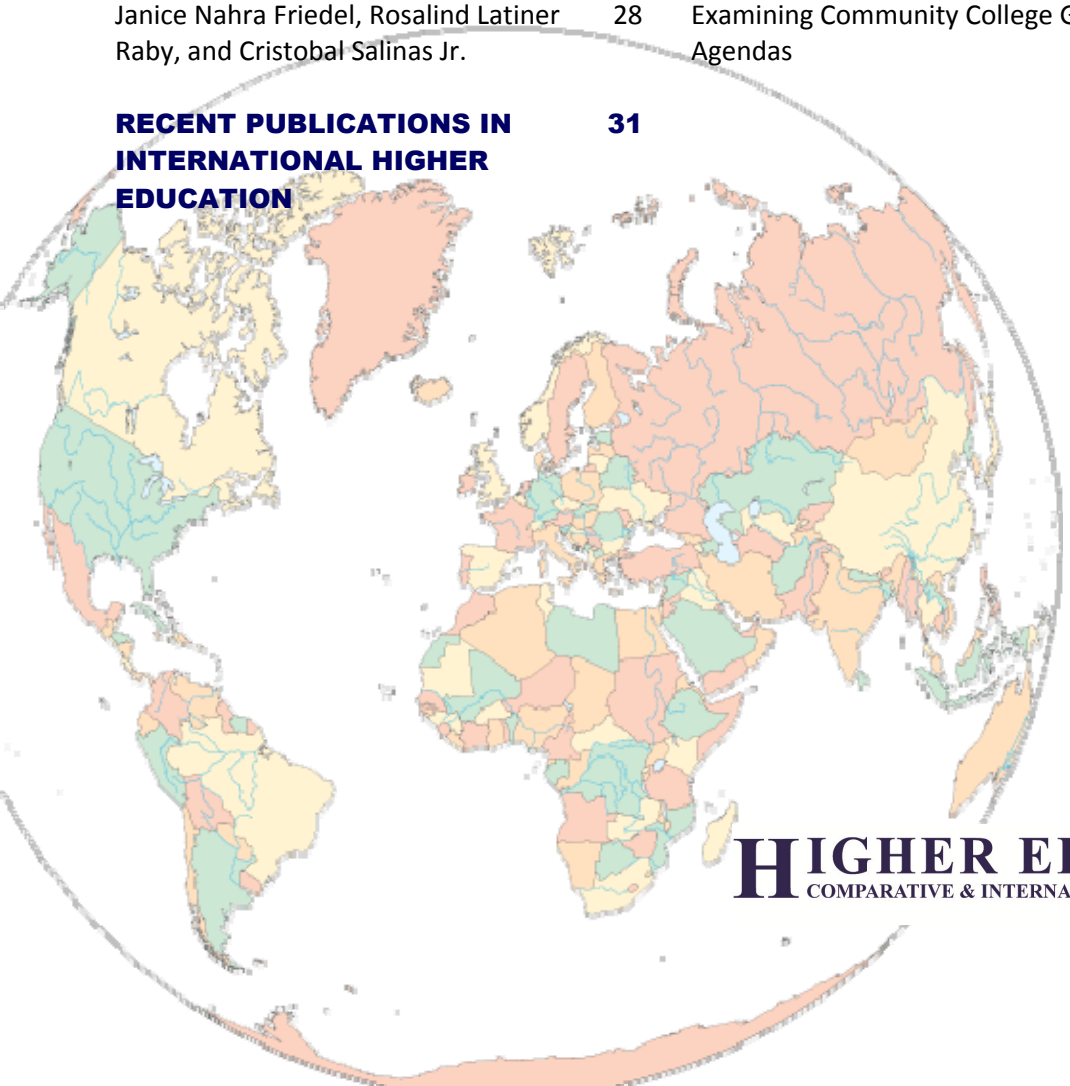

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The Development of Hybrid Colleges in China: A Neo-Institutionalism Perspective

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In the past decade, China has witnessed unprecedented higher education expansion. The total enrollment has grown from 6.23 million in 1998 to 33.25 million in 2012. As Philip Altbach (2002) argued, a central characteristic of mass higher education systems is differentiation. Mass higher education in China has mainly been achieved through differentiation: expansion in public non-elite local universities, development in newly restructured vocational colleges, and flourishing of the private sector, in which a new hybrid type of college, the private-run second-tier college affiliated with a public university (named *duli xueyuan*, independent college), is an important component.

These independent colleges are run as self-financing entities and operated on market principles. The tuition is twice as high in these independent colleges and student intake is at a lower academic level than at the public universities. But the public universities are expected to assure basic academic quality at these colleges (Liu 2012). Emerging in the 1990s, this type of college has grown rapidly during the massification process. Its numbers had increased to 309 by 2011, enrolling more than half of the student population in the regular programs in the private sector and nearly 12 percent of the national total.

Being perceived as an innovative approach to expand higher education with less public funding, this new hybrid type of college has raised lively debates about credentials, quality, and equity issues. Research on independent colleges, however, is an underexamined area. This study intends to analyze the rationale and dynamics in the development of these colleges through the lens of neo-institutionalism.

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Theoretical Framework

Institutional theories argue that institutions are not only "property" but also "process." Change in institutions starts with the process of the de-institutionalization of the existing institutions, and encompasses construction, institutionalization and maintenance (Meyer and Rowan 1977), which build on the bases of interactive and competitive power dynamics (Alexander 1995).

Neo-institutionalism extends "old" institutionalism by emphasizing cultural-cognitive elements as important symbolic forces to the regulative and normative framework, and connecting structure with behaviors of organizations. The bases of legitimacy for the change associated with regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements are different: the regulatory emphasis is on conformity to rules. A normative conception stresses a deeper, moral base for assessing legitimacy. Normative controls are much more likely to be internalized. A cultural-cognitive view points to the legitimacy that comes from conforming to a common definition of the situation, frame of reference, or a recognizable role or structural template (Scott 2008, p. 61). Disputes at a cultural-cognitive level may lead to conflict or even crisis in a new institution.

De-institutionalization of the Public Monopoly of Chinese Higher Education

The organizational design of independent colleges functions in a context where public higher education provision was insufficient while demand was massive in China (Pan and Wu 2004). The government adopted a strategy of allowing nongovernmental capital to pour into education (Zhang 2009). The first private college was established in 1992 after a 30-year discontinuity of private higher education in the socialist regime. However, the deinstitutionaliza-

tion of public monopolization in the education domain was not without tension. Governments were cautious about encouraging private education because of the concern of losing control, and people did not trust those institutions much due to the socialist ideology. This is the reason, when private institutions re-emerged in 1982, they called themselves "*minban*" (people run) rather than "private." This context promoted the creation of a hybrid type.

The first independent colleges were established and this new type of organization spread rapidly in the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, where the forms of economic entities were diverse, government intervention was relatively weak, and nongovernmental capital was sufficient. Meanwhile, high proportion of the population had financial means paying for education (Mok 2009).

Zhejiang University City College was one of the first of such colleges. It was set up in collaboration between the Hangzhou Municipal Government, Zhejiang University and Zhejiang Telecom Industry Corporation. The establishment of City College was decided in line with the overall planning of a new Zhejiang University, into which four universities merged to form a comprehensive institution aiming at "world-class" status. City College became the solution for reallocating superfluous staff. It also provided more undergraduate programs for local students with less government funding, which met the pressing demand for higher education in the region without degrading quality in the major programs of the university. Meanwhile, it was expected to generate income for the university as well as the investor, and to feed the need of the company for highly skilled manpower (Liu and Jia 2003). Therefore, City College was a product of a resource-driven cooperation.

The reputation and resources of the public universities, the flexible quasi-market mechanism of operation and the capacity for mobilizing external resources make this hybrid out-weigh their private counterpart in recruiting students. Independent colleges became increasingly popular in China during the massification process.

The Development of Independent Colleges

The development of independent colleges can be viewed as a process of the institutionalization of a new approach of financing and managing higher education. This process experienced three stages reflecting the dynamics in the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive legitimatization.

First Stage (1990s-2002): Rapid Growth in Uncertainty

In this stage, the establishment of an independent college only needed approval from the Educational Bureau of the provincial government, the same requirement as for establishing a new second-tier college rather than going through an accreditation process. The legal status and property rights of the independent colleges were unclear.

Because there was no standardized certification for this new type of organization, some independent colleges offered diplomas in the name of their affiliated public universities, while others did so in their own name. The absence of government regulation led to uneven quality among independent colleges and devalued their credentials. Nonetheless, independent colleges flourished because of the massive demand for higher education in the absence of government control. This phenomenon can be seen as an organizational imitation among universities due to the uncertainty of the environment, as DiMaggio and Bowell (1983) indicate.

Having rapidly developed, this new public-private partnership in tertiary education had not yet been legitimatized by government regulation, nor normatively and culturally accepted in the society. The growth of independent colleges raised extensive debates on the issues of educational quality and equity, as well as disputes about the relationships between independent colleges and their affiliated public universities, investors, other private HEIs, and governments. These debates reflected the competing interests among stakeholders, and revealed conflicts within normative and cultural-cognitive levels, such as the belief in higher education as a public good versus a commodity, and the conflict of academic culture and profit-driven pursuit.

Second Stage (2003-2008): Regulation and Unsolved Deep Level Conflicts

To address these debates, and to rectify the disorder caused by the absence of regulation, the Ministry of

Education (MOE) issued *Enhancing Regulation on Independent College Operated with New Mechanism by Public University* in 2003. The definition of this hybrid was clarified. It also set up five principles: autonomy in administration, legal status, awarding diplomas independently, separate campuses, and independent financial management. The operation of independent colleges should be based on contracts which articulately define the legal efficacy of obligations, rights, and benefits of both sides of the public university and private investor. The governing board was legitimatized as the governing structure of the independent colleges.

