

**Jürgen Enders,  
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**The International  
Attractiveness  
of the Academic  
Workplace in Europe**



**Shaping the  
European Area of  
Higher Education  
and Research**

**Den europäischen  
Hochschul- und  
Forschungsraum  
gestalten**

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## **The Academic Workplace in Europe**

### **Trade Union Positions on the Europeanisation of Higher Education and Research**

The internationally comparative study „The International Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace in Europe” was done by Jürgen Enders und Egbert de Weert from the Dutch Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS) in Twente. Their report on the personnel structure and working conditions of the scientific personnel in European higher education institutions is based on nine-teen country studies which were drafted by the respective national experts in the field of higher education research.

The main objective of this survey is to show the opportunities and limitations of academic staff mobility within Europe. The country studies illustrate how various and incompatible the national employment conditions are. On a first view this is particularly clear from the differences in income. These differences are accompanied by various regulations in the field of labour law, social security, and welfare, which all are limited in their transferability and also for mobility.

There are countries in which working conditions are organised by law, whereas others prefer wage negotiations between employers and trade unions.

The study shows that there are only a few attempts to create a “European academic labour market”. This has much to do with the fact that the academic staff in higher education and their representing trade unions were so far not involved in the Bologna Process. Without participation of the respective persons “reforms from top-down” – however positively meant – will fail. The trade unions offer to co-determine the necessary changes ahead together with the employers in a “social dialogue”.

Education Internaional (EI), the European Trade Union for Education (ETUCE) and the German Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW) – the trade unions organising nationally, European-wide and globally in the field of education – have organised the „Berlin-Forum: Shaping the European Area of Higher Education and Research“ in April 2003 to emphasise their claim for co-determination. The subject “working and employment conditions of the academic, technical, and administrative staff” has to be placed on the agenda of the Bologna Process. Both the respective academic staff and their representing unions want to be involved in negotiations. The governments will not manage to shape the European Area for Higher Education and Research only with the university Rectors and Presidents on the one side, and the students on the other.

The “Berlin-Forum“ of the educational unions showed that trade unions have their own concepts how to arrange the “European Area for Higher Education and Research”. They combine material co-determination with a sustainable engagement in higher education and research policies. Trade unions support the idea to finance work in higher education institutions according to

the tasks to enable science to develop its own critical and constructive contribution for the shape of the “social Europe”.

We would like to thank Jürgen Enders and Egbert de Weert for their study and the researchers in higher education for the nine-teen country studies.

We would like to thank Gerd Köhler and the team which stimulated this survey and the discussion in the framework of the Berlin-Forum.

We like to thank exceptionally the European Commission, the German Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF), the Hans-Böckler-Foundation, the Education International (EI), the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE) and the German Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW) for their material support of the project „Shaping the European Area of Higher Education and Research“.

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## **Shaping the European Area of Higher Education and Research**

*Gerd Köhler*

### **Trade Unions Conclusions for the Bologna Process**

Whoever wants to develop a “European Area for Higher Education and Research” has to know the people who work in it: how many are employed? How are they trained and motivated? Which are the employment conditions and which are their professional perspectives? Is the academic workplace in Europe attractive enough? Why do so many – especially young – academics/scientists go the USA? These and some other questions until now remained unanswered. Until today, the European Ministers for Higher Education and Research refuse to put these questions on the agenda of the Bologna Process. The European trade unions in the educational sector think this is wrong. For strengthening their position they supported the internationally comparative study “The International Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace in Europe”. Jürgen Enders and Egbert de Weert from the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS) in Twente, the Netherlands, have analysed nine-teen country studies which were provided by researchers in higher education from the countries involved. The outcomes were presented and discussed at the “Berlin Forum: Shaping the European Area of Higher Education and Research” organised by EI, ETUCE and GEW in April 2003.

The outcomes of this consultation process can be summarised as follows:

The Lisbon Process and subsequently the Bologna Process show that in the years ahead the demand for highly qualified staff will strongly increase. This is particularly due for research in higher education and research institutes, but also for research and development departments in larger companies. From this it follows that a close co-ordination between innovation, research and technology policies as well as higher education is inevitable.

The working conditions of the staff in the academic area are losing attractiveness. This is not only true for terminated and part-time contracts but also for the insufficient remuneration of academic work – which might differ from country to country. The remuneration has to be newly structured. In many countries performance-oriented payment is either introduced or tested. This should not lead to the income decrease of all junior academics in favour of performance-oriented increases of only some Professors.

A particular future focus will be the support of younger academics/scientists. Here, different concepts do confront each other: Whereas there are those who understand the doctorate as 3<sup>rd</sup>

phase of the study course, others criticise this as discrimination of “cheap labour”. The alternative for them would be have the doctorate as 1<sup>st</sup> phase of academic/scientific work. The doctorate should therefore be based on terminated doctorate or employment contracts – as it is practised in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands.

It also is necessary to have a long-term planning for personnel development, and thus contribute to a balanced and innovation-friendly age structure in the group of academic/scientific staff. In doing so, the aspects and requirements for gender mainstreaming will also be met.

Another important fact is the wanted mobility of academic/scientific staff – both between science and practice as well as internationally. This mobility should not lead to a “brain drain” on the one hand and a “brain gain” on the other. Here, regulations for international co-operation are needed.

The debate about working conditions has to be a subject of the Bologna Process, as was outlined by the consultations of the “Berlin Forum: Shaping the European Area of Higher Education and Research”:

Whoever wants to improve the quality of academic/scientific work in Europe, has to improve the quality of the employment conditions. These should be negotiated together with the staff involved and their representing trade unions.

Gerd Köhler (GEW), head of the “Berlin-Forum”, has summarised the results of the conference – which hosted almost 160 academics and scientists as well as trade unionists - in the following 9 items:

1. Up to now the two processes of integration in the fields of higher education and research have to a great extent been developing separately. The trade unions call for their unification, leading to the creation of a *European Area of Higher Education and Research*.
2. There must be greater access to higher education. Social participation in scientific and technological progress must be guaranteed in the interests of both the individual and society in general. The knowledge society has as its prerequisite informed and competent citizens who are capable of actively using the new possibilities offered by information and communication technology. Greater access to higher education must be achieved through a programme of expansion in higher education institutions. The “investment in the future” necessary to achieve this must be realised in the form of a binding plan at European level. Evidence of the required governmental/public spending on education should become one of the Maastricht criteria.
3. The trade unions support the introduction of consecutive degree courses in European higher education institutions, provided that the possibility to continue from the bachelor to the master stage is guaranteed. The trade unions reject any restriction on access the master stage, be it in the form of a specific grade average or a quota (only 40% of graduates at bachelor level will be permitted to continue to the master level.). The students themselves should decide with which qualification they will complete their higher education. Due to the fact that the new qualifications are, at least presently, not yet fully accepted by private and public sector employers, the trade unions call for the presentation of a report on the *Introduction of Bachelor and Master Level Degree Courses* at the 2005 Bologna conference taking place in Bergen. It should only then be decided whether the new bachelor and master degree courses are of a sufficiently high standard to universally replace the old degree courses and qualifications. Any other course of action would be irresponsible towards the students. This would be an opportunity to involve the unions and the employers in the decision making process. This form of “social dialogue” in the EU would be a positive step towards a reform in higher education that would make possible a publicly accountable process of negotiation by the parties involved.

4. Expansion in higher education, differentiation in the range of degree courses and the students' educational interests make it necessary to rethink the relationship between academic studies and the world of work. The trade unions accept the need for a discussion of the qualification of graduates with a view to employability, provided this does not lead to an uncritical adaptation to short-term interests in the labour market. A broadly based academic education is the pre-requisite for lifelong learning.
5. The administrative independence of higher education institutions must be guaranteed and the state needs to delegate its authority to approve curricula and examination regulations. As a consequence the higher education institutions must guarantee the quality of their work. The GEW, together with the other European educational trade unions, has published an international comparative report on *Accreditation in the Framework of Quality Assurance Activities in Europe* and has offered to participate in national as well as international evaluation and accreditation procedures, if it can be guaranteed through accountable and fair participation procedures, that, above all, the aim is an improvement in the quality of the content of teaching and study programmes.
6. The European educational trade unions call for an expansion of student mobility programmes. There are still too many obstacles to mobility. These range from problems in gaining entry to and permission to reside in the foreign country, to unsolved problems in the recognition, in the home country, of studies undertaken and qualifications obtained abroad, to questions of financial support, student fees and uncertain professional prospects. The trade unions support the idea of regular reports on the *Social and Financial Situation of Students in Europe* to create the basis for a policy of financial support that would grant students from financially weaker social backgrounds and countries free access to the *European Area of Higher Education and Research*. This must apply in particular to students from central and eastern European countries, if the brain drain of young graduates from these countries is to be reduced.
7. The absence of the issue of the employment conditions of academic staff from the Bologna process is clearly attributable to the fact that this group and the unions representing them have so far not been included in the deliberations. The European educational and research trade unions demand that this situation be remedied immediately. The GEW, together with the Educational International and the European Trade Union Committee on Education (ETUCE) have published the survey *The International Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace in Europe* to draw attention to the limited attraction of an academic career in Europe. Clear evidence is provided of obstacles to mobility as well as the negative consequences of the increasing flexibility demanded of the academic workforce. Those who expect high quality from higher education institutions must create for those employed there working conditions appropriate to the academic environment that encourage creativity and innovation. The paper on *Researchers in the European Space of Research* published by the European Commission shows that these demands apply equally to research institutes in Europe.
8. In view of demographic developments and the growing significance of higher education and research for the "knowledge society" particular steps must be taken to recruit and support young academics to work in the *European Higher Education and Research Area*". The trade unions do not consider the positioning of the doctorate as the third stage of higher education as being suitable to increase the attractiveness of this qualification. The trade unions call for the recognition of the doctorate as the first stage in an academic career. Young academics should be employed on doctoral research contracts and paid accordingly. At the Bologna conference in Bergen a *Report on the Different Routes to the Doctorate in Europe* should be presented. It should

- analyse concepts and practice and develop perspectives on “a European status for young academics”. Only in this way will it be possible to develop transnational academic co-operation.
9. The European educational trade unions acknowledge that European higher education and research policies play an important role in the international debate on the liberalisation of trade in services. They consider that education must remain a public good and not degenerate into a commodity. They expect a clear commitment from the participants of the Bergen conference to measures against the commercialisation of education and science. Neither the market and short-term trends nor primarily commercial interests but rather the pursuit of knowledge should determine the aims and content of academic research. Accordingly, the WTO GATS negotiations should be suspended and the control of transnational education should be entrusted to UNESCO. Science must do justice to its particular social responsibility for economic, social, cultural and ecological developments.

# **The International Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace in Europe – Synopsis Report**

*Jürgen Enders, Egbert de Weert*

## **1. Introduction**

In many countries the career patterns and employment conditions of academic staff as well as the attractiveness of the academic workplace for the coming generation are of a major concern. The concern about the attractiveness points both to the career perspectives of those working in higher education compared to other societal sectors where highly qualified work is demanded and to the recruitment of younger graduates for an academic career. Furthermore, these issues are in the centre of the initiatives and debates on the potentials and limits of mobility and exchange of academic staff across Europe that tend to be affected by the Bologna process as well as by the recent initiatives towards the European Research Area.

The higher education policy of the European Union focused for some time mainly on international student exchange and on the advancement of international networks between the individual institutions. Increasingly the discussions and initiatives regarding the ‘Europeanisation’ of higher education are determined by the introduction of ‘European dimensions’ in the content of education and research. Gradually issues of a stronger international exchange and co-operation of teachers and researchers are becoming more significant. The document of the European Commission on the role of the universities in the Europe of knowledge (2003) considers the internationalisation of education and research as one of the major new challenges facing European universities. In this regard, important issues comprise the incentives and restrictions across Europe for international co-operation of academics, mutual recognition of work achieved abroad, a certain convergence of the working conditions on both the institutional and individual level, and career development opportunities following doctoral studies.

The present discussions are, however, often localised between ambivalent poles: on the one hand there is the claim that the own higher education system should be as attractive for foreign academics as possible. On the other hand, Europeanisation and internationalisation arouse fear of „brain drain“ because academics may move away towards other regions and countries. On one pole the hope is nourished that the ‘Europeanisation’ will contribute to bring about the demolition of national traditional idiosyncrasies of the higher education systems. On the other pole, it is

feared that national standards may be eroded under the pressure of international homogenisation processes.

From the perspective of the trade unions several developments point to the unavoidable demands for framework conditions, in order to facilitate academic and scientific work at the higher education institutions in the European Union that is of high quality and fosters social progress. The unions have repeatedly proposed that higher education and research institutions should work out standards for labour conditions of academic staff. For this purpose all-embracing information regarding the working and labour conditions of academic staff is necessary, in order to consider the existing situation in a sufficiently differentiated way and to be able to develop and to assess options for designing framework conditions.

Considering the actuality and importance of this subject, the Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW) has launched the study 'The International Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace in Europe' which addresses these changing staffing conditions and perspectives in European higher education. A careful analysis of the recent developments, the state of the art of the academic community, and the anticipated changes will be a valuable further contribution to our understanding of the changing conditions of higher education personnel. The study has the following objectives:

- to analyse recent changes of the employment and working conditions of academic staff and the related legal frameworks and bargaining structures,
- to assess the impact of recent changes in higher education on the attractiveness of the academic workplace with special reference to the younger generation of scholars and scientists – in the national and international context,
- to discuss the impact of the international and European dimension on academic staff, their working conditions, and international exchange and mobility.

Experts from all member states of the European Community (with the exception of Luxembourg) and Norway as well as from most Central and Eastern European countries which are candidates for EU-membership (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Slovakia) have been invited to prepare research reports in which they discuss the issues in their respective countries. These reports have been discussed at the EI/GEW-Berlin-Forum „Shaping the European Area of Higher Education and Research“ in Berlin in April 2003. The discussions and comments on the individual reports have led to further revisions of the national reports. In principle they have been written according to the same basic structure. After some general information on the higher education system in the respective country, each chapter discusses the following main themes.

#### *A) Developments regarding employment and working conditions of academic staff*

Regulations of terms and conditions of employment, collective bargaining, institutional and individual arrangements, legal status and contractual situation, pay scales and current earnings, social security and benefits, recruitment, selection and promotion of various positions of academic staff, higher education policies that affect the working conditions of staff, such as funding mechanisms, accountability and evaluation exercises, staff appraisal and staff development.

#### *B) Debates on the attractiveness of the academic workplace*

The attractiveness of the academic workplace compared to other sectors of highly qualified work in the economy, reforms and debates on the structure of the academic staff, new staff roles and career patterns (for example regarding teaching and research), differentiation in remuneration (such as merit pay), part-time and temporary staff compared to tenured staff, challenges for the

recruitment of younger graduates for an academic career, their conditions and career perspectives in higher education, as well as the promotion of women.

*C) Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education*

prevalent national traditions and actual tendencies regarding international scientific contacts and collaboration, the virtues and plights of international mobility of academic staff (brain drain, brain gain, and brain exchange), discussions on how the situation of academic staff may be affected by processes like the Europeanisation of higher education, the Bologna process, the European Research Area, and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) of the WTO.

The present study draws on earlier work on the position of academic staff and their working conditions from an international comparative perspective (Altbach, 1996; Enders & Teichler, 1997; Farnham, 1999; Enders, 2000a; Enders 2000b; Altbach, 2001). Since the developments in Europe are changing very fast this report provides an up to date overview of the contexts and rationales of current changes and dilemmas. More importantly, this study focuses on developments regarding the attractiveness of the working environment in national higher education systems as well as on policies regarding the academic workplace and its attractiveness in the growing European Union.

This chapter provides a synopsis of the main issues as discussed in the various national reports. In what follows we first discuss some major structural developments in higher education that affect the changing face of the academic profession. Next we follow the main structure of the national reports and discuss subsequently recent changes of employment and working conditions, debates on the attractiveness of the academic workplace, and academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education. Finally we reflect on some of the main findings of the study and consider issues and challenges from the perspective of the international attractiveness of the academic workplace in Europe.

It should be noted that higher education in this project encompasses all institutions of higher learning. Both universities and other institutions such as universities of professional higher education and colleges of higher education will be included in the analysis.

## **2. Major developments affecting the academic workplace**

The country reports indicate a number of developments that are propelling the changing face of the academic workplace.

### *2.1 Shifts in funding overall and for teaching and research*

During the late 1980s and 1990s, public support for higher education decreased in a number of countries, both financially and politically. Until that time colleges and universities were a growing business where new activities were a matter of addition and frequently accompanied by growth in academic staff numbers as well. Today, with resources either stable or declining, this is no longer possible and change is expected to occur by substitution and by internal developments. These developments affect the overall size and profile of the academic profession as well as matters such as faculty work load and use of time, productivity and output.

A further development concerns the disconnection of funding for research and teaching. While resources for teaching have been reduced on a per student basis, research funding is more subject to market-like influences. In the last decade the balance between block and grant funding for research has shifted in favour of a performance-based funding approach. Also the increase of the proportion of contract research from government or industry and research commissioned by the European Union is affecting the status of research which might lead towards a further unlinking with teaching.

## *2.2 Massification and changing characteristics and expectations of students*

Sharp growth in student numbers was in many continental European countries accompanied by increased staff-student ratios and consequently enforced work intensification for academic staff. At the same time characteristics of the student population are changing. The student body has become more heterogeneous in terms of social background, age, levels of preparation and work experience, patterns of studying and learning, aspirations and life chances. This is also affecting the faculty body who teach them. Furthermore, the focus is moving from teaching (what faculty do in their classroom) to learning (what students get out of their classes). Universities and their faculty are nowadays expected to move from a 'front end' model to a 'life-span' model of education and training, to move from curricula to learning pathways.

## *2.3 Growing expectations for dissemination of knowledge*

Expectations with regards to the societal relevance of knowledge, knowledge utilisation, and dissemination of research results have certainly grown. Funding problems, the costs of certain kinds of equipment, and the shortage of talents foster inter-institutional cooperation along many lines. Faculty engage in new types of contacts with industry and other stakeholders in their projects, they promote spin-offs and participate in joined ventures to manage science parks with local authorities and multinationals. This is accompanied by deliberate national and international policies towards strategic research based on transient interdisciplinary teams that cross institutional and national borders. This development calls for strategic research management in a more unstable and less predictable environment and raises questions on the consequences for the training, career and reward of researchers beyond traditional notions of mastering a disciplinary area.

## *2.4 Transition processes and marketisation*

The process of social-political transition in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe encompasses also the transition of educational systems from the socialist tradition towards systems which try to cope with the new circumstances. To adapt curricula and to search for new organisational and funding structures are among the major concerns. The forces apparently push higher education systems away from rigorous state regulation towards more market-oriented and more competitive arenas.

Also elsewhere in Europe reference has been made to higher education systems being in a transition process, moving away from highly regulated higher education systems towards self-regulating systems. For their survival universities have increasingly to accommodate to the turbulent changes in their environment where they meet competition from the most unexpected corners. In many countries this trend towards marketisation and entrepreneurialism is visible, frequently phrased as the rise of the enterprise university or the corporate model of universities which give rise to more hybrid forms of public and private institutions. The expansion in commercial areas also requires from staff to be involved in entrepreneurial and income generation activities, developments which have implications for the academic staff in terms of the content, organisation and appraisal of their tasks.

### *2.5 From a growing to a greying staff*

Many higher education systems are confronted with a greying senior staff corps which entails a considerable replacement of the staff population in the coming years. The generation change takes place at times when the attractiveness of the academic workplace in science and engineering for the younger generation seems to decline. It seems that universities become less competitive considering the financial conditions and limited career opportunities they can provide. This means a major challenge for the re-allocation of resources and for staffing policies for the older and the younger generation of academics, i.e. recruitment and training, staff structures and career ladders, staff development and appraisal.

### *2.6 The challenge of academic management*

An important development is the effort to strengthen institutional capacities for self-regulation and the establishment of the 'managerial class' as an important actor in universities. These developments are accompanied by the assumption that they will allow for a more flexible responsiveness in steering higher education and its staff. It has been argued that changes in universities seep in by the process of changing the professionals – changing who will be attracted and can enter the academic profession, which norms and beliefs and which standards and skills are trained and learned. This is certainly a huge task for human resource management towards the academic profession. There is little doubt that traditional notions about academics as long-standing and deeply socialised professionals that are best let alone and only symbolically represented by institutional leadership are diminishing. But what will be the new anthropology of the homo academicus and corresponding leadership approaches? Is this the caricature of the 'lazy professor' who has to be kept at work by a management of short-breath incentives and visible sanctions? Is it the academic as a homo oeconomicus who can easily be steered by a cost centred management that is locally shaping rules, regulations and instruments for efficient work and output? Or are we talking about a more sophisticated version emphasising the internal differentiation of academic staff and the role of institutional leadership as supervisors aiming to design status and tasks of academics according to their strength and weaknesses?

### **3. Recent changes of employment and working conditions**

#### *3.1 Regulating the employment situation*

Employment conditions can be regulated by law or by decree, by collective bargaining between representatives of employers and employees on the national or on the institutional level, and in individual bargaining between the member of academic staff and the employer (or their respective representatives). Usually, they cover terms and conditions of service such as salary and working hours, teaching loads, job security and fixed term appointments, recruitment and promotion procedures, fringe benefits, and pensions.

The country-reports reveal that several countries in Europe experience a gradual process of decentralisation from the central ministry level towards lower authorities. The basic idea of this decentralisation is that a nation wide state system based upon the legal homogeneity of higher education institutions is no longer appropriate to consider the complexities of higher education. The argument that is mostly adopted is that state regulation restricts the adaptability of institutions to changing environments. Key words are performance, quality, and flexibility regarding staffing issues. The government sets the general framework of central guidelines, and within such a framework universities are given a high degree of autonomy in financing and staffing issues. Although decentralisation of employment relationships concerns several issues, the determination of primary conditions (like salaries) is considered as an important indicator of the type of employment regulation.

The decentralisation has become clear in the Netherlands and quite recently in Austria where organisational reforms have paved the way to negotiate employment issues on the central level by all universities in a process of collective bargaining. In a few countries (e.g. Sweden), a further decentralisation on the institutional level exists where there are no set government norms for determining terms and conditions of service. Sweden has a two-tier bargaining structure whereby national collective bargaining sets frameworks and local bargaining between institutions and local branches of trade unions regulates further details of terms and conditions of service. Finland seems in the process to follow this Swedish model of increasing local negotiations and ideas have been put forward that each employee will have his/her own individual salary. Czech Republic has developed a university system based on a high level of autonomy and self-governing rights of institutions also with regard to personnel matters. The current law gives individual universities much flexibility in creating their own pay scales and trade unions negotiate salaries and other working conditions with the management of universities.

In Slovakia, on the other hand, there is a movement in the opposite direction from institutional bargaining towards collective bargaining on the national level. Academic staff are paid according to the salary tables of all public employees.

Other countries have more centralised systems of higher education in which the terms of employment and working conditions of academic staff are mainly regulated by the central government (France, Greece, Italy).

Some countries experience a more complicated structure due to their federative or regional funding structure which causes inherent tensions regarding personnel matters. In Spain, for example, the central government decides on salaries and working conditions, whereas regional governments are responsible for financing universities. Decisions on salaries made by the central government have direct implications on the costs that regional governments have to meet. It is clear that such a system has inherent tensions as university staff policy is strongly dependent on finan-

cial deals with regional governments. In the German federal structure the remuneration of staff is regulated by the rather strict public regulations as set by the federal government, which bind the financial regulations of the individual states (*Länder*). Within this framework, the *Länder* are free to formulate their higher education policies and to use their respective resources. However, central authority withdraws from detailed regulations in order to provide more space for the *Länder* states and for local attempts to strengthen institutional autonomy in staffing issues. For example, institutions are increasingly able to create particularly favourable working conditions for those persons in scientific subjects they want to promote.

### *3.2 Legal status and contractual situation*

In countries where the determination of employment conditions is in a process of decentralisation, there is a relating debate on shifting the status of public employees (civil servants) towards a 'private' contract relationship (public employees).

However, there are some countries where this is less clear, or where a decentralisation policy has as yet not resulted in a change of the legal employment status. Proposals to abolish the civil status have been subject of intensive debate in several countries, especially in those countries where the civil servant status is deeply rooted.

Some countries have recognised universities as legal entities which entitles them as the employers of all academic and non-academic staff. (e.g. the Netherlands, Spain, Austria). It seems a rather logical step to change the employment status when institutional autonomy is the goal. In Austria such a step seems to have been taken: according to the new law the civil servant status of new academics entering the system have been abolished in favour of a private contract, albeit that the underlying conditions of this new status are still unknown.

In other countries, such steps have not taken yet but it is to be expected that the civil service status will remain subject of much debate in the coming years.

Tenure in the sense that permanent staff can only be dismissed in very exceptionally cases has lost much of its significance. In many countries tenured staff can be dismissed in case of redundancy, for example when their department or institute closes down. At the same time temporary staff positions have been created alongside the traditional tenured ones, also on the professorial level (contracted professor, interim professor). In many European countries the balance between tenured and permanent staff on the one hand, and fixed-term and part-time appointments has changed towards the latter. A basic distinction exists between a core group of permanently employed, relatively well-paid academic staff and peripheral groups of casually employed, insecure, poorly paid staff. It is estimated that in European countries between one-fifth to one-half of all academic staff are employed on a non-permanent basis.

It appears that the proportion in universities holding a tenured position varies significantly across Europe. It is lowest in Portugal (40%), and in Finland and Germany, with a proportion of tenured staff somewhere between 40 and 50 percent. In a number of countries (Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and Spain) between 50 and 60 percent of university staff hold a tenured position. The highest proportion of tenured staff are reported from Ireland and France with around 80 percent and Italy with around 90 percent.

The situation in Eastern European countries varies. In Poland all senior faculty from the 'Habilitation' on occupy tenured positions. In the other countries (Baltic countries, Slovakia) profes-

sors usually sign contracts for a certain period, although especially regarding professors these contracts will be renewed almost automatically unless extreme circumstances occur.

### *3.3 Pay scales and earnings*

Although it is a commonplace to state that the academic staff consider the intrinsic aspects of their work as more rewarding (aspects related to the content of their work, their academic freedom) than the material aspects, remuneration is increasingly becoming an issue in most countries. In several countries the remuneration of academic staff has decreased relative to what is earned in other employment sectors. This is the case in Western and Southern Europe as well as in Eastern Europe. In several Eastern European countries a large proportion of academic staff does not earn more than the minimum salary as specified by the national budget, a situation which takes for granted that academics have additional earnings outside academia.

In the last few years the issue of remuneration was subject of national review committees in several countries. These committees recognised the fact that the salaries of academic staff are lagging behind compared to other employment sectors and proposed measures to improve this situation.

The current pay scales in Europe show considerable differentials between countries. Taking the gross annual income of the professors as an indicator we note that highest salaries are paid in Sweden, Norway, Belgium, The Netherlands and Germany (between 55,000 and 60,000) followed by France, Finland, Spain and Italy (40,000-50,000). In Eastern European countries and Greece the salaries are much lower (13,000-20,000). Obviously, standards of life in the different countries have to be taken into account when comparing these figures.

There are some further observations regarding the salary structure that can be drawn from the country-reports.

First, professors in the majority of the European countries can bargain with their universities about extra income based on individual performance and universities can provide additional bonuses in order to be competitive with the salaries offered in comparable labour market segments. This also occurs in countries with a highly centralised system of terms and conditions of service (like France). Extra academic activities on top of basic salaries are noted in several countries as well. In other words, real earnings can differentiate considerably between academics of the same ranking. In countries where the determination of working conditions are decentralised, the additional payments between universities may vary considerably. It was reported that the variations between the highest and the lowest average monthly salary at two different universities can differ by a factor of four.

Second, in those countries where salaries of academics are fixed at national level and which at the same time are kept relatively low, this provokes academics to earn an additional income outside academia.

In Eastern European countries this occurs on a large scale. In some countries it is not uncommon that professors in public higher education have started up private higher education in order to boost their low official income. But also elsewhere this phenomenon is occurring, such as in some Southern European countries where the salary structure model implies a relatively low basic salary combined with the freedom ('permissiveness') to look for other sources of income.

Apart from the question whether these practices of earning additional income are due to national budget constraints and economic resources or are purposeful elicited, these practices have

been subject of much controversy in the case such activities are extended to a considerable extent. To justify these practices, it is argued that these other activities are beneficial to both the individual and the institution. Moreover, as the argument goes, the 'permissiveness' to earn additional income is a way to keep academics in relatively badly paid public higher education institutions. The argument against this –most notably expressed in the Spanish report –is that the current system of 'permissiveness' fosters initiative at a personal level, but not necessarily at the institutional level and the institution or department will not naturally benefit from this. There is a potential danger that the mix of civil servant activities and 'market activities' has contradictory consequences in that the 'civil servant' activities in teaching and research are left in a second place. Also other reports mention a steadily declining level of teaching and research in the public sector due to the prevailing low salaries.

The Slovakian report states how the perceived negative connection between low salaries and the quality of higher education has resulted in an increase of the monthly salaries, an increase which has been perceived as significant compared to the previous situation.

Third, salary differences between the different staff categories are in some countries quite considerable and the salary difference between tenured and non-tenured staff (being the underclass of academic life) are significant in virtually all countries. Especially in Eastern European countries this is the case. The Latvian report for example states that the minimum salary of associate professors is half of full professors' salary, whereas the assistant professors' salary is 3.5 times as low. It is not surprising that such a salary structure makes it very difficult to retain existing staff, and even more difficult to attract new academic personnel.

In many Western European countries the pay scales show a more gradual increase of salaries. The grade structure usually consists of many grades with associated fixed salary scales, and annual increments. In some countries the salary structure is such that it takes many years before staff arrives in the highest scale that can be attained according to his/her position. Sometimes people are 60 years of age before they reach such a pay scale. From a career perspective this is not an attractive situation.

Several attempts are being explored to recognise and reward performance in a more flexible and diverse environment. This might involve, for example, linking remuneration less tightly to academic rank and moderating it by market factors and personal performance. Some universities are much in favour of such a flexible system as this provides them a possibility to attract high-performing staff in strategically significant fields of engineering and sciences. In the United Kingdom recently proposals have been made in such a direction (see the Roberts' Review, *SET for Success*). In Germany professors W2 and W3 are entitled to raise their income bargaining directly with their university and the responsible ministry at the occasion of a second or further call or to prevent their change to another institution. Moreover, there is political pressure to remunerate the top researchers according to international standards and in competition with industry.

### *3.4 Working load*

One of the issues that is touched upon in many country-reports is the work load of academic staff. Some country-reports show quite convincingly how the work load over the years has increased, for example by referring to the student-staff ratios and additional requirements imposed on staff. Particularly those institutions whose activities predominantly are in teaching experience an intensification of work tasks: increasing number of students, more requirements regarding or-

organisation and administration. Regarding research there are more claims on writing research proposals, attracting more external research funds, and more requirements of accountability and paper work. Altogether this means that according to several country-reports the actual working time has exceeded the standard work duration to a considerable extent.

In other countries the increasing student population seems to have less impact on the work load as far as teaching jobs are concerned. In some Scandinavian countries, for example, the time used for teaching and supervision in total has been constant over time. The reason is that there are formal and informal norms regulating faculty members' teaching loads and that changes in the teaching load are not automatically expected. In some faculties there are even formula which give different credits to various kinds of teaching and to number of students supervised. Other countries also refer to the fact that tenured staff have a fixed teaching load. As a consequence, the flexibility is primarily sought in the yearly contracts of non-tenured staff.

#### **4. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

##### *4.1 Reforms and debates on the structure of academic staff*

One prevailing characteristic of the staff structure that can be found in most countries is the long career path. It takes many years to attain a tenured position. Graduate students in some countries are relatively old, have as a postdoc a temporary and insecure position for many years and once a tenured position it takes many years to be promoted to the higher academic ranks. The requirement of a habilitation thesis as a necessary condition for attaining a professorial position in the academic profession reinforces this with the consequence that the average age of professors in some countries is very high.

Most reports mention the necessity to reduce this long career path as this is one of the discouraging aspects of the academic profession. One instrument is the abolishment of the habilitation such as in Germany (see later), but there are other approaches worth mentioning here. These concern a move away from the principle of staff formation, which is based on the principle that there has to be a vacancy for an appointment, in the direction of a career policy.

To illustrate this shift reference can be made to the following practices and policy proposals.

