

**ACADEMIC STAFF
IN EUROPE:
Changing Contexts
and Conditions**

Jürgen Enders

GREENWOOD PRESS

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*Changing Contexts
and Conditions*

EDITED BY
Jürgen Enders

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Contents

Series Foreword <i>by Philip G. Altbach</i>	vii
Preface	ix
1. Between State Control and Academic Capitalism: A Comparative Perspective on Academic Staff in Europe <i>Jürgen Enders</i>	1
2. The Academic Profession in the Two Communities of Belgium <i>Karel Tavernier</i>	25
3. Academic Staff in Denmark: The Consequences of Massification in a Small Country <i>John E. Andersen</i>	49
4. The Changing Nature of Academic Employment in Finnish Higher Education <i>Jussi Välimaa</i>	67
5. Professional Diversity in a Centralized System: Academic Staff in France <i>Thierry Chevaillier</i>	91
6. Unsolved Problems and Inadequate Solutions: The Situation of Academic Staff in German Higher Education <i>Uwe Schimank</i>	115
7. The Academic Profession in Greece: Current State and Conditions of Employment <i>Dimitrios G. Tsaoussis</i>	137

8.	Academic Staff in Ireland: The Right of Tenure Enacted and Endorsed <i>Maureen Killeavy and Marie Coleman</i>	153
9.	A Guild in Transition: The Italian Case <i>Roberto Moscati</i>	173
10.	The End of Public Employment in Dutch Higher Education? <i>Egbert de Weert</i>	195
11.	Expansion, Reorganization, and Discontent among Academic Staff: The Norwegian Case <i>Svein Kyvik, Ole-Jacob Skodvin, Jens-Christian Smeby, and Susanne Lehmann Sundnes</i>	217
12.	The Academic Profession in a Massifying System: The Portuguese Case <i>Virgílio A. Meira Soares</i>	233
13.	Adapting to Change: The Academic Profession in Spain <i>José-Ginés Mora</i>	255
14.	The Academic Profession in Sweden: Diversity and Change in an Egalitarian System <i>Berit Askling</i>	277
15.	Profession or Proletariat: Academic Staff in the United Kingdom after Two Decades of Change <i>Oliver Fulton and Chris Holland</i>	301
	Index	323
	About the Contributors	329

Series Foreword

Greenwood Studies in Higher Education publishes current research and analysis on higher and postsecondary education. Higher education in the twenty-first century is a multifaceted phenomenon, combining a variety of institutions and systems, an increasing diversity of students, and a range of purposes and functions. The challenges of expansion, technology, accountability, and research, among others, require careful analysis. This series combines research-based monographs, analysis, and reference books related to all aspects of higher education. It is concerned with policy and practice in a global perspective. Greenwood Studies in Higher Education is dedicated to illuminating the reality of higher and postsecondary education in contemporary society.

Higher education is a central enterprise of the twenty-first century and a key part of the knowledge-based economy. Universities are the most important source of basic research, and are therefore key to the development of technology. They are also the repositories of the wisdom of society—their libraries and other facilities are in many ways the institutional memory of civilization. University faculty provide not only education and training, but are involved in the creation and interpretation of knowledge. Universities are central to the civil society. Higher education is a key to the social mobility and progress of large numbers of people.

Universities and other postsecondary institutions are increasingly complex. They are large and multifaceted. Academe is also diverse, with a wider range of institutions, a less homogenous student population, and a mixture of public and private support. This series is dedicated to illuminating these complexities. It is also committed to the improvement of one of the most important parts of society—postsecondary education.

Philip G. Altbach

Preface

There is an ongoing debate on the “crisis” of the academic profession, as well as on future expectations regarding its role and functioning in higher education and modern societies. Rising enrollments, difficult financial circumstances, new technologies, and movements toward accountability and assessment are having a profound impact on the academic profession. The relationship between academic staff and the nation-state is changing, and the profession seems on its way to losing some of its traditional guild powers. The role of the institutions and their management within the playing field of higher education is strengthened. Watchwords in this ongoing process of reengineering the staffing of the academic profession are *performance* and *quality*, *competition* and *flexibility*, and *efficiency* and *accountability*.

Academic staff are higher education’s most important asset and most costly resource. Employment and working conditions of academic staff are therefore not only influenced by these developments but seen as important tools for adaptation to the new circumstances higher education systems are facing. Thus, it is of interest not only to demonstrate and compare variations across and within countries but also to analyze the outcomes of the changing academic environment on the academic labor market and the conditions of working life. We observe growing changes regarding the staff structure and career perspectives of younger academics, traditional concepts of job security and tenure tend to be questioned, heterogeneity among academic staff is growing, the remuneration and workload of academic staff constitute a moving target of reorganization, and last but not least, the entire work setting of academics in teaching and research is on the agenda. It is our purpose to understand the nature of these challenges in different national settings, with a special emphasis on analyzing current trends in the terms and conditions of academic employment and work.

This volume derives from a project on Employment and Working Conditions of Academic Staff in Higher Education: A Comparative Study in the European Community. The study was initiated in 1998 by the Center for Research on Higher Education and Work in Kassel, Germany. Experts from 14 countries—Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom—were invited to write country chapters to highlight the developments of the last two decades and the “state of the art” of the academic profession, mainly in universities in their national context.

The completion of this volume would not have been possible without the expertise, knowledge, commitment, and time of these country experts. I want to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues for responding favorably to my invitation to join the study and for all their efforts undertaken. As both scholars and objects of reorganization, they have brought their professional expertise and knowledge, their academic background, and their experience to this study. They have adopted an analytical and critical approach in analyzing and interpreting the recent developments in the context and conditions of academic work and how academics perceive these changes in their national setting. My own comparative work in this context would not have been possible without their vital support. The comparative results of the study presented in this volume are, however, entirely the author’s responsibility.

Furthermore, I want to express my gratitude to the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the German Trade Union for Education and Science, and the Hans-Böckler-Foundation for supporting the study and the conference. My thanks are also due to the staff and students of our Center in Kassel for their patience and support during the preparation of this book.