During this period of time, governments set the rules for the establishment and operation of independent colleges. However, the legitimacy of an institution cannot be effectively established by regulative power alone. Moreover, the implementation of these rules was problematic when supervision was weak and stakeholders lacked a common definition of the situation and framework for action.

One problem was the normative and cultural conflicts between public university and private investor. Public universities tended to practice more quality control because the independent colleges bear their names, while the external investors tended to treat the colleges more like businesses and expected to gain returns as fast as possible (Lu 2009). When the competition for recruiting students intensified due to the rapid expansion, organizational behaviors of breaching regulations frequently happened in independent colleges: cheating in recruitment activities, over-charging fees from students, violating rules of financial management, and so on (Song 2004). These problems undermined the legitimacy of the new institution. To rectify this, the MOE carried out a system-wide project to assess and re-accredit independent colleges. Among 360 independent colleges, more than 100 running below the minimum standards were closed and other 249, which met the criteria, got approval (Liu 2005).

In this stage, independent colleges went through a rough breaking in. Rules and ways were formed by the negotiation of multiple forces, for instance, government regulation, market competition, public opinions, interests of public universities, investors and education consumers. Nonetheless, normatively and culturally the legitimacy of independent colleges was far from being established.

Third Stage (2009-present): Break Through or Fall Through?

After a decade of experimentation, independent colleges were still struggling with some fundamental divarication: incompatibility in norms and cultures within the owners of independent colleges, appeals for equal treatment from the private sector, and pressure from public opinion about quality and equity, and so on. All the conflicts are surrounding the normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the type of organization and its mechanism of operation.

To solve the problem, the MOE issued *Regulation on Establishing and Managing Independent College* in 2008. This policy document set an explicit agenda for independent colleges' transformation to private institutions within a five-year timeline. It also stipulated that public universities were to be owners who can gain a return from the balance after reduction based on *The Law to Promote Private* (*Minban*) *Education* (2003) from their non-material input, for instance, brand name and intellectual property rights. Independent colleges should pay for the utilization of the infrastructure, resources, and curricula of the public universities in accordance with contracts, so as to prevent public assets from being misappropriated.

By the end of 2012, only 25 independent colleges have transformed into private colleges. The majority of independent colleges are still straddling. Public universities do not want to lose the tens of millions annual "management fees" they can charge to their independent colleges. Private investors lack motivation, because they are afraid the independent colleges will be short of enrollment due to losing the prestige of their public partners thus reduce their investment return. Independent colleges have the same concern over the drop in enrollment and some have difficulties in meeting the criteria set by the government to establish an independent HEI, which are higher than those set at 2003 for an

independent college as a second-tier college within a public university (Tang and Xu 2012).

Conclusions

The emergence and development of the hybrid type of independent colleges in China are the result of inductive forces rather than coercive forces. Exogenous factors (e.g., economic and social development, demand for more learning opportunities) coupled with endogenous ones (e.g., generating revenue, diverting surplus teaching staff, new channel of investment, and coping with the pressure of enrollment expansion from the local authorities) jointly led to the creation of this hybrid.

As a new approach to public-private partnership in managing and financing higher education, independent colleges have effectively expanded higher education provision with limited public funding. However, it is difficult for them to be normatively and culturally accepted in the society. As a compromise, an agenda to transform them into private institutions has been set up. The implementation of this policy is unsatisfactory so far due to the lack of incentive.

The implications of this analysis for policy making and implementation include considering the normative and cultural-cognitive influences for change, being consistent throughout time, and being fully aware of the "economic man" nature of stakeholders and employing strategies to promote their motivation to implement the policy.

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A Necessary Evil—Revenue Diversification for Higher Education

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Harvard's 1963 brochure to prospective applicants had a passage that said: "Wealth like age does not make a university great. But it helps." Certainly, resources are vital to the survival of institutions, but can resources alone make an institution? The financial deterioration of higher education worldwide has led to what I would call a Catch-22 predicament. In the face of reduced public subsidies, the survival of higher education depends on institutional ability to expand revenue bases. Hence in a financial conundrum, institutions characteristically pursue supplementary income. In so doing, they become more market like, they expand, and they differentiate. However, this quest for money can be "a root of all kinds of evil." Some institutions eager to diversify their revenue sources meander so far away from their missions and objectives adopting divergent missions. Weisbrod, Ballou, and Asch (2008) succinctly caution that revenue diversification can be a double-edged sword that at times bears unintended consequences. It must, therefore, be prudently approached.

When one thinks about higher education, a major concern is the balancing of educational cost and quality with the cumulative demand for participation. Higher education has become crucial to individuals and economies especially with the advent of the information age. In many societies education especially at the higher levels is considered to be a means to opportunity including growth, economic advancement, and social status. Inevitably the popularity of higher education has placed it in financial jeopardy, with demand exceeding supply and costs skyrocketing. Contrary to the laws of supply and demand, despite dwindling financial resources and increasing costs, the demand for participation persists. In extreme cases higher education is becoming elusive to those with economic hardships. There is also a growing apprehension about how, or rather, if all students from diverse subpopulations will be able to afford an investment in higher education. The challenge, therefore, is how to ensure equitable access to quality higher education to a competitive level globally, and to satisfy the present demand. Given the resource dynamics that most institutions face, it is almost impossible to ensure equitable access and retain quality without extra revenue.

Resources are vital to the success of institutions that depend on resources for survival; therefore, depriving them of critical resources causes uncertainty and threatens the existence of institutions. Institutions face challenges and vulnerability when resources become scarce, and have to be sought from diverse alternative sources (Jaeger and Thornton 2005). In order to survive, institutions must ensure a continuous flow of resources. This undeniably calls for substantial, varied and steady sources of revenue to meet the presented demand for participation.

In addition, there is an interaction between institutions and their environments. Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) do not operate in a vacuum, nor are they autonomous. They depend on the environment in multiple ways. Consequently, institutional behavior is inevitably constrained and shaped by the requirements and pressures of the actors within their surroundings. HEIs can only be effective to the extent that they can successfully meet the demands of those significant others in their environments who support their continued existence through resource provision. This is the principle of the Resource Dependency Theory (RDT) first promulgated by J. Pfeffer and G. R. Salancik (1978) and recently improved on by Pfeffer (2005).

In the view of RDT, the extent to which institutions are dependent on their environments especially for revenue and how that dependency impacts institutional activities must be acknowledged. This will enable an examination of higher education funding with a specific

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focus on revenue sources. Moreover, RDT merges several theoretical ideas that emphasize environmental influences as a pathway to understanding organizational behavior, and its interdependence with the surroundings. RDT further clarifies the influence of external actors on organizational decisions, the range of organizational attempts to reduce external control, and reserve autonomy, and how environmental constraints and institutional interdependence affect internal organizational dynamics (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Pfeffer 2005).

Since sources of revenue can explicate institutional behavior, a resource dependence perspective can greatly enrich any discussion that explores the relationship between HEIs and their revenue sources. In this case, RDT improves our understanding of varied institutional responses to resource decline. Institutions respond differently to pressures arising from reduced government subsidies. Dependence on particular sources for resources entails acceding to the demands of those sources. Therefore the expectations of revenue providers obviously influence institutional goals and activities. RDT further elucidates the internal institutional dynamics in response to external pressures. It stipulates that the internal units that can most successfully contribute to the provision of resources are more dominant than others. That would explain why some programs are de-emphasized in favor of those that procure more awards, gifts, contracts, and tuition (Cameroon 1983; Leslie et al. 2012; Pfeffer 2005).

Overall, resource decline is also likely to affect institutional decisions. The challenge institutions face in making decisions under financial constraints is that of inconsistent demands and expectations from innumerable stakeholders. Indeed, dependence on external and diverse sources of revenue is likely to change the nature and missions of public HEIs and their public benefits. While institutions constantly try to manipulate and to shape their environments to make them more benevolent, the environment may in turn demand certain actions from the institutions in return for their generosity. Inescapably institutional behavior will be influenced by those that control the resources an institution requires (Leslie et al. 2012; Pfeffer 2005).

It makes strategic economic sense for institutions to differentiate their revenue sources in times of resource decline, especially due to reduced public subsidies. However, some of the known responses can be censured because of their implications on access, affordability and quality. For instance, most institutions resort to academic capitalism, program differentiation, cost sharing, and privatization. Not only does academic capitalism distort the goals of education, it may also compromise institutional integrity and academic quality with institutions trying to provide (fast) education, hurriedly and cheaply. Correspondingly, privatization and cost sharing theoretically increase opportunities by absorbing the excess demand for participation. However, excessive cost sharing and privatization place education, whether public or private, out of the reach of disadvantaged students. While students from upper and middle socioeconomic statuses can pay to study at affluent top institutions, those from the low social economic strata can hardly afford public institutions. Paradoxically, privatization may defeat its purpose by basically raising the water level for students sinking in the pool of exorbitant college costs (McMahon 2009). The alternative revenue sources moreover need to be adequately managed and closely monitored before they can be understood and harnessed for public good.

Similarly, changes in resource bases for HEIs are leading to revisions in programs. Recent students are becoming significant to institutional survival as institutions depend more and more on tuition as a source of revenue. Tuition paying students strategically choose programs they believe will increase their employability and returns on investment. Institutions are consequently pressured to emphasize potentially lucrative and vocationally oriented programs that students are more interested in while de-emphasizing the less lucrative programs such as the humanities. Therefore, the dependence on external revenues and the focus on revenue prospects have contributed to a weakening of the humanities at many institutions (Taylor et al. 2013).