In some Scandinavian countries academic staff can apply for promotion to a higher rank on the basis of individual research competence irrespective of vacant positions. Thus, young academics no longer have to wait for a vacancy and then apply for the job in competition with others, but they can apply for promotion to a higher rank and be judged by peer review for that position. Some of the arguments for this shift was that a system allowing promotion to full professor on the basis of achieved research competence would enhance motivation for scholarly work. Also institutions would be able to recruit and keep staff because they could plan their career without depending on vacant professorships.

Close to this model is an approach to develop genuine tenure track similar to the Anglo-American tenure track. A tenure track provides a career path based on concrete career steps rather than on standard procedures. This approach considers in perspective the distinction between tenured and temporary positions and the rigidities between them. Such a shift in emphasis requires a greater flexibility in criteria used to assess the performance and prospective work of staff. It creates as well opportunities to build internal job markets within institutions.

In the Netherlands a new system of job ranking for all academic positions is in the process of implementation. The aim of such a system is to make explicit the various roles, tasks, and responsibilities that have to be carried out to achieve specific results. The job profile plays an important role in determining the weight or the relative value assigned to a job. This system functions as a basis for advanced personnel management instruments such as assessments (on the basis of output and on the basis of competencies), personal development plans and career paths.

In France the Espéret report points towards a diversification of the tasks assigned to academics and to the diversification of each task. At the same time it is stressed that each individual academic does not match all these tasks in the same way and that variations in the balance of these activities may also occur within the same position during his/her professional life course.

These developments in personnel policies constitute a major challenge for academic management. As is said before, there is a huge task for human resource management towards the academic profession. This requires management systems in which all groups of staff including temporary and part-time staff are involved. A modern conception in this context is competence management: how to assess and develop the competencies of staff across all staff categories. Assessing the performance of academic staff takes increasingly place on the level of the employer organisation and each individual employee. Individual development plans become possible in which different staff roles are to be acknowledged, both vertically, but also horizontally on the same ranks. Individual staff members can apply for specific roles on the basis of an assessment of their qualifications, for example to be more involved in either teaching or research, or adopt other roles such as student counselling, the development of new courses or teaching material, the design and application of ICT in the teaching process etc.

This development towards a re-definition of work tasks and a differentiation in functions arises questions to what extent the tasks can be disentangled and, more importantly, whether such a differentiation may enhance the attractiveness of the academic workplace. The Belgian report attaches a positive connotation to this development when it states that 'the academic profession is becoming broader, more diverse, and more varied'. Other reports point to the risks that individual development plans may lead to a fragmentation of tasks. The holistic element which characterises the academic profession such as the nexus between teaching and research, and notions of academic autonomy with regard to teaching and research will become under much stress. Some tasks are less attractive and there is a chance that the work pressure increases disproportionately. Or as the Swedish report puts it: 'how to safeguard that the attractive aspects of the role of the teacher can be maintained: the freedom to choose your subject, methods, and working hours, as well as the possibility of influencing your work environment'.

In other words, whether a differentiation of tasks will enhance the attractiveness depends, among other things, on the purposes of such a move. The attractiveness of the academic workplace will certainly decline when this differentiation is inspired by efforts to exert more control on the individual academic at the cost of his/her academic freedom.

#### *4.2 Career perspectives for the new generation of academic staff*

The demographic changes as well as the changes in study and career choices of young people are causing serious problems with respect to the recruitment of young scientists in important areas of science and technology. Obviously this problem starts at lower educational levels which on the postgraduate level causes serious difficulties.

Low financial rewards and uncertain future prospects for university employment have led to declines in research trainees, especially in fields with high private sector demand. Institutional leaders and politicians in various countries have expressed concern about the declining attractiveness of the research system. There seems to be a paradox here. On the one hand the present staff population is ageing in many countries and a larger part of the permanent staff will retire in the next five years. Country-reports state that the combination of retirements and declining intake by junior researchers will result in a shortfall of 10 percent up to a third of all faculty. On the other hand, universities experience difficulties to attract young researchers to engage in further research training and to retain them after the PhD. In some fields of study 'a critical mass' is lacking and foreign graduates are increasingly filling the slots.

The uncertain future prospects play an important role. It appears that most new PhDs who remain in academe are appointed on a postdoctoral position. Although a post-doc position is often considered a bridge towards a tenured position, many post-docs are caught in the squeeze of increased supply amid declining opportunities in academe. They build temporary contracts one after the other without any future prospect for university employment. Although many hope to find a tenured position in academia given the expected bulk of retirements, it remains a risky endeavour.

The declining attractiveness of the research system in many European countries has led to debates in several countries about what constitutes an optimal academic career and how this career should be developed. An illustration can be found in Germany, where the keys to making academic positions in universities more attractive to young PhDs are to reduce the qualification period, to abolish the traditional Habilitation, and to break through the prevailing strong hierarchical ladder by making junior staff less dependent on their professors. Furthermore, according to the Higher Education Framework Act, a tenure-track like career ladder should be built towards a full professorship. The regular way towards a university professorship will be the junior professorships, a qualification post for a time-limited period.

Quite contradictory, some kind of a Habilitation system has been introduced in Spain. It is supposed to stimulate institutional mobility and to strengthen external peer review in the process of climbing the academic career ladder. The purpose is to oppose the local inbreeding in the prevailing promotion system and to ensure that the most suitable candidates for the posts will be selected.

In different European countries national governments have launched support programmes to enhance the position of young researchers and to ensure that the new generation of scientists – most of them on a temporary contract – will be retained for the academic world. Examples are the so-called 'innovation impulse' in the Netherlands and the so-called 'junior research groups' in Germany, financial schemes to give young talented scientists room to develop their own research ideas into a research programme. Junior researchers are provided a 'personal' budget which enables them to develop challenging research programmes.

### *4.3 Doctoral education*

An important issue that arises from most of the country reports concerns the nature and the status of doctoral training. Is it primarily a learning period with the emphasis on the student status, or is it conceived as providing a genuine contribution to the academic community? In the

former case students are eligible for receiving grants and or loans (or a combination of both), in the latter case they have the employees status and receive a salary from the university.

The countries vary in this regard. Most often the student status is the practice. Sometimes the doctoral grants are rather low – lower than the minimum wage – making it rather unattractive for young people to start such a program. In other countries, there are opportunities both for a kind of student status (scholarships and grants) or employment contracts at a university. Employment contracts for doctoral students exist in Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands. However, this is not to say that the salary can compete with the salaries earned on the external labour market nor with the better career perspectives that are offered elsewhere. In the Netherlands universities have problems to attract young scholars into doctoral training programs and consequently are catering for foreign students (mainly from Central and Eastern Europe and from Asian countries) to fill the gaps. Obviously, working conditions lack more and more attractiveness for young graduates on the home turf (certainly in times of demand outside the higher education system), but are attractive to postgraduates from abroad where the working conditions are worse.

Some countries have increased the salaries for doctoral students or have increased the stipends considerably (like in the UK) in order to compete with other sectors of highly qualified work in the economy.

Another aspect of the declining attractiveness of doctoral education is that in some countries the requirements for the doctorate are very stringent. The requirements in Latvia, for example, are so demanding that they do not only explain a shortage of qualified applicants, but also a large number of drop outs during the training. In other countries, there are regularly complaints about the insufficient support graduate students receive from their supervisors and the lack of counselling facilities.

Two developments regarding doctoral education should be mentioned in this context:

First, the development of graduate schools to organise doctoral training (examples given in France, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands). The key feature in all these schools is to bring together the various aspects and capacities of doctoral training into a single location and process. Although in its infancy, it is expected that graduate schools through a coherent structuring of doctoral education, and by providing better organisational conditions and supervision, will enhance the attractiveness to pursue a research career.

Second, in some countries the debate on doctoral education has been placed in the context of the new degree structure in Europe, whereby the PhD follows the bachelor-master structure. A restructuring towards the 3+2+3 years seems a rather logical step. In some countries a more flexible transition between master studies and doctoral studies has been advocated, whereby research training should start immediately after the first of the two years of the Master's degree for those who wish to proceed to a doctorate, while the doctoral programme should be extended to four years (so a 3+1+4 years model).

#### *4.4 The position of women in academe*

The participation of women in academe is rather low, at least in the higher staff ranks. Women constitute about 50% of the student population overall and about 35% of the doctoral students. This percentage dwindles by career stages, particularly in the tenured positions. Their progress in a scientific career is slower compared to men and their numbers start to rarely climbing the ladder of responsibilities. It is clear that much talent is getting lost.

There are different approaches to tackle this problem. In some countries there is strong government interference, whereas in other countries governments primarily appeal to the responsibility of universities in the context of a larger institutional autonomy. Governments are often not in a position to settle the problem by decree, but reference has been made to the following policies.

Some national governments have made funds available to enhance the academic careers of women in the higher academic ranks. For example the *Aspasia* programme in the Netherlands invites women to submit research proposals that, if accepted by the research council, enables them to develop their own research lines. This will result in an offer for a permanent position by the university. The *Athena* project in Britain has a similar focus. Although the number of places available is quite limited, these examples illustrate a way to enhance the career opportunities of women in the profession.

In other countries there have been attempts to work with affirmative action programmes. In Norway, for example, one measure made it possible to give female applicants for academic positions preference over male applicants with the same qualifications. Another measure was to earmark research fellowships for women only. These measures were brought to court with the conclusion that these practices violate legal arrangements and therefore are no longer possible.

Another issue concerns the debate on the assessment of scholarly productivity. The general culture in universities does not allow much space for part-time work or family leaves and is not prepared to assess the academic performance correspondingly. This means that women are almost by definition in a disadvantageous position when they try to climb the academic career ladder while taking care of family duties at the same time. Some countries point to some changes in the working climate in that also men are increasingly adopting family care tasks as well. Obviously, this does not solve the overall problem but rather contributes to an equal distribution.

#### *4.5 The relationship between teaching and research*

In most European countries there is a widely shared view that teaching and research are mutually reinforcing: good university teaching, the argument goes, can only be undertaken by active researchers, and research activity is strengthened through interactions between the researcher and students, particularly at the postgraduate level. This view is posited on the premise that the abilities underlying good teaching and those underlying good research are similar.

Recent developments have put pressure on this nexus between teaching and research. Apart from the changes in the funding of research and teaching as indicated above, there are changing views in the context of staff assessments and staff policy. The basic argument that teaching and research are combined activities and the notion that a good researcher is by definition a good teacher is no longer taken for granted: the competencies needed to excel in teaching do not necessarily coincide with those needed for research.

Some universities have implemented staff policy on the teaching – research nexus where actual work patterns of academic staff and distinctive career patterns have been disentangled, such as the designation of teaching-only and research-only staff. These initiatives intend to change the value system of universities, giving support and control for the teaching quality a more explicit role. This is quite pronounced in the UK where policies are oriented to reward excellence in teaching. This has raised questions on the desirability to formulate specific working conditions that are tuned to those involved in either teaching or in research.

## **5. Europeanisation and globalisation**

### *5.1 Prevalent traditions and new tendencies*

Many experts agree that the European Union has become a major driving force for internationalisation in higher education. Ironically, the conflict between efforts on the part of the European Commission to constantly extend its field of action and the national governments' aim to keep the Commission out of the core of higher education triggered off a European policy of grass-root internationalisation. Facilitating student mobility (and to some extent academic staff mobility) became the key instrument of internationalisation for the European Union. On the basis of various evaluation studies, we can conclude that ERASMUS and SOCRATES caused a breakthrough by transforming an international scope of teaching and learning into a regular and normal element of study.

These EU programmes in higher education were successful tools for the internationalisation of higher education in a general sense. They did, however, not strongly emphasise a pan-European approach. This is now certainly changing with the initiatives towards the establishment of a European Higher Education Area and a European Research Area – two loosely coupled developments. They stress the search for a „common European answer to common European problems“, create a European pledge for convergence and cooperation, and stress the international competitiveness of Europe.

The European policy towards a European research area, motivated by a concern about the declining investment in scientific research, stresses the need for more research cooperation and 'more abundant and more mobile human resources' (European Commission, 2000). The report especially encourages to make more use, both at national and at European level, of mobility as an instrument for the transfer and spreading of scientific knowledge. This includes introducing a European dimension into scientific careers, such as opening up researcher recruitment committees to academics from other countries, the establishment of career prospects for researchers from other European countries, and more generally bringing together the scientific communities, companies and researchers of Western and Eastern Europe. In line with this policy a mobility strategy is advocated which includes improvement of European research funding and research infrastructure, as well as removal of obstacles to mobility and further financial incentives to increase mobility (European Commission, 2001).

Several country reports refer to surveys that have been carried out on the mobility of staff, their experiences and their perceived benefits. Generally it can be concluded that academic staff are more interested in gaining international experience in the field of research rather than in teaching. Most academics argue that a stay abroad should result in some visible output, such as a recognised publications or a research project in which they collaborate in an international research team. Certainly, the 'BtA' (Been to America) still plays an important role in the career steps towards a professorial position. As far as international mobility for research purposes within Europe is concerned, academics tend to emphasise that they benefit more from short visits abroad and conference meeting rather than from longer stays. Major problems concern the replacement at home, the family conditions as well as the obstacles of an administrative nature (for example immigration procedures for academic visitors).

Reference has been made to the mutual mobility of academic teachers between neighbouring countries where the language barriers are so small that lectures can be held in the mother tongue. In different European regions this exchange has been mentioned.

A question arises to what extent international experience is a factor in itself for the advancement of the further academic career. Surveys indicate that professors in retrospect are somewhat sceptic about the impact of international experience (in the sense of longer stays abroad) on their career. But generally there is much agreement on the proposition that recruitment and selection procedures which recognise international and intercultural expertise is growing.

Several reports mention the importance of gaining international experience for younger academics and national efforts encourage this. Especially in those countries where it is very common that graduates stay at the institution where they were awarded their doctoral degree, there are proposals and policies which attempt to discourage this tradition. For example on the basis of the evaluation of Norwegian training of researchers, recommendations were made that a post-doctoral period should be spent abroad to a far greater degree than at present is the case. Another example can be found in Latvia where doctoral training is made more attractive by providing grants to students for at least a six-month study period abroad during the doctoral program.

Also on the faculty level, particularly in the top scientific fields, international experience especially on the postdoc level is increasingly becoming an important factor in recruitment and selection of staff. In some countries which traditionally have a closed system, however, it appears to be difficult for those who want to come back after international experience to overcome the obstacles that universities have set up generally for 'outsiders'.

Further steps in the direction of the European Research Area are made in the 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme. Research institutes have to develop larger consortia in order to be able to effectively take part in the programme. This will in the long run lead to larger units and national programmes will gradually be opened up to participation from other countries. In some countries the establishment of a real European Research Council has been promoted which allocates research funds across national borders.

## *5.2 WTO – GATS: threats and challenges*

The topic of internationalisation and the role of GATS have been discussed in only a few country-reports so that any conclusive statements on this topic are difficult to make. Generally this development, aiming at diminishing the barriers to make the market as open as possible, raises some fundamental questions which have as yet not been discussed very thoroughly. Some see the GATS agreements as having both its threats and its challenges. One major problem that is brought forward is that further developments may constitute a threat for publicly funded higher education. In a strict sense public services „supplied in the exercise of governmental authority“ are excluded from the treaty. However, as referred to in some reports, much higher education of today consists of a hybrid system of public and private services whereby the differences are not clearly demarcated. Emphasis on market orientation, demand-led educational services, and commercial activities in the sphere of research and education make it difficult to exclude higher education from GATS. The definitions are not well-demarcated and there is fear that this may cast doubt on the legitimacy of the public funding of higher education, eroding its public character. In France there is strong opposition against such a development since this may lead to the further liberalisation of higher education.

Furthermore, there are notions that economically less attractive study courses may be more difficult to maintain. Other (foreign) providers will be recognised given they meet the standard national validation criteria. The process of liberalisation can proceed while the educational sector

and the social partners are not aware of its implications. This raises fundamental questions about the value of a national higher education system. Should higher education remain within the domain of the public sector? What compelling influence does GATS have on national law and regulations? How is the independence of teaching and research guaranteed? And does this development affect the working conditions of academic staff of institutions that increasingly become more market oriented? All these and similar questions are not yet fully debated in many national contexts.

On the other hand, it was pointed out that rather than perceiving GATS as a threat, it is a challenge towards the increasing internationalisation of education to raise quality standards in European systems of higher education. In some countries universities have started to develop branche-organisations in other countries (offshore activities). Also the importance of strategic alliances with partner institutions abroad has been recognised. This implies that although many universities still seem to perceive themselves rather as objects of processes of globalisation, they are at the same time also key agents of internationalisation. For the moment, European countries are creating a process towards an open higher education and research area which means that a return to a 'closed' public higher education system based on the nation-state – given there are adherents for such a move – is an illusion. Sooner or later, developments beyond the current Pan-European approach and landscape will gain in importance and challenge European policies in this area.

## **6. Major issues and challenges**

In this concluding section we consider developments across Europe from out the perspective of the international attractiveness of the academic workplace. Which dominant issues are at stake and what indicators for a declining attractiveness deserve broader attention? What is the role of Europeanisation and internationalisation in this context and what lessons can be drawn from recent policies and practices across the growing European Community?

### *6.1 A changing landscape for higher education and its principle workers*

The country reports indicate a number of developments that are propelling the changing face of the academic profession. Shifts in funding overall and a tendency to disentangle funding for research and teaching, growing competition for and concentration of resources all affect the size and profile of the academic profession and the conditions at the academic workplace. Changing characteristics and expectations of students and growing expectations as regards the dissemination of knowledge change the conditions for the principle work tasks in teaching and research. Declining public support and the call for an entrepreneurial role of higher education institutions require further involvement in boarder crossing and income generating activities. Actors and mechanisms of appraisal and control, rewards and sanctions get closer to the academic staff and affect their working and career conditions more directly. The emergence of the 'managerial class' in higher education institutions changes the traditional relationship between the homo academicus and the institutional leadership. At the same time, the European dimension in teaching and research gains in importance and addresses more directly the work floor level within academe. Last but not least, the generation change within academe takes place in times where the attractiveness of the aca-

demographic workplace for the young generation seems to decline and recruitment beyond the home turf becomes more important. Within this turbulent environment a number of issues need to be addressed to stimulate awareness and debates on the international attractiveness of the academic workplace in Europe.

### *6.2 Civil servant status versus private contract relationship*

Several countries show a clear shift from the status of civil servants towards public employees and/or towards a 'private' contract relationship for academic staff. Proposals to abolish the civil servant status are subject of intensive debate in several countries. The question is whether such a shift has consequences for the position of staff. Some would argue that it leads to a deterioration of academic working conditions in terms of job security and other terms associated with traditional characteristics of employment in the public sector. On the other hand, widespread experience shows that rules and regulations for employment in the overall public sector were far from tailor-made for the specific work roles and careers in teaching and research in academe. Higher education institutions are nowadays developing into more autonomous organisations with more responsibility for staffing issues. It can be questioned whether stringent state regulation covering the whole public domain is more attractive than a situation where universities are more responsible for their personnel policies. From an international perspective the development of employment schemes which replace the existing general ones for civil servants and public employees presumably make it more attractive for a more internationally oriented group of academics (Plander, 2002). The new freedom of universities, however, is currently overshadowed by financial constraints that create difficulties to design more flexible staffing policies that enhance the attractiveness of the academic workplace.

### *6.3 Senior and junior staff*

In some countries the distinction between senior (mostly tenured public servants) and junior staff is quite large. Junior staff often face unclear and changing contractual and legal positions as well as uncertain future employment and career perspectives. Furthermore, the social distance and dependency of junior staff on their senior colleagues is symbolically underlined. Notably in systems that emphasise the long track and the formal requirements (Habilitation) towards a senior position and more professional autonomy emphasise this gap between senior and junior staff.

It can be questioned whether this is an attractive situation, given that fact that this does not merely concern the junior staff, but the members of the 'middle estate' of the academic profession who already have developed substantial academic credits. At the moment, certain developments and debates across Europe seem to be in favour of strengthening the position of junior staff while senior staff probably perceive themselves more frequently as losers of these changes. It remains, however, to be seen if reform attempts in this area – a move away from staff formation based on vacancies towards career policies based on quality, the abolition of the Habilitation, introduction of positions and resources for earlier independence – reflect a fashionable 'Zeitgeist' or contribute to a new balance between junior and senior staff.

Generally the question can be raised whether different career systems, and other mechanisms stimulating competition will lead to any more faculty mobility and research productivity. There is little evidence to confirm such a statement. Although this question should be researched more fully, the reports of those countries where a fixed contract system is dominant do not indicate a higher mobility than those countries which have a tenure system. A recent project on faculty appointments in the US (Chait 2003), concludes that a fixed contract system does not lead to any more mobility and productivity than a tenure system (for a discussion on tenure track, see for example, Dnes & Seaton, 1998; De Weert & Van Vucht Tijssen, 1999).

#### *6.4 Casualisation versus career development*

A further observation in this context is that a growing number of academic staff are excluded from regular staff structures – whatever their character might be. Expansion as well as policy reorganisations of resources and personal changed non-professorial posts. The rise of a class of non-professorial teachers in response to the growing student numbers as well as the rise of a group of externally financed contracted research staff are more or less international phenomena. They tend to embed conflicting values and expectations as regards the functions of higher education and its staff directly into academe. Continuous and satisfying employment as well as personal development and encouragement for a ‘regular’ academic career have become more insecure for a growing number of staff. In short, these appointments are likely to be dead ends. Certainly, this is not an attractive situation for newcomers to the academic profession. Staffing policies on the international, national and local level that encourage career developments and enhance prospects for this growing group of teachers and researchers are becoming more important.

#### *6.5 A unified or a diversified profession?*

Another issues to be raised is whether the differentiation of contractual conditions and work roles along functional lines will undermine the coherence among academic staff. Traditionally, the academic profession is seen as a unified one, with the professorship as the ultimate rewarding position. Gradually the profession tends to be diversified not only into a core group and groups at the margins but within the core as well, and in many countries proposals have been put forward in this direction. The Espéret report in France is a case which points towards a diversification of the tasks assigned to academics. At the same time it is stressed that each individual academic does not match all these tasks in the same way and that variations in the balance of these activities may also occur within the same position during his/her professional life course. Several other countries allude to these developments, arguing that this makes the academic career more interesting, more varied, and more challenging.

However, it has also been pointed out that this may lead to a fragmentation of work roles and tasks that undermines the traditional holistic notion of academic work to an extent that it becomes less attractive for those staff concerned.

## 6.6 Doctoral training

A recent debate throughout Europe is whether doctoral candidates should have a student status or an employment status at universities. This debate is intertwined with the declining interest among younger graduates to enter further research training in a number of European countries. Some countries have started attempts to improve the status and remuneration of doctoral candidates substantially, independent of their formal status as either students or employees. The graduate school movement across a number of European countries tries to enhance the conditions and outcomes of doctoral education by setting up more coherent structures and processes of training and supervision. To date, however, we find little evidence that different models of status and structure of training and support create dramatic differences as regards the attractiveness of research training among the younger graduates. Certainly, a student status combined with lower remuneration is not likely to make this option more attractive. But problems of recruitment can be found in countries as well that offer full-time employment contracts to doctoral candidates.

In turn, countries and organisations recruit more actively on the international turf, and the number of graduates moving from poorer regions and countries within and beyond Europe to more attractive places for doctoral training has clearly increased. This may be welcomed as a contribution to the internalisation of the academic workplace across Europe. But it raises as well concerns about an unbalanced brain drain and brain gain and the willingness of national systems to open up for further career perspectives among an internationalising pool of newcomers. A question is whether European policy on this issue will be able to stimulate a more open research area with an equal and challenging field for intellectual mobility.

Another issue concerns the aims and nature of doctoral training. Doctoral education is not only considered as a reproductive mechanism for the new generation of the academic estate, but it should also equip PhD holders for a larger category of jobs outside academia. It should be made more relevant for a broader variety of other careers outside higher education and to meet the demand for high quality scientists and engineers across the knowledge economy. In order to enhance the employability, various initiatives have been mentioned which include both core skills (e.g. training in research skills and techniques) and wider employment skills (e.g. research management, communication skills, teamworking and other generic skills). Preparing PhD students for a career in other types of contexts may lead to new institutional arrangements in which non-academic partners are involved. Recent reports by the European Commission (2003a and b) point in a similar direction.

## 6.7 The European and international dimension

Last but not least, this leads us to have a further look beyond the national contexts and developments on the international and European dimension in higher education. Yet the phenomenon of 'internationalisation' is not a new one for higher education and its academic staff. At least in three respects we might consider a growing impact of the international dimension on staffing in higher education. Policy-makers and those responsible for higher education have become more aware of international co-operation and competition between higher education systems. Higher education systems are more and more expected to contribute to national economy and welfare in a globalising environment and to maintain their performance in a competitive international environment of teaching and research. In effect, there is a growing interest in international trends in

higher education and mutual observation of higher education systems has increased. Furthermore, the watchwords of international competition in higher education serve to some extent as a legitimisation of national policies in this area. There is a widespread view that higher education in highly industrialised societies serve similar functional needs and that higher education can improve its performance through reforms taking into account comparative experience. Finally, the European programmes in the area of higher education and research have changed the situation in Europe very fast by creating new possibilities for exchange and participation in teaching and international research networks and supporting academic training for teaching and research in the national and international context.

Academic labour markets in Europe seem, however, far away from being international ones. Our knowledge and available data on international staff exchange and mobility are still very limited. While temporary mobility as well as a certain degree of permanent brain drain to the U.S. as well as brain gain from 'second' and 'third' world countries were already more or less frequent for various decades, mobility within Europe becomes important and interesting nowadays, but is accompanied by many barriers and traps. Here is a major task for European policy responses and initiatives. But more importantly, international flows of academic labour will probably increase due to the labour market shortages in this area envisaged.

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# **The Changing Academic Workplace: From Civil Servants to Private Employees**

## **Country Report Austria**

*Hans Pechar*

### **1. Introduction**

The year 2003 is both an excellent and a difficult time to address problems and challenges of the academic workplace in Austria. It is the start of the implementation of a reform in the organisation of Austrian universities which fundamentally changes the working conditions of academics. The importance of this reform parallels the aftermath of the revolution in 1848, when Austria embraced the Humboldtian model. Commencing in 2004, Austrian universities will cease to be state agencies and will acquire „full legal entity“ which gives them a kind of corporate autonomy unparalleled in the last 400 years.

The new reform is at the centre of this study. On the one hand, the GEW study is a welcome opportunity to reflect upon the chances and risks of this reform during an early stage. However, this entails necessarily some problems and limitations of this paper: It is written during a time of transition, when the old regime is no longer valid while the new system is not yet in place. There are many open questions and uncertainties of two kinds:

On the one hand, there are controversial interpretations of some aspects of the new organisational act (UG 2002) which was passed by Parliament in 2002. In many cases it is not evident to the author which of this interpretation is correct. There is not yet an authoritative interpretation of that law which could clarify all issues concerning this controversies.

Even more important is a second point: many issues which in the „old regime“ were regulated by federal law (either by the predecessors of UG2002 – UOG 1975 and UOG 1993 – or by the law regulating the employment of civil servants (BDG)) are now deregulated. Those issues are now to be decided by the different actors of the universities. Partly those issues will be negotiated on a central level of all universities in a process of collective bargaining. This process has just started at the same time when the paper was finished.

Parts of this paper therefore are not more than a kind of stock-taking of the definitions and strategies of different persons and groups. Hopefully this case study contributes to clarify some of the open questions.

### 1.1 The impact of the Humboldtian tradition

For about 150 years Austrian higher education was shaped by the Humboldtian tradition. In our context, the following aspects of that tradition are of main interest:

(1) Governance at universities was characterised by a dualism between political and academic authority:

with respect to all aspects of public interest, the university was a state agency and subject to centralised decision making by legislation and state bureaucracy;

all issues regarding teaching and research were in the hands of the academic oligarchy – each chairholder being in charge of his/her own specialised field of research.

This dualism goes back to the mid 19th century, when the Humboldtian system was established in Austria (Cohen 1996). Academics usually did not strive for corporate autonomy of the university, rather the opposite; it was a relief not to be in charge of trivial matters. The educated elite regarded it as a cultural obligation of the enlightened secular state (*Kulturstaat*) to provide beneficial circumstances for academic life. The state was seen mainly as a power to protect the integrity and autonomy of universities, not as a potential threat to their independence.

This dualism was also reflected in the internal organisation of the university, in a parallel leadership structure. There was an academic hierarchy (rector, dean, head of institute) on the one hand, and a hierarchy of administrative functions on the other. The head of university administration (*Universitätsdirektor*) was neither appointed by the rector nor elected by the collegial bodies; the head was appointed by the Minister and in most matters responsible to the Minister. In the traditional chair system (*Ordinarienuniversität*) self-governance was restricted to the small group of full professors. The situation of junior faculty was then characterised by personal dependency on the chairholders. The university as a whole was an assembly of many small ‘principalities’, each of them managed and controlled by a full professor.

(2) The chair was the most important organisational unit. Research and teaching at universities was centred around individual professorial chairs, who had a high degree of authority in their field of expertise, without any substantial interference from university bodies or government. Chairholders were heads of academic units and in this function they were superiors of non-academic staff and of junior academics. All other academic staff was subordinated to the chair and was to support him/her. This organisational pattern was modified by the organisational reform of 1975 (UOG 1975), in which chairs were replaced by institutes which are units for similar or related subjects. Furthermore, the non-professorial teaching staff was (with reduced influence) included in collegial self-administration. However, the traditional notion of the chair is still present in many formal and informal ways.

(3) At the institutional level, the university as an organisation was weak. The most important issues were directly dealt with between the chair-holding professors and the state bureaucracy. The corporative structures at the university and faculty levels had merely a symbolic function. It was the self-image of the university to be a self-governing community of scholars held together by common values. The rector was regarded as *primus inter pares* to represent the university, not to govern, let alone manage it.

(4) As long as the university was a state agency, the government was the employer of academic and non-academic staff; only temporary staff was employed on the basis of private contracts, usually within the scope of ‘third party projects’. Academics were civil servants with lifelong tenure. This status was supposed to secure academic freedom against pressure from outside, in particular from the Roman Catholic Church which up to the 20th century had a strained relationship with

the modern concept of autonomous science. The majority of non-academic staff had also permanent positions, many of them being civil servants.

In general, the traditional view of this employment pattern emphasised the advantage of a 'principal' being distant from the sphere of academic work; distant in the sense of space, but also with respect to professional competence. Working conditions of academics reflect the dualistic nature of the traditional university as a state agency on the one hand, and a sphere of academic autonomy on the other. The status of civil service did not only guarantee lifelong job security for academics, it also offered an opportunity for academic self-governance. Only formal aspects of personnel management which could be executed by bureaucratic procedures were handled by the ministry, which was the 'principal' in the legal sense. All aspects of personnel management related to academic work were delegated to collegial decision making in self-governing bodies of the university.

(5) During the last 30 years a number of major reforms in the organisation of Austrian universities occurred, all of them having substantial impact on the working conditions of academics. The most important aspects are summarised in Figure 1. UOG 1993 and UG 2002 will be discussed in more detail in a later section.

Table 1: Changing conditions for academics, 1970-2002

	<b>General features</b>	<b>Employment contracts</b>	<b>Appointment of professors</b>	<b>Influence of junior academics</b>
Before 1975	Chair system	Public	Minister	Small
UOG 1975	Group University	Public	Minister	Big
UOG 1993	Transition	Public	Rector	Decreasing
UG 2002	Managerial	Private	Rector	Small

## 1.2 Problems emerging during the transition from elite to mass higher education

During the expansion of student numbers since the 1960s, the concept of a chair-system with dual governance structures came under pressure.

(1) At the system level, strains between government and academe intensified. The government increasingly regarded the collegial self-governance of academic affairs as insufficient. Higher education was no longer seen as a sole cultural issue, but also as a social and economic one – just too important as to be left to universities<sup>1</sup>. Correspondingly, academics regarded the government no longer as a benevolent actor in the tradition of the enlightened secular state (*Kulturstaat*) providing beneficial circumstances for academic life. Instead of a power to protect the integrity and autonomy of universities, the state was now seen as a threat to their independence.

The expansion of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in growing diversity and complexity of higher education:

A diversity of students in terms of talent, expectations, and motivation.

<sup>1</sup> An important step was the legislation of the AHStG in 1966; this act formalised the study regulations which formerly were to a high degree at the discretion of individual chairs.