ACADEMIC STAFF IN EUROPE

Chapter 1

Between State Control and Academic Capitalism: A Comparative Perspective on Academic Staff in Europe

Jürgen Enders

AN UNCERTAIN PROFESSION

When observing the sectors of production and service in our modern societies and the institutions in charge, we see that the higher education and research sector has several specific features. They include a relatively open set of goals; a loose mechanism of coercion, control, and steering from above; a high degree of fragmentation; and—last but not least—the academic profession's strong influence on the determination of goals, the management and administration of its institutions, and the daily routine in the respective sectors. In addition, if we look at the interrelationships between the different sectors of production and services, the academic profession could be considered one of the most influential in shaping other sectors, as Harold Perkin (1969) stressed when he called it the “key profession.”

In public debates and reflections, there are complaints that the concept of a single academic profession may be an illusion, that it can hardly cope with the tensions it has to live with, and that it is endangered. For some two decades it has been widely assumed that it seems to feel increasingly entrenched. The literature (cf. the overview in Altbach 1991; Clark 1987; Morey 1992) suggests that the sense of crisis has grown. *Decline*, *erosion*, and *deprofessionalization* are frequently used when asking if the academic profession could be losing its characteristic features.

This concern is obviously linked to the massification of higher education and the secular trend toward a “knowledge” society, a “highly qualified” society, a “lifelong learning” society, or an “information” society. Whatever the term, the transition of higher education and the changing nature

and role of knowledge seem to be accompanied by changes in higher education and its interrelationship with society that are a mixed blessing for universities, their status, function, and role (Teichler, Daniel, and Enders 1998).

RECENT PRESSURES

For about two decades, the winds for higher education and its academic staff have been changing. Rising enrollments, financial constraints, and moves toward accountability and assessment and new technologies are having a deep effect on the academic profession. Four closely interrelated issues are often quoted in this context (Altbach 1996; Enders and Teichler 1997; Farnham 1999; Karpen and Hanske 1994; Kogan, Moses and El-Khawas 1994).

First, in many countries, the academic profession seems to be facing a more rapid loss of status than in the past. Relative losses of income are reported, and junior positions have become more risky and less well paid. The idea that the members of an expanding profession with growing importance for society may consider themselves as losers has grown in the last two decades.

Second, the resources of higher education institutions are becoming tighter. In many industrial countries, the student/academic staff ratio has increased and the basic funding of research has declined. Certain developments could be called "efficiency gains," yet the feeling of impoverishment is widespread.

Third, the academic profession may be losing its academic guild powers. We note a rise of managerial powers in higher education, as well as growing control of academics' performances.

Fourth, the academic profession is being blamed for not providing the services expected to society. The critiques range from a claim that it is not ensuring the quality expected to the widespread accusation that what graduates learn is inappropriate and that research does not sufficiently address the most pressing problems of our times.

Furthermore, one fears a decline in faculty morale, disillusionment their mission, seeing themselves as academic workers who are merely doing a routine job and who are no longer strongly committed to the traditional norms and values of the profession. From this perspective, a decline of the traditional professoriate and a decrease in number who answer the academic calling (Clark 1997) are reasonable visions of a possible future in which the academic profession is seen as an institutional resource that provides more or less effective services. Hence, our study is most timely. All the countries involved have seen changes in actors and procedures. The relationship between academic staff and the nation-state is changing dra-

matically. The role of the institutions and their management within the playing field of higher education are strengthened.

Academic staff are higher education's most important asset and most costly resource. Therefore, not only are their employment and working conditions influenced by these developments, but they are viewed as important tools to adapt to the new circumstances. Thus, it is of interest not only to describe and compare variations across and within countries but also to analyze the outcomes of the changing environment for the academic labor market and working conditions. Our aim is to understand the nature of these challenges in different national settings.

REGULATING THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP: A CHANGED PLAYING FIELD

Unlike the liberal professions, academics are not self-employed but work as members of staff for public or private institutions governed by legal rules. In the public sector, they usually have the status of civil servants (e.g., the German *Beamte* or French *fonctionnaires*) or of public employees. It is quite different from working under an employment contract, even if the contract or part of it is determined through bargaining between employers' and employees' representatives. Whether the employer is a private institution or a public, nongovernmental one, academics usually have the status of employees, regulated by contracts under private law. The higher education systems in our study are predominantly public, even though some countries, such as Portugal, have growing private higher education sectors and some are debating the establishment of private universities. The overwhelming majority of academics are civil servants or civil employees. While academics' power, privileges, and conditions of employment in continental Europe are protected by constitutional or administrative law, academics in the United Kingdom have employment contracts that are rooted in the principles of common law. Traditionally, they form a profession that is relatively unitary and is unmatched in mainland Europe.

There are three basic ways of regulating academic staff's employment: by state law, by collective bargaining between employers' and employees' representatives, or by employer regulations of the higher education institution. Furthermore, various higher education systems have traditional mechanisms of individual bargaining between a member of academic staff and representatives of the employer (state authorities or institutional leaders). The regulations and rules can therefore be laid down in legal decrees, government decisions, collective agreements, institutional documents, or employment contracts, depending on whether they have been determined unilaterally by state law or employer regulations or bilaterally by national, local, or individual bargaining or a composite mix of both. Typically, they

cover salary and work load, job security and tenure, recruitment and promotion procedures, fringe benefits, sabbaticals, and pensions.

In the last two centuries, the basic philosophy that regulates the higher education systems and the employment and working conditions of their academic staff has changed. Although the dynamics and areas of change may differ according to country, at least three major trends can be identified.

Heterogenization

A remarkable trend in a number of countries can be analyzed as reaction and withdrawal from the former philosophy of the legal homogeneity of higher education institutions. The underlying assumption is that this logic placed severe limitations on their capacity to adapt to a changing environment. In this context, diversification provides a tool to enforce the division of labor between and within higher education institutions and their academic staff.

Decentralization

The higher education environment has become so diverse, complex, and changeable that a nationwide bureaucratic system with *ex ante* regulations, tight process control, and line-item budgeting is no longer appropriate. Governments, therefore, must switch toward a system of distant steering or state supervision. They set broad missions, framework conditions, and finances in which each institution is given a higher degree of autonomy.