Not all students can afford to pay for the "marketable" programs and many of them are actually ineligible to study such programs because of their academic capabilities. For that reason, ignoring the humanities limits

access in the sense that student choices are lessened, raising an additional issue of "access to what" on top of access. It is not that those courses are not offered but students do not want to pay a lot of money in tuition for courses that are considered worthless in the job market. Moreover, in a broader sense, ignoring the humanities may also constitute restrictive and costly economic policy. Unlike science fields that require large appropriations, the humanities are low-cost and therefore a cost-effective way of generating revenue in the long term (Taylor et al. 2013). The humanities generate revenue from their clients (students), most of which is not expended on the humanities because the cost of teaching art subjects is relatively low compared to teaching practical subjects. On the contrary, science fields incur extramural and indirect costs above what they generate from tuition, grants or otherwise. In fact, the sciences spend more revenue than they generate, and have to tap into the humanities funds. Additionally, science courses take longer (time to graduation), revenue from research is almost nonexistent in some contexts, and it is not instant. As being tuition the only stable source of revenue, it would make rational and strategic sense to emphasize fields like the humanities with low operational costs and more immediate albeit invisible benefits. Hence the humanities need to retain a legitimate right to a substantial portion of institutional emphasis and resources (Newfield 2009).

By and large, institutions confronted by the murkiness of resource decline are hauled in conflicting directions by the mutually inclusive forces of mission and money. For higher education to meet the demand for access, equity, and quality, income hubs must be expanded and a constant flow of resources maintained. Nevertheless, revenue diversification becomes problematic when institutions respond in ways that devalue educational goals and outputs. While, institutions must be flexible, innovative, and proactive in their responses to resource decline, they must correspondingly prioritize the mission and goals of education and of individual institutions. I subscribe to institutions developing ways of utilizing the private sector for public benefit. Yet, they have a duty to elevate their missions, their core business, and the essence of their existence above revenue diversification. After safeguarding their viability by implementing approaches that preserve valid educational goals, and emphasize value rather than productivity. Institutions can then expand their traditional roles and functions and diversify their revenue bases. In that way, when higher education stops turning, we may still remember which direction it was headed.

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Science and Higher Education Policy and Scientific Inquiry: Chilean and Colombian Private Universities Compared

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Academics and practitioners usually explain the expansion of research activities at private universities through referring to so-called best practices implemented by university administrators. This mainstream practitioners' approach, represented by the classic works of Burton Clark (1998, 2004) on entrepreneurial universities and more recent studies on world-class universities by Philip Altbach and Jamil Salmi (Altbach and Salmi 2011, 2007) claim to identify administrative practices that are believed to improve financial sustainability and research capacities of universities. An alternative view, based on an instrumentalist perspective of sociologist of science Joseph Ben-David (Ben-David 1960; Ben-David and Zloczower 1962) allows focusing on the role of governments in establishing the conditions for the development of research activities in the private sector. This alternative approach can offer conceptual tools for practitioners interested in incentivizing the teaching or research profile of their universities.

I will compare these competing explanations through contrasting both the government's strategies and the scientific production of Chilean and Colombian private higher education sector. Based on the encountered similarities and differences, I claim that research production in the private sector is mainly explained by the role of governments in creating a stable market that financially supports scientific inquiry.

Differences in the Institutionalization Process

Chile and Colombia have developed remarkable different expansive trends in the institutionalization of research activities. The diverse indicators of scientific production such as articles, books, and patents provide evidence about this contrasting development. Chilean private universities, on the one hand, increased publications from 330 in year 1980 to 3,179 in 2011 (ISI Web of Knowledge 2013). Colombian private universities, on the other hand, only published 16 papers in the SCI in 1980 and increased this number to 942 in 2011. Chilean private universities count 167 published books in the Book Citation Index-S and 13 registered patents (World Intellectual Property Organization 2013). Colombian private universities have published 38 books and successfully registered new patents.

Convergent Discourses

The differences in the engagement of universities in establishing a research infrastructure clearly cannot be explained by variances in the social rhetoric supporting research. On the contrary, both Chilean and Colombian governments and university administrators have developed rhetoric on the viewed need of developing a research infrastructure in private and public higher education sector. This statement is in the same line of a neo-institutional view to the organization of scientific activities. Neo-institutional authors writing on the topic of university research (Drori, Meyer, and Hwang 2006; Krücken 2003) have already acknowledged isomorphic trends in scientific rhetoric and challenged the coupling between the formal structures and research production.

At the governmental level, both Chilean and Colombian governments have founded in earlier stages scientific agencies with a national agenda of promoting university search: *CONYCIT* and *Colciencias* were founded in parallel in 1967 and 1968. The role of research as a main governmental strategy is outlined decades later in Chilean *FONDEYT* and Colombian Law 29, established in 1982 and 1990 respectively. More

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recently, the policy rhetoric has favored the idea of innovation. Both the policy documents of the Chilean *National Council of Innovation* (*Consejo Nacional de Innovación*) and the Colombian policies *Colombia Builds* (*Colombia Construye*) y *Sowing Future* (*Siembra Futuro*), stated in 2005 and 2008 respectively, provide a main role to universities in the creation of basic and —specifically—applied research.

The viewed need of developing a research mission in universities can also be acknowledged at the university level. The research mission can be viewed in my previous analysis (Pineda 2013) on the transformations of university structures: a total of 56 and 83 private universities in Chile and Colombia, respectively, had 19 and 23 research vice-presidents and six and one technology transfer offices. My recompilation and analysis of mission statements allows us to show that half of the Chilean private universities and more than two-thirds of the Colombia peers had a research mission statement. In other words, representatives of Chilean and Colombian universities do not differ in their belief that universities from the private and public sector should adopt a research mission.

Differences in the Institutional Frameworks

Given these common patterns in the political rhetoric, the paradox raised in this paper still remains opened: how can the differences in research outputs be explained, and how can this analysis serve for drawing general conclusions about the conditions that favor the institutionalization process? I claim that the explanation relies in the differential regulatory frameworks of governments. More specifically, in the long-term policy instruments—funds for higher education, funds for basic and applied research, scholarships—that promote a market of academic competition in a select group of private universities. I will explain each of these aspects in more detail.

Performance-Based Funding

A first central difference among the studied countries is the emphasis on performance-based funding through mechanisms that create a market for acquiring further resources. Clearly, Chile has introduced a series of funds, which have been of crucial importance to enhancing scientific inquiry in a way that other countries in the region have seen as unnecessary. The mechanisms of the Chilean government for funding state-supported public and private universities and the competitive funds established by science policy have followed an underlying technical rationality that pressures universities to compete with each other. The government has directed these resources toward training new professors, establishing research infrastructure, and maintaining research projects, directed these funds.

In turn, the Colombian governmental discursive shift has not been coupled with the creation of strong mechanisms that support the transformation of universities into places of inquiry. This governmental discourse has been prone to adopt the terminology of new best practices but limited in the actual promotion of research activities, thus showing the "artificial character" (Uricoechea 1999, p. 20) of Colombian universities. Under these conditions, private universities have tended to develop more along the lines of the traditional teaching-oriented universities of the region.

Elitist Structure

A second explanatory factor is the differences in governmental decisions regarding the accumulation of resources in a selected group of universities. In this respect, the different governments have been inclined to choose a group of public and private universities to compete for research funds—what I call an elitist form of funding. This strategy has been carried out through governmental support of research at the universities of the so-called universities of the council of rectors (CRUCH) since 1954. This policy strategy explains the progressive way in which a select group of nine private universities, along with the 16 public universities (out of a total of 59 universities) has, over the decades, assembled a critical mass of experts capable of carrying out high level scientific inquiry. Government support for the development of research infrastructure at this group of private universities was augmented by a further differentiation of the CRUCH universities for the

provision of funds through the *Basal Performance Fund* (*Fondo Basal por Desempeño*) in 2012.

In Colombia, discussions about scientific policy strongly have been inclined to favor a democratic steering regarding resources for the different regions of the country. This conception is observed in the creation of the so-called regional commissions for science and technology (Decree 585 of 1990). Ever since, the debate about allocation of resources for research has tended to question the governments' commitment to a harmonious development of science across the country. This democratic rationale pursuing a balance of opportunities to the so-called "research groups" at universities has lead public attention to focus on the gaps between more and less industrialized regions of the country, rather than the national gaps at a global level. Most recently, the criteria established to steer the additional resources provided by the government through Law 1530 of 2012 also follow this democratic *rationale*.

Stability

A third very important aspect that can be highlighted from the comparison of Chile and Colombia is the stability of research funds. In Chile, government funds directed toward strengthening the scientific activities of public and private universities can be traced to the *University Building and Research Fund* (*Fondo de Construcción e Investigaciones Universitarias*) in 1954 and continued to be directed by the FONDECYT in 1982 and the subsequent programs in the 1990s. Thus, the government's relationship to scientific activity has clearly been far from *laissez faire* (Bernasconi 2003). The effects of this long-term policy stability are in line with the work of Douglass North (North 1990), who argues that permanence of rules and laws is a fundamental element in the development of markets.

In Colombia, additional funds for scientific infrastructure have fluctuated historically and depended on external credits (Jaramillo, Botiva, and Zambrano 2004). The varying funds provided by the Colombian government do not allow universities to count on governmental support for long-term projects. Colombian higher science policy has been highly permeable to policy fads adopted by successive governments.

Conclusions

In this paper, I developed a similar line of reasoning as the one followed by classic works of sociologist of science Ben-David (Ben-David 1960; Ben-David and Zloczower 1962) in order to explain the differences in the patterns of institutionalization of research of different developed countries. I followed this research tradition and argued that scientific productivity of the private sector can be explained through analyzing the conditions permitting scientific productivity. This way, I tackle the widespread assumption that private universities may develop a research mission solely by becoming more entrepreneurial and adopting supposed best-practices of research governance (Altbach 2007; Clark 1998).

Further research might investigate whether the aspects I have identified for the development of scientific inquiry can be generalizable to other sectors and geographic areas. It would be desirable, though, that they take into account a broad range of indicators of scientific production. This allows acknowledging the different dimensions of the institutionalization process and avoiding the trap of reporting the process solely based on the perception of the adoption of a political discourse, which I proved can be loosely-coupled to the daily lives at universities. Further research could also comprise the financial and regulatory frameworks in which universities are located. I believe that research following these guidelines may successfully contribute to the identification of the conditions under which university research develops. In this way, future research may also broaden the practitioner's view about the social desirability of fostering governmental support for research activities across private higher education, or only in a selected group of (private or public?) universities.