A diversity of academics in terms of status, activities and interests.

A diversity of labour market demands which at the same time are rapidly changing.

The various acts and regulations passed during that time turned the university into an awkward and complex institution.

This complexity of a mass higher education system was increasingly difficult to steer from the political centre. During the 1980s there was growing dissatisfaction with the status quo by all actors including academics, students, politicians, and state bureaucrats. This disenchantment with the traditional governance patterns paved the way for the managerial revolution.

(2) At the level of the academic unit, expansion led to an increase of work, tasks, and complexity; new administrative functions did arise. Universities could only cope with this burden by expanding the number of junior faculty. In the course of expansion of higher education, non-professorial academic staff took on an increasing range of academic functions, many of them independently, without the guidance of a professor. The traditional assumption of the junior faculty of mere assistance to the professor could no longer be maintained. As a consequence, junior faculty was partly included in self-governing bodies and collegial decision making.

The co-determination of a wider range of academics softened the authoritarian structure of the traditional university, but it created problems of a new kind. Collegial bodies are based on the assumption of equality of its members (respectively the members of each status group). As a consequence, they emphasise equal treatment of all staff and equal distribution of resources. In other words, the equal treatment of academics by the ministry which was inherent to their status as civil servants (no merit pay, advancement based on seniority) was paralleled by collegial bodies which in many respects acted like faculty unions. For most matters group solidarity within the status groups was the outstanding driving force behind all negotiations and decisions. This feature of collegial bodies considerably reduced their self steering capacity for all matter of conflicts within academic affairs. In particular they had little ability to handle any kind of distributive conflicts. In order to avoid those conflicts collegial bodies tended to sum up every single demand which was raised by their members. As a consequence, collegial bodies usually made unrealistic high financial demands to the ministry which could not be taken seriously. Hence the status of collegial bodies and of their decisions and resolutions was considerably devalued. In most critical matters they were simply overruled by final decisions by the ministry. The collegial bodies on the basis of the UOG 1975 could act as autonomous and democratic assemblies, but their real decision making power was strictly limited.

## **2. Employment and working conditions**

### *2.1 Quantitative developments*

In 1946, Austrian universities had 382 professors and 1060 assistants (BMfU 1969, p. 81 ff.). The ratio of professors to assistants was then 1:2.8; in 1970, the ratio of the 906 professors to the 3653 assistants was 1:4; in 2002, 1850 professors were facing 7696 assistants, which equals a ratio of 1:4.2.

In most countries the quantitative relations between professorial and non-professorial academic staff changed in the course of massification. However, some countries have nevertheless a totally different balance. In Germany, one professor faces only 0.4 assistants (Zechlin 2001, 12). In addition, the quantitative relation between academic and non-academic staff in Germany dif-

fers profoundly from the Austrian situation. In Germany the ratio is 1 (academic) : 1.7 (non-academic); in Austria the ratio is 1 (academic) : 0.8 (non-academic). One can conclude from these quantitative comparisons that many supportive functions, which in Germany are fulfilled by non-academic staff, are in Austria the duty of assistants.

Table 2: Academic and non-academic staff at research universities

	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002
Professors	906	1589	1732	1854	1854	1850	1850
Assistants	3653	4883	5434	6801	7335	7628	7696
Other non-professorial academic staff	317	690	727	746	763	748	746
Academic staff total	4876	7162	7893	9402	9952	10226	10292
Non-academic staff	3304	4316	5716	6743	8032	8073	8084
Total	8180	11478	13609	16145	17984	18300	18376

Source: bm:bwk

(4) What have been – under the old framework prior to UG 2002 – the qualifying procedures and career patterns for employed academic staff? Prerequisite for appointment as an assistant was a first degree (*Magister*). There were 2 types of assistants, those who entered the civil service (*Universitätsassistenten*) and those who had a fixed-term contract (*Vertragsassistenten*). The former also started with a temporary contract of 4 years. In this time they were supposed to finish their doctoral degree. After another 6 years of temporary contract they were supposed to finish their *Habilitation* which gave them full teaching authorisation in their field. *Habilitation* was also a prerequisite for appointment as professor, either extraordinarius or ordinarius. However, a *Habilitation* itself was not a sufficient condition for appointment as professor, an increasing number of staff members remained in permanent employment as assistants. Proposals for a vacant post of a professor ordinarius were made by an appointments committee of the university. The Minister selected one out of three candidates. Proposals for a professor extraordinarius were made by a collegial body of the university.

Table 3: Functions of academic staff according to status of employment and teaching authorisation (UOG 1975 and UOG 1993)

Function in academic life	Employed staff		Non-employed staff	
	full teaching authorisation	limited teaching authorisation	full teaching authorisation	Limited teaching authorisation
Main function	professor ordinarius, professor extraordinarius, assistant with Habilitation			
Supportive function		assistant without Habilitation		
Supplementary function			visiting professor	External lecturer
Without formal function	professor emeritus		honorary professor	

## 2.2 Non-professorial status: trainee versus terminal position

Academic personnel has a very long training period before succeeding full vocational status. This is a common characteristic with other advanced professions. In all professions the training period lasts until the late 20s, sometimes to the early 30s of the new generation. Training for the academic profession even lasts longer; in few cases it is concluded before the mid 30s. However, different academic systems vary significantly in the length and in the organisation of the training period for junior faculty. These variations are connected with significant differences in the status of young academics and their integration in the faculty as a whole.

The position of full occupational status is the professorship. Hence every young person who enters the field of the academic profession strives to become a professor. It goes without saying that the group of professors is not totally homogeneous, but includes significant variations with respect to reputation, in some systems also status and income, etc. However, beyond these differences it is unified by the common characteristic of having concluded the training period and reached full professional status.

The main characteristic of non-professorial academic staff can be defined as „being a trainee“. However, the precise status of these trainees varies with the length of the training period. Besides, the personnel policy in some systems inevitably have the consequence, that a large part of these trainees never get promoted to professorship. Hence they remain „trainees“ for their whole career. This is often regarded as professional failing of these persons. However, in many academic systems the lifelong pre-professorial status is a mass-phenomenon which can only be explained by structural characteristics of the respective system.

Austria belongs to the group of countries with an exceptionally long training period for academics. Belonging to the Humboldtian tradition, requirements for gaining full professional status included not only the conclusion of a doctoral dissertation, but in addition a „Habilitation“, a kind of second thesis. On average, junior academics finished their Habilitation during recent years at the age of about 40. However, the conclusion of the Habilitation by no means guaranteed promotion to professorship. While within the group of non-professorial academics promotion depended on the individual academic success of each person, promotion to professorship is in principle of different kind. A necessary prerequisite is a vacancy in the group of professors.

Professors belong to a fundamentally different of group („*Kurie*“) of academics. Historically they were defined as chairholders, and this definition resulted in an inherent limitation of their number. In the course of the expansion of higher education, the notion of the „chair“ lost its original significance (although it never vanished completely). What remained was the strict limitation of professorial posts. Hence, regular promotion of junior faculty to professorship (as a result of individual academic success) is not possible. The collective chances of the junior faculty for promotion to full professor mainly depend on the quantitative relation between the two groups. If the number of junior academics increases while the number of professors remain stable (or increase to a less degree), the chance for promotion decrease. If that happens, the role of junior faculty undergoes a functional change: A position which is labelled as a transitional trainee position (which should be terminated in due time) develops hybrid characteristics: while it remains a transitional position for one group (the most successful ones) it becomes a terminal occupational status for another, less successful group.

Table 4 gives an impression of the quantitative dimension of that problem. One can assume, that academics should have reached their full professional status at least at the age of 45. However, in the year 2001 there are 1672 assistants with *Habilitation* who are older than 45. They have the formal qualification for promotion to professorship, but no such post is available in an aca-

demic system which has distinct *Kurien* instead of a continuous career scheme. This group of potential professors is almost as big as the group of the 1850 real professors.

Table 4: Age distribution of assistants with Habilitation (age group)

Younger		41 – 45		46 – 50		51 – 55		56 – 60		61 – 65		older		Total	
Total	in %	total	in %	Total	in %										
457	16	655	24	594	21	444	16	416	15	207	7	11	0	2784	100

Source: bm:bwk (2001)

There are at least two aspects of this problem which deserve consideration:

In the Humboldtian tradition the academic profession used to be a rather homogeneous group. To be more precise: the different „estates“ of the academe used to be homogeneous with regard to formal status und regular income<sup>2</sup>. The estates, however, were basically defined in terms of different phases of competence (students = initial training, junior faculty = advanced training, professors = full professional competence). The emergence of a group of academics with the destiny of a terminal status below the professorial rank constitutes a new kind of status differential within the academic profession.

As a result of the enormous expansion of higher education since the last four decades, more emphasis on status differentiation within the academe might be inevitable<sup>3</sup>. Remarkable, however, is the vague and ambivalent character of the differentiation described above. The new lower rank academics are not explicitly defined as a less eminent type of professors, but they have reached their final destination in a post which has the formal status of a training position. This creates problems of status incoherence at individual level, difficulties for personnel management at the organisational and institutional level, and a lack of transparency at the system level.

From the individual perspective, it is felt as failure to remain permanently in a position which is regarded as a temporary trainee position. One might argue that the same feeling could arise if a young academic does not get promoted to the professorial status of his/her ambition. The difference is: the latter example is a normal experience which is frequent in every profession; the former, however, is a distinct feature of academic systems in some countries: the misuse of a trainee position for permanent academic employment.

At the policy level, the ambiguity of a permanent trainee position creates confusion. The public debate of this issue reinforces the impression of personal failure. Predominantly, the increasing number of junior academics who are not promoted to professorial posts is treated as an indication for quality problems. Many senior academics and policy makers<sup>4</sup> blame it on a blockage of trainee positions by „overaged“ academics that the next generation of ambitious research students has no prospects of academic careers. It was exactly this kind of assessment which legitimised the rapid legislation of a provisional reform of academic contracts (see later).

2 It goes without saying that at all times significant variation existed with respect to reputation (i.e. informal status) and additional income.

3 One obvious, and widely accepted way to tackle this problem is the differentiation of various sectors of higher education. It is, in the first place, legitimised with the need of different function, but it usually goes along with a status differentiation.

4 They should know it better, because it are mainly the same persons who in the past decided upon the number of academic posts.

### 2.3 Career tracks and external application

It is a critical question for every higher education system at what stage in their career it considers young academics as independent, as „grown up“ teachers/researchers who can proceed their professional interests in their own right. This question seems to be related to another one. In every system a minimum of career mobility is expected; nowhere should academics stay at the same institution for their whole career (which includes undergraduate and graduate studies). Such a rule is expected to stimulate competition and to prevent nepotism. The question is: at what stage do normally young academics leave their „home institution“ were they have received their academic degrees and their basic training? At what stage do they move to a new research environment where they are appointed on a competitive basis? There is some evidence that the earlier this move takes place, the earlier they acquire independent academic status.

In the Austrian system this step usually takes place very late. A typical academic career looks like as follows: talented and ambitious students get attention by their teachers. When a post for a junior academic is free they have a good chance to get it<sup>5</sup>. In this position they complete their doctoral degree, make their basic research training, and proceed with their *Habilitation*. They are free to move to another institution; but that happens in rare cases. When they have completed the *Habilitation* they get full teaching authorisation and thus have achieved a high degree of professional autonomy but even then they are assistants – and the very name of this position carries the implication that they should assist another person<sup>6</sup>. The next career step would be the appointment as a professor. Usually they can only proceed if they apply for a post at another institution, because at this stage the taboo of internal appointment (*Hausberufung*) takes effect<sup>7</sup>.

This carries the symbolic implication that only the professor is a fully grown up professional who has successfully cut the cord to the alma mater who has fed him/her so far. One has to bear in mind the lack of non-academic service personnel mentioned earlier. Without imputing that in every instance assistants are used for service tasks by the professoriate, it is true that a certain amount of support is expected. This is most likely during the period of personal dependence, when assistants work on their *Habilitation*. One can assume that in many cases professors have little interest to accelerate a career step which would give much more independence to their protégés.

There is some irony in the fact that Austrian higher education – embedded in the Humboldtian tradition – concedes the ability to independent learning at a very early stage to students whereas independence of academics is significantly postponed. Students are from the very first semester considered as researchers with little independence, with the consequence that the university does not feel any responsibility to monitor their studies. Academics, on the other hand, acquire full professional status on average only in their 40s – with the side-effect that the university has an impressive number of helpful hands who may be called on to assist academics with full professional status.

The American tenure track system sharply contrasts with this pattern. Students often change their institution after the first degree and make their doctorate at another university. Ph. D.

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5 All posts have to be advertised and to be filled with the best applicant either from inside or outside the institution. Yet there is no reservation to put an internal applicant in such a position.

6 It is true that all kinds of titles, such as *Dozent*, or newly *a.o.Univ.Prof.* (professor extraordinarius) symbolize the increased status of assistants with *Habilitation*. That does not change the hard fact that they belong to the „middle estate“ (*Mittelbau*) of academic status groups and are united with assistants without *Habilitation* by various interest ties – and equally separated from the interest group of professors.

7 There are exceptions from that rule but they need special explanation.

graduates usually do not look for jobs at their own university – at least not for jobs in the tenure track. They apply for such jobs at other universities, with the symbolic implication that they cut the cord from their academic mentors at a very early stage in their career. The taboo of internal appointment relates to totally different career phases in the American and in the Austrian university. In the US, the pressure to leave the alma mater at a time when graduates look for their first serious academic appointment facilitates independence at an early stage of the career. From now on, academics can stay at the same institution or they can move. If they stay, it is certainly not a sign of nepotism, because they were once selected in a competitive manner as independent professionals. In other words: a career track system requires external application at an early stage, whereas the pressure to external application at a late stage (taboo of *Hausberufung* for professorial posts) prevents a career track system.

#### 2.4 How governance structures shape career patterns

In all academic systems, reputation, authority, privileges etc. are distributed unevenly among different ranks. Hence, conflicts between those groups are quite natural. However, it makes a big difference, if the status of academic ranks is linked to governance issues or not. In the traditional European system, it is basically the group of full professors who govern their institution. Under the condition of „shared governance“ they share a small amount of this power with other academic groups. But even the modification and modernisation of governance structures did not crucially undermine the power of full professors. „Democratisation“ of collegial decisions did not mean: „one man/woman (meaning: one academic), one vote“; it rather meant: differentiated voting power, graded by „ranks“, by academic „estate“ (*Kurien*). This was the essence of the „group university“. The struggle for decisions did increase due to the increasing heterogeneity of the collegial bodies, but full professors remained the group with the highest voting power.

It is unlikely that under such circumstances a common professional identity can emerge. Since they are divided by conflicting interests, academics do not develop a self image of an „academic profession“ comprising all status groups, they rather cultivate their group identity. It is a necessary prerequisite of such a system to restrict promotion to the highest rank to a relatively small number of academics. If all academics (provided satisfactory performance) would gain full professorial status in the course of their career, full governance power would be just a matter of seniority<sup>8</sup>.

The American university provides an interesting contrast to the European model. Academic self governance plays a different – and minor – role in the US than in Europe. Never during the history of American higher education, academics had the same power of self governance as their European counterparts. From the very beginning there was a distinct level of authority – presidents/principals on the one hand, governing boards on the other hand – which set strict limits to the capacities of academics to govern their institution. As a consequence, the sense of a common professional identity was much stronger than in Europe<sup>9</sup>.

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8 To a certain extent this was indeed the case in small elite systems which were characterised by a low growth rate or almost stable conditions. Under such circumstances, the majority of junior faculty had reasonable prospects to be promoted to full professorial status. Hence, there was a less degree of conflicts between the different academic ranks and a stronger sense of professional unity. Yet, in systems with a high degree of academic self governance it was always of highest importance to draw a clear line between the different ranks of academics.

9 Metzger writes about the early (1915) initiatives of the ‘American Association of University Professors’. In Great Britain and Germany at the same time, the major thrust to an all-faculty organisation came not from the academic stars but from the lowly junior professors and assistants who banded together to demand a living wage and some

In our context we are just interested in one aspect of this far reaching difference: in a system where academic rank is not connected with the authority of institutional self-governance, academic promotion plays a different role than in the typical European model. One could say that promotion is „relieved“ from one dimension of intense power struggle. This is not to say that academic promotion is not a matter for conflict in such a system. If academics have little (or no) authority of self-governance, different academic ranks have nevertheless different reputation, authority, privileges etc. And yet, one important – and probably the most divisive – matter for conflict is „externalised“: most issues of institutional governance are then not conflicts among different academic standings but between academics as a whole and the „external“ authority layer of presidents and boards. One could say that presidents and boards constitute a kind of „external enemy“ who serves to unify all academics regardless of rank and standing<sup>10</sup>. Under such conditions, academics may develop a stronger sense of unity, a self-image of a comprehensive profession, not divided in different „estates“ with conflicting interests. Of course conflicts are still present, but play a minor role than in a system where authority to govern the institution is attached to academic rank.

If academic promotion is relieved from the most divisive aspects of power struggle it is easier to develop a career pattern of the kind of the American „tenure system“. Promotion in such a system is not defined as the rise to a superior estate but as a senior step/phase in the individual career. The crucial difference between the Austrian career pattern and the American tenure system is: in the Austrian case there are different estates with a strict limitation of posts in the higher estates (full professors); for those who want to move up it is not only (and in many cases not predominantly) a matter of professional success to be promoted but rather a question of vacancy in the higher estate.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

#### *3.1 The „managerial revolution“ at Austrian universities*

During the late 1980s, a dramatic shift of paradigms in Austrian higher education policy took place (Pechar 2003). Up to that time, the key actors in the political and administrative system supported the tradition of stringent state regulation of all kinds of education institutions, universities included. During the late 1980s, trust in the traditional patterns of maintenance and funding gradually eroded. This was caused by a variety of factors, the two most important being the crisis of central steering and the crisis of public finance.

*The crisis of central steering.* The expansion of higher education significantly increased the complexity of the system. This undermined the Austrian tradition of central steering of the education system, which was based on the assumption that the key actors of the system share some com-

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small voice in running their universities. The fact that this initiative was assumed by the academic elite in this country (the US, H.P.) points to the special context in which the call for professional unity arose. Here professors were not members of autonomous guilds or of a high and privileged stratum of the civil service; they were employees of lay governing boards in private and public institutions.“ (Metzger 1987, 168)

10 In many European systems it are rather the representatives of the state (politicians, bureaucrats) who play the role of the „external enemy“. The policy makers and ministerial administrators help to bridge all conflicts of interests and to develop a sense of academic unity. However, one could argue that at many policy issues of then recent past the dominant conflict line between the state and the universities hid equally important interest conflicts within academe.

mon visions about the 'one best system' (or at least that they share the belief that one such best system does exist); and that the most powerful actors at the top of the system have the necessary means (sufficient information and influence to motivate actors at lower levels) to implement the 'best solution'. First doubts on that approach appeared in Austria during the 1970s. During the 1980s, the legitimacy of the central steering approach was gradually undermined. Academics increasingly claimed that universities were bound by a rigid state bureaucracy and hence could not develop their creativity. At the end of the 1980s, even some policy makers and top civil servants shared those views. As soon as the key actors stopped believing in them, the 'etatist'<sup>11</sup> traditions in educational steering could not be perpetuated.

*The crisis of public finance.* Fiscal consolidation, which became a priority of government in the late 1980s, had severe consequences for higher education policy. As long as politicians and senior civil servants had sufficient funds to distribute, they were quite eager to influence in some detail how that money was to be spent. When fiscal stringency brought an end to those 'golden years', political and administrative decision makers increasingly had to refuse applications for additional funding or – even more embarrassing – had to decide upon cuts. Life became more difficult for all stakeholders and relations between the representatives of the government and the higher education community deteriorated. The former had no interest in being engaged in the ugly details of executing cuts and became quite sympathetic to the arguments for increasing the autonomy of higher education institutions.

The change in the underlying paradigms of higher education policy gave rise to a new wave of reforms. Within only a few years the architecture of Austrian higher education was fundamentally changed. In the early 1990s, a non-university sector was established in order to provide a new educational profile (short-term studies, clear vocational orientation). With respect to management issues, *Fachhochschulen* were an unexpected break with the tradition of state agencies. In 1993, at the time of their establishment they were in many respects regarded as a model for universities.

### 3.2 A first step to strengthen academic management

At the same time an initial attempt was made to fundamentally restructure organisation and decision making at universities. Policy makers claimed to respond to the academic request for more autonomy. They promised to shift significant decision making power from the government to universities. Yet the reform in 1993 was one of the most controversial in the history of Austrian higher education.

The government basically followed two approaches, both being a break with the Austrian tradition in higher education policy:

To strengthen the managerial elements at the top of the universities: strong leadership positions which are not dependent on collegial bodies (the rector – who represented the tradition of „first among equals“ should be replaced by a president), professional administration which could support the decision making at the top level.

To create new links between universities and external stakeholders; traditionally it was the competence and responsibility of the government to represent external demands and to moderate conflicting claims. Since the government wanted – at least partially – to step back from this func-

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11 The term 'etatist' refers to the dominant role of the government in Austrian society.

tion it tried to introduce the Anglo-Saxon concept of trusteeship and to establish governing bodies which represent relevant (and powerful) stakeholders.

The reform proposals of the ministry were met with unconditional opposition by nearly all academics. While the ministry claimed to increase the autonomy of universities, academics complained that autonomy will be abolished. During the reform debate, three concepts of autonomy clashed:

In the Humboldtian tradition, autonomy is mainly used as a synonym for academic freedom of the individual academic, that is to say, mainly the full professor. Many professors saw this kind of autonomy endangered, on the one hand, by state intervention and, on the other, by academic co-determination of students and *Mittelbau* (junior faculty). From their perspective, autonomy became a buzz word for a kind of restoration of the 'old regime' of academic oligarchy, of the *Ordinarienuniversität*.

Junior faculty and students mainly favoured the concept of the autonomous collegial university. In their view, the focus of autonomy was not the individual academic but the collegial bodies in which they had some representation (after the democratic reforms of the 1970s). Those collegial bodies should govern the university without any interference from the state. Sufficient and unconditional funding by the government was simply taken for granted.

Politicians and state bureaucrats advocated the concept of institutional autonomy; they wanted to turn universities into enterprises which were self-governed with respect to not only academic, but also financial and administrative affairs. They had serious doubts that the existing decision-making structures would be sufficient for the new tasks. They argued that increased institutional autonomy must go hand-in-hand with the development of a professional management.

Neither the concept of individual autonomy nor the concept of the autonomous collegial university was compatible with the ministerial reform approach. For a couple of months the Austrian public witnessed an uncommon passionate debate in which the multiple opponents imploringly referred to the same keyword 'autonomy' without any clarification or moderation of argument. As a response to this strong opposition the government softened its initial approach.

The leadership positions at the top of the organisation were strengthened but their power was balanced by significant influence of the collegial bodies.

The influence of external stakeholders was reduced: no governing boards, but advisory bodies were introduced.

As a consequence, the ministry refused to give a lump sum budget to universities; it assumed that universities had no sufficient managerial structures to handle this kind of budget. The University Organisation Act of 1993 (UOG 1993) was a compromise. It was easy to foresee that it was only an intermediary stage; yet, it came as a surprise that the lifespan of this act was less than ten years.

### *3.3 Full legal entity for universities*

It was probably the most important consequence of the UOG 1993 that a new type of actors emerged in higher education policy: the new rectors who – compared to the former type of rector – had significantly increased power; additionally the deans became much more powerful than formerly. The emergence of this new group of academics, which was small but quite influential, significantly changed the power relations in the higher education policy networks. In many respects this group represented interests and positions crosswise to the usual frontlines between the

government and the universities. It was important that the new senior academics became more sensitive to external needs and pressures; they could no longer be regarded as a group representing the internal interests of academe, but increasingly as a mediating power.

It was mainly this group who complained that the UOG 1993 was only a half-measure, merely a first step which omitted some of the most important factors. What they wanted was in many respects the same as the government intended with its first draft for the UOG 1993: full legal entity for universities and a lump sum budget which would relieve universities of the state accountancy (*Kameralistik*). When the government took up this initiative and started to develop a new reform strategy it was not in the uncomfortable position of fighting alone against a united front of academic estates; rather, it had a powerful ally within the university (who at least strove for the same goals). Some members of this group were actively involved in drafting the reform law (Titscher et al. 2000).

In 2002 the new organisational act (UG 2002) was passed by Parliament; the implementation of the new act will start in 2004. The most important changes are:

Universities cease to be state agencies and get a full legal entity. However, universities will not be privatised; they remain in the domain of the public law, they are 'legal persons under public law' (*Körperschaften öffentlichen Rechts*).

The federal government keeps the responsibility for basic funding, but universities are relieved from the fiscal regulations of the federal budget (*Kameralistik*) and instead receive a lump sum budget for their own discretion. Resources are allocated on the basis of performance contracts. Twenty per cent of the budget allocation will be based on indicators.

The internal organisation of universities – other than the general regulations regarding the decision-making structure – is not prescribed by law. The organisational details should be determined by a statute (*Satzung*) decided by the academic senate.

For each university a governing board (*Universitätsrat*) is established; the size of the board is to vary between five and nine members, according to the statute; half of the members should be elected by the academic senate, and the other half appointed by the Minister.

The position of the rector is strengthened against power struggles within the university; he/she is to be elected by the board and thus more independent of all collegial academic bodies than before. On the other hand he/she becomes more dependent on the board.

The new university with full legal entity is the employer of all academic and non-academic staff. Academics are no longer civil servants but employed by private contracts.

For better or worse, the new act probably makes Austria a leader in the 'managerial revolution' on the European continent. Policy makers will regard this as a success. Most academics have mixed feelings. One of the concerns is the pace of reform. Compared with other countries of similar tradition, the change in academic leadership from the 'pre-managerial' age to modern higher education management has to be accommodated in a very short time.

### 3.4 Provisional employment act

When the ministry launched its first draft for the new organisational reform in December 2000, many junior academics were worried about their future occupational status. From the beginning it was pretty obvious that in the new regime academics would lose their civil service status. New employment contracts would be concluded on a private basis with the university as employer; the existing contracts, however, would not be changed; academics who already had a public employ-

ment contract would keep the civil service status. On the whole, this change was considered as a severe deterioration of academic working conditions. The civil service status is attractive for at least two reasons:

For the high job security: unless in case of offence civil servant contracts are not terminable (*Pragmatisierung*).

For the attractive pension schemes which were widely considered as a compensation for the low starting salaries of civil servants.

There was one peculiar group of junior academics who felt insecure in a special way. For assistants in the final phase of their *Habilitation* a delicate time problem did arise: if they could manage to complete their *Habilitation* before the implementation of the new law, they still would acquire civil service status. After that date they would be private employees – under conditions which are still unknown. It is no big surprise that all academics who were in that critical phase hurried up in order to acquire old employment contracts. It was estimated that some hundreds junior academics were concerned.

The ministry, on the other hand, tried to keep the number of civil servants as low as possible. Since it was clear that process of negotiation and implementation of the new organisational law would take some years, the ministry decided to take the employment regulations (*Dienstrecht*) out of the organisational matters as a whole and to issue new employment contracts as soon as possible. The ministry argued that immediate action was necessary in order to prevent that an increase in the number of civil servants would create lasting damage. It gave the impression of a predominantly immobile academic profession. Significant numbers of non-professorial academics with only limited talents would occupy posts without being able to move in the career ladder; while they were ageing in posts dedicated for junior academics they would block up academic careers for younger age cohorts.

A study commissioned by the representatives of junior academics contradicted the position of the ministry and demonstrated that an impressive turnover of young academics takes place (Pauli-Ferch et al, 2001). According to this study<sup>12</sup>, approximately half of all assistants leave the university after less than 3,5 years. This means that a university can fill a post for an assistant on average 1,5 times in a period of ten years. Only academics with *Habilitation* respectively professorial status have an increased length of stay. The study concludes: „The majority of assistants does not stay on posts for assistants; partly they are promoted as professors, partly they leave the university within 16 years.“ (p.56) At the same time the study pointed to the problem of the long duration of the *Habilitation*: 42% of the candidates succeed with the *Habilitation* in a period between 8 and 12 years; 70% succeed in a period between 12 and 16 years.

Regardless of such objections the ministry proceeded with a legal solution. The difficulty was that future employment contracts of academics will be concluded with the university as a full legal entity which did not exist before the organisational reform as a whole was concluded. Hence the ministry decided to issue a provisional employment act (*Übergangsdienstrecht*), which only would last for a few years until universities could act as full legal employers.

In two aspects the provisional employment act broke with established conditions of academics at Austrian universities: Firstly, public employment contracts were abolished and substituted by private contracts. Secondly, all categories of academic staff except full professors were established with only limited employment contracts:

The first post was called „research collaborator“ (*wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter*) and was limited with four years.

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12 The study was based on a survey of the Technical University of Vienna, the University of Graz, and the University of Innsbruck.

After that period young academics could apply for the post of an „assistant“ which was limited with six years.

After that period one could apply either for a „contract professor“ (*Vertragsprofessor*), a post which was limited with seven years; or for a regular professor which was the only academic post without limitation.

The ministry thus constructed different „career pillars“ which are necessarily limited in time; the transition to the next career pillar requires a new application. The ministry claimed that the provisional solution should be regarded as a model for future collective agreements between universities and unions. In that respect the provisional act was a clear signal for strictly terminal contracts and against a continuous career model. The government obviously was obsessed with the idea that permanent academic posts below the professorial level are inherently problematic.

The provisional employment act was met with stiff opposition by the large majority of academics. The unions and the representatives of junior academics opposed due to the obvious deterioration for their clientele. But even many professors, who basically agreed that employment conditions should be changed in order to allow more competition, argued that the provisional employment act set the course in the wrong direction. A frequent objection was that job security and an academic independent status was granted at too late a time. The most productive period of many academics would thus be impeded by insecurity and personal dependence to professors<sup>13</sup>.

It is an irony that the primary goal of the provisional employment act, namely to prevent promotions of junior academics under the old legal framework, was a complete failure. A decision by the Courts made clear that academics who had already started to work on their *Habilitation* had the right to be promoted under the old conditions. The provisional employment produced the opposite effect of its intention: the number of assistants who hurried to become civil servants increased significantly. It remains to be seen whether the provisional employment act will indeed serve as a model for future regulations and to what extent it will shape the collective agreements (see next section).

#### **4. How the new law regulates the position of academic personnel**

##### *4.1 Employer: a new role for academic leaders*

The new university with full legal entity is the employer of all academic and non-academic staff. From the perspective of organisational theory and personnel management this is mainly a positive aspect of the reform. The university as an organisation will be strengthened. This new situation will bring an end to the paradoxical dualism in which the ministry is responsible for the formal aspects of personnel management (making contracts, paying wages) without being able to supervise the quality of academic work; and the university is an autonomous, self-governed organisation which is responsible for guidance and monitoring of academic work without being able to effectively use incentives or negative sanctions. Even in large and complex universities the institutional management will be much closer to the basic academic units and their work than the

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13 One example: Gottfried Schatz, president of the Swiss Science and Technology Council (SWTR), criticised the Austrian solution and recommended a tenure track system (lecture at the FWF-Forum, 29. October 2001; see also Schatz 2001). The position of the SWTR regarding career models:  
[http://www.swtr.ch/swtr\\_ger/\\_nachwuchsfoerderung.htm](http://www.swtr.ch/swtr_ger/_nachwuchsfoerderung.htm)

bureaucracy of the government; closer in terms of space, professional competence and shared academic values. The performance of the whole institution in teaching and research will increasingly become a concern of academic leadership. This is a severe break with the Humboldtian legacy: the university as a whole used to be a fragile bundle of individuals and small units, striving in different, sometimes opposite directions, integrated by a common ethos and other rather symbolic mechanisms. In each specialised field teaching and research were shaped by the ambitions and interests of single academics.

While this might be good news from the perspective of the university as an organisation, it can be seen as a threat from the perspective of the individual academic. It means that the 'principal' comes closer to the 'agent', possibly close enough to effectively influence their work. Not surprisingly, there is a lot of suspicion among academics of the organisational change and the corresponding decision-making structures. Rectors were regarded as *primus inter pares*, now they are 'bosses', 'superiors'; this is at odds with the traditional concept of academic autonomy which means: no subordination, no formal responsibilities, in particular for the members of the guild, the chairholders.