Marketization

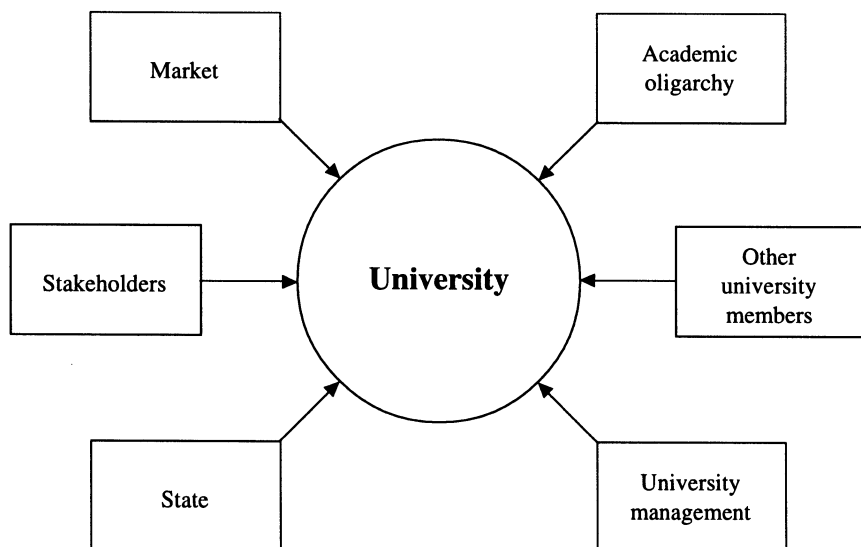
As regards financial resources, manpower, and quality and quantity of products, efforts are being made to create a more competitive environment, for example, government policies to build up a marketlike resource allocation system and developing competition between and within higher education institutions.

In effect, control of higher education institutions is shifting away from what Burton Clark (1983) called the academic oligarchy toward more market and state control. Government remains the most important actor, but it tends to withdraw into distant steering, setting the legal and financial boundaries and using instruments of quality control.

The distribution of power within the triangle of state, market, and academic oligarchy tends to be reorganized and other actors have appeared in the playing field (see Figure 1.1).

The reforms of the 1970s legally established nonprofessorial staff and students as a fourth power in universities. Recent debates and restructur-

Figure 1.1
The New Complexity of Actors



ations of steering and financing have brought into play the stakeholders as a fifth power. Last but not least, efforts to consolidate institutional capacities for self-regulation supported the establishment of the “managerial class” as an important actor in universities. Hence, we observe a rather complex constellation of actors and powers that directly or indirectly influence the public and private life of higher education and the academic staff.

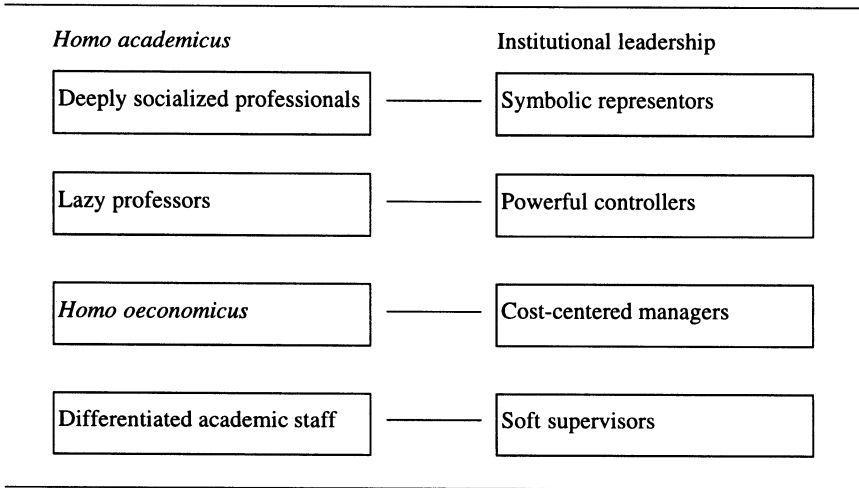
These developments are based on the assumption that they will allow for a more flexible responsiveness in steering higher education and its staff. One hopes to improve the quality of work processes and outcomes of basic units and individual academics by reorganizing the staff structure and doctoral training, staff development, and appraisal; making the workload, especially teaching, more flexible; and introducing salary-bonus systems and partly performance-related pay scales.

Furthermore, it is argued that a better functioning of higher education as modern institutions will be supported by greater self-steering capacities of institutions and their managerial power.

There are different forms of managerialism. They could be called soft and hard, but the crucial question for the academic staff is whether institutional management will bring growing support or control. At least four concepts of the *Homo academicus* and his institutional leadership can be observed in recent debates (see Figure 1.2).

First, trust in the self-steering capacities of academics as long-standing

Figure 1.2
The *Homo Academicus* and the Institutional Leadership



and socialized professionals who are best let alone and symbolically represented by institutional leadership is diminishing. Trust in the professional and discipline-based self-steering mechanism is declining, and institutional leadership is becoming a visible force of its own.

Second, in some countries public debate tends to draw a caricature of the *Homo academicus* as the “lazy professor” who needs incentives and visible sanctions. Academics are seen as spoiled and narcissistic employees who must be cut down to size and as a guildlike anachronistic workforce that must adapt to the realities of corporate capitalism in higher education.

Third, the academic tends to be seen as a *Homo oeconomicus* who can be steered by cost-centered management, that is, locally shaping rules, regulations, and instruments for efficient work and output. The underlying assumption is that people go where the money is and that steering by the invisible hand of the market will lead to the expected outcomes.

Fourth, a more sophisticated concept emphasizes the internal differentiation of academic staff and the role of institutional leadership as soft supervisors who aim to design academics’ status and tasks according to their strengths and weaknesses. This is close to the approach of staff development through human resource management.

Modernization of Employment Relationships: Convergence or Varied Solutions?

Although there has been a fairly widespread new philosophy of self-steering and a common drive to make higher education systems in Europe

more efficient and cost-effective in recent years, the changes must be placed in their context. As far as state financing is concerned, new models of output-based funding, lump-sum funding, and assessment-based research funding have been introduced. In the area of staffing, there have been attempts to make higher education institutions and their staff more accountable, to increase academic productivity and output, to reduce staffing costs, and to create more flexibility in the academic workforce. Attempts have also been made to shift the responsibility for some aspects of employment and working conditions from central governments or national bargaining to institutional management or local or individual bargaining. In the Nordic countries and the Netherlands, elements of neocorporatism have been consolidated by these developments.