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Reform of Higher Education Institutes in Egypt

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Higher Education in Egypt

Higher education in Egypt leading to a bachelor's degree is accessible through the high number and variety of higher education establishments in the country. This variety of institutions includes 23 public universities (established and run by the government), 22 private universities (established and run by private consortiums sometimes in collaboration with foreign higher education colleges or universities, e.g., the British or German or Russian universities), and 150 private higher education institutes (established and run by non-governmental organizations). Students also have the choice to obtain degrees from the Workers University Al-Azhar University (in which enrollment is limited to graduates of the Al-Azhar school system) and the Egyptian E-Learning University. Alternatively, students can join the open learning programs offered by a number of public universities (e.g., Cairo university has many open learning programs in the liberal arts).

All institutions of higher education in Egypt operate under the umbrella of the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE). The Ministry grants operating licenses and recognizes degrees offered. Many new institutes were recently established delivering large numbers of graduates annually. Employers and syndicates expressed disappointment about the knowledge and skills of institutes' graduates. This was attributed to the lack of control by the Ministry over the teaching and learning processes taking place in the higher education institutes. This article discusses the new systems being introduced to the private higher education institutes in order to monitor, develop, and enhance the teaching and learning processes.

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Background on Private Higher Education Institutions

The Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) issues operating licenses to new institutions after submitting all necessary paperwork and conducting a site inspection by a team of experienced professors. Up until 1989 there were only four private higher education institutions; however the number of institutes continued to increase in yearly bases. At the turn of the century, there was a surge in the number of licenses issued to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) wishing to establish higher education institutes. These institutions were viewed as a good alternative to public universities, as they appeared to provide a solution toward reducing demand pressures on them.

Graduates of these institutions are awarded degrees that are recognized by the Supreme Council of Universities; hence, they can become members of professional syndicates and join the work force. The number of private higher education students by type of major offered as of March 2014, is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Specialization	Number of Enrolled Students
Business	175,693
Engineering	67,560
Hotel and Tourism	14,981
Social Work	79,143
Liberal Arts	3,638
Mass Communication	3,757
Applied Arts	1,902
Agriculture	8,073
Nursing	86

The distribution of institutes across the Egyptian governorates shows that 70 percent of these institutes operate in four cities which include the three cities of Greater Cairo Metropolitan (Cairo, Giza and Qalyubia), and Alexandria, the second largest city in Egypt. Very few institutes were founded in governorates with high poverty rates even when there are high population rates such as in the locations of Minya, Asyut, and Qena. This may be due to the lack of any student loans and financial aid, which deter needy students from enrolling in any higher education institutes especially private institutes. Student numbers suggest that students do not enroll in degrees that are in demand for the job market.

The Status of Higher Education Institutes Prior to 2013

Prior to 2013, the Ministry of Higher Education did not specify where the higher education institutions would be located or what degree programs needed to be offered by the new academic establishments. The decisions pertaining to these two critical issues were usually in the hands of the trustees of the founding NGO. In addition, the Ministry did not have any sort of monitoring system of the educational process in the institutes. All institutes lacked internal quality assurance systems. Accreditation was rather foreign to these institutes as none of them had sought accreditation. There were also problems in the number of students admitted, as observations revealed that most of these institutions were accepting more students than their actual capacity. This practice resulted in the general deterioration of the quality of higher education.

The quality of new graduates has been a concern that was raised by professionals in the field. The professional syndicates were increasingly becoming unsatisfied with the academic standards of the new institutes' graduates. For example, the Engineering Syndicate was considering denying graduates the right to membership**.**

Reform Initiatives

Strategic planning for higher education institutions is one of the reform initiatives introduced in an attempt to address the issue of quality in education in the country. These strategic plans were drawn to identify specialties needed and geographic locations for new cam-campuses. Student admissions for 2013-2014 were based on the number of faculty members and the surface area of educational facilities within each institute (Decree by Council of Higher Education Institutes at 29-1-2013 meeting). The Council of Higher Education agreed upon a plan to increase the faculty/student ratio for each educational specialty as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
APPROVED PLAN FOR FACULTY/STUDENT RATIO FOR EDUCATIONAL SPECIALTIES AND FUTURE ACADEMIC YEARS

Educational Specialty	2013-2014	2014-2015	2015-2016
Applied arts, engineering, agriculture and nursing	1: 75	1: 60	1: 50
Mass communication, liberal arts	1: 100	1: 80	1: 60
Social work, hotel and tourism and business	1: 150	1: 120	1: 100

In addition to the above decree to reform admission to private higher education institutions, there were other decrees issued during the year 2013 that aimed to improve the quality of education in these institutions as follows:

- Ministerial Decree No. 446 dated 19-2-2013 declared the need to establish a strict system for monitoring and control of the education process in all higher education institutes.
- Ministerial Decree No. 1945, dated 31-7-2013, made it obligatory for institutes to qualify for institutional and program accreditation. This was followed by Ministerial Decree 4445 dated 23-11-2013 which instructed institutes to seek technical support from the Projects Management Unit in the Ministry of Higher Education, in order to qualify for accreditation.

Monitoring and Control System

According to the Law No. 52 issued in 1970, the Ministry has the right to control and supervise all the affairs of institutions, such as educational matters, financial procedures, organizational functions and the like. However, the Ministry did not exercise this right until 2013. This monitoring system was set up and operated by the Ministerial Decree No. 446 dated February 19, 2013. It involves carrying out systematic visits to the institutes by reviewers appointed by the Ministry. It is worth noting that the reviewers are appointed as "Ministry Representatives" in the board of each institution they review. The details of the visits are as follows:

- One visit is to occur before the semester starts to evaluate the completeness of the course schedule, qualifications of part-time teaching staff, adequacy of teaching and learning facilities, and to ensure the institute is complying with health and safety measures.
- Up to three subsequent visits are to occur during the semester to check the compliance of the institutes with all procedures and educational standards including adherence to the scheduled courses and practicums, student's course work, student attendance, student complaints, and academic staff commitment. The reviewers visit the institute without prior notice during the semester.
- One visit is to occur during the final exams to check exam committees, behavior in the exam halls, cheating and chaos prevention measures, in addition to observing how exam papers are handled and processed. This visit takes place without prior arrangement.
- A last visit is to occur after the test results are released to ensure fair and ethical student evaluations.

The reviewers complete a standard check list, record their comments and sometimes also write a short report after each visit. Follow up letters are sent from the "Monitoring Department" at the Ministry to the institutes after each visit to inform them of the corrective measures needed, if any. Reviewers make sure that any corrective measures are put into action during subsequent visits. The cycle is repeated every semester to ensure continuous development and improvement.

Today, there are 66 reviewers applying this monitoring system, which covers all institutions across Egypt. All of the reviewers are "faculty members" with long teaching experience in public universities. Most of them are full professors, some of them are former or current heads of departments, vice deans or deans at their public universities. It also happens that a vice chancellor is appointed as reviewer, which is usually seen as a great honor to the monitoring and control system. Each reviewer is assigned up to four institutions; however a committee of two to five members may be assigned to large institutions.

Applying Quality Assurance Measures and Seeking Accreditation in Higher Education Institutes

Projects Management Unit (PMU) was established in 2002 after the National Conference for Education Development with the aim of reforming higher education in Egypt and addressing the 21st century challenges as announced in the Bologna process principles (1999) and in Prague (2001). It is a special unit operating within the Ministry of Higher Education in Egypt reporting directly to the Minister of Higher Education. One of the key projects that PMU has worked on was "Continuous Improvement and Qualifying for Accreditation CIQAP." The aim of this project was to provide technical support, monitor and evaluate the implementation of operational plans, which would lead to accreditation. PMU has, until November 2013, only worked with "Government Universities." However, since 2013 all higher education institutions were given the chance to seek support from PMU (Ministerial Decree 4445, dated November 23, 2013). A new project was launched: Competitive Excellence Project of Higher Education Institutions (CEPHEI).This project aims to increase the competitiveness of the Egyptian institutions of higher education in the international and regional job markets by:

- Promoting excellence and innovative practices in the fields of education, scientific research and society services.
- Facilitating sustainable development of the financial resources of higher education institutions.
- Creating and activating the channels of communication with civil society organizations, and national, and international higher education providers.

A series of meetings to cultivate awareness took place in December 2013 to introduce the technical support scheme. Representatives from all institutes attended those PMU meetings. Most institutes have now established a "Quality Assurance Unit" and are beginning to apply the accreditation requirements.

Concluding Remarks and Vision for the Future

The monitoring system has identified many problems and irregularities in the teaching and learning process. Change is being resisted by institutes, but the Ministry is determined to make progress by implementing the reviewers' recommendations. The review check lists, used by reviewers during the visits, are evaluated following each semester to refine the review system and make it more efficient and thorough. Requiring institutes to seek accreditation is another way to improve the academic standard of graduates. The concept of higher education accreditation is a recent development in the practices of education being introduced in Egypt. The institutes are likely to gradually employ these monitoring measures as the number of institutions that obtain accreditation represent institutions of higher quality based on the status of being a recognized accredited higher education institution. In addition, all Egyptians need to realize that unless quality education is offered and valued in this society, development plans will be hindered. It is the Ministry's vision that, in the future, private higher education institutions should serve national and international societies by offering distinguished education in co-operation with international education bodies.