However, even in an 'entrepreneurial university' the relation between the 'principal' and the 'agent' is extremely complex and sensitive. The university is a 'bottom heavy' expert system; academic leadership at each level needs support from the decentralised units. Rectors will depend on permanent consultation with faculty in order to strengthen their position. It will be one of the most urgent tasks of the new academic management to quieten the mistrust which was aroused during the recent reform debates. Many academics think that the new legislation has imposed the decision-making structures of the corporate world onto universities. They fear and expect a sharp hierarchy which will not leave sufficient room for collegial bodies; an authoritarian mode of leadership which will not allow appropriate faculty influence. The mistrust mainly among junior faculty was enhanced by government legislation in 2001 to regulate terms of employment; in addition, during the debate of the UG 2002, representatives of government and ministry emphasised the importance of academic hierarchy and autocratic management. It will be important that the new rectors demonstrate the superiority of participative management.

#### 4.2 Different categories of „members“ and „employees“

The UG 2002 makes a distinction between „members“ and „employees“ of the university (§ 94).

Members (*Angehörige*) are defined in the sense of the traditional corporation and comprise (besides employees) students<sup>14</sup>, holders of scholarship, retired professors etc.

Employees (*Universitätspersonal*) are divided into academic and non-academic staff.

Academic staff (*wissenschaftliches und künstlerisches Universitätspersonal*) is again divided into two categories:

*Professors.* Non-professorial academic personnel; this group comprises all levels of junior faculty including academics with *Habilitation*.

The distinction of these two categories of academics is of foremost importance, because it is the legal foundation for two distinct „academic estates“ (*Kurien*). It is not possible to proceed from one to the other estate by regular promotion. It is necessary to conclude a new contract. All other differences among academics, i.e. the differences within the two estates have a different le-

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14 Although the UG 2002 is in some respects embedded in the „market paradigm“, it defines students in the European tradition as members, not as consumers or clients of the university.

gal foundation. It is up to each university to define those differences. The non-professorial academics may comprise a broad variety, reaching from student assistants to academics with *Habilitation*. Each university is free to define the procedures for promotion between these different levels. However, the UG 2002 clearly restricts the discretion of a university regarding the promotion to professorship. The latter requires a public invitation to a competition for the post and an appellate procedure (§ 98).

It is out of question that every academic system based on meritocracy requires a selection among a wide variety of competitors at certain critical points. The crucial question is at what point(s) of the academic career this selective application should be organised. The new Austrian procedure sticks to the European tradition of a rather late competitive application to the highest academic rank. Prior to the UG 2002, the logic of collegial self governance was a structural barrier against a continuous career scheme (because this type of governance is only feasible with a small number of professors). In the „managerial university“ this barrier does no longer exist; yet the UG 2002 did not seize the chance to introduce a continuous career scheme, it rather perpetuated an outdated model.

A further important provision regards the status of graduate students and trainees/post-docs. The UG 2002 defines them as members (*Angehörige*), but not as employees of the university (§ 95). In this respect the new law departs from the Austrian tradition. Formerly, academics in the early stage of their occupation combined an advanced level of learning and training (e.g. dissertation, initiation into the culture of research) with a support function for established academics, mainly professors. The new law wants to change this practise. It defines the purpose of graduate students and post-docs as learning and training, not as work. Hence, they maybe eligible for a scholarship but should not receive a regular salary. As a result, graduate students and post-docs have no regular working hours; the university has no right to use them for supportive functions (Seeböck 2002, p.233f)<sup>15</sup>.

Unions basically oppose the new regulation on the grounds that the research which is necessary to conduct a doctoral thesis is already serious work which should be remunerated. The ministry, on the other hand, argues that the new regulation should free young researcher from being used as support staff. This can be regarded as a positive aspect of the new act. An open question is whether and to what extent doctoral students can be employed for teaching. A literal interpretation of the prohibition of support function would equally prohibit teaching of doctoral students because their teaching in the past inherently was considered as being supportive to teachers with full teaching authorisation. However, to refuse doctoral students the possibility to teach in general would withhold an important challenge of professional development form them; and at the same time it would create serious problems for universities which at present heavily rely on the teaching of assistant who work on their doctoral thesis.

#### *4.3 Private employment contracts and job security*

All academics who already are civil servants have the right to choose whether they want to continue with their present employment contract or change to a new private contract. It is safe that

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15 The provisional employment act of 2001 has created a new category of junior staff: research collaborators in training (*Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter in Ausbildung*), who should 50% of their time devote to the needs of the university while the other 50% could be spent on training. This new position proved a failure and was abolished in the UG 2002.

the overwhelming majority will stay in their public contracts. Only for very young academics it might be attractive to change<sup>16</sup>. Academics who stay as civil servants (and who are thus employees of the government) will be assigned by the government to the personnel office of the respective university. The university has to remunerate the personnel cost to the government.

Future academics will not be civil servants. They have no longer a public employment contract with the government, but a contract with the university based on private law (*Angestelltengesetz*) (§ 108 (1)). The most crucial consequence of this regards the duration of the contract. As civil servants, academics had a lifetime position, their employment contract was not terminable. Following questions arise: Is there any private substitute for the strong job protection in the public law? Are the private employment contracts permanent (although terminable) or are they definitely limited in time?

The private contracts contain special provisions which serve as protection against dismissal. § 113 UG 2002 forbids any dismissal of academics which is connected to the views they express in their professional work in research or teaching. One has to be clear, however, that this regulation is no effective protection against redundancy for economic reasons. If a university comes to the conclusion, that there is no more demand for the special kind of teaching or research of a certain academic, § 113 UG 2002 will not provide effective protection against dismissal. Hence, UG 2002 designates no strong job protection in the manner of the American tenure. This applies to all categories of academic staff, including full professors.

§ 113 reflects certain deficiencies in the public debate during the last decade:

The government as employer vs lifelong job protection: During the last years, civil service status of academics was justified with the need of job security for this special kind of work. Opponents of civil service status argued with the need to abolish job protection on the grounds of inefficiency. Both sides more or less identified job protection with civil service. Both arguments are insufficient: private employers might also give job security to certain occupations (though in a different way as the government does); on the other hand there are many deficiencies of the government as an employer while job protection can be regarded as one of the positive sides.

Free expression of views vs economics of tenure: Do academic jobs deserve a special kind of protection, and why? This question was mainly dealt with as an issue of academic freedom. This reflects a past experience of pre-democratic societies, with censorship of government or church. Much less (if any) attention was paid to the economic rationale for tenure. The importance of the free expression of divergent views must not be underplayed. However, there are equally strong reasons for a special job protection of academics which have to do with the economic features of their work. Tenure can be regarded as „a reasonable way of solving the peculiar personnel problems that arise in employing expensively trained and narrowly specialised people to spend their lifetimes at well-defined and narrowly specialised tasks“ (McPherson/Winston 1988, 175). Such economic reasons for job protection of academics were not raised in the public debate and were not considered in the law.

Will the new employment contracts follow the philosophy of the provisional employment act which – below the professorial rank – designates only terminal contracts? Or will the regular contract be the unlimited contract, with terminal contracts being an exception for special cases? The regular case in the private employment law (*Angestelltengesetz*) is the unlimited contract; if universities intend to strictly terminate their contract with junior academics, it will require special explanation. This issue will be an important matter to be treated in the collective agreements (see next session).

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<sup>16</sup> Academics with private contracts will probably have higher wages; additionally it is most likely that some of the most attractive conditions for civil servants, such as the pension scheme, will deteriorate in the years to come.

Another crucial question concerning the shift from public to private employment contracts is the pension scheme. Up to now, academics as civil servants had very attractive conditions with considerable higher pension incomes than private employees. For those academics with public contracts who stay in their position, nothing will change. However, every move to another academic position (either at the same or at another university) probably results in the loss of the entitlement for a public pension. This will have serious consequences for the academic mobility in the years to come. Two groups of academics are predominantly concerned with this problem:

Professors who want to apply for a professorship at another university. This is a minor problem because academic mobility at the same hierarchical level is relatively low within Austria. Furthermore, this problem is not new. In the past, a similar problem did exist with international mobility of academics. E.g. professors from Germany who took a post in Austria (and vice versa) could not carry their public pension across the national border. This often proved to be a barrier against international mobility. However, it did not endanger the basic functions of the academic system.

More frequent and thus more serious are the problems of non-professorial staff applying for professorship. This is the regular case if a professor retires and his/her post is filled again. It is supposed to be an upward move accompanied by more attractive conditions. However, if a non-professorial academic has to sacrifice his/her public pension scheme for an advancement to a professorial post, it is doubtful if the gain in salaries (during the active period) will indeed compensate the loss in pension which results from the shift from a public to a private scheme. Whether or not this is the case mainly will depend on the age of the respective person. Due to the stringency of their budgets it is unlikely that universities will be able to pay wages generous enough to compensate this loss. This may have two consequences: firstly a whole generation of non-professorial academics will have to choose between academic advancement and an attractive pension. Secondly, Austrian universities may have problems to fill professorial vacancies with qualified applicants.

#### 4.4 Collective agreement (Kollektivvertrag)

The private law which is the basis for future employment contracts (*Angestelltengesetz*) has no provisions which allow for the specific conditions of universities. Those peculiarities will be considered either by regulations of each individual university or by means of collective bargaining between the umbrella organisation of the universities (*Dachverband der Universitäten*) and the unions. As long as no collective agreement has been reached, the provisional employment act will be effective (UG 2002, § 128). A first meeting was held in summer 2003. It is no surprise that the unions generally want to fix as many open questions as possible by collective decisions while the representatives of the employers plead for flexible solutions. The attempt of the latter therefore will be to leave sufficient room for specific solutions of individual universities.

It is likely that collective agreements for some problems will be achieved until end of 2003. In particular it is urgent to develop models for employment contracts with the former research collaborators in training (*Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter in Ausbildung*) and with former lecturers. Furthermore it is aimed to develop models for employment contracts with new academics.

The more difficult problems will be to find agreements for basic working conditions of academics under the new framework. In particular two issues should be on the agenda. First, extended regulations for job security. In UG 2002 § 113 designates a very limited version of aca-

demic job security, only regarding violation of academic freedom. The commentary points out, that extended regulations for job protection may be defined by collective agreements (Seböck 2002, 263).

Second, new approaches for career schemes are on the agenda. It will be decisive whether the future framework for academic working conditions continues with two separate „pillars“ of career (*Kurien*), among which no promotion is possible. This is the relic of the chair system which was unfortunately carried on by the UG 2002. It remains to be seen if the partners of collective bargaining have the courage to repair this unwise decision, and if they are able to do so without an amendment to the law. If they decide to design a career path system, two aspects of the quantitative relations of the workforce of universities deserve consideration: Firstly the proportion of academic and non-academic staff has to be redesigned. Every modern university needs a large number of specialists (e.g. web-designer for e-learning) who in many cases will not belong to the academic faculty. Universities should end the prior practise of employing junior academics for such service functions. Secondly the universities have to define a new balance of professorial and non-professorial post, which give the latter a fair chance to be promoted to full professional status.

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## **The Academic Profession in a Belgian Context Country Report Belgium**

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### **1. Freeing the winds of change**

This article builds on a previous study on the academic profession in Belgium. For the main structural specifications of the Belgian system, reference is made to that publication (Tavernier, 2001). In the present article, it is the intention to explore the implications of the most recent changes set in motion by the Bologna Declaration. This political initiative has indeed freed the winds of change. At least in Flanders, this change goes much further than writing out the legal requirements and organisational arrangements necessary for the creation of one single European area for Higher Education. What was unthinkable just five years ago is now felt as common sense and simply unavoidable. Of special interest in Flanders is first, the so called „academisation“ of an important part of the Flemish polytechnic colleges (Hogescholen), second the clustering of all „hogescholen“ in large „associations“ each time around one mother-university and third a drastic switch in the „teaching concept“. Taken together with the intensification of the quality management, these developments will have a dramatic influence on content and shape of the academic profession. Especially „Hogeschool-teachers“ are in for a serious change in their work environment.

### **2. A higher education system adaptive to external pressures**

Even taking into consideration the diverging regional developments in a federalising country, Belgian Higher Education can still be characterised by its high degree of institutional autonomy. Belgian universities have a very long tradition in this respect. Recently this is also increasingly true for the hogescholen. Belgium students have free access to the institution on their choice. Free universities ( $\pm 60$  pct.) receive the same subsidy as state ones. Notwithstanding a temporary freeze (until 2006), the amount going to each institution is still pretty much dependent on the number of students they have been able to attract in the past. The so called second and third money flows are relatively high ( $\pm 50$  percent of total university budgets). This increases institu-

tional independence but, as project funding prevails, it also strengthens the competitive character of the environment within which higher education operates. Within its financial means, and respecting official salary scales, each individual university decides on its staff-recruitment and the individual promotion speed through the six ranks of the academic hierarchy. Criteria are still heavily research dominated but scarcity in certain fields, previous work experience or exceptional teaching performance begin to play a greater role. Including the second and third money flows, the percentage of temporary labour contracts in the total academic employment is about two thirds. In the first money flow it approaches 38 pct. for the total of Belgium and even about 42 pct. for the Flemish community.

Recently, at least for universities, the remaining legal maximum or minimum quota for the different academic ranks have been abolished. The only limitations that still apply are: first, the rule that, out of the first money flow staff expenditures should be less than 80 pct and second, that tenure positions should not exceed 70 pct. of all academic staff that is paid from the basic subsidy. Here the objectives are financial flexibility and a safeguard for the employment chances of new graduates.

In such a system, each university (less so the hogescholen) has a considerable influence on the size and composition of its academic staff and the relative importance of its administrative and technical support employees. As a result, differences between institutions can be important not only in staff but also in the way each individual labour contract translates the core activities of the university (teaching, research and service to society). Teaching duties for a full time professor can go from ten hours to less than one. In major universities, reducing the teaching load for younger academics is often a deliberate policy. Far-reaching institutional autonomy, implies that Belgian universities and hogescholen are in a position where they can adapt to the environmental changes much easier than in more state dominated systems. In a later section some of these change factors will be commented upon, as they are of great importance for understanding the recent evolution of the academic profession in Belgium.

### **3. Academic staff and their salaries**

#### *3.1 The academic staff*

Drawing an exact and unequivocal statistical picture of staff numbers, their composition and recent developments in universities and Hogescholen for both communities of Belgium, remains surprisingly cumbersome. Reasons are: sloppy definitions, statistical double counting, extreme diversity in funding organisations for research and, especially, further diverging legal systems. Flanders takes its references in Dutch speaking Holland and, the French speaking community looks towards France for its organisational inspiration.

Still, for understanding what happens with the academic profession in a Belgian context, it remains instructive to look at the recent figures presented by the Flemish rector conference VLIR (Dambre 2002) about the Flemish universities over the period 1992-2002. Some most remarkable trends come to the foreground, which illustrate the underlying policy. This study shows that in 2002 the number of full time staff working at universities, amounts to 16 170 FTE. This is an astonishing 36 pct. higher than in 1992. Closer examination however reveals that this is mainly due to a catch up operation by the Flemish government to bring the expenditure for research up to the European level. As Belgium has hardly any independent research institutes, as Max Planck or

CNRS, outside of universities, the government efforts directly shows up in university employment. As a result, in 2002 the employment on the basic subsidy has fallen to only 50,5 pct., with even much lower figures for the two major comprehensive research universities Leuven (47,8) and Ghent (46,4). The main consequence for the academic profession is a rather low gross student/staff ratio. This favourable outcome however hides the difficult problem of senior tenured professors which have to guide and mentor a continuously growing junior research staff. In 2002 the so called „independent academic staff“ on tenure amounted to only 15,7 pct. of total employment in the university (17 pct. for the French Community). Leaving out the administrative and technical staff the percentage increases to no more than 26 pct.

Searching for a solution, in 2001, the universities have succeeded to integrate into the university staff, the tenured members of the Flemish Foundation of Scientific Research (VRWO). For these younger researchers it constitutes a welcome possibility for further growth towards the highest positions and salary scales of the academic hierarchy. For the university it means an organisational streamlining, but above all, an improvement for the scientific supervision of junior researchers and student work. However, important as it is in principle, this successful move hardly shows up in the figures. The strain on the basic subsidy and an ageing professor population – which through the triennial salary system drives up average cost – do not allow for the moment to open up many new permanent positions. On the contrary, universities have systematically increased the average time on temporary contracts. Beginning assistants normally work under a maximum 3 x 2 year contracts before leaving the university for a more definitive job elsewhere. Young successful graduates are offered only postdoctoral fellowships. For renewable periods of two years, they remain on an extremely competitive track towards tenure. Knowing that by far not all will get a permanent contract, this competitive environment has proven to be beneficial for the valorisation of the know-how acquired during the doctoral period. It also is an ideal situation for publishing. Moreover this period functions as a waiting and testing room for tenure appointment. Still, for someone aiming at an academic career, it means lasting job insecurity and a postponement for a period up to 9 years of a definitive integration after their doctorate. This system, born out of financial need, does however not prevent that the most brilliant students with solid research records can move much faster into and through the different ranks of the academic career.

In the meantime, the age structure of the academic staff is rather unfavourable: 28,3 percent are older than 55 with a peak in the group of 50-54. In another 8 to 10 years, universities will face the replacement of a vast number of retiring professors.

In Flemish universities the gender situation remains a lasting and embarrassing problem. From a percentage of 42 in the junior non-tenured academic staff, it falls to 14,6 pct for the tenured positions (Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, 2002) and even to less than 7 percent in the category of the ordinary. In French speaking universities, the corresponding ratios are only slightly better (45 and 14,8).

Finally, a remarkable trend is the constant increase of the administrative and technical staff in the higher ranks. It points at: the professionalism of the university administration, the influence of information technology and the increasing technical support for the academic activities. Critical comments however stress as a main reason, the bureaucratic overload of an ill conceived accountability system. Also the generalised evaluation process brings an additional administrative burden. Probably this is inherent in the functioning of more autonomous universities.

As to the academic profession, in universities these figures allow to conclude that in Belgium access to temporary positions is relatively easy. For young graduates it is attractive because of the additional training it entails and for the universities it constitutes a competitive reservoir for fu-

ture academic appointments. Especially Leuven but also Ghent, which both have big and performing medical and engineering schools, have been successful in creating industrial spin-offs (55 for Leuven). For young graduates this policy offers interesting alternatives for highly skilled employment in the direct environment of the university. This alternative and easy way out, softens the career strain for a beginning academic.

The employment at the Hogescholen shows a completely different picture. Their students outnumber their colleagues at the university by about 60 percent. Looking at their staff, the reverse is true. As a result their gross student-staff ratio is 11. When comparing this unfavourable figure with that of universities, it should be kept in mind that universities have much more research. Hogescholen up to now have a vocational character. Their staff is hardly involved in research, as quality of teaching is the main focus. For the future, the new requirements of the „academisation“ and the intended scientific upgrading will constitute a formidable task for a sector with much less favourable government funding and weaker access to alternative resources. In the meantime, in Hogescholen, part-time staff increases. Most probably the high percentage of women has to do with it. Also remarkable is the massive early retirement made possible by favourable legal outflow arrangements at the age of 55 (recently increased to 58). This is in complete contrast with what happens in universities.

### *3.2 Comparing salary careers within higher education*

As explained before, Belgian Hogescholen have two quite different study programs. These of one-cycle-schools are highly vocational and take three years whereas the two-cycle-schools study programs are closer to universities and take four years to finish.

Teachers in the first group – in fact the great majority of total employment in Hogescholen – start and end mostly in the rank of hogescholen-lecturer. Exceptionally the degree of senior lecturer is granted to heads of departments or other leading positions.

For these academics, the crucial salary issue is how to switch from a temporary labour contract to a permanent position with the attractive prospect of a civil-servant pension. However at any moment, only 64 pct. of all teachers in hogescholen can have tenure as a consequence, waiting periods are up to 15 years depending on the school. For such permanent appointments many schools now start to use quality criteria next to seniority.

For two cycle programs, in principle, all salary scales which exist for universities can also be used. In reality however, because of tighter budgets, the existence of maximum quota's for different ranks and the requirement of a doctorate, no full use is made of this legal possibility. In 2001, only 12,5 percent of all teachers in hogescholen had a salary in the three highest academic ranks.

Universities have more financial means, another organisational climate and, above all since many years, much more institutional freedom. As a consequence, „promoting staff through the different ranks of the academic hierarchy“, is used more intensively in an active HRM policy which stresses academic performance, previous external experience and scarcity in certain fields. In universities, each of the tenure ranks can be a final one. Also promotion speed differs a lot from individual to individual.

In Table 1, a comparison is made between three typical career patterns: one for a lecturer in hogescholen, one for an average university professor and one for a successful fast lane promotion track.

Table 1: Typical Career Patterns and Salary Progress (Euro)  
Universities

One-cycle Hogescholen Lecturer		Salary Scales	Average Career		Fast bane Career	
Age	Gross Monthly Salary*		Age	Gross Monthly Salary	Age	Gross Monthly Salary
24	2,556	Assistant	24	2,530	24	2,530
30	2,918	Doctor Assistant	30	3,134		-
21	3,057	Univ. Lecturer 1	35	3,607	30	3,607
35	3,335	Univ. Lecturer 2	39	3,956		-
37	3,474	Main Univ. Lecturer 1	41	4,219	32 **	4,219
40	3,613	Main Univ. Lecturer 2	44	4,382		-
50	4,309	Professor	46	4,703	35 **	4,324
		Ordinarius	50	5,354	37 **	4,843
65	4,309		65	7,399	65	7,399

Source: Salary Scales: Flemish Community

\* Gross salary minus 11 pct. equals taxable income

\*\* minimum age K. U. Leuven

For most lecturers in hogescholen salary progress depends only on automatic biannual salary increases. These brings their gross income from index 100 to a maximum of 170 in a period of 25 years.

On average, a successful career at a university, would reach tenureship in the rank of university lecturer (docent) at about 35 and grow through six salary scales to professor at 46 and to a position of ordinarius between 46 and 50.

For brilliant performers faster promotions are possible: tenure can be reached as early as 29; the rank of professor at a minimum age of 35 and the title of ordinarius at 37. A full professor's end salary would be about three times what as a beginning assistant gets.

Table 2: Income spreads between typical careers

Age	Hogescholen lecturer	University average	University, fast promotion lane
24	100	100	100
30	100	107	124
50	100	129	160
65	100	171	171

### 3.3 Evaluating the relative income position of university teachers

For the attractiveness of the academic profession, the relative income position is of course of utmost importance. In this section an answer is sought for the question how the earnings career of a university professor compares with the attainable alternative that he or she normally would have reached in another work environment.

For drawing the median income patterns of university teachers, use has been made of the salary figures in the biggest university of the country. The resulting picture is then compared with a reference group. To construct this reference group rather unique data were available coming from a huge salary inquiry organised in 2002 by the HRM-weekly „Vacature“ (Sels, L. and Overlaet, B. 2002). Thought not strictly a statistically representative sample, the huge number of respondents (33 917) is ample enough to lead to trustworthy insights.

For defining the reference group, following criteria are chosen: university diploma, full time employment, above median work complexity and above median work autonomy; Respondent which describe their job as purely executive have been excluded. The same has been done for persons younger than 35, the reason being that in Belgium a tenure position is hardly obtained before the age of thirty. This selection leaves us with a total of 1267 respondents for which reliable income data exist (Overlaet, B. 2003).

The income position for both groups is measured by gross monthly salary. Of course this is a limitation as, especially in industry, a wide range of other pecuniary and non pecuniary benefits exist. A professor might fall short up to 15 percent only by the system of a thirteenth or even a fourteenth month. Also less favourable are things as a company car, cost compensations or stock options. These disadvantages are however partly compensated by two elements: first and especially for engineers, lawyers and economists the possibility of private consulting during one day a week and second, by the comparatively attractive civil servant pension scheme: a retired professor receives in principle 75 pct. of his average salary during the last five years of his active life. However, since a number of years the federal government has put an absolute maximum to civil servant pensions (5054 Euro in June 2003). As a consequence an ordinaries would end up at 68,3 percent. Because of insufficient indexation for inflation this percentage moreover slowly erodes over the years. The results of our analysis bring an interesting picture.

Table 3: Relative market position of university professors' salaries 2002

Age group	Position in the market
35-39	48 pct.
40-44	52 pct.
45-49	66 pct.
50-54	68 pct.
55-65	80 pct.

Source: Overlaet, B. 2003

After a slow salary start in his or her assistant years, an average university career might reach tenure at the age of 35 and start his salary climb through the six ranks of the academic hierarchy. Until 45 years of age, a professor earns on average as much as a successful university graduate.

From 45 till 54 years of age, his income will exceed that of two thirds of the reference group. Once at the age of 55, as an ordinarius he will earn a gross monthly salary higher than 80 pct. of his comparable colleagues working in other sectors. It is remarkable that when universities salaries start to accelerate, outside of the university, they decline. As a conclusion, in the most productive period of life, a professor's salary is certainly below what could have been expected, given the social importance of the job. It improves with age, but also here, belonging to the 20 pct. best salary earnings might still fall short of the salary ambitions of many candidates for the academic profession.

#### **4. Change factors, impact on working conditions**

Looking at the drastic changes in the socio-economic, political and technological environment and their impact on the academic profession, attention should especially go to factors as: the importance of ever new knowledge for society, global competition, withdrawing government, the emerging new teaching technology and the generalised professionalisation of management.

##### *4.1 The importance of knowledge for society.*

Today, universities and hogescholen are central to the production of knowledge. Hence, it should not come as a surprise that higher education is under increasing scrutiny by a growing number of stakeholders. These stakeholders feel directly involved and take a critical look at what universities and hogescholen are doing. They are ready to take over with other methods and eventually with other providers, wherever traditional institutions of higher learning do not deliver what society expects them to do.

As they have to do so with much less government protection, it is becoming increasingly clear that universities and colleges are forced into the same kind of situations as private companies. For their survival more and more they have to accommodate to the turbulent changes in their environment. Especially for their applied research, but also for their adult education and even for part of their basic program, they have to function in market-like ways. Suddenly, competition, input, output, marketing and so on have become the terminology in a large part of the literature about universities and colleges. This situation is moreover enhanced by the dramatic development of teaching technology and the fact that in a knowledge society, benefiting stakeholders are ready to pay for knowledge services. More and more, competition is the way of life for universities and their academics.

Corporate universities and for-profit-schools are revealing examples of this reality. Before the first of January 2005, the World Trade Organisation is bound to finalise the present round of GATS (General Agreement of Trade of Services) negotiations. A major item is the liberalisation of trade in educational services. Even, when some European countries are hesitant, such talks on a global level will undoubtedly encourage this trend. Understandably, because of the language advantage, Anglo-Saxon Countries are the main supporters. The strategy behind is not at all culture inspired but plainly economic and trade driven. Even using specific support programs, they encourage their national providers to export their educational services world-wide. South Asia might be the desirable partner. Indeed, it can be assumed that still for years this region will be unable to

expand their Higher Education infrastructure in a sufficient way to keep pace with their fast economic development. By tuition fees as high as the market can bear, by extending student numbers from all continents and by improved E-learning Technology, in 2000 Australia e.g. has managed to earn on its foreign students 2 155 million USA dollars. This represents as much as 11,8 pct. of its total service exports (OECD, 2002).

For the academic profession, these demand driven changes in what society expects, have resulted in a serious broadening of the academic task content. Following this logic, academic profiles and their career tracks more and more ought to diversify among institutions and even more so within each one of them. Undoubtedly, it makes professional life more attractive but also immensely more challenging. At the same time these developments also bring a serious change in the patronising authority: from detailed government rule to a more powerful and more direct steering core within each school.

#### *4.2 Professionalisation of university management*

For universities, the above mentioned „withdrawing government“ as well as increasing competitive pressures mean the end of their comfortable status of „task organisations“. In a task organisation an external partner, in case the government, enforces by a series of laws, decrees and official instructions, the „what“, the „how“ and „by whom“. As a consequence all financial burdens are automatically taken up by the same government. They are, of little concern for an individual institution and certainly for individual academics. Being on their own, they now are forced to align their management on what is common in private business. The new catchwords are: efficiency, effectiveness, corporate governance, financial and operational audit and strategic management (Clark, 1998).

Efficiency refers to cost containment and increasing pressure to reduce the so called „organisational slack“ and hence also the vested and widespread tolerance for temporary or even long lasting underperformance of academic staff members. With it comes a more critical approach of external activities of professors using their titles, reputation and their university based know-how to their own pecuniary benefits. Property rights of the university more and more appear in work contracts.

Effectiveness deals with the objective of making all university activities goal oriented. The popularity of a well-written mission statement illustrates this concern. It is from this mission that criteria for the personal evaluation of academic staff are deduced. The same is true for the increasingly mission-driven teaching programming and the growing practice of common teaching goals for each programme.

As the organisational guardian of the university's mission, the rectorate and top governance are gaining in importance and power. As a consequence, individual academic freedom suffers.

Many other developments could be mentioned in this respect. Examples are: the tendency in more and more school to replace the „elected“ dean by an „appointed“ one; the creation of new academic functions reporting directly to the top-management such as the evaluator, the quality manager or the teaching director. This last holds the budget and hires from the different departments the necessary educational services he himself judges necessary for building up a coherent programme.

Corporate governance, which at this moment dominates the reform agenda for stricter business surveillance, is not any longer absent in higher education. It is an interesting development

which again points to the increasing influence of different stakeholders. The principles of corporate governance aim at a structural system of check and balances in decision making on all levels in the organisation. An increasing power of the rector and his executive committee is countered by separating the executive task from its supervision and by installing, next to the executive rector, an external chairman for the supreme governance board. The responsibility here lies in supervision and looking after the interests of all stakeholders even including the academic corps. Next to an external president, appointing external board members is increasingly a common practice. Also the audit function fits in this new governance style. Auditing used to be limited to the financial soundness of the institutions. Now it is more and more extended to the operational functioning. Operational audit formalises and accentuates the evaluation function with all what it entails as new tasks for the academic staff. Reference is made here to self-study reports, visitation committees and so on. Increasingly, professors complain openly against the mounting paperwork and unproductive bureaucratisation which is often driven not by the academic staff itself but by a self centred internal university administration.

### *4.3 Teaching technology*

After an extended period of only promises, the much praised new teaching technology now seems ready for a real and generalised breakthrough. The user-friendly software that combines video, graphics, sound, computing, internet communications and databases are extending the boundary conditions of learning (Plater, 1995).

Two main implications should concern us. The first is that, not the traditional universities and colleges are best adapted to fully exploiting these innovative possibilities, but the new type of education providers. It is amazing to see that they often even come from enterprises in the communication and entertainment sector. They use their technological advantage to strengthen their market position and lead to sharper competition especially in the adult and corporate higher education. The second implication is even more important and more significant for the future shape and content of the academic profession and its requirements. It has become clear that the new technology loosens the direct link between teacher and students. It allows further individualisation of learning, it makes learning progress at different paces possible; even content differentiation is easy. Class attendance is not any longer essential and distant learning becomes a valuable alternative. Collective video teaching, for instance by the brightest teachers in the world is already an accessible reality. Such lectures can be stored and retrieved. Through internet, all necessary information, data and additional course material remain permanently available. The same is true for individual access to teachers for clarification, questions, testing and course assignments. The nature of the teaching profession hence changes from classroom teaching to coaching, mentoring and evaluation of the learning progress. The new law requires that each school for higher learning makes a „teaching development plan“ that shows how progress will be made in this respect.

### *4.4 Mergers and inter-university collaboration*

The pressures on financial resources drive universities and colleges towards mergers, inter-university collaboration and strategic alliances which often enclose foreign schools, private enter-

prises and specialised research institutes at home and abroad. More and more a university can be seen as a system of overlapping networks kept together by a common mission statement. Indeed, given the enormous knowledge expansion, no university is big enough to do everything alone. By mergers and networking, economics of scale and productivity gains are sought for.

For the coming years, this development will add to the challenges of the academic career and its expected job security. It will require mobility and flexibility to function in a completely different administrative and collegial setting.

#### *4.5 Different research organisation*

Notwithstanding a stronger emphasis on teaching and learning, Belgian comprehensive universities remain solid research institutions. Therefore, the changing content of research, its applied character and the way it is organised in inter-institutional teams have a dominant influence on the different academic profiles in an university. The stagnant government subsidy for basic tasks have not prevented that government agencies and industry have found their way to universities. As a result, competitive project funding is becoming a dominant funding mode. This again makes a completely different professor. Indeed, the quiet researcher from previous times, now, early in his career, is driven into the position of a stressful research-manager writing and defending new projects, looking for partners and new sources of finance. More and more, the real innovative research effort, is delegated to the junior scientists in predoctoral and postdoctoral positions exploring new paradigms often on uncertain and temporary labour contracts.