Finland and Sweden, where membership and representation of academic staff in trade unions are high, are moving toward two-tier bargaining structures that reinforce local regulations on pay scales, teaching load, and terms of recruitment and appointment. Here national collective bargaining sets frameworks, whereas local bargaining between institutions and local branches of trade unions regulates further details of employment conditions. In Sweden, a unitary system of higher education is supplemented by individual bargaining on salaries and teaching loads. In Finland, universities can appoint professors and establish or discontinue chairs for the first time in their history.

The Norwegian higher education system, which comprises four universities and a number of state colleges and private colleges, underwent a wave of expansion in the 1990s. Measures for result-oriented planning were introduced, and the influence of university and college administration in academic matters was strengthened. At the same time, the number of administrative officers and managers increased considerably. Academic membership in trade unions is relatively high, and employment conditions are determined by a composite mix of unilateral and bilateral regulations. Negotiations on salaries were recently supplemented by local bargaining on pay raise, which is partly based on staff performance in teaching and research.

In the early 1990s, reforms were also introduced in Denmark. In 1992, an Anglo-American structure was adopted with the introduction of bachelor's and Ph.D. degrees. In 1993, a new research program came into force in the universities. The funding of teaching was to be based on the principle of a fixed rate for each type of education, which was related to an estimated number of students set by the Ministry of Education. In 1992, a Danish Centre for Quality Assurance and Evaluation of Higher Education was created as a result of the new University Act that gave the institutions more autonomy. The influence and responsibilities of collegiate bodies were reduced and to some extent transferred to university administrators and rectors. In order to cope with the massification of higher education, the

Netherlands and the Flemish-speaking community of Belgium created binary systems. Interestingly, the Netherlands—where membership in trade unions is lower than in the northern European countries—have also introduced a two-tier bargaining structure where pay scales are regulated at the national level and other conditions at the local level. As with Sweden, the individualization of employment conditions is supported by individual bargaining on salaries. In the Flemish-speaking community of Belgium—with its tradition of “clerical universities,” which enjoy a relatively high degree of autonomy—decision making on salaries, teaching load, or the recruitment and appointment of academic staff has shifted toward employer regulations. Labor unions and professional associations are relatively weak and spread over a range of organizations, whereas the elected rectors, deans, and heads of departments play a significant role in representing their profession at the local and intermediate levels.

In the United Kingdom, with its high degree of institutional autonomy and professional collegiality, a series of reforms and initiatives has put the traditional distribution of power under strain. Recent developments can be interpreted as a threat to traditional patterns of institutional autonomy and bargaining. Here we observe a move toward a hybrid system with a growing impact of marketlike forces and greater governmental influence. The abolishment of the binary line in 1992, with the inclusion of former polytechnics and colleges in the university sector and the sharp increase in student numbers and sharp decrease in government funding for teaching, has changed the picture. Major amendments in the resource allocation have led to a mix of block grant teaching funding and assessment-based research funding. Various measures were introduced to increase institutional responsibility and managerial power. Furthermore, localization and individualization in the determination of conditions have developed in order to increase discretion as regards salaries, teaching loads, or recruitment/appointment procedures. Hence, threats to national bargaining and trade union influence are perceived.

Ireland, with its high participation rate in universities and technical colleges, provides an interesting example of a country with a tradition of a relatively large degree of institutional autonomy and a high representation of academic staff in trade unions. While salaries are negotiated at the national level, the teaching load and the recruitment/appointment of academic staff are traditionally negotiated at the local level. Ireland has recently introduced a unit-cost system of funding and elements for strategic planning and quality assurance. Tenure is by state decree, and it is unlikely that the relatively stable and homogenous status of the academic staff will change.

In most central and southern European countries, academic staff's terms of work and employment have traditionally been regulated by the state authority, supplemented by national bargaining or consultations with pub-

lic service trade unions. In France, Greece, and Italy, they are mainly regulated by the central government. In Germany, responsibility for higher education and its academic staff is shared between the central government and the 16 federal states that have considerable autonomy. Labor unions have only limited influence in these countries. In national bargaining, academic staff are represented by public sector trade unions. The national power of academic trade unions may be diluted because membership is relatively low and is spread over a number of organizations. Moreover, professional associations are split into those that cover the professoriate and higher senior ranks and those that cover the assistant academic staff or, as in Germany, the professoriate only. In these countries, the tradition of a strong academic oligarchy was characterized by close links with the state and a gap between professorial and subprofessorial positions.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, higher education systems saw several waves of reform. In Greece, many laws regulated the academic staff structure, the terms of employment and the pay scales, and new laws are currently being discussed to overcome the shortcomings of the last reforms. In Italy, the *Ruberti* laws offered greater autonomy from central government, but they were largely ignored by the academic community. In Germany, attempts have been made to reorganize the staff structure and junior staff positions, but the situation of younger academics is still a matter of concern. Because of the rather mixed performances of legal state reforms in staff structure, a new distribution of power between the state, the academic oligarchy, the market, and the emerging managerial class in higher education institutions has been sought.

In Germany and Italy, discussions and initiatives have been taking place to rearrange the playing field in higher education. According to the Federal German Higher Education Act of 1998, the central authority withdraws in certain areas in order to encourage ongoing regional and local attempts to strengthen institutional autonomy in staffing and financing matters and the new federal state systems for financing and outcome-oriented planning. Moreover, the introduction of performance-based salary components for the professoriate and the establishment of assistant professorships in order to bridge the gap between junior and senior staff are being discussed. In Italy, a system of lump-sum funding has been introduced, and intermediary bodies, such as the Italian Rectors Conference and a national evaluation agency for higher education, have been established.

Following the regulatory changes in the mid-1980s, the legal framework for academic staff in France now seems stable. There are no debates on recruitment procedures nor on the system of tenure. The main change was the introduction of salary bonus systems to create performance incentives and to obtain a more balanced recognition of various tasks in teaching and research, service, and administration. Since the period of growth has come

to an end, there is concern about the career prospects of research students and junior staff and about the increase in the number of teaching-only staff recruited among secondary school teachers.