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Benchmarking Governance: A Tool for Improved Practices and Networking among Higher Education Institutions in Lebanon

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Since 1866, the Lebanese higher education sector has been continuously growing and changing, reflecting both the country's development and evolving educational needs. Concurrent with these local developments have been international developments calling for increased openness and transparency in governance at higher education institutions (HEIs). It has been concluded that measuring governance and quality of service delivery is central to improving education outcomes (World Bank 2013). In the past decade, the higher education has grown massively, which resulted in persistent concerns related to quality and relevance. Recently, there have been numerous local efforts to monitor the quality of education rendered by HEIs in the country. This paper addresses how university governance has been assessed in 29 HEIs, using an instrument that takes into account the underlying principles of transparency, openness, accountability, and voice and participation of stakeholders in decision making.

Country Context

Higher education is marked by the founding in 1868 of the Syrian Protestant College, now known as the American University of Beirut. This initiative was introduced by foreign missionaries, who also established other similar institutions. In 1953, the Lebanese University, the only public university, was established. In 1955, the governance and legal framework of higher education was significantly changed with the establishment of the first Ministry of Education. In 1961, the government passed the first law regulating higher education. It was then modified in 1967 to incorporate new licensing procedures and regulations. The Lebanese government had indirect oversight of the universities and HEIs that were operating at that time through a number of national committees, such as the Engineering Practice Committee established in 1956, a joint committee in charge of the equivalence of all qualifications in both pre-university and higher education established in 1957, and the Examination Boards in Health Sciences such as the Colloquium Exams Committees in 1959. After the Civil War (1975-1989), which slowed down the activity of the higher education sector, the number of HEIs has increased, leading to an increase in the number of programs offered, enrollment, and graduates. This was coupled with the growth in student demand to attend higher education. Overall student enrollment in higher education increased 44.9 percent from 2003 to 2011; with 192,138 students enrolled in HEIs during the academic year 2010-2011 (Center for Educational Research and Development [CERD] 2011). Lebanon currently has 45 HEIs as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

CLASSIFICATION OF UNIVERSITIES IN LEBANON

Type	No.	Enrollment 2010-2011		
		M	F	Total
Public University	1	26,080	46,427	72,507
Private Universities (Licensed and operational)	31	61,780	50,646	112,426
Private University Institutes and Colleges	6	2,878	3,411	6,289
Private University Institutes of Theology	3	718	198	916
Private Universities (Licensed but not operational)	4	N/A	N/A	N/A

Sources: Ministry of Education and Higher Education (2012) and CERD (2011).

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The purpose of the first Ministry of Education was to establishing and regulating its central office, the Lebanese University, the directorate of elementary and intermediate education, vocational education, secondary education, and the programs on teacher preparation. The licensing procedures and other regulations introduced in 1967 to the Higher Education Law were further modified in 1996 and in 2007 to legitimize new institutions established. The Ministry was later changed into several ministries, to become what is today known as the MEHE, including a Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE) established in 2002. There are also a number of governing bodies that regulate the sector.

Governance of Higher Education Institutions

Private institutions do not directly report to nor are controlled by the MEHE. However, there exists an informal relationship between the Ministry and the institutions, which permit them to enjoy a high level of autonomy and maintain a liaison that facilitates communication and cooperation. The support committees at the Ministry are charged by various supervisory roles, such as licensing and starting-up new programs or institutions and the recognition of degrees in private institutes. The Ministry has recently drafted a law for the establishment of a National Agency of Higher Education Quality Assurance (QA).

A number of initiatives were launched collaboratively between the Ministry and international organizations that led to the creation of a culture of QA. Lebanon viewed the issue of university governance as one of the key drivers of reform. This is in alignment with the global consensus that university governance refers to how universities define their goals, implement them, manage their institutions and monitor their achievements (World Bank 2012). Most governance models are defined based on the tension or balance between: the state, market forces, and academic excellence and the capacity to exert academic freedom. The World Bank developed a University Governance Screening Card (UGSC), which was endorsed as a Regional Arab League Initiative at the biannual Conference of Arab World Minister of Higher Education in in December 2011. Governance at Lebanese universities, and other universities from the region, was measured through a multidimensional framework, particularly focusing on: the overall context; mission and goals of the institution; management orientation; the levels of academic, administrative, and financial autonomy; accountability; and participation in decision making at the institution.

Overview of Participating Lebanese Universities

The participating universities were classified according to their status, their age, the type of research the institution undertakes, and the size of the university. There were two groups of universities, nine older universities dating from before 1960, and 20 universities established between 1988 and 2003. In terms of size, seventeen small universities host less than 3,000 students, five average universities host around 5,000 students, four large ones host about 8,000 students, and three larger universities host between 11,000 and 17,000 students each. Almost all students at the participating institutions are full-time students. Most of the participating universities reported that they are engaged in both basic and applied research, while few describe their research orientation as only applied or basic. Only four do not consider themselves as research institutions (Table 2).

Overview of Survey Results

The results showed that the Lebanese private universities are very autonomous, have clarity in their mission and goals, and relatively good use of results-based management (World Bank 2012). The results also showed that these universities have fairly low accountability and low levels of participation. Lebanese universities seem to be among the most autonomous institutions across the region as shown in Figure 1. The institutions have the autonomy to introduce new programs and to develop their curriculum and teaching modes. However, it is crucial to have internal and external accountability systems in place when institutions have such high autonomy levels. This is particularly significant in a country where private funds are one of the major sources of financing higher education like Lebanon. Private universities do not receive any financial compensation from the government.

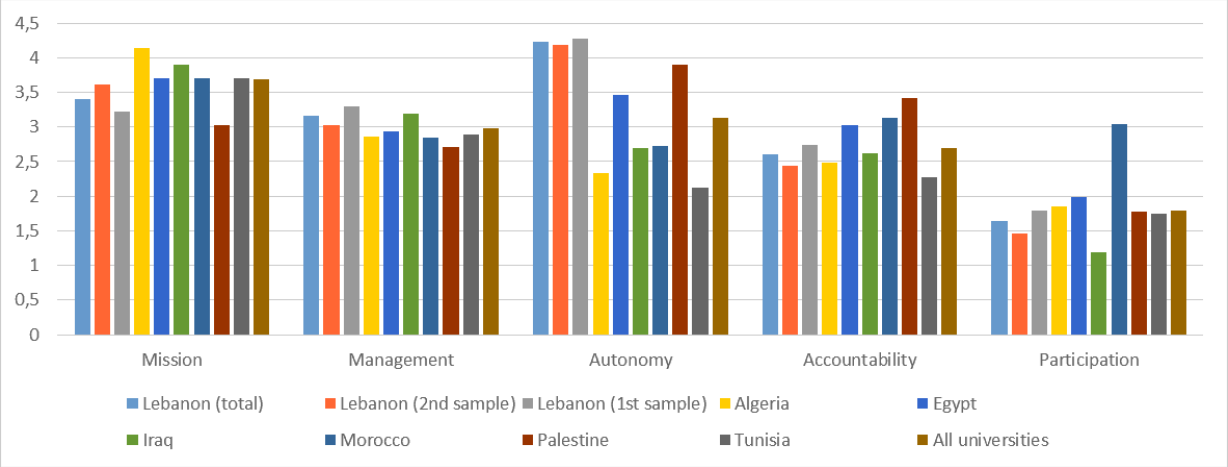
TABLE 2
MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNIVERSITIES IN THE LEBANESE SAMPLE

Status	**Public**	**Private non-for-Profit**	**Private for-Profit**	
	0	27	2	
Type of Research	**Applied**	**Basic**	**Both**	**None**
	4	4	17	4
Date of Establishment	**Average**	**Range**	**Before 1960**	**After 1988**
	1977	1866-2009	9	20
Number of Students	**Average**	**Range**	**Smaller than 6000**	**Larger than 6000**
	3,885	205-16,952	22	7

Source: World Bank (2013).

Therefore, students and their families carry the burden of funding higher education, while students at the public Lebanese University pay minimal registration fees. Low levels of participation across participating Lebanese universities may also indicate the need for increased accountability. This participation is particularly highlighted in the engagement of major stakeholders at the institution, where students, faculty members and others take part in decision making within the university.

FIGURE 1
REGIONAL ASSESSMENT SCORES UGSC



Source: World Bank (2013).

Lebanon's decentralized system, where private universities enroll 63 percent of all students, seems to allow its institutions to have good management practices, as reflected in the UGSC. Private universities have been pivotal in developing good practices in quality assurance. The survey showed that many of the participating universities use modern management tools and have strategic plans in place.

Outcomes: Networking among Higher Education Institutions in Lebanon

Regionally, Lebanon has joined the network of 113 universities that participated in the study of the UGSC. A national taskforce of experts from five local participating universities was appointed by the Ministry and granted full authority to continue working on issues of governance locally. The Taskforce began to propose

national activities for the participating institutions. Among these initiatives is the creation of a national network of HEIs, in collaboration with the DGHE, to further develop the efforts put forth for improved governance and quality assurance. The universities have now started working on institutional action plans that they will convene to discuss the progress of their planning as well as to share best practices.

It has been quite fruitful for universities to get together at national professional meetings. This would in turn allow institutions to showcase their best practices and learn about innovations for improving other areas of potential strength. This exchange is particularly significant within the Lebanese context, as the culture of competitiveness has been very strong among the institutions particularly that they are mostly private. The engagement of many of the local of universities in the UGSC allowed for a common language of discourse among them.

Concluding Remarks

Universities in Lebanon seem to be well grounded in their institutional management and clarity of missions and goals. However, there is a need to have standardized mechanisms for the regulation of services which in turn coordinate a national quality assurance system. The universities need to have increased transparency in their day-to-day management and results in order to maintain the strong academic reputation the Lebanese higher education system has been well known for. It has become increasingly challenging for graduates to find a job even a few years after graduation. Despite the challenge of employment, parents and students continue to invest in higher education. People continue to believe that investing in one's education leads to a better socio-economic status; however the current situation may change people's long held beliefs. Furthermore, Lebanon is no longer one of the few countries where people of the Arab World go for a higher education. Therefore, it is important to address issues of governance that have been highlighted through the UGSC as it strategizes the new plan for improving quality assurance, which will soon start with the launch of the National Agency for Higher education Quality Assurance.