### **5. Streamlining Flanders' Higher Education**

#### *5.1 The Netherlands, a new reference for Flanders*

In 1991, the Flemish government used its new legislative power, to lay the foundations for a thorough revision of its university law. As is possible in smaller countries, this new legislation has been worked out in an informal but intensive collaboration between rectors and the minister of education. A few years later in 1994, the same was done for the Hogescholen, pretty much along the same lines. For them it meant an even more dramatic change as they moved from a post-secondary setting to a higher education one with bigger schools, more institutional autonomy and sharper quality requirements.

Since then, the painful move to a Federal State makes all legislative work in Belgium extremely difficult. Inconsistencies with the Constitutional Law, but also diverging interpretations between the regional governments and the Council of State, objection from the Court of Arbitration or even the Court of Accounts – responsible among others for pensions in both communities – all have led to several corrective laws. As a result, the so called BAMA-law of 2003, which will adapt the regulatory framework to the Bologna Declaration, will be the 15th in the row! Important however is, that through all these changes, up to now the basic philosophy has remained the same: distant steering by government with: envelope funding, spending freedom, much institutional autonomy, and an internal quality system geared to permanent improvement of teaching. The price to pay for this freedom and self-governance is the obligation of ex post accountability

about how quality management is done, with what results and how public money is used towards the attainment of university goals.

The whole set up is pretty much inspired by the Dutch system. Speaking the same language, more and more the Netherlands are the natural partner for Flanders and its organisational point of reference. As a result the gap with what happens in the French speaking part of Belgium increases. Examples of the Dutch connection are e.g. : the quality system working by common visitation committees, the founding of the Transnational University Limburg and even the announced intention of a joint Accreditation Agency. In the meantime the French community is less prone for change and less inclined to steer by decrees. It continues to work pretty much within the old legal system (Van Goethem, K. 1999).

### *5.2 The Bologna-process, a real change-agent for Flanders*

Early this year, the Flemish government has introduced its new law on higher education in parliament. Most probably, it will be approved before the end of year. But even when this would not materialise, the preparatory discussions and especially the position taken by the different stakeholders, will have a lasting impact on the organisation of higher education in Flanders. Curiously, this is due not so much to the Bologna Declaration and its legal requirements, but to the intention of the Flemish government and its lobbyists to use this opportunity for solving the long-lasting problem of the alleged ternary structure of higher education. Especially the chosen solution of large associations is extremely invasive. As will be discussed below, it unavoidably will change academic life very strongly (Van Damme, 2001).

The haste of the Flemish government is undoubtedly inspired by the firm ambitious to belong to the leading group in the implementation of the BAMA-structure. This political endeavour however has only been possible by giving to this extensive new legislation (119 articles and 95 pages of clarification) the status of a general „framework-law“ (*structuurdecreet*) and by postponing a series of more delicate items to the near future. This postponed political agenda is revealing for the direction higher education is taking in Flanders. In the first place it refers to teachers-training and its allocation over universities and hogescholen. In the second place there is the introduction of the credit system and the modular organisation which goes with it. On this point, all partners seem to agree, but for Belgium, it means abandoning the much praised strict year-system. It is true that such an approach carries a heavy examination load and requires a lot from students, but it brings them to a final diploma much faster than in most other European countries. Next to some organisational problems, the government fears above all the budgetary implications of a slower put-through. Third is a new financing system which should be geared much more to outcome and quality than to student numbers. Fourth is the further streamlining and unification of the personnel statute in universities and hogescholen. Fifth on the agenda is the problem of the further education offered in evening and weekend programmes. This education for social promotion serves a most respectable objective. It is organised in a modular way and officially, it belongs to the prolonged secondary education. It now claims the same status of the „professional“ hogescholen and the legal power to grant bachelor degrees. It is an interesting phenomenon to see that the gap left open by the upgrading hogescholen might be filled up by a newcomer coming from below. Question is whether such policy will not lead to the exclusion from further training of the less gifted group of youngsters. A credit system with well conceived programmes might very well be a better vehicle for individual upgrading.

Important in its symbolic value is, that contrary to all previous laws, from 2003 on Hogescholen and Universities will be regulated by the same law bringing personnel statutes in both systems closer to each other. In fact it will be a formidable change in the work conditions for a considerable group of the teaching staff in the Hogescholen.

### 5.3 The problem of the ternary structure: a successful lobbying

For years, as well the Flemish as the French speaking community have officially worked in a binary structure with vocational Hogescholen at one side and research based universities at the other. However, within the Hogescholen and often in the same institution, two kinds of diplomas and curricula were offered, making in fact the binary system a ternary one. The so called one cycle programmes offer a professional bachelor, which requires three years and prepares directly for the labour market. It is the world of nurses, teachers, laboratory technicians, accountants and social workers. The two cycle schools concentrated mainly on the diploma of technical engineer and on higher commercial studies. For years, this has created a serious antagonism between universities and hogescholen. It has been especially true for the commercial studies. By an old law of the thirties, these schools were already empowered to grant the titles of candidate and licentiate, creating in this way a confusion with the university degrees of licentiate in applied economics and commercial engineer.

Table 4: Hogeschool students in Flanders 2001-2002:

	<b>Male</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
One cycle programme	30,570	67	42,814	80	73,384	74
Two cycle programme	15,205	33	10,750	20	25,955	26
Total	45,775	100	53,564	100	99,339	100

Sources: Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, Departement Onderwijs, Statistisch Jaarboek van het Vlaams Onderwijs, schooljaar 2001-2002

The gradual upgrading of these schools is extremely illustrative for the evolution of the academic profession in these Hogescholen. It is worthwhile, also from the viewpoint of strategy and tactics, to look for a moment at the dynamics and the driving forces behind this movements.

For many years, the lobbying position of the Hogescholen has been to sever the ties with the secondary schools from which many of them have originated. This was especially clear in the quiet summer months of 1994. Much to the surprise and displeasure of universities, the new law on the Hogescholen was nearly a copy of the university one. Hogeschool-teaching had to be upgraded and the model ought to be the university. For this upgrading, it was judged necessary to write in the Hogeschool-mission a research objective, even if it meant giving up much of their successful and appreciated niche for vocational training set up in direct collaboration with the professional world. The conviction reigned that also in higher vocational schools, a stronger scientific foundation and a more abstract approach are necessary for their graduates to function in a knowledge society. Moreover, moving closer to universities meant more prestige and more money. Indeed, money flow in these periods reached higher education, not through the teaching

channel but through the research one. Tactically, it appeared equally important to bring the degree-entitling as close as possible to this of the universities. Therefore, the vocational engineering title was changed from „technical“ to „industrial“. Where university education was referred to as academic training, schooling in the two cycles programmes got legally the label „of academic level“!

As universities wanted to protect their specificity and undoubtedly also their income sources, they stressed their research and their research based teaching. They could however not prevent that, already in the law of 1994, the official mission of all hogescholen were enlarged with the research objective, being it „project research, to be done in collaboration with a university“. Also the different ranks of the university professorate are now possible and, the doctor's degree a required condition for certain teaching positions.

For the uninformed onlookers and especially the foreign ones, the confusion was complete. Lack of government money during 10 years prevented however, that in reality, much progress could be made. Moreover it would have been difficult because most college teachers did not have much research experience as the organisational climate was geared to teaching and to work applications.

#### *5.4 The new associations and their „academisation“*

To cope with this illogical situation, the government now advances for the two-cycle schools, the concept of the „academisation“. The confusing specifications of „academic programmes“ and „programmes of academic level“ had to go altogether and the related Hogeschool programmes ought to be evaluated with exactly the same criteria as used for universities. Also their future accreditation ought to depend on it. The legislator does not want to go as far as Great-Britain where polytechnic colleges have been promoted to universities.

The one-cycle school will also be integrated in the new associations. They however will keep their vocational and professional character and will not be submitted to the academisation.

At first, in Flanders the chosen vehicle was planned to be the „regional association“. A regional association intends to bring together all „polytechnic schools“ of the region in a collaborative network under the guidance each time of one single mother university. Respecting, at least for the moment, the institutional autonomy defended by universities and Hogescholen alike, joining ought to occur on a voluntary basis. However, to get money from a special academisation fund, „belonging to an association“ is added as a precondition. This forces everyone into a sometimes difficult choice.

Launching the association concept proved to be a real catalyst. Most universities have not waited for the approval of the new law before engaging in that direction. Success is due to unexpected competitive reasons but also because it appeared as a powerful new instrument to solve some old problems hitherto stuck in „good intentions only“.

The association will have a first important task to steer the academisation process for the two cycle programmes. This ought to be done by actively involving assistants and teachers from the hogescholen in the university research and by inbedding the concerned curricula in their relevant research domains at the mother institution. By concentrating all research responsibility at the university, the legislation hopes to avoid fragmentation and inefficient uses of scarce research monies.

The whole development appears to be a breakthrough in a long standing ambition of the hogescholen. Many are however afraid that it might be a poisoned present. Even stressing the project and applied character of Hogeschool-research, for most institutions and most teachers it will be a formidable task. Looking at publication records, little has been realised up to now. It will take years to change vested behavioural patterns and attitudes. Besides, they still have to remain open to their comparative advantage in vocational contacts and entrepreneurial consulting.

### *5.5 The association, a forerunner for major changes?*

Of course, many sees in the „association“ a forerunner for more far-reaching mergers between institutions. This might very well be the philosophy behind the largest association around K.U.Leuven. K.U.Leuven distrusted the regional dimension of the politically conceived constructions. Leuven has indeed very few hogescholen in its region and hence might lose a considerable part of its student influx especially in its advanced studies and doctoral programs. Therefore, in a bold and fast move, it decided to anticipate the new law and has established a nationwide association. It now encompasses 11 Hogescholen and one university college in one single network. Together the new association represents 42 pct. of all Flemish students in higher education. In that way the Leuven-association will carry a heavy weight and a considerable influence also in the political decision making. The originality and, may be, the effectiveness of the construction is that each partner has accepted to replace its own „general assembly“ by a new one which for 66 pct. has the same composition for each of the partners. On association level, strong decisions will be possible and, leaving the association on eventual disagreement will practically be impossible.

Although not in the same intensive way, the University of Antwerp, Ghent, Limburg and Brussels have done the same but stick to the regional approach.

Next to the academisation objective, for the association there is a secondary agenda. Looking at the new law submitted to parliament, it strikes the attention that, by combining issues, the government wants to realise a series of other difficult objectives. In the first place, there is the issue of size and the economics of scale which go with it. In the nineties, a major merger operation has already reduced the number of hogescholen from 152 to 26 in Flanders and from 110 to 40 in French speaking Belgium. Average size however, is still not more than 4000 each with a too broad and overlapping programme supply. This begs for further rationalisation. This tedious issue, very often with annoying personnel consequences, is now pushed into the lap of the associations. They are requested to „optimise“ the programme structure among their partners. As can be read in the law, other tasks are: the harmonisation of the curriculum profiles, creating the conditions for flexible learning trajectories and especially making bridges from bachelors to masters. Important also are the joint multi-year programmes for teaching innovation. Finally should be mentioned the responsibility over the way the academisation subsidy has to be spent.

For the academic profession, undoubtedly much will change. The protection of a stable and familiar environment and the collegial attitude of „live and let live“, with room for personal considerations, will be jeopardised. Economics of scale will lead to a much more professional approach for quality management. Weeding out underperforming and less attractive programmes will be easier and, flexible career tracks for professors a normal outcome. Collaboration in centres of excellence as aimed for in the K.U.Leuven-association will be challenging. Most of all, however the association means more performance pressures and higher standards.

For one-cycle schools, it possibly might be a tough task to maintain the vocational character in an environment where the dominant university is strongly research biased. Indeed, for this last one, moving from a selective research status to become also the champion of mass education, is not evident.

## **6. The Attractiveness of the Academic Profession**

Using the analysis above, we now can look at the attractiveness of the academic profession. Like in other countries, this attractiveness depends on a wide range of factors, several of which are personal and relate to scientific curiosity and love for teaching. It also will be different in hogescholen from that in universities. The same is true for the vested tenured professor in comparison with the young graduate who considers an academic career.

### *6.1 The attractiveness of a varied and diversified job*

In the absence of big independent research institutes or industrial research laboratories, the major Belgian universities have a strong research component. Moreover their strong and well integrated engineering and medical faculties add an applied dimension which extends even into product development and spin-off activities. As a consequence, more than in some other European countries, the academic profession is broader, diverse and more varied. For many, this undoubtedly is a source of satisfaction. It might explain why in universities professors rarely retire before the limit age of 65, whereas in the hogescholen, almost everyone entitled to do so, uses the early retirement scheme at 55. Indeed burning out and a certain fatigue can be expected to occur more in flat careers predominantly geared to teaching and in an environment with much less possibilities for promotions to higher ranks.

### *6.2 Starting an academic career*

Of course not all young graduates taking a first job in the university aspire to make a full academic career. By many, working for a few years in a mixed job of research and teaching is considered to be an excellent preparation for a more definitive job elsewhere. Moreover such a starting young assistant easily earns an income equivalent to that of a secondary school teacher.

For our purpose, more attention should go to those graduates who have a doctorate and who start in an uncertain career track for a maximum period of two times three years. For them decision factors are most probably: the probability of a future tenure position, the quality of the work environment, especially the research infrastructure, scientific support and the time available for building up a scientific curriculum. Negatively, there are the eventual heavy teaching load plus more and more the administrative burden of a bureaucratising organisation.

Facing a still decreasing ratio between experienced tenured professors and non tenured staff, university governors are increasingly aware of the importance of an active HRM policy towards this category of staff members. Attracting Belgian and, increasingly also foreign postdoctoral fel-

flows into this productive reservoir of talent, is a deliberate policy especially promoted by the influential research councils of the universities. One should however realise that such actions can only be successful if they are accompanied by an individualised career planning within or out of the university.

In the same perspective, the Flemish universities have convinced the government to remove the remaining legal impediments to the expansion of tenure positions. An illustrative example of such a corrective legislation is the recent abolishment of the maximum percentage a university is allowed to appoint in the highest ranks of tenured staff. The mentioned integration of tenured fellows of the Flemish Science Foundation into the university is another such measure. The possibility of using research subsidies for creating new „tenure positions with a predominant research assignments“ also goes in the same direction. At least one university is devising a system by which research centres use their external contract money and eventual royalty incomes to appoint un-tenured staff on labour contracts of undetermined duration. Here the pension burden appears to be a major obstacle.

### *6.3 The tenured professor*

With a widening job content and an increased responsibility in a decentralised decision making structures, the challenges for a full professor haven risen considerably. Its statute has still a series of attractive features as been described previously. Worth mentioning is that a tenured professor can be allowed by the university governance to engage in private consulting for a maximum of one working day per week. A switch to a part-time employment is possible either permanently or for limited periods with the possibility of a future reintegration before the age of sixty. Especially in law, management and economics, an academic career is less and less a uniform life-long full-time job at the same institution.

Also, in most universities a system exist to use, to a certain extent, up to 50 pct. of the pct. surplus on industrial research or service contracts for additional remuneration of the staff involved. It also applies to royalties and property rights (Tavernier, 2001, p. 39).

### *6.4 Job satisfaction in Hogescholen*

An extensive study about the Hogeschool-mergers of the early nineties and their impact on job satisfaction brings a revealing picture about perception and attitudes of academic staff in hogescholen (Verhoeven, et al 2001).

A general feeling is that, up to now, mergers have not lived up to the expectations: the teaching quality has not improved nor has the running of the school gained in efficiency or flexibility; communication about the new objectives and new structures has been weak and the identification with the new organisation slow to materialise; teaching staff complains about excessive centralisation and folds back in the cosiness of departments.

Since the merger movement of the early nineties, on average workload for teaching staff has increased with 9 hours a week. It now amounts to 44 hours of which 8 go to support and organisation of apprenticeship on the work floor, something which is typical for Belgian one-cycle hogescholen. Surprisingly 9 hours are required for the „new“ tasks. Red-tape-bureaucracy and per-

petual work meetings are mentioned as the main causes for this increased workload. Notwithstanding these negative perceptions on the benefits of the mergers, job satisfaction gets a relatively high score of 3,48 on a scale of 5. It is significantly higher in one-cycle schools. This departmental cohesion is stronger and direct contacts easier. Satisfaction decreases with diploma level and with age, suggesting burn out effects in the oldest age group between 45 to 55.

## **7. Internationalisation and the academic profession**

From medieval times on, universities have been international meeting places for students and scholars. Driven by a common search for knowledge, they use the same scientific language, communicate through the same international journals and attend the same conferences. In their different disciplines, the same standards for scholarly prestige apply. For a large part of the academic community, scientific performance and international publications are the main driving forces. Of course, this is more so in universities than in Hogescholen, as in the international exchange, research still always dominates teaching.

What in old times emanated from individual interest, now tends to become a deliberate policy of the institution itself. Especially in universities, internationalisation scores high not only for its own sake but even more as an instrument in their strive for academic quality. In a competitive environment, they cultivate their centres of excellence, their scientific prima donna's, their scholarly publications and everyone who can contribute to it.

In universities this is reflected in their recruitment policies. Recruitment standards are international. Participation and consulting of foreign scholars in selection committees is more and more common. It also shows up in a range of programmes conceived to attract e.g. talented young East Europeans or other brilliant foreign scholars on doctoral, postdoctoral or professional level. Government, conscious of this problem, has recently decided to support this university policy by reducing social security payments and by making work permits for foreigners easier. Apparently, it is important to have access for its scholars to the best places in the world where new paradigms are developed and where scientific breakthroughs are probable. Since decades, inter-laboratory collaborations are common practice and very often, a stay abroad is an implicit condition for a successful career start. Up to 50 pct. of tenured staff member in a mayor university has a foreign study or work experience.

More recently active networks on interuniversity level appear. Reference is made to e.g. the Coimbra Group, the Santander Group, the UNICA Group, the Utrecht Group and the League of European Research-intensive Universities. Belonging to such groups is judged important because of mutual access to new knowledge, research consortia for E.U. project competitions, benchmarking and for pushing up quality norms above the European accreditation average (Hoornaert and Oosterlinck, 2002).

In the same perspective, international recruitment of student, especially in Flanders, does not aim at first or second cycle candidates but focus on doctoral and postdoctoral fellows. Belonging to a smaller language group is of course another argument for this strategic choice. Benefiting from a more widely used language, French speaking Belgium has a relatively more extensive participation of foreigners also in the first and second cycle.

Table 5: Foreign students in Belgian Higher Education (2001-2002)

Programmes	Dutch speaking		French speaking	
	Numbers	pct.	numbers	pct.
<b>Total Hogescholen</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1,9</b>	<b>13,390</b>	<b>17</b>
Universities				
1 <sup>st</sup> e cycle	1099	3,6	4,120	15,6
2 <sup>de</sup> cycle	965	3,6	3,474	13,6
Broadening	617	21,3	2,385	38,2
Doct. + Deepening	1177	36,5	2,218	38,6
<b>Total universities</b>	<b>3858</b>	<b>6,0</b>	<b>19,197</b>	<b>19,0</b>

Sources: Universitair onderwijs, hoofdinschrijvingen, in Statistisch Jaarboek van het Vlaams Onderwijs, Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, Dep. Onderwijs, dec. 2002, 763 p. Annales Cref 2002 Tableau 1.7.1. L'Enseignement en chiffres

A university as K.U.Leuven has about 60 master programs taught in English. Internally they are submitted to quality standards. Again, the research-base, the teaching capacity and labour market relevance are important. It also is a deliberate policy to organise such programmes together with one or more selected foreign universities.

Belgium has certainly used in a successful way the rich opportunities opened up by the European Union, first in the research programmes for international consortia and afterwards in the enthusiastic Erasmus and Socrates programmes for educational exchange of students and teachers. Since the start of the programmes in 1988, 26 217 Flemish students have stayed at foreign institutions for periods of three months to a full year. 58 pct. were university students and 42 came from hogescholen. These last ones were somewhat slower to organise for this grand mobility scheme. In the meantime they have caught up. Already in 2001-2002, their number has become higher than that of universities (40 pct.). Related to the total student population from the third year on, it means that in 98-99, 5,44 pct. of Flemish University students and 4,53 % of Hogescholen could benefit. Favourite destinations have been: Spain, France, U.K. and Holland. Because of language problems incoming students from foreign countries were much lower. In French speaking higher education this is less the case.

## 8. Conclusion

While French speaking Belgium continues to work within the old legal boundaries, Flanders, looking at Dutch speaking Holland for its organisational renewal, has engaged in mayor legal and structural changes.

For the academic profession, of special importance is the 'academisation' of the two cycle programmes in the non-university higher education. It means that for their future accreditation they will have to meet the same criteria as applied for universities. The chosen vehicle is that of „the association“ of a series of „hogescholen“ each time around one single mother-university. It is this mother university which is responsible for the intended academisation-process and which has to co-ordinate, through its research council, the research efforts of the schools which have chosen to join that particular network. Also, because of an important secondary agenda for these associations, it is felt that they can be seen as forerunners for further invasive changes and further inte-

gration. Indeed, already additional assignments are: curriculum harmonisation; program rationalisation; flexible learning trajectories; multiyear funding for teaching innovation and co-ordination of investment programs.

Undoubtedly, these legal measures constitute a complete overhaul of the organisational environment in which academics will have to face the already turbulent global changes due to the new teaching technology, the internationalisation, changing stakeholders expectation, international networking and the professionalism of university management.

The new profile for the academic profession that emerges from it is one of increasing complexity, enlarged scope, bigger diversity and a stronger pressure for permanent quality improvement. Such an academic profession is demand driven and has to respond to a widening range of critical stakeholders. More specifically, reference should be made: to the pressure to work with „appointed heads of departments“ and even „appointed deans“ instead of „elected ones“; the emergence of a series of new professional function; the pressing problem of the supervision and guidance of a growing number of non tenures postdoctoral fellows by fewer tenured professors; the switch from class room teaching to coaching of the learning process; diminishing academic freedom in favour of more teamwork and permanent quality control by a steadily more powerful rectorate.

In the future, academic staff, will work in a new organisational set up, with a different relational climate. Because of bigger size and a more entrepreneurial approach, collegial relations have to give way to more impersonal and more administrative approaches. System dependability based on measurable criteria and regular audits replaces the previous interpersonal trust. A strong social control used to prevail pushing academics to live up to the standards connected with the status of professor (De Dijn, 2002).

As to internationalisation, important for Flanders is the endeavour to find a place in the top group of the diverging European hierarchy of universities. An extensive use of international networks is an effective instrument to realise it and sets quality standards on higher and higher level.

Exactly this strong pressure for quality improvement is affecting academic staff enormously as well their attitudes, workload as their new administrative and evaluation tasks.

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## **Academic staff: The extraordinary species *Homo Academicus* Country Report Czech Republic**

*Ondrej Svaton, Aleš Vlk*

### **1. Introduction**

More than ten years have now passed since the „Velvet Revolution“ in the Czech Republic, and the change of country’s political structure has had a significant impact on all social groups, including university teachers. As we will see in the following paragraphs, the position of academic staff demonstrates quite specific characteristics compared to other professions in the Czech Republic. In addition, we also come across distinguishing features when looking at international comparison in the field of higher education. No matter what the reasons are, a special status of Czech academics should not be exclusively associated with special living conditions of a „poor, lovable, heroic and mishandled little nation“ in the heart of Europe. We are aware of the fact that it might become boring for any auditorium to be repeatedly informed of the oldest university in central Europe and Albert Einstein’s tutorial stay at Charles University in Prague. Frankly speaking, Einstein held his lectures at the German part of the university anyway.

The academic profession in almost every country is facing specific pressures. On one hand, we cannot be possibly proud of the standing of academic staff in the Czech Republic. On the other hand, it is rather surprising that after four decades of the communist regime, aside from poor financial remuneration, the prestige of a university teacher has remained at the top of the scale, and well above the prestige of workers and farmers, who were supposed to constitute a privileged and prominent class of society. Some critical voices would say that there are no particular reasons for glorifying special positive features in the profile of Czech university teachers, once we realise that what is usually perceived as a virtue can be nothing but a relict of the long-ago. One can still find many similarities of the current status of Czech educational system with the situation in Austria or Germany, including aspects such as widespread subservient attitude to academic degrees, or very high social status of academics. Such explanations sound too pessimistic. We are not able to reveal all the historical, cultural, and economical factors behind the development of the academic profession in the last decade and to predict the future. However, we believe that with the increased attention paid by the national government to the development of tertiary education in recent years, working conditions and the position of academic staff continues to improve.

## 2. The national system of higher education

The higher education system in the Czech Republic has changed tremendously since 1989, mainly in terms of quantity. While only 14 percent of the 19-year old entered tertiary education in 1989, it was as much as 40 percent in 2000, and the ambitious plan of the Ministry is to accommodate 50 percent by 2005 (MSMT, 2000). The political change along with increased demand for higher education have influenced the governing structures of higher education institutions, their relationship with the state as well as the content of curricula. The process of system's transformation that lasted since 1990 was replaced in 1998 by another phase, which can be called a „consolidation period“. High autonomy and self-governance of higher education institutions along with indirect state steering by distribution of financial resources represent two main characteristics of the Czech higher education system (Šebková & Beneš, 2002).

According to recent legislation, higher education institutions in the Czech Republic are either of a university or non-university type. An institution of a non-university type usually provides bachelor study programs only. A university may offer all components of the bachelor-master-doctor structure. Both types of institutions, non-universities and universities, can be state, public, or private. It should be mentioned that apart from a few institutions of strategic importance (police and military academy), all former state institutions were transformed into public legal bodies in 1998. This transformation had a significant impact mainly on the property rights.

Aside from the traditional higher education system, there is also a growing sector of the so-called tertiary professional schools offering a degree of diploma specialist in various fields. The system started in 1990 with the help of programs from the Netherlands. One reason was, for example, the fact that research represents an indispensable part of higher education, while professional schools lack research capacities. In fact, it means that these institutions are in the used terminology usually excluded from the system of higher education. Of course, the term „tertiary education“ is used to include both higher education institutions and tertiary professional schools; however, some national statistics and studies deal with these two parts of the tertiary system separately. This article is thus concerned with academic staff of higher education institutions primarily. In addition, the terms „higher education institution“ and „university“ are used interchangeably in the text.

## 3. The main actors

The Ministry of Education represents *the state* with respect to higher education institutions. Contrary to era before 1989, the power of the state is rather limited. The main task of the Ministry includes allocation of funding to individual institutions and monitoring the way money is spent. In general, the Ministry should create favourable conditions for the development of higher education institutions, coordinate their activities and carry other duties and responsibilities listed in the Act.

The *Accreditation Commission* represents an expert body consisting of 21 members appointed by the Czech government. The Commission has two main missions. First, it is required to respond to applications for accreditation of study programs, applications for the right to conduct habilitation procedures and procedures for the appointment of professors, foundation, merger, integration, splitting, or dissolution of a faculty of a public higher education institution, applications of a corporate entity for granting state permission to operate a private higher education in-

stitution, and identification of the type (university or non-university) assigned to a higher education institution. Second, the Commission should care about the overall quality of higher education, including, for example, evaluation of accredited study programs and activities (Šebková, 2001).

It has been already stated that *higher education institutions* possess a very high level of autonomy and self-governance compared to the past, and even to higher education institutions in other countries. At the end of 2002, the Czech higher education system consisted of 4 state institutions, 24 public, and 27 private institutions (see Table 1). A remarkable development of private institutions took place in the past few years. The private sector of tertiary education was established by the Act of 1998. There were only nine private institutions with accredited study programs in 1999. This number increased to 14 in 2001, and in 2002 there was as much as 27 private institutions offering their study programs. The majority of the newly established private providers is located in Prague (18 out of 27), yet their students do not constitute a considerable share of total student body in the Czech Republic – it was approximately two percent at the end of 2001<sup>1</sup>. Prague and Brno, two major university cities, jointly attract approximately sixty percent of the student population these days. The total number of students was around 207 thousand in 2000, and almost 229 thousand in 2001 (UIV, 2002).

Table 1: Higher Education Institutions in 2002

State	Public	Private
4	24	27

According to the legislation, higher education institutions are represented by two bodies. The *Council of Higher Education Institutions* is composed of both academic staff and *student* representatives delegated by academic senates. The *Czech Rector's Conference* consists of rectors (chancellors) of higher education institutions. Both bodies should be consulted by the Ministry over the course of decision-making process concerning significant higher education policies, the budgetary policy in particular.

#### 4. Employment and working conditions of academic staff

##### 4.1 Legal framework

Two major pieces of legislation have been passed since the political system in the Czech Republic changed – the first one in 1990 and the second one in 1998. The federal Higher Education Act of 1990 was in force even after separation of Czech and Slovak republics in 1993. The role of the state in tertiary education was confined to minimum. The Act facilitated almost immediate transformation from a highly centralised system into a system based on high level of autonomy and self-governing rights of higher education institutions. The necessity to change the framework of

<sup>1</sup> In general, private HE institutions are rather small. Together with 4 000 students at tertiary professional schools they represent not more than 7 percent of the total student body at the tertiary sector. However, the share is expected to grow in the future.

higher education as quickly as possible left little space for a debate across the academic community and other stakeholders, as well as for any analysis or implementation of models used by other countries. Nonetheless, if we look at the outcomes from a historical perspective, the Act provided more than sufficient legislative framework for the period of transformation.

Time for thorough discussion and detailed analysis was significantly longer before a completely new legislation came into force. The first discussions over the Higher Education Act of 1998 date back as far as to 1993. Many factors, such as internationalisation, the need for quality assessment and assurance, strong diversification requirements, unemployment of graduates, development of private education, increasing importance of information and communication technologies or the concept of lifelong learning, have been taken into account while debating the final concept of relationship between the state and higher education institutions. In general, we can say that high level of autonomy, academic freedom and institutional self-governance was confirmed, and the position of the state vis-à-vis higher education institutions was defined more precisely (Šebková & Beneš, 2002).

#### *4.2 Higher education act of 1990*

Section 27 of the Higher Education Act of 1990 was devoted specifically to academic staff. The section entitled „Higher Education Teachers and Research Workers“ subdivided academic staff in the Czech Republic into the following categories: professors, associate professors (docent), senior assistants, assistants, and lectures. Apart from teaching staff, it mentioned research workers explicitly. Contrary to some other countries, where titles such as „professor“ or „associate professor“ usually denote a working position, these titles indicate academic degrees in the Czech Republic. This fact must be taken into account, especially when preparing comparative studies.

The same section also introduced tender procedures for obtaining academic positions. Procedural details must be specified by means of internal regulations of higher education institutions. If agreed by the academic senate of the pertinent institution, a teacher at higher education institution can be released from his/her lecturing duties for a reasonable period of time, in order to conduct research or artistic activities full-time. The Act further specified successful defence of a habilitation thesis as a necessary condition for attaining the position of an associate professor (docent). Only after completion of habilitation (venium docendi), one is qualified for a professor position.

The Act also defined conditions for depriving professors and associate professors (docent) of their titles. In addition, the final provision of the Section defines the age of 65 years as the ultimate age for renewing one's contract. However, if approved by the faculty senate, the Dean can renew a contract with a person older than 65. Under the same conditions, Faculty Dean can grant a professor the right to continue in his/her research even upon termination of one's contract.

#### *4.3 The amendment of 1993*

The Higher Education Act of 1990 was amended in 1993. A new section cancelled the possibility of tenured position for all academic categories by limiting contracts of academic staff from two to the maximum of five years. Conclusion of a contract shorter than two years would require em-

ployee's written agreement. The contract would be extended on the basis of evaluation of academic staff's performance, and new applicants for an academic position were required to take part in a tender. Temporary contracts were expected to play a positive role in terms of the internal replacement of academic staff as well as quality increase. It was also meant as a stimulus for attaining higher academic degrees.

In fact, it worked almost the opposite way. The new situation, resulting in cancelling tenured positions of professors, led to jeopardising of high prestige and the social security of top academic professions. Due to increased social insecurity, many qualified teachers and researchers left academia for other sectors that provided plentiful opportunities for considerable higher salaries than in higher education. Looking back, we can say that the Amendment did not meet the expectations and did not contribute to increasing the attractiveness of the academic profession either. On the contrary, still relatively low wages in education and rather insufficient differentiation of incomes across different categories within academia were the main reasons for many young teachers and researchers to leave. Instead of intended renewal of academic staff, steady state was preserved (Vašutová, 1999).