In Portugal and Spain, academic staff in public higher education have, until recently, benefited from the expansion of the system as regards their employment and working conditions. Portugal is moving from an elite to a mass higher education system, and the private sector is growing. It now enrolls approximately one-third of all students. Even though the private institutions are run under public law, the conditions of academic staff as employees in the private sector differ significantly from those of their colleagues in the public sector. Spain moved to a mass system in the early 1980s and has now reached a participation rate of around 45 percent. In the 1980s, attempts were made to move away from highly centralized control of higher education by giving greater responsibility to regional governments and increasing the autonomy of the institutions. Staff structure moved from a traditional chair system to a department model, and new categories of staff were introduced. In the early 1990s, a salary system with productivity bonuses and continuous individual evaluation of academic staff were introduced.

Yet among the major continental and southern European countries, the changes contrast with a growing discontent among policymakers and some analysts of these higher education systems. They see the deeply rooted rigidities of state control and the civil service status of academic staff as serious obstacles to adjustments to the more momentous changes the systems are experiencing. The present debates could therefore be the first noise that precedes the coming winds of change.

The European Dimension

“Internationalization” is not new. It has had a growing impact on staffing in at least two respects. Policymakers and those responsible for higher education have become more aware of international cooperation and competition between higher education systems that are now expected to contribute to the national economy and welfare in a global environment and to maintain their performance in a competitive international teaching and research environment. Interest in international developments and trends and mutual observation of higher education systems have developed. Furthermore, the watchwords of international competition serve as a legitimization of national policies in this area. It is widely held that higher education in highly industrialized societies serves similar functional needs and that it can improve its performance through reforms that take into account comparative experiences. Respect for the variety of higher education systems is seen as a principle that must be observed in the European Union in any activity that promotes European cooperation and a European

Figure 1.3**The Conditions of Academic Life: A Moving Target under Debate**

- Staff structure and career tracks:
Chair/department structure; contract-track/tenure-track/regular employee-track
- Job security and tenure:
Increase of part-time/fixed-term academic staff; tenure under debate
- Academic salaries:
Relative decrease of academic salaries; widening of pay scales; flexible and performance-related income streams
- Staffing and human resource development:
Improvements of explicit training; support for and control of teaching quality, reallocation of time budget, and teaching loads

dimension. The European programs in the area of higher education and research have created new possibilities for exchange and participation in international networks and for supporting training for teaching and research in the national and international contexts. How far this European dimension becomes visible within national systems may differ according to the size of the system, the degree of traditional international orientations, and other factors. Countries such as Belgium, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, or Spain report a very visible and welcome influence of the European Union programs.

Academic labor markets in Europe, however, are far from international. Our knowledge and available data on international staff exchanges and mobility are still very limited. While temporary mobility, a certain brain drain to the United States, and two-way academic mobility between industrialized and developing countries were frequent in the past, mobility within Europe is becoming important, but it is accompanied by many barriers and traps. We found little evidence that the higher education systems under observation would attract large numbers of academics from other countries or suffer serious brain drain problems.

CONDITIONS OF WORKING LIFE

This section will study the conditions of working life, the staff structure, job security and tenure, remuneration, and workload and academics' work in teaching and research (see Figure 1.3). The wide variations across and within countries show that the outcomes of new actor constellations and regulations of the academic labor market could be less uniform than expected.

Staff Structure and the Issue of Tenure

Traditionally, we can differentiate between two ideal types of staff structure: the chair model and the department-college model (cf. Neave and Rhoades 1987). The first—in its Humboldtian and Napoleonic variations—was characterized by a relatively sharp contrast between the traditional professorial core who hold tenured positions as chairholders and the largely untenured class of junior staff that aim to obtain professorial positions after two or three career stages and qualification periods. Here appointment to a professoriate is seen as a great increase in status and prestige, independence, and resources.

In contrast, the second structure traditionally forms a more collegial-based organization of the basic units of academe. Academic staff from lower ranks to (full) professor basically have the same functions, and their status is dependent upon publicly acknowledged qualifications and expertise. The probationary period of nontenured staff is shorter, admission to tenured positions comes earlier, and further career steps within academe are more regularly organized, for example, the tenure model of U.S. universities or the tradition of (senior) lecturers, readers, and professors in the Oxbridge model (cf. Halsey 1992).

These career systems—contract, regular employee, tenure—represented highly structured, uniform tracks characterized by differentiated ranks and a strict schedule for the positioning of various groups of academics and their move up the career ladder. Today, this evolution of academic roles and careers may well be at a critical turning point.

One of the reasons for this is the reinterpretation of regular staff structures. While, for example, the staff structure in Germany could still be defined in terms of the chair-contract model (cf. Enders and Teichler 1997), attempts are being made to consolidate the positioning and independence of postdoctoral junior staff according to the U.S. tenure model. Staff structures in Ireland and the United Kingdom, and to some extent in Norway, are still following the department-college model of a more regular career ladder. In the United Kingdom, it seems that middle-rank staff's expectations of a professoriate are growing and that nonpromotion tends to be regarded as a failure. In France and Italy, the many untenured assistants have started to obtain permanent contracts. Greece has recently abolished the chair system and moved toward a kind of "tenure" model with assistant, associate, and full professors as the core of the academic staff. Spain has formally introduced a department structure, although the chair system remains the basic working unit. In Belgium, Finland, and Sweden, which were influenced by the chair model, professorial and assistantlike positions are supplemented by stable teaching positions. However, Sweden remains a special case because of the relatively sharp distinction between research positions and teaching-only staff. The staff structure in Portugal could be

described as a mix of apprenticelike assistantships leading to a “tenure” model that starts with untenured assistant professors. Finally, the staff structure in Dutch universities developed a hierarchy of three professorial ranks, as well as permanent positions for academic employees who assist the professoriate in its teaching and research duties.

Yet a growing number of academic staff are excluded from regular staff structures—whatever their character. Expansion and a policy reorganization of resources and personnel changed nonprofessorial posts. The rise of a class of nonprofessorial teachers in response to the growing student numbers and the growth of externally financed contracted research staff is an international phenomenon. Continuous and satisfying employment and personal development and encouragement for a “regular” academic career have become rarer for a growing number of staff. In short, these appointments are likely to be dead ends.