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Strong Research Performers" vs. "Strong Teaching Performers" in European Higher Education: a Comparative Quantitative Perspective

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Introduction

Teaching and research are still the two fundamental dimensions of the academic enterprise, despite the increasing role of various, as they are termed in Europe, "third mission activities" (Kwiek 2013). Few academic studies of the academic profession have addressed the nexus of teaching and research from a consistently quantitative perspective. Most comparative studies available until recently were either focused on a small cluster of countries or based on qualitative material combined with publicly available statistical data. At a European level, studies were either of a general nature and based on often incompatible national methodologies, or referred to relatively simple, aggregated data produced by the OECD or the EUROSTAT, the European Commission's statistical office. This paper explores the teaching/research nexus in European systems through large-scale comparative data on the research and teaching time allocation (academic behaviors) and teaching or research role orientation (academic attitudes).

Traditionally, only research has been related to prestige, and prestige-seeking is the core of the academic enterprise. Reputation is "the main currency for the academic" (Becher and Kogan 1980, p. 103) and it derives from research rather than from teaching (Altbach 2007; Clark 1983, 1987). Individual research output makes a difference between high performers and low performers in science. The distinctiveness of European higher education has traditionally been in its ability to combine the two core university missions. The Humboldtian tradition in this respect has been surprisingly strong across Europe, but not in other world regions, especially not in developing countries expanding their higher education systems rapidly in the last few decades. Traditionally, the role of research in academia was clearly defined: as Clark formulated it, "it is research, as a task and as a basis for status that makes the difference. … The minority of academics who are actively engaged in research lead the profession in all important respects. Their work mystifies the profession, generates its modern myths, and throws up its heroes" (Clark 1987, p. 102). The academic prestige and institutional promotions in research universities are still related exclusively to research achievements. Research is done "in time freed from teaching," professors are "saving hours for research" and time spent on teaching is "time diverted," as Clark (1987, pp. 72-73) stressed. Faculty members, particularly in research universities, value research over teaching because, as Dill argues, among other things, "in competitive research and labor markets, which are becoming more common around the world, time spent on research can lead to increased grant revenue and future earnings for the individual faculty member" (Dill 2005, p. 181).

Data and Methods

Two recent large-scale comparative surveys of the academic profession, the *Changing Academic Profession* 2004-2012 (CAP) global project and the *Academic Profession in Europe: Responses to Societal Challenges* 2009-2012 (EUROAC), its European twin project, made comparative academic profession studies "data rich" for the first time. Both projects gave rise in the last few years to a long list of quantitative studies (Bentley et al. 2013; Cummings and Finkelstein 2012; Teichler et al. 2013). The global project is based on a survey of over 25,000 academics in 19 countries globally, and the latter is based on a survey of over 7,500 academics from five European countries. This paper

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uses data from the CAP and EUROAC datasets to discuss eleven European countries (the author was coordinating the Polish EUROAC research team in 2010-2012, with about 3,600 returned surveys). Both projects were using the same questionnaire, originally used in the 1992 Carnegie Foundation global survey of the academic profession. Consequently, we follow here the "Gold standard" in social sciences (and in higher education studies): research is based on primary data.

The paper uses three independent variables to explore four items of interest: total self-reported weekly work hours, total weekly self-reported hours spent in teaching (and those spent in research), and self-reported orientation to teaching vs. research. The three independent variables selected are academic field, gender, and age (for lack of space, we do not report findings on institutional type and career stage). Both descriptive statistics and logistic regressions for all countries were used but inferential results are not discussed here for the same reason. Please contact the authors should you wish to have this data. The eleven countries for which primary data is available represent all major European higher education models and come from all types of European welfare states systems.

Findings: Academic Behaviors

There is a clear distinction between two types of higher education systems in Europe. Both behavioral patterns (how academics work, expressed in working hours spread across different academic activities) and attitudinal patterns (what academics think, expressed in self-reported academic teaching/research role orientation) are consistently coherent across the two families of nations. Type 1 nations include Switzerland, Finland, Germany, Norway, the United Kingdom and Austria, and Type 2 nations include Poland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Ireland. We term Type 1 systems "strong research performers" and Type 2 systems "strong teaching performers." We make no reference to actual research output in two system types, though, which could also be a dependent variable defined through a composite "publication index."

In terms of academic behaviors, a paradigmatic Type 1 system of higher education is Switzerland, and a paradigmatic Type 2 system is Poland (Figures 1 and 2). The difference in the time allocation between teaching and research across the age groups of academics in both system types is striking: while in Switzerland "young academics" (a term we will use to refer to academics up to 39 years old) spend about 25 hours per week on research activities, in Poland they spend on research about half of that time (14 hours). At the same time, while Swiss young academics teach about seven hours per week, their Polish colleagues teach almost three times more (19 hours). In Switzerland, research time is sharply decreasing with age, while teaching time is sharply increasing with age. In Poland, in contrast, there is a stable distribution of teaching and research time across all age groups of academics: Polish academics are teaching about 20 hours per week and they are spending about 14 hours per week on research activities. There are no differences between the teaching and research time allocation between young, mid-career (academics in their 40s and 50s) and old academics (in their 60s). The two contrasting patterns of teaching and research behaviors are consistent across all eleven European systems studied, with some minor deviations.

Thus in Type 1 systems, in terms of time allocation, young academics are very high research performers (20-25 hours on average) and very low teaching performers (6-9 hours on average); and old academics are high teaching performers (18-20 hours on average) and low research performers (10 hours on average). Consequently, in Type 1 systems, there is a powerful intergenerational division of labor between young and old academics. Research time in such countries as Switzerland and Finland goes down drastically from about 25 hours per week (and in Germany, Norway, and the UK from about 20 hours) for young academics in their 20s and 30s to about 10-12 hours for academics in their 50s and 60s.

In all Type 2 systems, in contrast, both young and old academics are stable high teaching performers and stable medium (or low) research performers. The pattern of time allocation is constant across all age groups, with high teaching time (about 20 hours), and low research time: with only a small difference between Polish and Italian academics spending about 15 hours on research, and the other three countries (the Netherlands

FIGURE 1

HOW LONG DO FACULTY SPEND ON VARIOUS ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES (WHEN CLASSES ARE IN SESSION): BY AGE GROUPS (HOURS PER WEEK): SWITZERLAND

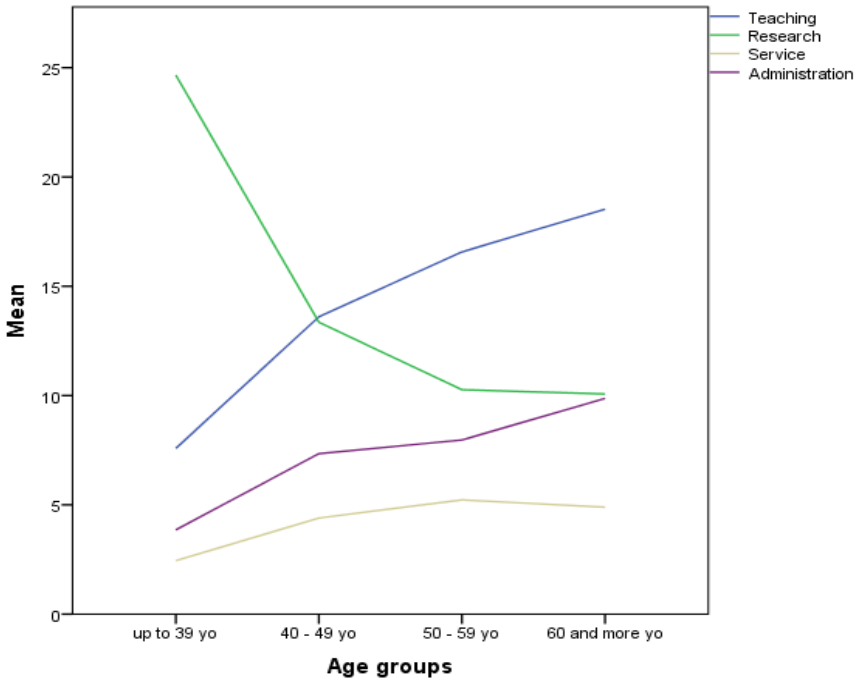
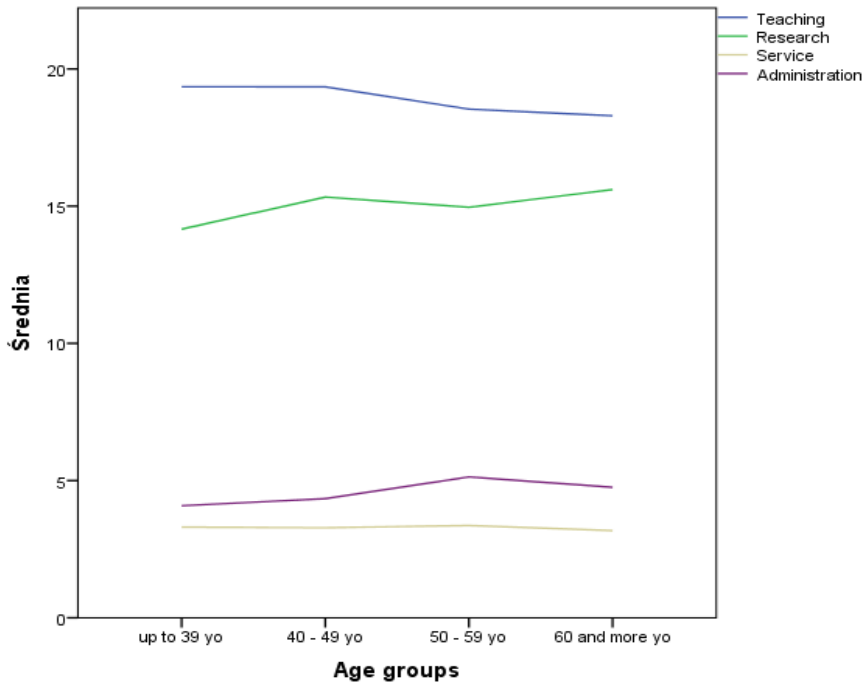


FIGURE 2

HOW LONG DO FACULTY SPEND ON VARIOUS ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES (WHEN CLASSES ARE IN SESSION): BY AGE GROUPS (HOURS PER WEEK): POLAND



Ireland, and Portugal) spending only about 10 hours on research throughout their careers.