#### *4.4 The higher education act of 1998*

After several years of intensive discussions, a new Higher Education Act was passed in 1998 (Act No. 111/1998). In general, the most important change is the transformation of higher education institutions from state institutions into public ones. In addition, the new Act enabled private providers to operate in the higher education area.

First of all, a new title for academic staff was introduced. The term „higher education teacher“ was replaced by „academic staff“. Sections 70 through 77 describe in detail the legal framework for the members of academic staff and their duties and privileges. According to Section 70, the term „academic staff“ includes both teaching and research personnel.

Similarly to the previous Act, academic staff consists of professors, associate professors, senior assistants, assistants, lecturers as well as scientific, research and development workers taking part in pedagogical activities. Other specialists may take part in lecturing on the basis of working contracts beyond the scope of regular employment. The statute of visiting professors is stipulated in internal regulations of higher education institutions.

The new Act makes the academic profession more attractive by giving individual institutions more power in the personnel agenda. Contrary to the previous Act, by not explicitly defining limits of working contracts, the new Act allows each higher education institution to decide whether its teachers are given tenured positions or not. A very formal competitive selection process – details were defined by separate legislation – was replaced by less strict competition. Apart from obligatory public announcement, a higher education institution fully determines conditions of the procedure. In case a person already holds the academic position, the selection process for that position can be cancelled.

The Act also introduced a new phenomenon – sabbatical leave. Teaching staff can be granted a six-month vacation with full payment every seven years. Together with 40-day period of holidays, the introduction of sabbatical should contribute to attractiveness of the academic profession.

To summarise, we can say that main differences between the two Acts include definition of the academic profession, different conditions for conclusion of contracts, and much more spe-

cific description of the habilitation procedure, and the procedure of awarding the professorship by the new Act.

#### 4.5 The amendment of 2001

A group of opposition members of the Czech Parliament, in fact against the will of the Ministry, succeeded in amending the Higher Education Act of 1998. A new piece of legislation gave the higher education institutions the opportunity to offer some of their teaching capacities to students willing to pay under the life-long learning mode.

The Act says that as a part of its educational activities, a higher education institution may deliver, free of charge or for a fee, life-long learning programs designed either for occupational training, or leisure activity. Furthermore, in its amended version, it continues that a higher education institution grants certificates to participants who have successfully completed life-long learning programs. In case that successful graduates from life-long learning programs with accreditation become students in line with the law, a higher education institution may recognise the credits they have earned in life-long learning programs up to 60 percent of credits which are necessary for due completion of studies.

It was generally expected that higher education institutions would not offer the same courses to both groups of participants. This potential development also constituted the main objections of the Ministry and other stakeholders against the Amendment. The Amendment in fact divides the student body into two groups: fee paying students and the students studying free of charge. However, it is yet too early to assess the real effect of this Amendment on either behaviour of higher education institutions, or demand for higher education in the Czech Republic. On the other hand, one trend can be already observed in connection with academic staff. Since fees charged for life-long learning programs are rather high, it gives institutions additional funding. These resources can be used to pay teachers delivering lectures or seminars under life-long learning programs. Participation of teachers in highly demanded life-long learning programs can result in considerable additional income apart from their regular salaries.

#### 4.6 Academic staff in strategic documents

The Czech tertiary education system has been subject to several studies and analyses conducted by either ministerial or independent expert groups. Many recommendations and suggestions have been made regarding potential measures on the national as well as institutional level. Some of the materials have also reflected the situation of academic staff and its development.

The most important documents in that respect are the National Program for the Development of Education in the Czech Republic („White Paper“), A Long-term Plan of the Ministry<sup>2</sup>, and the Strategy of Tertiary Education. Other materials, such as the Concept of Education and Development of Educational System in the Czech Republic (approved by the Government in 1999), National Policy in Research and Development (approved by the Government in 1999), and the

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2 According to the Higher Education Act, the Ministry is required to publish a *Long-term Plan of the Ministry* and update it every year. This document serves as an indirect tool with an impact on higher education institutions, since their institutional long-term plans are expected to comply with the *Long-term Plan of the Ministry*.

Concept of the State Information Policy in Education (approved by the Government in 2000) are also partly concerned with the development of the tertiary education system.

Apart from the above-mentioned domestic documents, the education policy in the Czech Republic has also been evaluated by international teams consisting of experienced experts from developed countries. Various issues of higher education development, including staff development, have been tackled. For example, the OECD report from 1996 mentioned staff development as the key question for renewal of the whole system of higher education. The replacement of the over-aged personnel by younger people at the level of professors and assistant professors was seen as one of the biggest challenges for the whole system. In order to achieve that goal, a series of specific recommendations was prepared. One of these concerned the need to increase the number of doctoral students, giving them the opportunity to study abroad. It was recommended to raise salaries of assistants and young teachers, in order to make them more attractive compared to salaries available outside the system of higher education. Due to the lack of financial resources of both the Ministry and institutions, a system of special premiums (beyond research contracts, external assistance, overheads arising from retraining courses, etc.) was suggested in place of an immediate increase (UIV, 1996).

The Ministry of Education issued the *National Program for the Development of Education* in the Czech Republic – the so-called „*White paper*“ – in 2001. A considerable part is devoted to tertiary education in the Czech Republic. According to the document, development of tertiary education system is closely connected with quality of academic staff. Shortage of higher ranking academics and their age structure is viewed as the biggest problem not only of the most newly founded institutions together with social and economic situation of academics, especially the young ones.

We must note that priorities of institutions include creation of better conditions for scientific activity for younger members of academic staff. Special attention should be paid to the development of academics in the fields such as information science, languages, scientific disciplines, and professional management of institutions by providing short-term courses as well as short- and medium-term study visits abroad.

It is expected that the increased number of students enrolled in bachelor study programs will require the corresponding number and structure of academic staff. Two major points of this aspect are stressed. Firstly, it is the importance of pedagogical competencies for the teachers in bachelor study programs. Secondly, it requires more experts from outside the academic world, teaching at higher education institutions, in order to balance the structure of academic staff (White Paper, 2001).

#### *4.7 Qualification prerequisites, promotion*

In the above paragraphs we could see that positions of academic staff and the development of the academic career are codified in detail in the national legislation. Similarly to other higher education systems, we can find all the categories of academic staff. There were 14,890 teachers and research personnel working at public higher education institutions in 2001. Numbers of various categories of academic staff are illustrated in Table 2. Corresponding data for private as well as state higher education institutions are not available in the official statistics.

To explain the difference between the working position and the academic degree the following example is considered: A university teacher is given a contract consisting of two main criteria – a tariff class and the salary. According to a pay scale in a particular institution the tariff class 7 can

be set up for example between 400 and 460 Euro. A dean of the faculty decides on the level of personal remuneration, which is in fact not limited by any legislation. In the contract the academic worker is called a 'university teacher'. Another document, attached to the contract, includes a detailed work description – the type of teaching (seminars, lectures) and the workload. The terms such as assistant, lecturer or professor (the categories of academic staff as mentioned in the Act) are used in this attachment. The level of qualification (Ph. D., habilitation, professorships) influences the tariff class, which is the university teacher assigned. Research personnel receive a similar contract; only the work description is different. The categorisation of academic staff as stated in Table 2 is in this respect somewhat confusing as it comprises both academic degrees as well working positions.

Table 2: Categories of Academic Staff in 2001

Professors	1,169
Associate Professors	3,034
Senior Assistants	7,475
Assistants	795
Lecturers	318
Research Personnel	2,099
Total	14,890

Source: CHES (2001)

In some international comparative studies, the Czech categories of *professor* and *associate professor* are usually matched together and regarded as one category. The title of *professor* in Czech context is traditionally interpreted in a very narrow sense, and does not include other members of academic staff with habilitation, who would otherwise qualify for the highest academic position in other countries (Tollingerová, 1999).

The position of an assistant is usually regarded as the starting point in one's academic career. Assistants work for their Ph. D., and are often involved in teaching duties. The position of a senior assistant already requires a Ph. D. degree. It is usually achieved when a person is 35 years old, or even later. As we have mentioned in the above paragraphs, the position of associate professors requires successful habilitation. Professors are mostly appointed at the age of 50 or 60. Such an extremely long carrier path represents one of the discouraging aspects of the academic profession. Considering the work contracts, each higher education institution is free to determine their duration. Only to illustrate, it is now usual in many higher education institutions that professors receive tenured positions, associate professors sign 10-year contracts, and middle staff can usually expect a 5-year contract.

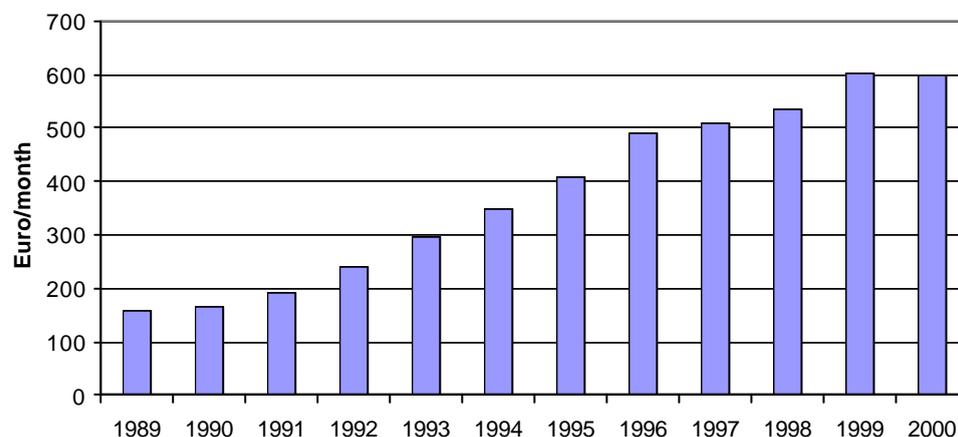
The detailed prescription of teaching duties to particular categories also falls within the competence of each individual institution. The most intensive teaching involvement is in many faculties associated with senior assistants (around 15 hours a week). Associate professors usually teach from 6 to 10 hours, and the teaching commitment is the lowest for professors (4 hours a week). While senior assistants are mainly involved in practical training and seminars, professors supervise doctoral dissertations.

#### 4.8 Pay scales, salaries

It has been pointed out many times in the literature that salaries of teachers and other staff in the area of education are very low in former communist countries; salaries are sometimes below the national average, and have been increasing much more slowly than in other sectors. This situation is quite discouraging especially for young people starting their career in higher education. In consequence, we can see that the most qualified members of academic staff either leave the education sector (internal brain-drain), or get a parallel second job, and while doing so, diminish involvement and interest in reform and innovation of their own academic field. (Grych, 1995).

First of all, it must be mentioned that members of academic staff are not state employees in the Czech Republic. They are employed by higher education institutions as such. Prior to 1998 their wages had followed criteria for state employees derived from professional status, the level of education achieved, and the length of practical experience. Academic staff in public higher education institutions is now paid according to the same regulations as other categories of employees with the exception of public services. It gives individual institutions much more flexibility in creating their own pay scales. On the other hand, it means that small, yet regular wage increase for public servants does not apply to the academic staff of public higher education institutions. Apart from internal regulations, working conditions of academic staff are governed by general provisions and standards of labour law. Development of university teachers' monthly wages since 1989 is depicted in Figure 1. Additional funding such as grants or fees are not registered in wage statistics. Data on financial remuneration of teachers in private higher education institutions are not available. Their salaries are based on individual work contracts.

Figure 1: University Teacher's Wages 1989-2000 (in Euro/month)



Source: UIV (2001)

Periods for rewarding individual categories of workers in academia are very broad. As a result, higher education institutions setting up wages for their employees are limited almost entirely by their budget constraints and internal resources. The average salaries of various categories of academic staff are in Table 3. The most flexible part of wage is represented by special personal remuneration, which is added to the portion determined by the wage schedule. The level of this remuneration

neration is decided by the Dean of the Faculty, and it is actually subject to no limit. This remuneration is subject to collective bargaining process<sup>3</sup>. More details on trade unions and their role in higher education can be found in the following chapter.

Table 3: Average Wages of Academic Staff in 2001 in Public HE Institutions (in Euro/month)<sup>4</sup>

	Average wage
Professors	1062
Associate Professors	845
Senior Assistants	564
Assistants	429
Lecturers	436
Scientific, research and development workers	646

Source: UIV (2002)

Broad limits of personal remuneration are the main reason why differences in income between the best and worst paid professors or associate professors can exceed even 50 per cent. Data from 4 out of 24 public universities illustrate differentiation in financial remuneration. Table 4 shows differences in average salaries between six categories of academic staff in 2001.

Table 4: Average Salaries of Academic Staff in 2001 in Selected Public HE Institutions (in Euro/month)

	HEI 1	HEI 2	HEI 3	HEI 4
Professors	1128	922	821	677
Associate Professors	839	676	699	515
Senior Assistants	594	526	520	405
Assistants	530	454	393	394
Lecturers	740	435	339	343
Scientific, research, and development workers	749	541	746	788

Source: MSMT, UIV Press Release (25.10. 2001)

Many research projects are funded on both national and international level, and various studies, analyses, and consulting activities are increasingly demanded by state authorities, public institutions, media, public, and private funds. It is obvious that the possibility of receiving extra financial resources depends on the field of expertise of individual academics. As a result, some busi-

3 Without going to very deep details it is, however, necessary to mention two levels of collective bargaining. The first appears on the institutional level and the second one on the 'field' level, in our case being higher education. As the field level agreement is only exceptionally reached (the Act anticipates such a possibility) the bargaining process takes place only on the institutional level and concerns among others personal remuneration, optional subsidies, working conditions, etc. This explains why the differences between individual higher education institutions occur.

4 Average wage in the Czech Republic reached 482 Euro/month in the same period.

ness-like disciplines, or other highly demanded areas allowing blending of academic career with practical life, personal income of teachers is a multiple of the average salary provided by their home higher education institution. If the teaching and research duties of academic staff are reasonably combined with complementary activities in the same field, it is usually regarded as a positive trend in terms of professional development of academics.

#### 4.9 Trade unions, bargaining

The position of trade unions and professional associations in higher education is not very strong. In public higher education institutions trade unions negotiate salaries and other working conditions with the management of higher education institutions. This collective bargaining is ruled by special legislation applicable to all collective bargaining in the Czech Republic.

The Czech Higher Education Trade Union registered 10,140 members at the end of 2002. It represents nearly one third of all employees of public higher education institutions. According to internal information, no employees of private institutions are members of the Trade Union. Although the level of membership corresponds with proportion common in other European countries, this number indicates a significant decrease. In fact, nearly 100 percent of employees were organised in trade unions until 1989, with universities being no exception.

Main activities of the Higher Education Trade Union have recently focused on salaries of academic staff. The main goal, formulated at the end of January 2003, is to double the income of employees of public higher education institutions by the end of 2008. It is very interesting to see how members of the Higher Education Trade Union evaluate various aspects of the higher education policy administered by the Ministry. A short survey was conducted by the authors of this report during the annual meeting of the Trade Union in January 2003. Respondents were asked to rank the policy of the Ministry in several areas using a five-point scale – 1 meaning „very positive“, and 5 meaning „very negative“. Results can be found in Table 5.

Table 5: Evaluation of Various Aspects of the State Policy

Wages	3.73
Job security	3.41
Further education of teachers	3.24
Research possibilities	3.17
International mobility of teachers	2.83
International cooperation	2.70

Source: Survey conducted by authors at the end of January 2003.

We understand that wages and job security constitute priorities for the Trade Union members. That may be the reason why evaluation of the state policy in these areas is so negative. Low wages and inadequate social security have been hot topics in recent discussions across both academia and general public. It seems that these two issues, as already announced by the Higher Education Trade Union, will remain priorities for negotiation in the years to come. It must be added, how-

ever, that the issues such as wages or job security are much more influenced by the policy of individual institutions (as we could see in the previous text) than by the policy of the Ministry.

## 5. Attractiveness of academic workplace

### 5.1 Academic staff development

In terms of academic staff development, the *Long-term plan of the Ministry* explicitly states that development of the tertiary education system is directly associated with academic staff development. Quality of teaching and research as well as institutions' and departments' management structures are influenced primarily by the quality of academic staff. It is stressed, as in all other documents, that the average age of academics has been steadily increasing. The extreme case has been even an increase by one year in twelve months, meaning no replacement at all! This trend is regarded absolutely unacceptable for the future and must be modified.

The Ministry suggests accelerating renewal of academic staff. First of all, the position of senior assistants should not represent life-long academic position, as it has been in the past. Senior assistants should be able to pass habilitation procedure within a reasonable time period otherwise the position should be made available to other candidates. Furthermore, many routine activities of assistants and senior assistants should be administered by Ph. D. students. Management of higher education institutions is encouraged to increase the number of professors and associate professors in early age, and at the same time, decrease the academic staff/students ratio.

A crucial role in the restructuring of academic staff is played by Ph. D. students and young assistants. The number of students enrolled in Ph. D. programs has been increasing in the past few years<sup>5</sup>. Although the number of Ph. D. students (either full-time or part-time) has recently increased – which can be seen as a positive and much desirable trend – we must not forget another fact. Still not a sufficient number of students actually finish their Ph. D. studies. While there were around 13 thousand students enrolled in Ph. D. programs in 1999/2000 academic year, only 807 of them have successfully defended their dissertations (Šebková, 2001).

This phenomenon can be explained by factors similar to those affecting other members of academic staff. Ph. D. students mostly possess student status; most of them are not employed by their home higher education institutions. Although many of them can benefit from reduced prices of accommodation and meal, it still does not balance their inadequate financial status. In terms of financial remuneration (can differ in individual institutions) some Ph. D. students receive a monthly stipend as low as 167 or 200 Euro<sup>6</sup>. For the sake of comparison, the average salary was 515 Euro in the last quarter of 2002. In addition, student benefits provided by the state or municipalities (such as public transport, health insurance, etc.) are usually limited by the age of 26.

When looking at starting wages in other areas, which are several times higher than in the field of higher education, it seems natural that many Ph. D. students do not resist the temptation and leave their positions. Others, in order to compensate their stipends, seek additional financial resources either within their own institutions (research grants), or outside. It is very difficult for

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5 A specific doctoral programme is often rather fluid and depends on individual initiatives as well as on each institutional tradition and approach. The workload, teaching commitments, exams, etc. can also differ significantly with respect to the field of study.

6 This is a netto amount exempt from taxation.

them to handle both academic research and one full-time or several part-time employment duties at the same time. In consequence, many of them are not able to finish their Ph. D. studies on time and leave after several years without the completion of their degree program. On the other hand, it must be said that much more attention is recently being paid to the Ph. D. students on both institutional and national level. As an example, we should mention the new support program of the national grant authority as announced at the beginning of 2003. Interdisciplinary teams of Ph. D. students, working on similar topics, and a limited number of supervisors will be sponsored in order to make their financial remuneration comparable to other sectors. The financial resources should be used mainly for work contracts with part-time students or additional stipends for full-time Ph. D. students.

### 5.2 Two extremes: age and qualification

Two following extremes are indicated in the portrait of Czech academic staff derived mainly from the study *Povolání vysokoškolského učitele v mezinárodním srovnávání* conducted in 1998/1999 and based on the international project *The Academic Profession*. In comparison to other countries, the main characteristics of Czech academic staff include very high degree of qualification, and very high age of qualified personnel. When looking at the two standard groups of academic staff – professors and non-professors – we exceptionally meet a professor without Ph. D., or its former Czech equivalent of CSc. The number of non-professor academic staff with Ph. D. qualification is also extremely high. According to the research, 96 percent of junior academic staff hold a Ph. D. degree (Tollingerová, 1999).

It has been already mentioned that a university professor must hold not only a doctorate, but also a *habilitation*, making the situation in Czech higher education institutions similar to that of German speaking countries. Habilitation is also required for the position of an associate professor – *docent*. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that academic career takes a considerable period of time. Professors in the Czech Republic are, without exception, the oldest in the world. The average age of Czech professors is over 60, and the average age of an associate professor is over 52 (Tollingerová, 1999).

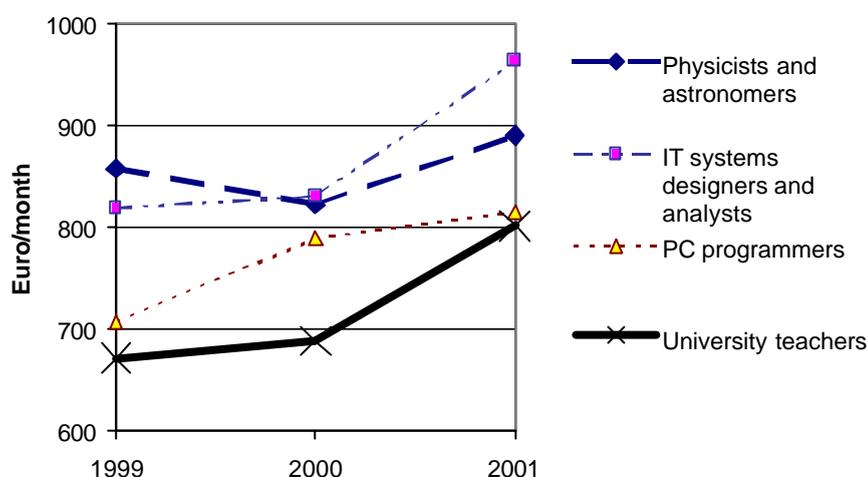
A prevailing opinion – also indicated in strategic documents on tertiary education policy – says that it is necessary to change this negative trend. The fact, that members of academic staff achieve high academic qualification nearly at the end of their lives, is perceived as an unaffordable luxury for the society, as well as waste of human resources. Unfortunately, it must be emphasised that only little had changed between 1994, when the pilot project was conducted, and the last research analysing the period of 1998/1999. Only recently there have been some signs indicating positive changes in this area, such as the increased number of Ph. D. students and their support.

### 5.3 Financial attractiveness

Financial remuneration is the crucial element influencing the attractiveness of academic profession. As we could already see in the part discussing wages, financial conditions of similar categories of academic staff can differ between and within individual tertiary education institutions.

This situation is partly caused by the extent to which a particular academic discipline is valued outside academia. For example it is necessary to offer higher payments to experts in technological branches, where demand for them on the labour market is higher. On the other hand, for many specialists in arts, career of a university teacher is the only opportunity to utilise their expertise. It is also true that availability of grants or the possibility to offer consulting or other services to private businesses make some fields more financially attractive than others. The following figure illustrates average wages of selected highly qualified professions with the average wage of a university professor in the period from 1999 to 2001.

Figure 2: Wages of Selected Highly Qualified Professions



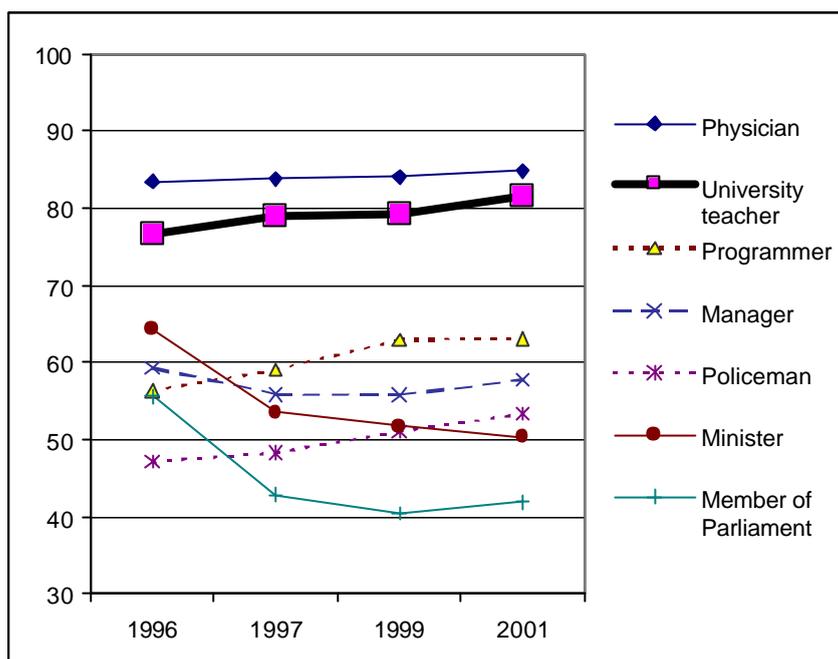
Source: CSU (2001)

#### 5.4 Prestige of the profession

The prestige of the academic profession has traditionally been very high in the Czech Republic. Ceremonies held in the main ceremony hall of the Charles University, where professors are appointed to their academic positions by the president, has also contributed to the high status of a university teachers in general. Figures from recent years show that only doctors in health centres score higher in opinion polls. In the last survey we know about, academics were rated even higher than private doctors.

It is worth mentioning at this point, that representatives of both most prestigious professions – doctors and university teachers – have been constantly calling for radical wage increase. They argue that financial conditions do not adequately reflect the level of qualification one has to achieve before one can practice the profession. Many critics of the contemporary state of the art see the lack of financial resources the main reason why both professions are becoming less attractive for young people, despite the highest level of prestige. The following figure shows the prestige of selected professions. Respondents were asked to indicate the prestige on the 100-point scale.

Figure 3: Prestige of Selected Professions



Source: CVVM – Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the CR (2001)

The high social prestige does not always seem to be of the highest importance for the members of academic staff themselves. A few academics considered the social prestige to be the most important element of their profession. Perhaps the prestige is not the most important dimension for the members of academic staff at the later stage of their career. On the other hand, it is a very important factor when young people plan their professional future. The following lines are based on research that was conducted at the faculties of education where more than 60 percent of teachers are female. During this research respondents were asked what they wanted to do after finishing their degree. It is true that many of them really wanted to become university teachers. On the other hand, the number of students who really wanted to become university teachers seems to correlate inversely with age. The number of young graduates from faculties of education planning to continue in their academic career has been steadily decreasing. Another interesting result from the same research includes differences between attitudes of men and women in preferences of their future profession. More men than women really want to stay at higher education institutions as teachers (Vašutová, 2001). Students from faculties of education by no means represent the whole graduate population. However, the result of this research confirms the observed tendency. Even though university teachers enjoy the highest level of prestige across the whole society, it is becoming more difficult to attract talented and highly motivated young people to stay in academia. The prestige of the profession as such does not seem to be sufficiently strong incentive for not choosing another field with satisfactory financial standing and adequate room for personal development.

International comparative studies relate satisfaction with other aspects of professional situation apart from the general professional satisfaction. In the discussed Tollingerová's study no distinctive differences can be seen across the participating countries in most aspects, with the exception of satisfaction with the internal governance of institutions. In this respect, Czech professors are the most satisfied from all. Or we can put it in another way: Czech professors are those least un-

satisfied in the international comparison. This attitude may be interpreted as the result of several factors, including successful transformation from the centrally planned higher education system, new governance system of tertiary education after 1989, and also very high autonomy of higher education institutions (Tollingerová, 1999).

In the part of the study indicating satisfaction with job security of the academic staff, Czech academics score slightly over the average. It is necessary to say that data were collected in the study conducted in 1999, shortly after the new Higher Education Act was passed in 1998, restoring the tenured positions for professors. We assume that this fact might have contributed to the level of satisfaction with job security.

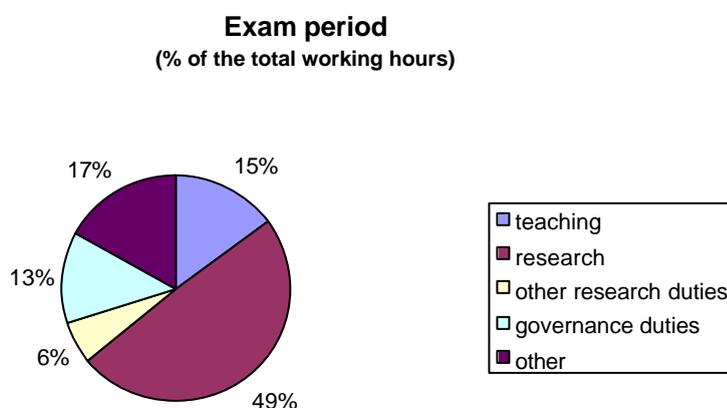
### 5.5 Research, teaching and governance

The role and contents of a university teacher's profession has changed in recent years. The reason is not only institutional differentiation and diversity – introduction of new BA/MA programs, non-university tertiary education, etc. – but also increasing role of information and communication technologies and its impact on the labour market. All the above-mentioned factors have caused significant changes in higher education institutions, and thus influenced roles of teachers (Vašutová, 2002).

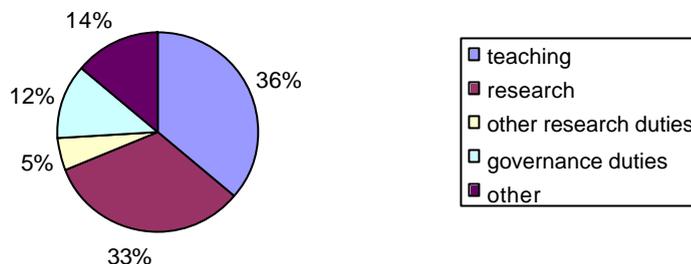
One of the most important aspects of teachers' work at higher education institutions is the division of their time between research and teaching activities. Members of Czech academic staff are aware of the fact that nowadays research and the need to publish are as much important for their academic status as teaching. According to studies that have been repeatedly conducted in the past decade, the relative importance of research and teaching seems to have been balanced (Vašutová, 2002). However, in international comparison some members of academic staff feel that they have been involved in research activities more than they would consider appropriate (Tollingerová, 1999).

The proportion of research and teaching of different categories of the academic staff is not strictly prescribed by any national legislation. The level of involvement in various activities in two periods of the school year – lecturing and examination periods – is demonstrated in figure 4.

Figure 4: Division of Working Time, Professors- Lecturing and Exam Periods



**Lecturing period**  
(% of the total working hours)



Source: Tollingerová (1999)

Since 1989 a new dimension has been added to the portfolio of academic staff activities. As a consequence of the newly introduced autonomy and self-governance, academics faced a completely unknown situation when it was necessary to build up governing structures that would help them run their institutions effectively. Deans and rectors, usually experts in their fields of study, and academic senates, composed of teachers and students, have been exposed to many tasks of business-like or management nature. These governance activities, absolutely essential to the existence of highly autonomous higher education institutions, have been carried out by enthusiastic members of academic staff, who often had to sacrifice their free time and reduce their research or teaching activities. Therefore it is understandable, that many teachers while dealing with a number of demanding activities within their institutions, express the feeling that they are overwhelmed with duties and are not able to execute their tasks. (Tollingerová, 1999).

### 5.6 Career perspectives in higher education

There are three main patterns how to start an academic career (Vašutová, 2002). First, young graduates who fulfil the necessary requirements, enter their doctoral studies. The standard length of study program is three years, and successful candidates have to pass the state doctoral examination and defend their dissertation. Internal doctoral students become members of the academic staff as assistants and can continue in their academic career. Second, experts with practical experience from outside the academia, or teachers from secondary education institutions are admitted as members of academic staff. In case they have already earned their doctoral degree (Ph. D.), they can start at the position of senior assistants. Finally, research workers from research institutes or artists on the top of their professional career can become employees of a higher education institution.

After 1989, when the market economy was introduced, new chances in private and international businesses opened to educated and highly motivated people. At the beginning, knowledge of a foreign language itself was the most important factor for hiring people to management positions with salaries being a multiple of those in the state sector, and especially in education. It was also the case that many foreign companies that opened their branches in the Czech Republic pre-

ferred young people, fresh graduates, with almost no working experience in former communist regime.

Many people had the opportunity to be extremely well paid for the first time in their lives. Most of university teachers witnessed a very specific situation caused by the change of the political regime. Young graduates, with university degrees only a few days old and almost no working experience, were offered jobs with salaries several times higher than those of their professors.

Since early nineties, the situation has slowly changed, although we have not witnessed an extreme income rise in higher education. As in any other country, the process of value redefinition has continued, and pure technocratic and economic attitudes prevailing one decade ago have been modified. Other factors, such as personal development, flexible working hours, relaxed working environment, the level of responsibility, or the value of free time have gained more importance to individuals. It started to be clear that academic career offers some extra benefits in that sense. However, as it has already been mentioned above, insufficient financial conditions still remain the main reason why many young people do not choose higher education institutions as their full-time and exclusive employers.