An increase in temporary research staff is observed in the Flemish-speaking community of Belgium, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Norway, and the United Kingdom. Spain and Portugal are facing the problematic outcomes of a remarkable growth of higher education. There is a saturation of the system as regards newcomers to the academic profession.

The meanings of tenure are changing. Traditionally, it guaranteed job security and autonomy for senior academic staff and was a social sign of status and prestige. In the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, “tenure” meant that permanent academic staff could only be dismissed in very rare cases. Now they can be dismissed in case of redundancy (e.g., if their department or institute is closed down). So far, this seems to have had little impact, but it is a significant symbolic loss for the academic profession in the respective countries. Finland has introduced temporary positions for professors, and in Germany, positions for professors under contract have become an issue. In other countries, debates about the future role of tenure now focus on a reduction of tenured positions, the introduction of untenured positions alongside the traditional tenured ones, and the increasingly common practice of voluntary redundancy and early retirement. In contrast, in Greece, Ireland, and Italy, the status of academics as tenured or permanent staff has been emphasized. All in all, there are few signs in the countries in this study that the traditional privilege of great job stability for the core of the profession is being undermined. It is the high degree of job autonomy of senior academic staff that is debated in order to bring them under stricter control of institutional leadership and ministries.

The design of staff structures, the size of fixed-termed staff, and the inclusion or exclusion of doctoral candidates as members of academic staff must be taken into consideration when looking at the proportion of permanent academic staff in the countries in our study. The proportion of permanent staff in universities (i.e., those holding a tenured position or a

permanent contract as employee) varies significantly according to country: It is lowest in Portugal, with less than 40 percent, and in Finland and Germany, with between 40 percent and 50 percent. In the Flemish-speaking community of Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, and Spain, between 50 percent and 60 percent of university staff hold permanent positions. We can estimate that in the French-speaking community of Belgium and the United Kingdom they represent between 60 percent and 70 percent of university staff. The highest share is reported in Ireland and France with some 80 percent and in Italy with some 90 percent. The proportion of academics holding professorial positions in universities also differs significantly. This is clearly a more selective group in all countries and represents between 10 and 30 percent of academic staff.

Tenure or permanent contracts are more common in the nonuniversity sector. In Belgium and Finland, some two-thirds of academic staff in non-university institutions have a permanent contract; in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway, the proportion is close to 90 percent.

Women in the Academic Profession

In all the countries, the share of women in the academic profession has grown in the last two decades. In Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden, this development was helped by policies or programs to support their careers. But staffing policies in most of the 15 countries have given little attention to this issue. The share of women has mainly grown in the junior staff positions and lower ranks of academic staff. The academic profession is still clearly male dominated, and women are much more underrepresented at the level of the professoriate or other senior ranks: About a quarter of academic staff in universities in Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, and the Netherlands are women. In the other countries of our study, they represent about one-third of the university staff. The share of women academics in the professorial ranks is clearly lower in all countries: In Belgium, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, it is less than 10 percent. It is only somewhat higher in the other countries, with Finland and France having the highest participation rate (about 15 percent). A look at the participation of women in non-university institutions provides a mixed picture: Higher shares in these institutions compared to the respective university sector are reported in Belgium, Finland, and Norway; the proportion of women academics in universities and nonuniversity institutions is almost the same in the Netherlands and Portugal. In contrast, it is lower in German *Fachhochschulen* than in universities.

Academic Salaries and Fringe Benefits

The academic profession has often been characterized by its high degree of job satisfaction, and academic staff were considered well paid. Even

though they were not as well remunerated as comparable employees outside higher education, the intrinsic rewards of the job (i.e., a high degree of autonomy in the use of their time, a low degree of job prescription and control, and the possibility to do challenging and initiative work) could be more important than status and pay.

In a number of countries, however, there seems to have been a gradual erosion of remunerations, especially in disciplines like business studies, computer sciences, and engineering where higher education faces great competition with the private labor market. Prestige and academic freedom therefore compensate less for the financial handicap when youngsters consider an academic career. Other factors that could have an impact in the near future are flexibility and the widening of pay scales. More autonomous institutions may well be able to pay very different salaries and performance rewards to their academic staff.

Looking at current pay scales in the higher education systems under study, we note considerable differences. In absolute terms (i.e., without taking relative costs of living into account), we can estimate that the highest salaries for the professoriate are paid in Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands, followed by France, Germany, and Ireland. Lowest top salaries for the professoriate are found in Finland, Portugal, and Spain. Salaries in Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom are considered relatively low and/or declining. In these countries, there is clear dissatisfaction among academic staff.

Professors' salaries also differ significantly within countries. This is, of course, influenced by factors such as the degree of internal differentiation of positions within the professoriate and the impact of seniority and family status on income. The greatest differences are reported in France, Germany, and Ireland, where the lowest starting salaries for professors are around half the highest-end salaries. In contrast, differences are relatively flat in Finland, Ireland, Norway, Portugal, and the United Kingdom, where the lowest starting salaries for professors represent about three-quarters of the highest-end salaries.

We observe little variation across countries if we compare full-time staff at the beginning of their academic career or those employed in the lowest ranks and those who have reached top professorial positions. Starting salaries for lower ranks are somewhere around a third of top salaries. But differences could be greater than this crude estimation suggests if we take into account the variations in part-time employment in the lowest ranks according to country. More important for the overall standing of the academic profession is the trend toward flexible pay scales through the introduction of pay-bonus systems in several countries. In 10 countries analyzed in this book, there is some form of additional payment. In Belgium, there are special payments for additional lectures and teaching loads and salaries for research contracts. In Sweden, there are additional payments for posts of responsibility. In France and Spain, there is a mix of teaching, research,

and administrative bonus systems. In the United Kingdom, there are discretionary points in salary increase. In most systems, flexible and partly performance-related income has become an incentive for performance and competition.