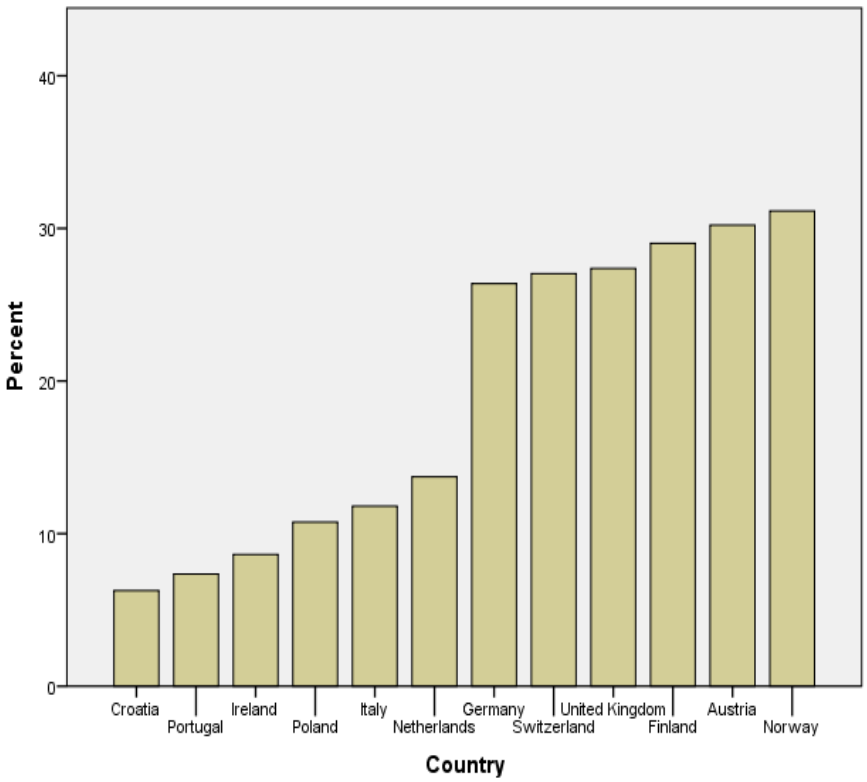
Findings: Academic Attitudes

In terms of academic attitudes, in general, the emergent pattern closely mirrors the pattern of academic behaviors discussed above. European systems studied through academic behaviors can be grouped into exactly the same Type 1 and Type 2 systems. In both CAP and EUROAC surveys, academics were asked the following question about their role orientation: "Regarding your own preferences, do your interests lie primarily in teaching or in research?" with four possible answers: "primarily in teaching," "both, but leaning towards teaching," "both, but leaning towards research," and "primarily in research."

In Type 1 systems the share of academics heavily involved in research (whom we term here "hardcore researchers") is between two and three times higher than in Type 2 systems. In the former systems the share ranges from 26 percent (Germany) to 30-31 percent (Norway and Austria), and in the latter systems it ranges from 7-8 percent (Portugal and Ireland) to 11-14 percent (Poland, Italy, and the Netherlands). Figure 3 shows the share of hardcore researchers in all countries studied. The present analysis explores age groups but further analysis for hardcore researchers shows considerable variations across academic disciplines, gender and career stages.

FIGURE 3

RESEARCH-ORIENTATION, ALL ACADEMICS ("REGARDING YOUR OWN PREFERENCES, DO YOUR INTERESTS LIE PRIMARILY IN TEACHING OR IN RESEARCH? ANSWER "PRIMARILY IN RESEARCH" ONLY) (PERCENT)



With age groups as an independent variable, the patterns of research orientation are similar: in Type 1 systems, a share of "hardcore researchers" is generally more than 40 percent among young academics (the highest share is 47 percent for Finland and the lowest is 34 percent for Switzerland, with Austria, Germany, Norway and the UK in the 40-43 percent range) and generally only 10-20 percent among old academics (the highest share is for Austria, the UK, Switzerland and Norway, in the 13-21 range). The share is less than 10 percent among old Finnish and German academics (9.5 and 8.4 percent, respectively). Consequently, the slide in research orientation with age is the highest in Finland and Germany, and it is by about 40 percentage points in the former and by about 30 percentage points in the latter. In contrast, the slide in research orientation between academics up to 39 years old and 60 years old and older for Type 2 systems is much smaller. It is generally by about 10 percentage points, or even non-existent, as in the case of Ireland (10.1 and 9.4 percent) and Portugal (6.1 and 6.6 percent). The differences are shown in Table 1 at the end (similar patterns across European systems emerge also for "research-oriented" academics more traditionally grouped together as those showing role preference "primarily for research" and for "both, but leaning towards research." Research orientation across age groups again sharply divides Type 1 and Type 2 systems).

Both Type 1 and Type 2 systems show strong coherence between academic behaviors and academic attitudes across age groups with reference to teaching and research. The allocation of time for research and for teaching changes with academics' age roughly together with their role orientation: in Type 1 systems, young academics with strong research orientation are devoting three to four times more time to research, and in older age groups, decreasing research commitment is accompanied by substantially less research time. In Type 2 systems, the time allocation is stable across age groups, together with stable role orientation. There seem to be no major clashes between academics' self-declared teaching or research orientation and actual teaching and research hours. Low research orientation of young academics is accompanied by medium to low research hours. As research hours are low (or medium) but stable in all age groups, there seems to be no conflict caused by sharply declining research interests with age. Beliefs and work practice seem to be meeting in all countries studied, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why European academics are overall quite satisfied with their jobs (Bentley et al. 2013).

Further Steps: Gender and Academic Disciplines

Finally, gender and academic disciplines can be combined with age groups in exploring the teaching/research nexus. In terms of academic attitudes, the male/female differentiation in research orientation is very significant for all age groups and all systems but no patterns similar to Type 1 and Type 2 systems established for all academics can be drawn. For young "hardcore researchers," the gender difference in share is very small for Austria (42 male academics vs. 40 percent female academics), Germany (42 vs. 40), and Italy (21 vs. 20) or even non-existent as in Portugal (6.2 vs. 6.2). The difference is highest for the United Kingdom (51 vs. 33), Norway (49 vs. 36), and Switzerland (30 vs. 39). In almost all countries the share of female young "hardcore academics" is lower (and exceptions include Finland, Switzerland, and the Netherlands). Only in two countries the share of "hardcore researchers" exceeds 50 percent: these are young female researchers in Finland and young male researchers in the United Kingdom (see Table 2 at the end of the article). Also in all countries studied, there is a clear disciplinary pattern in research orientation: research orientation in Type 1 systems is the highest in what we have grouped together under two headings: "life sciences and medical sciences" and "physical sciences and mathematics" (and is generally in the 30-40 percent range) and the lowest in "humanities and social sciences" (in the 15-25 percent range). In Type 2 countries, it is the highest for "life sciences and medical sciences" and "physical sciences and mathematics" (as in the Netherlands, Poland, and Portugal, and is generally in the 10-20 percent range), and relatively high for "humanities and social sciences" (as in the Netherlands and Italy, in the 15 percent range). Type 1 systems, not surprisingly, show on average higher research preference in all academic disciplines.

In terms of academic behaviors, in all Type 1 and Type 2 systems female academics work fewer hours per week than male academics. Only in Poland female academics work longer hours (46 vs. 44), and their combined working time (teaching, research, service, administration, and other activities) is the highest in Europe. Not surprisingly, both Swiss male and female academics show the longest research hours and the shortest teaching hours in Europe. In all Type 1 systems, both male and female academics spend more time on research than on teaching, with two exceptions: women academics in Finland and in the UK. There is also a clear disciplinary pattern in working hours across academic fields: in Type 1 systems, research hours are longer than teaching hours in such fields as "life sciences and medical sciences" and "physical sciences and mathematics" and teaching hours are longer in "humanities and social sciences" and "professions." In Type 2 systems, teaching hours are longer in all academic fields.

Policy Implications

European universities are not in a state of equilibrium and the dynamics of changes can for the first time be quantitatively analyzed across countries, generations, disciplines, institutional types, career stages, and gender. There are several interesting implications of above findings. There are huge intergenerational differences between young and old academics in Type 1 ("strong research performers") systems. The academic universe of young academics in Switzerland, Finland, Norway, Germany, the United Kingdom and Austria seems fundamentally different from that of old academics in these countries. There is high intergenerational clash between academics in their 20s and 30s (with very high research orientation combined with very heavy research involvement) and academics in their 50s and 60s (with their steeply declining research orientation and heavy teaching loads). When a young generation of academics gradually replaces older generations, will there be a big research-orientation shift in these countries? Will they be even more "strong research performers" than today, leading to an even greater contrast between Type 1 and Type 2 systems in Europe? It is very possible.