As it has already been repeated in previous paragraphs, a very high average age of professors and associate professors in the Czech Republic illustrates relatively slow career development. When comparing Czech members of academic staff with their colleagues in developed countries, another distinguishing feature must be also mentioned. The level of internal mobility is extremely low, meaning that Czech academics have been mostly „home made“. Their career is often connected with one institution only – usually the one at which they studied or received their post-graduate degree. 69 percent of professors and associate professors and 82 percent of senior assistants have been full-time employed only by one institution (Tollingerová, 1999). This trend is expected to change with the increasing involvement of young members of academic staff in programs supporting international mobility.

### *5.7 Promotion of women in higher education*

When we compare figures on relative earnings of men and women by the level of educational attainment, we can see that gender differences in the Czech Republic are not very high. Tertiary education and advanced research programs enable women to get wages similar to those of men, comparable to the level of payment typical for people with secondary education. In other countries such as Hungary, but also in the USA or France, highly qualified male workers are paid substantially higher wages compared to women (OECD, 2001).

Out of 14,890 teachers at higher education institutions in 2001/02 (private higher education institutions are excluded) almost 42 percent were female. The situation differs at individual institutions. On one hand, majority of teachers at faculties of education are women (Faculty of Education of the Charles University – 59 percent in 2000/01). On the other hand, we find relatively few women at faculties of technology.

According to data from international comparison, the Czech Republic ranks among the leading countries in terms of female participation in the academic profession. However, when having a closer look to the highest categories of professors and associate professors, we can see that habilitation – the requirement for the position of an associate professor – is usually the final step in

the career of female academic staff<sup>7</sup>. The position of a professor is, with few exceptions, still an exclusive domain of male academics (Tollingerová, 1999). Nevertheless, it does not seem that the proportion of women in the academic profession is seen as a big problem at the moment. Neither the strategic documents of the Ministry, nor the institutional plans include any kind of incentives to increase the number of women in higher academic positions.

## **6. Academic staff and internationalisation of higher education**

Profession of a university teacher includes extremely good opportunities for international cooperation. After 40 years of the communist era and relative isolation it is no surprise that Czech academics are eager to meet their colleagues from foreign countries. Figures from the international research show that only Australian teachers value international contacts as much as Czechs (Tollingerová, 1999). On the other hand, figures also reveal that it will take some time until the scope of international activities in the Czech Republic reach the average level typical for other Western European countries. Members of Czech academic staff do not spend too much time at other universities abroad, neither is it as usual to travel for study purposes. We can find possible explanation of this phenomenon not only in the already-mentioned higher age of university teachers, but also in the fact that even the inter-institutional mobility within the Czech Republic is very low. This situation, however, might change in the near future.

### *6.1 European mobility*

One of the possibilities to increase the international mobility of academic staff is the SOCRATES/ERASMUS program. On the average, 14,400 European teachers take part in the program annually. An average annual increase of the number of academics involved has reached 15-17 %<sup>8</sup>. Since 1997, Czech members of academic staff have had the opportunity to participate in the program. The following table shows that international mobility has grown rapidly. Provided that the trend continues with the same intensity in the following years, we might expect that mobility of Czech academic staff will quickly reach the standard level of other European countries. Apart from the ERASMUS/SOCRATES program, there are other programs supporting the mobility of the members of academic staff such as Minerva or Grundtvig. Various bilateral agreements between individual universities and their partners abroad as well as multilateral frameworks offer sufficient opportunities to Czech academics for international cooperation.

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7 There were 133 female out of 1652 professors in 2001. To discover the reason for female professors to be underrepresented would require further analysis.

8 Data are retrieved from the National agency SOCRATES/ERASMUS in Prague.

Table 6: International Mobility of Teachers –  
SOCRATES/ERASMUS Program (Czech Teachers Travelling Abroad)

Year	Number of teachers	Change in %
98/99	366	
99/00	408	12 %
00/01	635	56 %
01/02	804	27 %
02/03	1,609 (plan)	

## 6.2 Brain drain

There are some indications that young professionals in highly qualified professions – mainly teachers at higher education institutions and doctors at state hospitals – leave the country after they have been offered much better financial and working conditions abroad. However, we have not witnessed any kind of massive outflow of these workers that would cause fundamental problems or crisis in the respective areas. According to the analysis undertaken at the Czech Technical University in Prague, there are two special groups of professionals who are demanded in the developed western countries. The first group includes graduates of doctoral programs in technical sciences. The second group includes doctors of medicine and similar professions (Healey, 2002).

## 6.3 Bologna process

The Bologna process has attracted considerable attention within higher education institutions. The publicity of the development of European higher education area within Czech academic community was also increased by the fact that the 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting of European ministers was held in Prague in May 2001.

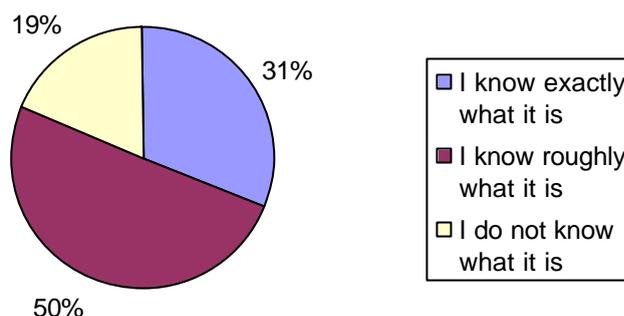
We cannot say that the Bologna process has directly affected the status of academic staff or the overall structure of the higher education system in the Czech Republic. It has been repeated many times that one of the main goals of the Bologna declaration – creation of transparent and comparable BA/MA/Ph. D. structure – has been already „unconsciously“ anticipated in the Higher Education Act of 1990. The trend was confirmed and reinforced by the Higher Education Act of 1998.

Nevertheless, the Bologna process supported many helpful processes. Firstly, a series of seminars and conferences allowed members of Czech academic staff to meet their partners from other countries, and establish valuable contacts. Secondly, the Bologna process has accelerated the process of diversification of higher education in the Czech Republic. It is expected that majority of students will finish bachelor study programs without going directly to master's programs. Shortly, it means that in short programs the emphasis will be paid more on teaching, rather than on research, and therefore it might lead to further diversification of academic staff.

The authors of this report conducted a short survey in order to see how members of academic staff organized in the Higher Education Trade Union understand the term „Bologna process“. As

indicated in Figure 5, it is still necessary to provide the academics with updated information on the development and make sure that they are aware of the new possibilities of international cooperation in both European higher education area and European research area.

Figure 5: The Bologna Process  
Question: Do you know what the „Bologna Process“ means?



Source: Survey conducted by authors at the end of January 2003

#### 6.4 Higher education services under GATS

The GATS re-negotiation process has attracted almost no attention at all by either general public or academia, although the Czech Republic is one of the WTO member states that made several commitments concerning higher education services already at the end of the Uruguay Round in 1994. The reason why involvement of higher educational services into GATS is not perceived as an important issue can be explained very simply. In general, the tertiary education system in the Czech Republic represents a rather closed system. It does not depend on either „export“ or „import“. The number of students willing to pay for their education – we mean both going to study abroad and attending an institution established by a foreign provider in the Czech Republic – is insignificant, since the majority of Czech students still prefers obtaining their academic training in public higher education institutions for free. Comparing to other highly populated countries, such as Russia, Poland, China or others, the Czech Republic with its population slightly exceeding 10 million people does not seem to be a very attractive location for any major foreign profit-seeking higher education provider. At the same time, due to the language barrier, and still not well developed part of curricula taught in English, the Czech tertiary education system is not able and probably does not even consider attracting a considerable number of foreign students in the near future. Therefore, there is no feeling that foreign traditional or non-traditional providers would mean a potential threat to the „monopoly“ of public higher education institutions, or to the quality of the system.

## 7. Concluding statements

The present academic profession in the Czech Republic can be described by following characteristics: on one hand, a very high qualification level of academics, on the other hand, still very high age of professors and associate professors, rather long career development, and quite low internal mobility of all categories of academics. Furthermore, the academic profession is traditionally connected with a very high prestige. This fact, however, has not contributed to a significant improvement of financial remuneration of academic staff, which is seen as one of the most important issues in the near future, especially for young scholars. It is understandable that without significant financial and other career-development incentives, highly motivated young researchers and academics will leave their higher education institutions for either private sector, or top universities abroad, in order to keep at least a minimal standard of living.

In a long-term perspective, the Czech Republic will have to concentrate on the staffing situation in individual higher education institutions, and the overall quality of the system with respect to its increasing diversification. The challenge to be faced in the near future might be seen when we combine the governmental plan to accommodate up to 50 percent of young generation in tertiary education, a growing number of private higher education providers, a rather rigid approach of the Accreditation Commission to base its assessment of the feasibility and quality of study programs mostly on the number and qualification level of academic staff, and the number of young people finishing their postgraduate studies and then staying in academia. On the other hand, new support programs for young scholars, increasing international cooperation, various incentives of individual institutions as well as the support of the Ministry indicate that there is enough capacity and resources to continue reversing the negative trends of the system and developing its strong points.

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## **Higher Education Reform and the Academic Profession Country Report Estonia**

*Voldemar Tomusk*

### **1. Historical background**

History of higher learning in the territory commonly known as Estonia dates back to 1632 when the Swedish King Gustav Adolf II signed a decree to the effect of opening the Academia Dorpatensis in Dorpat, a town the aborigine population then as well as now calls Tartu. In the midst of wars, geopolitical clashes between three European superpowers and famine the university experienced many turbulent periods over the next three hundred year, being dislocated as well as closed for almost a century between 1710 and 1802. In December 1919 the *Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat*, as the university had been called as a German speaking university operating under rule of the Russian empire since 1802, was once gain opened, this time as the Tartu *Ülikool*, the first Estonian language university established since the man had fallen in sin in the garden of Eden by trying to know more than he was supposed to.

Independence gained from the Russia turned Soviet in 1918, although allowing consolidating Estonian nation and creating its intellectual elite, did not last for too long. By the Fall 1939 the game played between the two powers both aspiring for global domination – National Socialist Germany and State Socialist Soviet Union had been temporarily halted by signing a pact by Russian Vyacheslav Molotov and German Joachim von Ribbentrop, that left Estonian in the Soviet zone of interests. That allowed the Soviet Union to invade the country in June 1940. In 1945 the Western allies de-facto confirmed the Soviet right to annex Estonia to its territory. While von Ribbentrop was hung as a war criminal, Molotov died in peace in age of 96, having seen the first signs what was to become recorded in the history of mankind as *glasnost* and *perestroika* and had paved the way to what according to some champions of naïveté was to be considered as the end of the history – the fall of communism (Fukuyama 1989). For Estonian higher education that was not the end but rather another painful beginning. Each new beginning of Estonian higher education seems to have brought new soul searching and navel scratching, cries for the myths of glorious history and manufacturing scientific evidence to support that some big name in world culture, politics or science relates genetically to the local population that was hiding in the woods for the seven hundred years while superpowers were resolving their issues of geopolitical dominance since the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. Not least is that characterised by the megalomaniac request by the

former President of the country to come up with nothing less than six Nokia's a year (Meri 1999), to outperform Finland's economic miracle.

Estonian academic community as it stands in 2003, its ideology and life-style have been shaped under a variety of influences and carries in itself romantic nationalistic traits as well as self-confidence common to communist revolutionaries, combined with the shame that follows the seven hundred years in slavery and is pertinent to the post-communist poverty. An important place here is being occupied by the Soviet academic tradition under which modern higher education and research sectors were created during the decades immediately following the World War II. Dozen years after reinstating Estonian independence in 1991 – an event that followed not entirely different power vacuum than that of 1918 – Estonian higher education and research continue on the track set by the Soviet Union. Although little contacts between the academic communities and policy makers of Estonian and Russia exist today, shared ideologies between the academics in the context of chaos in the policy makers' camps in both of the countries keep the systems on parallel trajectories. The latter is characterised by the domination of 'aristoscience' (Passmore 1978) – highly theoretical natural sciences – over the academic culture, lack of applied research and innovation, and uncontrolled growth of the post-secondary education sector and sector-wide mismanagement. The latter, however, has its strong roots in the economic status of the countries as well as that of the academics.

## **2. Reform of Estonian higher education**

Higher education and research sectors of the Soviet Estonia experienced massive growth under the Communist rule during two decades after the World War II. By 1965 Estonian higher education system consisted of six university-level institutions enrolling approximately 20 per cent of the age cohort group. The sector was made of one multi-faculty university and five specialised 'institutes' of higher education, as those had been established all over the Soviet block for the purpose of producing highly qualified technical 'cadres' following the guidance of the State Committee of Planning that assumed, not necessarily correctly, a close coupling between higher education and labour. For the next almost a quarter of a century the sector remained almost unchanged. Until the late 1980s it admitted annually approximately 5,000 students, almost exclusively for 5-year *diploma* programs. Approximately a half of the 20,000 strong student body studied engineering and a significant element of the rest natural sciences and medicine (Tomusk 1995a). Humanities and social sciences were taught to the extent determined by the needs of teacher training. For long periods programs in certain disciplines like psychology and journalism were not available in Soviet Estonian higher education – primarily to avoid any ideological strife with the Party-line. Although Estonian was the main language of instruction in Estonian higher education, many programs, particularly in engineering fields, were also available in Russian, for the Russian-speaking part of the population that constituted approximately one third of the territory's inhabitants.

### *2.1 Early reforms*

Gradual erosion of the state-socialist political regime in the Soviet Union since 1985 fed into the nationalistic sentiments of ethnic Estonians, revived the vision for an independent nation-state

and inspired academics to contemplate a return to the Humboldtian innocence from the situation where the mission of higher education was that of a provider of qualified manpower for economy geared towards the gaining of military supremacy in the world. Return to the 'Humboldtian model' as experienced in the 'distant past' (Elster et al. 1998, Tomusk 2000) was the way back to the golden age of 1919-1940. Here the romantic memories of the past coincided with the interests of the faculty, particularly those of the senior professors whose position and autonomy was to be strengthened significantly. The future of the Estonian university faculty as of 1988 was perceived in terms of a mixture of German idealism and Scandinavian welfare.

In the weakness of the policy agents – both national and federal during the later years of the Soviet Estonia, the Tartu State University had by 1989 taken the lead on reforms, ignoring both the existing legal framework and the still communist bureaucracy. As an explicit act of rebellion, the Council (senate) of Tartu State University adopted the new university by-laws that abolished the word *State* in its title and declared the university being academically autonomous. Needless to say that it had no legal authority for doing so. Moreover, within the prevailing academic culture academic autonomy carried little if any meaning. In June 1989, the Council of the State Committee for Education of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic discussed the issue in its own meeting, and in fact decided to join the rebellion by approving the by-laws of the University of Tartu (ESSR 1989). This step served as an encouraging precedent for other higher education institutions and soon, one by one the other five higher education institutions revised their by-laws accordingly (Tomusk 1996). The Tallinn Polytechnic Institute became the Tallinn Technical University, the Pedagogical Institute the Pedagogical University, and so on – all declared their status as academically *autonomous universities*. Consolidation of the university sector was further supported by interests of more marginal institutions like the Pedagogical Institute to strengthen their profile and formal status in face of expected funding differentiation in favour of the 'universities'. However, as no formal standards for universities existed and the locus of state power had become confused between Moscow and Tallinn, elevating its status to the exclusive level of a university depended to the largest extent on the initiative of a higher education institution itself.

As opportunism was the order of the day, educational institutions at all levels started taking initiatives almost at random to free themselves from what was perceived as the communist strait-jacket. No single policy or model guided those initiatives. Even secondary schools started becoming *colleges, gymnasiums*, etc. (Tomusk 1996), changing their names back and forth as their leaders' vocabulary developed under the northern and western influences. None of that carried any deeper cultural and historical meaning beyond elevating one's status and rebelling against the political regime still at power. It took until 1994 when new laws started being adopted by the State Assembly (Parliament) of the newly independent Estonia to the effect of organising the educational sector and make sense to the sporadic reform attempts.

In the wake of the consolidation of the university sector other sub-sectors, particularly vocational schools, started their drift towards higher education. Vocational schools that had so far offered secondary and post-secondary-level professional training seized the opportunity and started elevating their formal status. Although substantial changes in teaching content and faculty profile were slow to follow (Tomusk 1995b), several new higher education institutions emerged shortly from the ranks of what had so far been known as vocational secondary education. First among them was the Tallinn Technicum of Construction and Mechanics that up-graded its status to the Tallinn Higher Technical School in 1992. In its history it has played with a variety of titles, one of which was a rather ambitious Tallinn Institute of Technology, revealing a vision to assume a role similar to that of Caltech or MIT, although the inspiration for such a drift was derived from the German Fachhochschule.

While the universities busied themselves with the restoration of the lost innocence of the past, trying to free themselves from such notions as the labour force demand of centrally planned economies and accountability to the State, it was becoming painfully obvious that the academic legitimacy lost in compromises with the communist establishment was not easy to restore. Reputation of the universities had been overshadowed by the political compromises of the past. Moreover, universities trying to return to the past were unwilling to meet the training needs of the emerging capitalist economy. According to some critical commentators the situation was hopeless to the extent that the entire 'communist' higher education sector was to be closed and a new one established. Universities suddenly found themselves in between the rock of the new economy and the hard place of their critics.

Although the sector was not closed, emerging training needs for new professions in business and finance, etc., declining legitimacy of traditional higher education and growing demand for access (that among the others had been provoked by the universities' own policy to return to more elitist educational philosophies through the sharp reduction of part-time student admissions) had created enough space for new higher education institutions to emerge. While demand for more diversified higher education – liberal as well as professional, elitist as well as just demand-absorbing and mere diploma-mills – emerged, a legal framework in which private higher education institutions could operate was missing. The first private higher education institution – the Estonian Institute of Humanities – was established already in 1988. Representing a formerly unknown type of higher education institution copied from the US – a liberal arts college – it was formally established as a cooperative enterprise under the auspices of the Estonian Association of Writers. Initial success of the school was massive. Distancing itself openly from the communist intellectual traditions it attracted free-spirited students as well as quite a few visiting foreign faculty.

Soon after that another private higher education with quite a different mission and ambition was established. The Estonian Business School launched in 1989 was the first in the country to offer BBA and MBA programs to yuppie spirited youth of late state-socialism. This project was clearly characterised by the desire to take a lead catering for the emerging class of newly rich and their children, pushing higher education to the direction of entrepreneurialism. According to this new entrepreneurial spirit money was not to be despised, even in education. With this a way for all possible academic – entrepreneurial as well as purely fraudulent – initiatives in higher education had been opened. Shortly a whole range of higher education institutions, sometimes referred to as *diploma mills* emerged that were considerably more interested in collecting cash than facilitating any student learning. As with gaining its independence from Russia, Russian language teaching in Estonian higher education had been discontinued, public universities located in Russia started offering their services through branch 'campuses' in Estonia, sometimes located merely in flats, to meet the educational needs of the Russian speaking population that constituted approximately a third of the country's 1.5 million strong population.

## 2.2 Consolidation and legalising reform outcomes

During the period of 1992-1998 Estonian higher education reform had been driven by two main concerns. The first one was to create a comprehensive legal system that could accommodate the outcomes of the sporadic bottom-up reforms. Secondly, the government needed to restore certain level of control over the operations of higher education institutions, particularly the quality or

what was increasingly being perceived as the lack of it. Intensive legislative work – passing and amending a variety of legal acts regulating the operations of different sub-sectors of higher education was in its main part completed in 1998. Unfortunately the State Accreditation mechanism that followed the Dutch model, launched in 1995 has proved to be unable either to support consistently the growth of quality in Estonian higher education or prevent diploma mills from operating.

In its reform initiatives the State has overly relied on legislating, often overestimating its own capacity to implement the laws as well as the institutions' ability to respond. For a few years the sector was regulated with a range of temporary Government decrees and rulings of the Ministry of Education. Adoption of the new Civil Code in 1994 that returned to the continental European legal traditions, laid a ground for institutional order radically different from that of the Soviet Union. Consequently the entire educational legislation was re-written according to the logic of the *Law of the General Part of the Civil Code* (ER 1994).

The Civil Code determines the nature of each group of higher education institutions as a subject of law. According to it the subjects of the law – the *persons* – are divided into *physical* and *legal* persons: physical persons being individuals and legal persons created *according to the requirements of the Law* (§5 Art. 3). Legal persons are divided into *Legal Persons of the Public Law which are created in accordance with the law in the public interests* (§6 Art. 2) and *Legal Persons of the Private Law created in the private interests* (§6 Art. 1). From the perspective of the transition between the old and the new civil codes it is important to notice that the latter stipulates that *the State and the Local Governments participate in the legal relations as Legal Persons of the Public Law* (§6 Art. 3). On a highest level in legal terms the post-communist transition can therefore be interpreted as dividing the former large, in fact totalitarian state into various legal persons, either under public or private law, and having the new, limited State as subject equal to other *persons*, merely as one legal person of public law among many others. Following that logic the former State universities were separated from the State and become public universities – legal persons of public law. That status returned to universities ownership over their property that had so far belonged to the State, provided them with large autonomy on administrative matters and separated staff and faculty compensation from the salary scale in the state sector.

Transition to a new legal system was completed in 1998 with the adoption of the *Law of Vocational Higher Education Institutions* (ER 1998b), regulating the activities of the state-owned vocational higher education institutions. The *Law on Private Schools* (ER 1998a) that regulates the activities of all types of private educational institutions, including private universities and private vocational higher education institutions was also adopted in a completely new revision in 1998, to replace the 1993 version. The *University Law* (ER 1995a) regulating the activities of six public universities came into force in 1995; and *The Law of the University of Tartu* (1995b) was also adopted in 1995 as a response to the strong lobbying on behalf of the University of Tartu to acknowledge its status as that of the privileged *national* university. Issues closely related to research and development activities were regulated by *The Law on the Organising of Research and Development Activities* (ER 1997) the current version of which was adopted in 1997. The need for the latter can be explained by the existence of a large research system outside of higher education, the Academy of Science Research Institutes.

The initial agenda of the universities was to gain full autonomy from the State and in the same time remain funded by it. While the latter was difficult to achieve and has been to certain extent compensated by allowing universities to admit fee-paying students, universities' autonomy is massive. The Ministry of Education has even no say in the election and appointing a university rectors, while the connection between university and society is being achieved by instituting Rectors'

*advisory* councils. It is, however, interesting to see that soon after achieving all the autonomy it wanted, the University of Tartu actually reversed its course and modified its statutes to the effect that its Rector was to be confirmed by the Prime Minister. While this no longer threatened the university's autonomy in any substantial manner, it allowed the university to bolster its status as the *national university*. The relationship between the Prince and its Philosopher, as we know already from the times of Kant, is often a complex matter.

### 2.3 Estonian higher education sector after the reforms

In the midst of the political downturn starting in late 1980s enrolment in Estonian higher education experienced a sharp decline. That for two main reasons. First, universities in their attempt to restore the Humboldtian regime reduced significantly the number of part-time students as something that was considered as in academic terms second-rank higher education. On the other hand, the changing economy offered many more rewards to aggressive youth than to those in possession of educational credentials that not always stood for more than speculations on the inevitable victory of the world Communist revolution.

After a few years of decline in 1993 phenomenal expansion begun. Student numbers grew significantly and reached more than a double of the 1989 size by the end of the century. Even more importantly, the number of institutions offering higher education increased more than eight-fold during the same period (Table 3). That, however, constitutes a highly diverse group in comparison with six pre-1988 higher education institutions. First, it includes the same six institutions, now constituting the public university sub-sector; secondly, it includes ten private universities, which in the Estonian context means that they run at least two Bachelor programs each. Out of the rest, 18 have the status of 'vocational higher education institutions', with their position within the higher education system similar to that of the former British polytechnics within their own context. Seven of them are state-owned institutions upgraded from the secondary vocational education sector. The rest are private institutions, most of which already knocking on the door of the university sector, trying to find a way to open the two necessary Bachelor programs. Finally, there are 16 institutions that offer higher education programs without being higher education institutions, seven of which private schools with extremely small student enrolment – as small as 9 students.

In the context of the legislative reform described above the groups of institutions are of distinctly different legal nature. The six old universities enjoy the status of the legal person of public law that furnishes them with massive administrative and academic autonomy, related to the society only through the Rector's advisory board. State vocational higher education institutions and other state schools are owned by the State and run directly by the Ministry of Education. Their staff is compensated according to the state sector salary ranks, and rectors/directors are contracted by the Minister of Education. Private educational institutions are legal persons of the private law and belong to private ownership. However, as far as their academic activities are concerned, these follow the regulations applicable to equivalent types of public or state institutions – the University Law or the Law of Vocational Higher Education Institutions.

Despite the massive growth in the number of higher education institutions as well as students, the number of academic staff has by 2003 declined to the level somewhere between a quarter and a third of its 1989 size. The incredible growth in the number of schools and the student increase from 20,000 in 1989 to 60,000 in 2002 has created a huge labour market for teaching, were travel-

ling proletarianized faculty can collect from teaching in 3-4 schools money that would be sufficient to cover their living expenses (Tomusk 2003b). Tables 1 and 2 provide some basic data.

Table 1: Estonian higher education and its student population in 2001/02 (ESA 2002b)

Higher Education Institution	Students	of them*		
		Bachelor	Master	Doctoral
Total (51 institutions)	60,409	28,703	5,140	1,508
Public Universities (6)	37,292	22,697	4,689	1,499
Private Universities (10)	7,913	6,024	451	9
State Vocational HE Institutions (7)	3,831			
Private Vocational HEI (10)	4,557			
State Vocational Schools (9)	6,251			
Private Vocational Schools (7)	565			

\*Rest of the students study at the level of higher vocational/diploma studies

Table 2: Structure of student admission by field of study, 2001/2002 academic year (ESA 2002b)

Field of study	Number of students	%
Teacher training and pedagogy	1,827	11.1
Arts and humanities	1,762	10.7
Social sciences, business and law	6,039	36.7
Natural and exact sciences	1,688	10.3
Industry and engineering	1,941	11.8
Agriculture	370	2.3
Medical studies and health care	1,722	10.5
Service	1,092	6.6
Total	16,441	100

New higher education institutions established since 1989 have been subjects to a great deal of controversy and heavy debates. Particular concerns have been raised to the effect that many of such schools have very poor if any premises of their own, no libraries, no full-time faculty and they conduct no research. Prof. Aaviksoo, the Rector of the University of Tartu, the so-called 'national university' has made his position regarding the newly established private higher education institutions abundantly clear by posing a rhetorical question:

Can an Estonian University [really] operate in a two-room flat, library consisting of two rolls of toilet paper, like our liberal legislation allows it (Aaviksoo 2001, p. 78).

The problem is perhaps somewhat more complex than the above suggests. One of the main reason for such apartment universities to emerge was the massive unsatisfied demand for higher education being combined with the public sector university faculty looking for additional paid

work. Also, to be fair to the private institutions one should admit that the situation in public universities is often also rather far from the unproblematic. One representative of the latter group has been according to the same author described in the evaluation report in the following manner:

The level of University's technical equipment is extremely low, reminding secondary school's classrooms from the 1940s (Aaviksoo 2001, p. 79).

It is nothing surprising that after a decade of under-funding a teacher training college looks exactly like that. But this does not necessarily lead to conclusion that for the reason that the state does not have funds to equip the classrooms with the latest information technology, teacher training should be discontinued. It is, however, interesting to see that the same university sees itself in more positive terms:

Tallinn Pedagogical University has become one of Estonia's main educational and research institutions in the fields of humanities, social and natural sciences (TPÜ 2001).

While Aaviksoo may be justified to say what he is saying:

We should not allow to be cheated by selfish Pharisees who try to satisfy educational periphery with cheap surrogate, closing for many talented people access to the true knowledge. Cheap and bad is worse than expensive and good. ... Estonian education is on decline (Aaviksoo 2001, 9. 79), it is also obvious that a system that enrolls some fifty per cent of the age cohort group cannot drive the entire student population towards Ph. D.s, as some representatives of the academic elite would like to see it. Neither could that be justified on economic or any other ground other than universities' desire for additional public funding. Demanding such a policy is problematic even more problematic as the economy suffers from the lack of qualified skilled labour (Kallas 2002) and academic education dominates over the vocational.

Expansion of Estonian higher education has followed two main directions – firstly, violating the principle offered by Burton Clark (1995) to the opposite effect, it has assumed that mass higher education should be nothing else than offering the same, arguably highly academic educational experience to a significantly larger number of students; and secondly, attracting students to fields that at one time in the past offered high earnings, like business administration. It seems to be the case that the level of change brought with the shift from higher to post-secondary education will take some more time to be understood among the policy makers, faculty as well as the students. However, even updating the course content that may be a rather reasonable expectation given the level of change Estonian society has experienced since the fall of state-socialism is not granted. To realise this, it would suffice to listen to students from the same national university who, having compared their lecture notes with those of their high school teachers thirty years earlier, have found surprising similarities:

A young [person] who enters the university finds with an astonishment that s/he receives largely the same package as his/her high school teacher got 30 years earlier (Maiste V.-S. 1998).

It may well be the case that the reforms that would change Estonian higher education substantially are still to come.

### **3. Reforming the research sector**

In the Soviet Union research was divided between three major sectors. First was higher education. Widespread in west belief that higher education and research were deeply separated in the Soviet academia seems to originate from one of the most basic human traits – ignorance. Although the Academy of Science played the role of a *Ministry of Science*, overseeing hundreds of research insti-

tutions that carried no educational function beyond advanced research training, higher education institutions devoted significant amount of their resources to research. To realise that it would suffice to mention that holding research degrees of Candidate of Sciences and/or Doctor of Sciences constituted the main prerequisite for senior faculty positions – professor and associate professor. Both degrees were obtained primarily through research and included only limited amount of taught course work, mostly in Marxism-Leninism. Even that primarily at the Candidate of Sciences level. By the Soviet definition, an holder of a Doctor of Science degree was to be world-renowned scholar, although under the conditions of severely limited information flows with the rest of the world, it was not all that obvious how that was to be achieved in practice. Despite the lack of international (and often also local) peer-review, faculty members in Soviet universities were expected to spend one third of his or her working time on research. Not always did the output – unpublished reports and one-page conference paper abstracts – reflect the amount of resources spent on research. Mixed outcomes of the research do not, however, mean that universities were not conducting or expected to conduct research, although the system as such was clearly dysfunctional.

The second major sector where research was conducted was the above-mentioned Academy of Science with its hundreds of research institutes. These organisations had been established for research. Although the post-communist commentators in the former Soviet Union countries usually remember with a certain level of nostalgia the good old times and excellent research that was conducted, the very fact that beyond nuclear physics and space program Soviet science did not achieve results that would have contributed significantly to the country's technological development, that excellence is also questionable. It seems to be the case that the sector was largely oversized and under-productive. In late 1980s when Estonian higher education accommodated roughly twenty thousand students, Estonian higher education sector and the Estonian branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences together employed more than eleven thousand of academic and research staff – scholars, researchers and engineers.

What is, however, even more important is the fact that many of the results Soviet science is known for – nuclear energy and space related – did not come either from the higher education sector, or the Academy of Sciences, but from the research institutes related to certain Ministries, particularly those overseeing defence and defence-related production. According some reports (see for example US 1989) approximately 90 per cent of the Soviet Research funds were spent in that sector and obviously, significant element of the results were classified.

When Estonia broke away from the Soviet Union, the research sector entered a period of major turbulence. Cutting off from the Soviet research funds and networks created major difficulties for the Academy of Science that subsequently lost approximately one third of its staff already by 1992. Between 1992 and 1996 even more radical change took place and three quarters of its research staff – particularly younger generation without advanced research degrees left (Tartes 2000). Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the changing age and qualification patterns in the Estonian academia in 1992-1998.