In contrast, the various systems of fringe benefits for academic staff—in most countries rooted in respective regulations for the public service—have not been a real issue. In this area, we still find a high degree of homogeneity, at least among the core of the academic profession, while the situation is different for those who are employed at the periphery of fixed-term and part-time contracts.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHING AND RESEARCH AND WORK LIFE

For universities, the transition from elite to mass higher education and the increasing demand for more socioeconomic “relevance” were fundamental challenges to their traditional mission, functions, and self-understanding. In addition, they were confronted with contradictory demands. On the one hand, they were required to teach large numbers of students and give more room to teaching modes that were oriented toward the needs of industry and the labor market. On the other, research was expected to make a greater contribution to economic innovation and societal problem solving. Pressures to improve performance in these areas also increased in a postindustrial society where education and knowledge have become important assets in the competition for power, prosperity, and prestige. Universities were conceived as central elements of “national innovation systems,” providing the highly qualified manpower and the knowledge on which a science-based economy and society rest.

With mass higher education, the model of theory-oriented and research-based teaching as the standard mode was increasingly questioned. First, the large number of students rendered research studies that require close interaction between professors and students and access to research opportunities impossible tasks for the bulk of the students. Second, industry and government were mainly interested in students who had been trained on a scientific basis but with a focus on professional education. Hence, transparent and more schoollike curricula patterns that are oriented toward the learning and application of knowledge and skills that are relevant for professional practice are seen as more appropriate than the traditional university courses that emphasize research. Third, this corresponded to the interests of a considerable share of students seeking a professional qualification for employment outside academia. Fourth, the organization that is adequate for research and teaching differs. While the former requires specialization and flexibility to follow new developments, the latter requires synthesis and more stable structures. Diversification of income for teaching or research,

the competition for external research funds, and reliance on conditional and contract support play a significant role in this process. Hence, many institutions are engaging in priority-setting exercises and are challenged by competing goods. The emergence of evaluation and quality assessment exercises also contributes to a significant reshaping and restructuring of the teaching-research relationship.

Academics have, of course, been using traditional measures of research output for many years. One could, however, argue that they are infected by a bias of research excellence as a contribution to the production of new knowledge, whereas other research functions that are more closely related to teaching, such as research as the application and transfer of knowledge, research as training for academic teaching, or research as a playground for the training of junior academics, have been neglected. More comprehensive measures could become more important when distinctions between various functions of university research are disappearing—for example, when the time between invention and application and the turnaround time for new products is shrinking. In these conditions, teaching and research could, at best, be competitive partners in financial resources, performance measures, time budgets, and qualifications and academic staff's career intentions.

The recent structural changes in policies concerning the most prominent tasks of teaching and research are difficult to assess and by no means uniform. Countries that traditionally followed the Napoleonic model of separating a public research system from a more teaching-oriented one are seeking closer links between these sectors in order to strengthen the research function and the teaching-research nexus. On the one hand, the infrastructure, academic staff, and pool of new talent that are available to the higher education sector must be more systematically and effectively used to expand and strengthen the research base as the key element of economic and social modernization. On the other, the separation of training for research and execution of research is increasingly perceived as dysfunctional, leading to deficiencies and weaknesses in the production of professional researchers. Efforts are being made to integrate research institutes and their staff in universities and teaching tasks, to rearrange research money flows between the sectors, and to stimulate staff mobility between research and higher education institutions.

Some countries that traditionally followed the Humboldtian model of a close teaching-research nexus are, in contrast, facing the problems of a system-wide fairly homogeneous integration of both tasks in the financing of universities, their institutional mission, and the job roles of academics. Here it is widely felt that both teaching and research functions tend increasingly to suffer under these conditions. Efforts are therefore being made to separate resource flows between teaching and research, to separate vocational-oriented undergraduate from research-oriented graduate edu-

cation, or to separate the departmental responsibility for teaching and research through specialized teaching or research management.

In contrast, in countries where the differentiation between teaching and research was traditionally at the level of job roles, with some academics being primarily or even exclusively teachers, while others were predominantly researchers, efforts are being made to counterforce this division of labor and to reinforce the teaching-research nexus for all groups of academic staff. We thus observe a rather composite mix of movements between pre-Humboldtian, Humboldtian, and post-Humboldtian approaches in search of a new balance between teaching and research.

The impact of massification and financial constraints on growing student/staff ratios differs greatly across European countries. Academic staff in all the countries of our study must shoulder an additional teaching workload. Even in countries where service statutes oblige university teachers to devote some of their resources and working time to research, this varies considerably according to their teaching load, resources, and interests. Although there are growing complaints about heavier workloads and diminishing resources and external interference and internal bureaucracy, the overall satisfaction of the university professoriate seems relatively high. Yet it is surprising to note that a relatively stable use of working time is reported in some countries (Germany, Norway, Sweden) where reliable data on the workload and time budget of academics over time are available. There are obviously counterforces that enable academic staff to reserve a considerable amount of their time for research, even when student/staff ratios are increasing.

In many countries, support for and control of teaching quality is explicitly given more importance. Not only is quality control a new legal obligation, but university administrations are also taking up this new task of setting up control mechanisms and rewarding teaching more explicitly in their promotion criteria. In this context, several countries have modified the allocation of the teaching load of their academic staff. Finland, for example, has recently moved from the traditional system of setting a minimum number of weekly lecturing hours to an annual total number of hours. Spain has recently changed to a modular system of teaching credits. In Sweden, an annual maximum teaching load has been fixed. Italy has introduced a minimum teaching load per year. Fairly flexible frameworks for the teaching load that must be determined by negotiations at the local level are reported in Belgium, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom.

Concentration and diversification of income for research raise the question of how far research and research excellence are becoming areas not only of growing competition but of growing polarization between the "haves" and "have-nots." This polarization not only occurs between institutions but within the same institution, thus creating a degree of hetero-

Figure 1.4
Staffing in Higher Education: A Changing Arena

- Policy approaches:
Between academic capitalism, new corporatism, and state supervision
- Institutional setting:
Between autonomy, new public management, and “rebureaucratization”
- The academic profession:
Between resistance, flexible response, and new professionalism
- Impact on employment and working conditions:
Less strong, consistent, and universal than expected

geneity that was unknown in the past. The most obvious impact of a further shift toward research funds from separately budgeted funds and external sources is the growing size of “research or project staff.” But we could ask how far the marketization of higher education and the changes in the resource allocation affect prestige and power within academe. Following the resource dependence theory, we would assume that external market and government pressures provide incentives for faculty and managers to change the mix of research from a discipline-inspired one to a market-driven one. Recent studies, mainly inspired by organizational theory, show that institutions tend to go where the money is. But do academics? Any serious answer to these questions would be beyond the scope of our study, and it would be naive to underestimate the ongoing changes that some assert are a revolution in academic work (see Slaughter and Leslie 1997). But our study provides some evidence that any scenario of an almost inevitable transfer of control from the disciplines and academics to groups external to the academic communities would also be misleading. This underestimates the more dynamic role of academics and their influence on the environment and tends to be culturally blind to the variety of national traditions and characteristics that must be taken into account.