The drivers of behavioral and attitudinal differences between generations could be, for instance, research funding made more available (on an increasingly competitive basis) to younger academics or almost purely research-based promotion requirements. In the context of the overall increasing competition in academia, individual research achievements can be viewed as the only competitive advantage (Kwiek 2012a, 2012b). High teaching hours for young academics in such countries as Italy, Poland, Ireland, Portugal, and the Netherlands (Type 2 systems or "strong teaching performers") may effectively cut them off from research achievements comparable to those from Type 1 systems. Their high teaching involvement effectively reduces the number of hours left for research. Although there seem to be no intergenerational conflicts regarding the role orientation in Type 2 systems, this comes at a cost of possible low research performance of young academics, and overall low research performance in these systems. A new generation of academics in "strong teaching performer" systems does not seem to be willing to be more attached to research than older generations, and in many disciplines their preference for research is lower (as studied through "new entrants" vs. "full professors" variables). National recruitment and promotion policies seem to have an increasing significance: who gets recruited and who is retained in academia will define the future of the teaching/research nexus in Europe.

Consequently, the division of labor between teaching and research in the future has both national and cross-national implications. Effectively, the gap between current systems which are "strong research performers" (owing to their young faculty with research-oriented working habits and high research orientation) and systems which are "strong teaching performers" may grow even bigger if the latter do not adjust their national and institutional recruitment and promotion policies to the changing European realities.

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TABLE 1

RESEARCH-ORIENTED FACULTY, BY AGE GROUPS (QUESTION: "REGARDING YOUR OWN PREFERENCES, DO YOUR INTERESTS LIE PRIMARILY IN TEACHING OR IN RESEARCH?" ANSWER: "PRIMARILY IN RESEARCH" ONLY) (PERCENTAGE)

Age Groups/ Countries	Austria	Finland	Germany	Ireland	Italy	Netherlands	Norway	Poland	Portugal	Switzerland	United Kingdom
Up to 39	40.9	47.3	41.0	10.1	20.7	21.6	42.8	17.6	6.1	34.1	41.4
40-49	20.0	25.2	19.8	7.6	15.2	9.6	36.2	10.7	8.1	20.6	27.6
50-59	23.1	14.1	13.2	6.9	10.7	12.6	20.2	6.2	5.3	12.9	16.4
60 and more	21.1	9.5	8.4	9.4	6.2	9.7	16.0	5.7	6.6	13.0	18.0

TABLE 2

RESEARCH-ORIENTED FACULTY, BY GENDER AND AGE GROUPS (QUESTION: "REGARDING YOUR OWN PREFERENCES, DO YOUR INTERESTS LIE PRIMARILY IN TEACHING OR IN RESEARCH?" ANSWER "PRIMARILY IN RESEARCH" ONLY, M—MALE, F—FEMALE) (PERCENTAGE)

Age Groups/ Countries and Gender	Austria		Finland		Germany		Ireland		Italy		Netherlands		Norway		Poland		Portugal		Switzerland		United Kingdom	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Up to 39	41.8	39.7	44.2	50.4	41.8	39.6	13.6	7.1	21.3	19.7	18.3	24.4	48.8	36.1	22.1	13.9	6.2	6.2	30.3	38.8	51.4	32.5
40-49	18.5	22.2	28.1	21.1	18.0	24.2	8.2	7.1	15.8	14.2	9.8	9.1	39.7	31.7	12.7	8.9	12.3	3.2	17.9	25.1	30.7	24.3
50-59	27.7	12.3	19.5	7.2	8.8	22.1	8.1	3.9	13.4	5.5	14.6	8.8	16.3	26.3	8.2	2.6	7.9	1.9	11.1	17.8	17.0	15.6
60 and more	22.8	0.0	8.6	10.9	8.2	9.2	12.8	0.0	6.8	4.1	9.4	11.7	17.2	12.5	5.6	5.3	7.7	2.6	15.1	2.0	14.9	25.2

Examining Community College Global Counterpart Completion Agendas

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Introduction

In the United States, the community college completion agenda has been a focus of discussion for almost a decade. However, there is very little known about the completion agenda in community college global counterparts outside of the United States. Hence, the purpose of our research is to understand the structures at community college global counterparts which support issues related to completion by a) identifying if the completion agenda exists internationally, and b) depicting the ways in which this agenda is being formed and implemented.

Community college global counterparts offer a more advanced curriculum than secondary school and serve as a lower-cost pathway that gives options for university overflow for adult learners, displaced workers, life-long learners, workforce learners, developmental learners, and non-traditional learners (Raby and Valeau 2009). This institutional type is known by several names including Colleges of Further Education, Community College, Polytechnic, Technical College, and Technical and Further Education (TAFE). While these institutions admit a range of non-traditional students, what happens after admission is not as clear. In the context of this research, completion is a defined set of requirements (UNESCO 2011) that are taken and finished by the student for: (a) short-term diplomas, certificates, or industry skill credentials; (b) multi-year course work leading to an associate degree and graduation; or (c) multi-year course work leading to the ability to transfer to a university.

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Significance

The completion agenda is a byproduct of a changing era. Some suggest that any participation in tertiary education brings wage advantages especially for non-traditional students. Several studies examine ways in which to improve completion at community college global counterparts in Turkey (World Bank 2007), in England (Longden 2013), in Ireland (Kerr 2006), in Australia VET system (Herault, Zakirova, and Buddelmeyer 2012), in New Zealand VET system (Scott 2009); and in British Columbia (Andres 2009).

Methodology

An on-line survey was administered to individuals who work at community college global counterparts, to individuals who work at a United States community colleges that have on-going partnerships with community college global counterparts, and to researchers who have published on community college global counterparts. The first pilot survey was administered in winter 2012, with sixteen responses and a follow-up survey was administered in spring 2013, with twenty-five responses. All respondents were asked to answer from the perspective of community college global counterpart with which they are affiliated.

Results

The survey provides information on a) community college global counterpart profiles; b) issues related to completion; and c) identified challenges in the field.

Profiles

Approximately 66.7 percent of respondents were from United States community colleges who were actively involved in a partnership with a community college global counterpart and 33.3 percent worked at a community college global counterpart. Most respondents were directors or researchers, and only three had the rank of college president.

Issues Related to Completion

Accrediting Bodies. Raby and Valeau (2009) define distinct organizational patterns in which community college global counterparts are managed nationally, regionally, state-based, or by individual districts. The survey confirms this variety with institutions gaining accreditation from Ministry of Education (52.8 percent), Ministry of Higher Education (16.7 percent), local university system (16.7 percent), Ministry of Economy (10.3 percent), Ministry of Labor and Employment (8.3 percent), and Ministry for Vocational Education (2.2 percent). Each accrediting body has a unique reason for defining completion, which in turn, accounts for a lack of definite patterns when examining community college global counterpart completion agendas.

Policy. 61 percent of respondents said that they did not know of specific completion policies. Respondents described national policies in Australia, Hungary, and Sweden, regional policies in India and Pakistan, institutional policy in Sweden, and city level policy in Jamaica. In Israel, a State Comptroller (2008) report "pointed out very low completion rates (less than 50 percent) and called for reform in the budget/finance of colleges to encourage them to improve completion rates" (Survey Respondent). One respondent shared a personal opinion that "students [in Singapore] pay hefty sums so I think family pressure for completion is the biggest factor" (Survey Respondent).

Financial Incentives to Institutions to Award Completion. 85 percent said that there was no institutional financial incentive to push for completion. Incentives do exist in Jamaica, where "special funds are given to the colleges for supporting drop-outs and those in danger to drop-out" (Survey Respondent) and in Australia, where there is "an additional 'taximeter'" connected to completion (Survey Respondent).

Financial Incentives to Students to Achieve Completion. Most respondents said that where financial aid given to students exists, there is no connection to performance. Two respondents did share that their institutions in Lithuania and Latvia do have government financial support that is given to well-performing students.

National/Institutional Goals. Worldwide, there is a common goal to increase student access and completion. In Denmark, a goal is to have "95 percent pass a youth education," and another goal is to have "60 percent of each cohort of young complete higher education as the number today is 45-48 percent" (Survey Respondent). In Australia, the goal is to half the proportion of Australians aged 20-64 without qualifications at a goal is to double the number of higher qualification completions (diploma and advanced diploma) over the next ten years (Herault, Zakirova, and Buddelmeyer 2012). To achieve these goals, Australia institutions have an "early help before the student is in major trouble with his/her studies, offering special workshops for the students and even for the drop-outs" (Survey Respondent). Finally, Tobago Community College has a program in which "students must finish 75 Credit hours" for completion (Survey Respondent).

Identified Challenges in the Field

Since few respondents identified completion agendas, the low percentage of those who actually track students is understandable. Nonetheless, most respondents indicated reforms to begin and/or refine such tracking and noted four specific challenges. First, financial challenges, from the changing global economy impact

both institutional and individual abilities to establish a completion agenda. One respondent from Tobago noted that "the politicization determines whether financial assistance should be given." A respondent from Denmark noted that the "increase of the world economic crisis will have resulting changes in the political environment which will influence the higher education community" (Survey Respondent). Secondly, quality assurance and external accreditation presents unique challenges as multiple agencies may be involved in defining metrics for measurement. Thirdly, several respondents discussed how institutional change in terms of raising faculty credentials and standards will help improve overall educational goals.

Finally, there is a perceived need for institutional policies to establish programs that train students. One respondent noted a challenge "is how to sensitize students to make them accept their responsibility as future leaders of Tobago. At an Australian institution, the challenge "lies within the 5-15 percent of students that may not be fully prepared for higher educational programmes and the challenges hereby" (Survey Respondent). Another respondent from Australia noted that "many young people are persuaded and rewarded for entering higher education programmes, meaning that not all of them have intrinsic motivation to complete" (Survey Respondent). "The need to target students was also mentioned as a challenge by a China respondent in terms of "increasing the student population and creating international awareness and study abroad interest" (Survey Respondent).

Conclusion

This benchmark study begins a conversation on the completion agenda at community college global counterparts. The demand for higher education continues to increase due to a direct correlation between obtaining certificates/diplomas and job opportunities. It is known that access alone will not build human capital enough to transform patterns of inequality. As such, future research will need to identify specific policy and then identification of how these policies are being enacted, monitored, and then utilized towards achieving specific goals.

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