THE WINDS OF CHANGE: PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

Higher education systems and their academics live in interesting times of change. These changes are occurring in the area of actors and procedures that are relevant for staffing and in the area of regulations concerning employment and working conditions (see Figure 1.4). What is less clear is the outcomes of these developments. Different sociopolitical options as well as our hopes for and fears of the future come into play when we look at different scenarios concerning the long-term changes in the academic profession. Furthermore, it should be taken into account that we might em-

phasize continuity or rupture, evolutionary or revolutionary developments, depending on our vision of higher education.

The roles and rules for the actors in the playing field of higher education have been mixed up. While the speed and depth of these changes might differ, all higher education systems in our study have experienced and/or are currently experiencing similar trends. Although the dynamics and areas of change may differ according to country, at least three major trends can be identified: Heterogenization as a reaction to the philosophy of legal homogeneity in higher education institutions; decentralization as a switch toward a system of distant steering by the government or state supervision in which each institution is given a higher degree of autonomy; marketization as an effort to build up a marketlike resource allocation system and develop competition between and within higher education institutions. In effect, the control of higher education institutions shifts to some extent away from academic oligarchy toward, paradoxically enough, more market and more state control.

There are obvious signs that market and marketlike behavior characterized by competitiveness, a strong emphasis on productivity, the search for ever-expanding and new income streams, drastic cost cutting, and the academics' growing insecurity have a growing impact on higher education. But it would be misleading to see the rise of academic capitalism as an undisputed global trend that is taking over higher education and destroying traditional patterns of rules and regulations. In the continental European context, many of the affiliations between academic staff and the state and the traditional resource distribution that allow tenure to continue and governance to influence higher education have remained. The government remains the most important actor. In some countries where welfare economy, trade unionism, and collective bargaining have had a strong tradition, the marketization of higher education is counterbalanced by new corporatism approaches.

In several countries, there are signs of a growing decentralization of the employment and working conditions of academics. There are various shifts of responsibility and decision making toward the academic workplace according to country: intermediatization as a shift of responsibility from the central government to intermediate bodies; regionalization as a shift of responsibility from central to regional state authorities; localization as a shift of responsibility to the local level of employer regulations and local collective bargaining; and individualization as a shift toward individual bargaining between academics and institutional representatives. Salaries, teaching loads, and other elements of time and resource allocation tend to become more flexible and are reorganized according to institutional and individual circumstances. It seems premature to assess the outcomes of these developments, but they contribute to a growing loss of communality within the academic profession.

All in all, the institutional level is gaining importance in staffing issues. But it would be misleading to speak of a uniform trend of new public management. Rather, it is shifting between hard and soft versions, between strong institutional control, a cost-centered management, and a staff development-oriented soft supervision. The problem of the trend toward distant steering by the state and growing institutional responsibility could be called “rebureaucratization.” Actors and procedures may differ from country to country, but there are signs that the new freedom of universities could produce rigidities. Decentralization is often accompanied by new bureaucratic rules to be accepted by the federal state or agencies. The intention to leave more room for strategic judgment within the institutions is accompanied by more detailed performance evaluation and internal process regulations. In effect, external formalism could be translated into internal or internalized formalism.

Many measures have been taken to preserve or improve the quality of teaching and learning, of research and service under conditions of tighter financial control, and in many cases, of rising student/staff ratios. They include: restructuring the higher education system to set different quality objectives and different resources for various sectors, institutions, or sub-units in higher education; better training of the academic staff; restructuring of junior academic careers and career criteria; greater assessment and evaluation of academic staff performance and linking evaluations to rewards and sanctions; and restructuring the management of higher education institutions and increasing the potential to steer academic staff. In other words, we can identify typical methods used by any product or service company to improve quantity and/or quality of output without additional resources or additional staff.

In this context, it is interesting to note how the concept of “staff” has entered the field of higher education. Universities are no longer only the home of scientists and educators or the breeding ground of the elite. They are also organizations that must offer an efficient service and therefore have to oversee the activities of their academic staff. The obvious and serious danger of this approach is that it could threaten central elements of the academic profession—that is, the collegiality of decision making, individual autonomy in teaching and research, the pride of intellectual leadership and social prestige, and the stability of economic and intrinsic rewards. There are persuasive elements in the theory of deprofessionalization and proletarianization: Salaries tend to be broken up into different components and seem to decline; the status of tenure has become an issue in many countries; teaching and research are monitored and inspected; and a casual workforce of part-time and fixed-term staff is growing at the periphery of the professional core. Last but not least, in some continental European countries we see a change in the academic staff’s status from civil servant status to contract relationship status. This thesis, however, tends to take the new rhet-

oric of output and product orientation, consumerism and flexibility, market and managerialism as reality. It tends to overestimate the impact of external actors and conditions on the life of higher education and to underestimate the idiosyncratic elements in different national contexts, as well as the flexibility, inertia, resistance, and variety of academics' responses. Our study shows that the oft-claimed trend of a general erosion of academic staff's employment and working conditions is less strong, less consistent, and less universal than previously believed.

But having said this, one cannot overlook the fact that the academic profession is now in a rather defensive position. While academics succeeded for a long time in accommodating changing environments to their aims and needs, they are now blamed more and more for the shortcomings of higher education and its problems in defining a new place in the emerging knowledge society. It is therefore important that the academics themselves find a third way beyond erosion and traditionalism and seek active strategies of involvement in the ongoing process of change. So far, the traditional character of the academic profession has not been counteracted by advocacy of a new modern model. It is left to ongoing changes to eventually lead to a new professionalism of the academic profession or various academic sub-professions.

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