Table 3: Distribution of the Estonian academic community by formal qualification (TAN 2000)

<b>Year</b>	<b>HE diploma</b>	<b>Master</b>	<b>Dr. &amp; Cand.</b>
1992	64.5	0	37.5
1995	42	10	48.0
1999	34.9	18.6	46.5

Table 4: Age structure of the Estonian academic community (TAN 2000)

	< 30	%	30-39	%	40-49	%	50-59	%	> 60	%	Total
1992	530	12.3	1350	26.1	1325	25.7	1260	24.4	700	13.6	5,165
1995	360	8.0	980	21.8	1180	26.2	1190	26.4	790	17.6	4,500
1999	400	10.3	840	21.6	940	24.2	975	25.1	730	18.8	3,885

While one could be satisfied that the percentage of higher degree holders has been growing, it should be remembered that this has happened largely thanks to the departure of the next generation of scholars, as almost 40 per cent of the 30-39 years old age group left the sector during the six-year period. Economic restructuring of the country meant that the industry-related research sector beyond that of the agricultural research was significantly reduced. Higher education continued its commitment to research, but in face of funding difficulties the State was not able to support it. Instead, faculty low pay-scales forced many of the faculty to find additional work, often teaching in private higher education institutions that made research virtually impossible. Although nominal faculty teaching loads were also significantly reduced during early days of reforms when universities were setting the rules, it did not create space for more research as expected. Instead, it opened opportunities for faculty moonlighting as it often happens all across the developing world.

Several attempts were made since early 1990s to merge the research institutes of the Estonian Academy of Science with universities. Initially, universities welcomed such an approach with certain level of enthusiasm, expecting access to additional resources and qualified manpower. That enthusiasm, however, cooled down relatively soon as it became obvious that the research institutes had significantly less potential than their staff numbers would have suggested. Universities did not have the resource to assume the responsibility over thousands of low productivity cabinet researchers whose potential was not explicit. In such a manner, the research sector was left pretty much on its own. Major reduction of funds by 1997 had cooled-out three quarters of the staff in comparison with the 1992 staff figures (Tartes 2000, see also Tomusk 2003b, table 4). As a result of the mergers, ten research institutes of the Academy of Science have become units of major universities (see table 5).

Table 5: Restructuring of the Estonian Academy of Science (Tartes 2000, Hernesniemi 2002)

Affiliation	Number of research institutes	Admin & support staff	Researchers
Estonian Academy of Science	1	17	11
University of Tartu	1	171	77
Tallinn Pedagogical University	3	85	45
Tallinn Technical University	4	334	160
Estonian Agricultural University	2	217	91
Ministry of Education and Science	5	363	199
Ministry of Economic Affairs	1	54	25
Ministry of Environment	1	86	52
Independent	1	176	104
Total	19	1,503	764

The Academy of Science has left with only one institute – Under-Tuglas Literature Centre, which is in fact a small museum of two Estonian writers. The Ministry of Education and Science is administering five former Academy's research institutes; The Ministry of Economic Affairs – one; and the Ministry of Environment also one. In addition to this the National Institute of Chemical Physics and Biological Physics has been granted a high level of autonomy and enjoys the magical power of the word 'national' in its title. The privileged position is further supported by the Institute's own law adopted by the Estonian parliament in 1998 – *The Law of the Institute of Chemical Physics and Biological Physics* (ER 1998). In the Estonian context such highly privileged position usually relates to the charismatic and politically influential leader like in the current case Prof. Endel Lippmaa – long-term director of the Institute and a former cabinet Minister.

In addition to the 17 former research institutes of the Estonian Academy of Science there are 19 other research institutes in Estonia. 11 of the within the structures of the four major universities and 8 managed by various Government Ministries. According to Hernesniemi (2000) data which reliability is difficult to assess, Estonian research institutes employ the total staff of approximately 2,800 people, one third of that researchers. Approximately one quarter of the total staff is employed in agricultural research, which is to some extent surprising to a non-expert, particularly as the collective agricultural production sector whose needs this research was expected meet when established decades ago, has but disappeared over the past decade.

Despite the reforms and a significant down-sizing, the role of the research sector remains controversial. While significant stress is being made on fundamental research (Engelbrecht 2002), particularly arguing that increase in public spending in this area would eventually cause massive economic growth, recent evaluation of the Estonian innovation system (Hernesniemi 2000) clearly demonstrates that the research sector is not able to deliver according to its promises. According to Hernesniemi's report, Estonia with its number patents' applications per 10,000 inhabitants per annum, ranging between 0.00 and 0.14 in 1990s, occupies the last position in the comparison. Finland, the country which with its famous Nokia serves as an example and goal for Estonia, has the same indicator constantly above 4.10 – that is at least 30 times higher. But even the country like Romania, country with which Estonia does not particularly like to be compared with, produces 5-6 times more patent applications per 10,000 inhabitants per-annum than Estonia. Therefore it is not obvious whether, for making the research sector more productive, its funding should be increased to the level of Finland, or perhaps alternatively, be reduced to that of Romania.

#### **4. Academics and their life**

There is no tenure in Estonian higher education and research. Normally, academic and research positions are contracted for five years, although the legislation also allows employment for shorter term. The structure of the faculty positions and their main responsibilities are defined by the University Law, and repeated in the statutes of particular higher education institutions. According to the University Law:

Ordinary teaching and research staff member is elected for a five-year term. Extra-ordinary teaching and research staff member is elected temporarily up to a period of three years (§ 34.3).

According to the University Law university faculty includes the following academic staff categories carrying specific responsibilities:

1. *Professor* organises teaching in a subject or a group of subjects and guides related research (§ 35.2).

2. *Associate professor* (dotsent) teaches a subject or a group of subjects and participates in research (§ 36.1).
3. *Lecturer's* responsibility is giving lectures (§ 37.1).
4. *Assistant* conducts seminars, practical lessons and exercises (§ 37.2).
5. *Teacher* conducts practical teaching activities (§ 37.3).

Differences between the latter three categories relate more to seniority and most importantly – compensation level, than to the actual work content (Table 1.)

The University Law also sets the requirements for formal qualifications for various academic staff categories. Full professor must hold a doctoral degree issued in the Republic of Estonia or an equivalent academic degree obtained in another country (§ 35.3). Associate professor (dotsent) has the same formal requirements (§ 36.2). Lecturers are required to hold an academic degree or higher education diploma and have professional work experience (§ 37.1). Assistants as well as teachers should hold at least higher education diploma (§ 37.2 & 3).

Staff requirements in Vocational Higher Education Institutions are regulated by the VHEI Law (ER 1998b). According to this, the academic staff categories follow the structure similar to that of universities – professor, associate professor, lecturer, assistant and teacher (§ 23.1). Formal qualification requirements for the holders of those positions are also equal to those of university faculty of the same categories (§ 23.2). However, in addition to formal academic qualifications VHEI faculty is expected to have at least three years of practical work experience (§ 23.3). Although the legal status of VHE Institutions as State owned institutions is different from that of the universities, this principle has not been implemented consistently. Inconsistency here further compromises interests of the faculty. While the faculty compensation is limited by the state sector regulations, they do not enjoy higher job security that such a position would normally assume. Instead, similarly to public university faculty VHEI faculty is contracted for a fixed five-year terms. Combined effect of low pay and low job security makes the VHEI faculty positions particularly unattractive for the people who could possibly reform these former vocational schools into high-level professional post-secondary institutions. The path chosen currently is different – instead of strengthening the professional side of such education it is once again the ‘high academic level’-meaning rote learning of irrelevant theory and factual data – that is the protect VHE institutions from the critique of being irrelevant for the needs of the economy. As ‘being academic’ allows higher education institutions to rise above the society’s daily concerns, academic drift offers a convenient escape route away from public accountability. The sad fact is that faculty filling the VHEI positions does not have too many alternative opportunities in the current labour market conditions and therefore compensates the insecurity imposed by the State by using its own means, including drifting even further towards incompetence and irrelevance.

The two available categories of research staff in Estonia are defined by the Law of the Organising the Research and Development Activities (ER 1997), being researcher and senior researcher (§ 8. 1). Similarly to faculty positions, research positions are not tenured, but elected for five-year terms. Researchers are required to hold a *scientific* degree.

Employment practices as described above, particularly the lack of tenured positions constitutes a continuation of similar practices in the Soviet Union that was expected but apparently failed to encourage higher productivity, particularly in research. Although the main argument for such hiring practices is flexibility and creating work motivation in face of evaluation and possible re-election, one may argue that such a high level of insecurity creates additional dynamics and enforces informal bounds through which stability is achieved. Result of that may well be that despite flexible employment structure, work outcomes are not improved but traditional groups cement their strongholds even more than within a system where from certain point tenure is being

granted. It seems to be the case that at least currently a young PhD holder is in no position to openly compete for a position held by a senior faculty member who has for example been re-elected five times over the past thirty years and who had massive opportunities in 1970s and '80s to present conference papers in more than eight hundred universities that operated in the Soviet Union. For many reasons, economic ones included, the opportunities for the new generation to develop their professional portfolios are less and standards for doing that internationally are being set much higher.

#### 4.1 Requirements for the faculty formal qualifications

As it was stated above, professors and associate professors in Estonian higher education are expected to hold a doctoral degree and the rest of the academic staff an academic degree or a higher education diploma. Presented in such a laconic way these requirements appear to be simple. However, it is not simple at all. The issue here is that while Estonian policy has been to replace the Soviet structure of degrees with a 'Western' one, the meaning of the latter has far too many interpretations to be understood in any unambiguous manner.

Starting from the lower level of higher education qualifications a detective like Sherlock Holmes sooner or later realises that there are at least three types of university *diplomas* in circulation in Estonia and that is not obvious which one is required from a member of academic staff. First, there are those issued during the Soviet era and shortly after. Obtaining those had taken five years of nominal studies. While in some international agreements Estonian Government recognises that category of higher education diplomas being equivalent to Master degrees, such equivalence is not internally regulated. Therefore, such diploma may be considered as formally equivalent to other two groups of higher education diplomas – four-year diplomas awarded until the late 1990s by Estonian universities as well three-year higher education diplomas issued by VHE institutions and certain vocational schools.

The above also implies that the meaning of the Bachelor degree is not exactly crystal clear in Estonian higher education either. A major issue Estonian academic community faced introducing the Bachelor degree in early 1990s was something I have elsewhere (Tomusk 1995b) called the *syndrome of the holy degree*. The core of the problem is that in the Soviet tradition the word 'degree' was used only for higher degrees – Candidate of Sciences that took at least 5+3 years of full time studies, and the Doctor of Sciences that formally took 5+3+2 years to complete, but was rarely awarded to an individual younger than forty years. The word *degree* has therefore been extremely highly status-loaded, and academics found it difficult to grasp how could somebody be a *degree* holder after only three or four years of studies.

Several proposals have been made in order to reconcile this particular blend of Byzantine thinking with the imperatives of post-industrial society with its stress on professional competence and readiness for mobility not only upwards on the social ladder. For example since early 1990s the meaning attributed to the Master degree has changed for more than once. When the degree was first introduced in early 1990s it was perceived as being highly exclusive. People who defended their Master degrees at that time were mainly university faculty that had their Candidate of Sciences thesis nearly completed before the fall of the Soviet Union and were advised to present their work for the new, allegedly prestigious *Western*-type of degree – the Master. A decade later not much of that value has left, as universities expect lead every single student to a Master's degree. In order to express the hierarchical relationship between the 'old' and 'new' Master de-

degrees, at one point the Ministry of Education discussed the possibility to introduce in addition to Estonian 'Magister' (that is the *old* Master or early 1990s) a new, less valued 'Meister' (which is basically the same word as *master*, but in the Estonian language into which it has been borrowed from German). Somehow, a rational decision was achieved that the latter distinction would perhaps be too much. But the cost of reducing the complexity what the introduction of even more degree types would bring is further weakening of academic qualifications as social institutions. When everything can mean anything, it is up to a single higher education institution to develop its own unique hiring practices. Unfortunately no data is currently available to shed further light into related behaviour of different types of higher education and individual institutions.

Another interesting turn is that after several years of confusion Estonian academic community has been able to find a way to protect by linguistic means the *holy degree* – that is the doctorate. The trick introduced with a recent amendment to the University Law is to distinguish between the 'Scientific Degree' – that is the doctoral degree and the 'Academic Degrees,' which are the Bachelor and Master degrees. Returning shortly to Orwell, one could perhaps argue that *Scientific* is the symbol of status that separates those with two legs from those with four.

Having discussed the issue of the degrees to such an extent I would conclude by saying just a few words concerning the recognition of the higher degrees awarded under the Soviet system. The Soviet doctoral degrees are valid as other, later awarded doctoral degrees. Although the old Doctors of Sciences, perhaps for romantic reasons, seem to perceive their status as being somewhat higher than those who have received their degrees in 1990s and later. Concerning the Candidate of Sciences degree, and this is still the degree majority of the Estonian academics hold, no clear regulation concerning its recognition exists, except one almost a footnote at the very end of the Law of the Organising the Research and Development Activities. At the very end of the text, after the main body a short statement has been added concerning the implementation of the Law. According to this Estonian term 'Teaduste Kandidaat' (Candidate of Sciences) *can be translated into English* as 'Doctor of Philosophy.' Using such a linguistic tool to resolve the ambiguous situation surrounding the recognition of the academic qualifications of the single largest segment of the Estonian academic community – some two thousand Candidate of Sciences degree holders – reflects wisdom comparable that brought to us by Moses and the Prophets. Depending how to look at the issue, it is all and nothing at the same time.

On the one hand, the clause on how to *translate* the degree from the Estonian into English language allows the academics to have a heart-warming acronym 'Ph. D.' printed after their names on business cards. This gives perhaps some satisfaction, although the reverse side shows something slightly different – a degree which in its own historical context was not terminal. The major benefit of the recognition through translation for the universities is their freedom to dispose the Candidate degree holders as soon as competitive Ph. D. holders emerge – because there is no regulation according to which the Candidate of Sciences degree is recognised as a Ph. D. equivalent, but only that it can be translated into English as such. Both Solomon and Nebuchadnezzar would have had a good reason to be proud of such a wise decision. Still, the Candidate degree holders, at least some of them understand what is at the stake and are preparing for the day the hand may appear writing a judgement on the wall. There is a good chance that for those who wrote their Candidate thesis some twenty or thirty years ago, and whose publication record consists mainly of one-page conference paper abstracts printed somewhere in provincial Russian universities, that the writing on the wall will be the same old *Tekel* meaning *You have been weighed on the scales and found wanting* (Da 5:27). Many of such cautious people write new PhD thesis and submit to universities at home or abroad.

## 4.2 Funding and Compensation

Since adopting the post-state socialist higher education legislation that started after years of drafting and negotiations in 1994, Estonian higher education has been gradually moving away from the line-item budgeting towards a model that stands reasonably close to lump-sum budgeting. While until mid-1990's faculty pay-scales were set by the State and salary budgets pre-determined within the State allocations to each higher education institution – driven by sometimes justified fear that institutions may increase staff compensation at the expense of other items – since that public universities have received significant financial autonomy. Vocational higher education institutions remain, however, under control of the Ministry of Education.

Through their salary regulations universities have established their own pay-scales that somehow reflect the university status (see e.g. TÜ 2001, EPMÜ 2001). Some universities, notably the University of Tartu has been able to reach higher faculty pay-scales through two means. First, through the negotiating power vis-à-vis with the Ministry of Education for the 'state order' for its graduates – that is graduates who are trained for the State as a 'customer' and paid by it; and second, through the attractiveness to fee-paying students. As table 8 indicates, doctoral training is a rather lucrative business that generates funds primarily for one single university – University of Tartu. Relating an element of funding to the number of actual graduates has allowed since 1999 to limit the funds university can generate by mere convincing the Ministry of Education to produce higher admission quota and deliver a message that what the society is looking for is not only admitted students but also the graduates. Setting compensation level for individual faculty members is the authority of the basic unit, normally faculty, but cannot be lower than the minimum negotiated by between the trade union and university.

Since mid-1990s the number of fee paying students in Estonian public universities has grown steadily, reaching in some areas a half of the student population. Here, universities enjoy unrestricted freedom to set the prices for their programs as well as to use the raised funds. Although the market cannot afford paying fees comparable to per-student funding covered by the State, funds collected from fee-paying students can make a healthy addition to salary budgets. Before moving to faculty compensation figures, a few words should be, however, said concerning the funding formula applied by the Ministry of Education.

During the last years of the Soviet Union when its economy was already on a free fall and immediately following the final break-down in 1992 Estonian higher education faced major funding difficulties. For a few years budgetary funds were allocated by the Ministry of Education on a monthly basis and when cash was short, payments were delayed. Under such conditions the State applied strict line-item budgets, trying to make sure that at least staff compensation and modest student stipends were regularly paid.

By mid 1990s the economic situation started improving somewhat, to the extent that the funding level for certain universities (actually for one particular university) was reaching the level close to that of 1988. From that point on, universities started demanding for lump-sum budgets, often supporting this argument with OECD practices. While the 'progressive western experience' provided a pre-text to request for a policy change, the intention was obvious – universities expected to shift additional funds to salary budgets. But this was also something the Ministry of Education was most concerned about – that universities would pay their entire budgets out as staff compensation and then return to the Ministry for additional funds to repair the leaking roof or pay the heating and electricity bills. Such situation actually occurred in the Estonian Academy of Fine Arts that in 1995 has spent its entire budget by August and faced, as a legal person of public law,

bankruptcy. That price was, however, politically too much for Government to pay for introducing strict financial discipline in the public sector. So it eventually bailed the institution out.

In 1994 Estonia started moving towards formula funding in higher education. Each field of study was attributed a multiplier between 1 (humanities) and 6 (dentistry), and level from 1 (bachelor and diploma level) to 4 (doctoral studies). Multiplying those figures with base-funding figures gave the total the State paid for each admitted student during the nominal study period (Tomusk 1995). Obviously, while the method was presented as 'objective' and 'scientifically grounded', certain universities benefited more from that than the others. One can perhaps take an example of a doctoral student in dentistry that cost the State 24 times as much as an undergraduate student in humanities, law or theology and incentives such funding formula creates.

Initially, the funding was allocated for admitted students for the nominal duration of studies. While the funding scheme remains largely the same as it was launched, two major changes have occurred since 1994. First, the State is no longer the only customer of higher education institutions. Starting from 1995, universities were first tolerated, then accepted and finally encouraged to admit increasing numbers of fee paying students whom universities charge as much as the market allows – that is between 500 and 3,500 Euro per annum, depending on the institution and field of studies. While the State still covers the cost of studies for the students it orders the higher education institutions to train, it has introduced the policy similar to that of the Soviet agricultural policy of late 1970's, when collective farms were allowed to sell their production that exceeded the 'state order' to be sold on the market place. The same concept of the 'state order' was added into the University Law in 1996 and still constitutes the cornerstone of the Estonian higher education funding. Needless to say that it also constitutes the main source of the collective farm spirituality in Estonian higher education. This mixing of fee-paying and state-supported students in the same classrooms has also given a ground for two types of corruption charges. On the one hand, there are those who argue that the standards applied to fee-paying students are lower, as universities cannot afford the dropping-out of those whose payments faculty feels in their pockets. On the other hand, however, there are also cases when allegedly state-paid student positions have distributed based on personal connections and other favours.

Table 6: Per-student financing by level, 1995-1999, in Euro (EME 2000)

Level	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Higher Voc.	639	750	865	986	1,132
Dipl. & Bach.	750	964	1,528	1,600	1,887
Master	1,371	2,096	2,009	2,398	2,393
Doctoral	3,384	3,912	4,299	4,168	3,731

The Ministry of Education is increasingly trying to tie its funding to output – that is number of graduates – instead of admissions. For the Bachelor and Master studies this means that while the Ministry funds the admission, it also compares the cohort's admission and graduation numbers, and in case it finds receiving less graduates than it paid for, deducts the excess pay from the university's next year budget (ER 1995a, §13.1 (11)). This, however, hardly turns into a practical issue as there are always more students around than those paid by the State, and because the number of graduates always, except of doctoral degrees holders, is always higher than the number of students admitted according to the State quota and funded by the State, there is no easy way to tell

if the State has actually received what it has paid for, or if alternatively – there are also students for whom university charges his/her parents as well as the public purse.

The issue is more acute concerning the funding of doctoral students. Here, universities find themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand doctoral training is a lucrative business, while graduating too many PhDs does not only compromise the quality of the new generation of the Estonian academics, as many of the old generation argue, but also threatens the security of the latter group, particularly the Candidate degree holders. Subsequently the PhD funding scheme constitutes a rather interesting compromise between the State expecting to receive graduates and the universities trying to maximise funds while producing reasonably few PhDs. According to the current University Law (§ 13.1 (12)) 60 per cent of the PhD training cost is paid by the State to the university during the first two years of study, 30 per cent each year. The outstanding 40 per cent is only being released after the expiry of the nominal study duration (normally 4 years) of studies for the number of PhDs awarded by that time. With this, universities have an incentive to graduate PhDs, but not a too strong one. Moreover, even if graduation is delayed, universities are able to claim the money later, given that the graduating cohort is no bigger than the admitted one four years earlier (§ 13.1 (12)).

Estonian higher education has been distancing itself from the Soviet model of graduate training where students held in fact junior research positions and received a stipend comparable to that of faculty compensation. Currently doctoral students are perceived as students, although there is no evidence any doctoral student being charged with a fee while research funds seem to be available to support at least some. Although the taught element seems to have grown in comparison with that of the Soviet time ‘aspirantura’ (as the process of pursuing the Candidate of Science degree was called in Russian), because of the small size of the higher education system the program of each doctoral student is individually tailored and PhD classes do not exist. The general tendency, although slow, is towards increasing taught element and shortening the study period leading to a doctoral degree. Universities looking example internationally for a model to follow receive conflicting signals from Scandinavian countries and the US, and the current pattern seems to represent a compromise between the two.

Table 7: Academic staff monthly gross compensation scales in the University of Tartu and the Estonian Agricultural University, in Euro

Staff category	TU*	EAU**	Total number respective position holders in Estonian HE (FTE)
Professor	955	382 – 810	504
Associate professor	717	298 – 559	625
Lecturer	478	236 – 466	830
Assistant, teacher	398	191 – 368	526
Senior researcher	717	382 – 810	326
Researcher	478	191 – 368	342
			3,189

\* salary minimum

\*\* salary range, highest level applicable after 10+ years of university teaching experience

Although faculty compensation levels in Estonian higher education have significantly increased over the past decade, they still remain relatively modest. It is particularly the case for junior faculty whose pay is incommensurate with risk they are exposed to. What is perhaps even more significant is the fact that while professors and associate professors can earn additional money from research, junior faculty access to research funds is limited. Table 7 offers a short summary of faculty pay scales in two Estonian universities – the University of Tartu which compensation levels are the highest in Estonian higher education, and the Estonian Agricultural University presenting the common pattern. It should, however, be mentioned that these are the levels which guide universities' recruitment policies, but are not binding. In individual cases universities are in a position to pay significantly more to individuals they are highly interested in. One could assume that the University of Tartu in particular can afford paying a particular star professor compensation several times higher than that indicated in the table, but also that the number of such individuals in Estonian higher education remains extremely limited and does not distort the impression that economic survival of middle-range faculty member is still a serious issue.

As table 8 indicates, an average faculty member's earnings in an Estonian university are comparable to the economy's average. One may therefore argue that the low faculty compensation scales do not so much reflect Governments utter disrespect to higher education and research as some argue, but rather characterises the level of the economic development of the entire country the structure of which export offers no hint to the presence of a large higher education sector (Tomusk 2003b, Hernesniemi 2000).

Table 8: Gross monthly wages in selected areas of economic activity in 2001, in Euro (ESA 2002a)

<b>Sector</b>	<b>Average monthly wage</b>
Finance	780
Public administration	443
Manufacturing	328
Education	304
Health care	304
Fishery	251
Agriculture	210
Total average	351

It is needless to say that academic staff compensation in Estonia remains modest. The only category which earns across the sector more than the average income in the country are the full professors. The economic situation for others is not easy. Particularly that part of the faculty that does not earn significant additional income from research – that is lecturer level and below – is being proletarianised (Tomusk 2003b). In the Estonian terms that means holding multiple teaching positions in several, usually private, higher education institutions in addition to the public university job. Although that allows staff to survive economically, it also means that it is even less involved in research than under the state-socialist regime. However, as career advancement is heavily dependent on publishing outcomes in international peer-review journals, significant segment of the academic staff is deprived of any hope for career advancement and the luxury of *vita contemplative*. The issue is particularly severe in certain areas of social sciences and humanities

where no doctoral degree holders exist in the country, but as research grant holders can be only doctoral degree holders, not research grants are being awarded, no research is conducted and consequently the disciplines cannot emerge. A recent evaluation of the educational studies' center (EHEAC 2001) indicates this to be a vicious circle where lack of high quality research only perpetuates itself. Subsequently, Estonian academic life is rather strongly focused on maintaining the status quo, as already mentioned above, often being justified with high theoretical rigor and established internationally comparable standards of output in a few traditional fields of knowledge. This, however, also means that fields like gender studies, but also less exotic ones like sociology of education or even philosophy cannot emerge in Estonia in foreseeable future as for the allowing these to emerge more flexible standards should be initially applied.

Senior faculty positions in established disciplines – natural and exact sciences, medicine and engineering are more secure. Despite the formal requirement for all the faculty positions to be re-elected in every five years the low number of PhDs awarded and the senior faculty's privilege to conduct research and publish, not to mention the informal political influence, secure their positions. In addition to that, academic staff that holds administrative positions is eligible for additional compensation. For example in the University of Tartu a faculty dean receives additional 25-50 per cent, depending on the size of the faculty, of the professor's salary (TÜ 2001). Heads of a variety of units existing within the faculties like institutes, departments, centers, etc. receive 10-20 per cent additional income. Chair holding professors also receive an additional 10-20 per cent. As related to the latter, it is interesting to remind that one of the earliest structural reforms in Estonian universities was to divide Departments into Chairs – a move that multiplied the number of senior position holders by the factor of two or three. Current situation may be close to the one where every full professor is a chair-holder.

When higher education reform in Estonia started in 1989, one of its aims as the academic community saw it, was to reduce the teaching load and significantly increase research. As it usually happens, only a part of the goal has been achieved. Faculty FTE teaching loads were cut by approximately a half in the early years of the reforms. This freed time was not, however, taken over by research but all kinds of other activities, usually referred to as moonlighting, including multiple teaching positions. This as well as some other features of the Estonian higher education reveal a typical developing country pattern which is hard to change without significant economic growth coming forth. Despite its ambitious claims, Estonian higher education still appears irrelevant for both the economic growth as well as critical public role.

## **5. Conclusion**

Estonian academic community has been deeply shaken by the changes since 1989. Its reputation and competence has at times been seriously questioned and major funding difficulties have cooled out more than seventy per cent of those who were classified as academic and research staff in 1989. That, perhaps, has not reduced the sector's productivity if the latter is meant to bear any connection to novel ideas. But neither has it added much. The sector remains largely irrelevant for the country's economic as well as intellectual needs. It is producing growing numbers of graduates that, following the universities' claims for high academic standards, should all proceed for doctoral studies. Vocational higher education drifting towards university status makes similar claims. In the same time, significant part of the academic community has been effectively proletarianised. What one can see for the future is that except one or two main universities – the Uni-

versity of Tartu and the Tallinn Technical University – the entire sector will be ghettoised intellectually as well as economically. Private higher education institutions unable to survive without public support and unable to satisfy their owners' expectations for a quick buck have already started merging with public sector institutions. The future of the academic profession seems to be emerging through the stratification of the community – a small number of science aristocrats in the context of a massive number of lecturers involved in a simple delivery of lectures for cash. It also seems to be obvious that there is currently neither resource nor a mechanism in place to improve the sector, which is expanding in an uncontrolled manner. Therefore, crucial for the international standing of Estonian higher education in the futures is whether it can separate and incubate certain high quality enclaves, or will the entire sector be exposed to exponential corruption. But once again, currently there is no mechanism in place to avoid the latter, and it seems to be apparent that the academic community lacks inherent ethical standards to facilitate even a partial return to 19<sup>th</sup> century ideals.

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# **The Academic Workplace Country Report Finland**

*Jussi Välimaa*

## **1. Introduction**

The aim of this country report is to describe and analyse academic work in Finnish higher education from the perspective of international attractiveness. This approach thus begins with the assumption that the attractiveness of academic work is challenged by recent developments in the labour market. Perhaps academic work does not any more open as attractive career perspectives as it used to open. Secondly, the approach also sets is objective to analyse academic work and workplace. I will begin with the latter by describing shortly the development of Finnish higher education historically. Towards the end of the country report I will return to question: is academic work losing its attractiveness? I will also reflect on the question what is meant by international attractiveness of academic workplace.

The report is based on the chapter published in a book edited by Jürgen Enders (see Välimaa 2001) main reason being the fact that trends described in the chapter have not changed but strengthened. Therefore also, it is needed to reflect on what are the changes and how do they influence on the nature of academic work in Finnish higher education.

### *1.1 The context of Finnish higher education: historical perspectives for the high social status of universities and academic degrees*

Present-day Finnish higher education is a mass higher education system with the history of over 360 years (see Välimaa 2001b). In what follows I will give on outline on this historical development with the help of the idea of historical layers. These historical layers should be understood like archaeological layers developed above each other over time. Following the metaphor, earlier layers have continuous influence on the modern practices because the traditions (ideas, norms and practices) have not only provided starting points for new developments but also because they have given forms and shapes to more recent layers.

The basic historical layer in Finnish higher education was laid during the Middle Ages when Catholic Church supported the sending of talented young Finnish men to European universities, most often to the University of Paris. This cultural connection to European Continent was also one of the factors that has made Finland part of the Western European Cultural sphere (Nuorteva 1999).

The second historical layer in Finnish higher education, and the beginning of the development towards a national system of higher education, was initiated by the establishment of the University of Turku (Royal Academy in Åbo, later known as the University of Helsinki) in 1640. At that time Finland was part of the Swedish Kingdom and higher education served mainly the purposes of the Lutheran Church by training priests and defending the „right religion“ and the King by training civil servants. This civil servant social function is continuously an important part of Finnish higher education, also because the majority of university students are employed by public sector.

The third historical layer to Finnish higher education was added during the period when Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy as part of the Russian Empire from 1809 to 1917. This was a historical period of cultural, political and economic development of Finland and the Finnish nationality. Higher education, and especially the only university in Finland, the Imperial Alexander University (later know as the University of Helsinki), played a central role in cultural, political and economic processes creating a basis for the independent nation state which was established during the First World War (Klinge 1987,1987). The period was important also to the development of the Finnish idea of university. It is no historical exaggeration, perhaps, to say that essential in this Finnish idea of university was, first, the notion that university is a national cultural institution. The idea of a cultural institution was rooted in the Humboldtian ideals of a university. Secondly, university and higher education were considered important aspects of the development of the nation and nation state. Thirdly, it was also realised that access to education - including higher education- is an issue to be decided by politicians not by the academics themselves. These interpretations of the idea of university have had continuity through 20th century (Välimaa 2001b).

The fourth historical layer in Finnish higher education was laid between the two World Wars when Finnish higher education continued to be an elite system. Studying was possible mainly for the more prosperous social classes and the number of higher education students remained low (Nevala 1999). Furthermore, university professors belonged to the highest level of Finnish society (Klinge 1992). High social prestige of universities and university degrees is continuously a social reality in Finland.

The fifth historical layer in the Finnish higher education has been added by the expansion of Finnish higher education towards a mass higher education system. This development was begun in the late 1950s. Measured by student numbers, Finnish higher education massified during the 1970s, when more than 15 per cent of the age cohort entered it. In 2001 the universities admitted 28 399 students and the polytechnics 25 662 students (KOTA 2001).<sup>1</sup> A comparison of these numbers with the size of the relevant age cohort reveals that 83 per cent of the cohort is offered a starting place in higher education (Välimaa 2001, KOTA 2001, AMKOTA 2001). In 2001, there were 284 000 students in Finnish higher education institutions. 163:000 of them studied in universities and 121:000 in polytechnics (KOTA 2001, AMKOTA 2001).

The expansion of Finnish higher education was closely related to and at the same time one of the results of a welfare-state agenda supported by major political parties. Creating equal educa-

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1 20:651 students began their studies in universities. In Polytechnics, there are 6 175 adult students in addition to young students.

tional opportunities became one of the most important objectives on this agenda, implemented over a period extending from the 1960s to the 1990s. The expansion of higher education was supported by a regional policy principle. The founding of a university was seen not only symbolically but also culturally and economically important to the development of the given region. All major provinces were allowed to establish a university of their own in the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s (see Välimaa 2001b).

### *1.2 The present-day Finnish higher education system, institutions and main degree types*

In 2003 there are 20 universities located in all parts of Finland. These include ten multi-faculty institutions, three technical universities, three schools of economics, and four art academies. All Finnish universities are public institutions in the sense of the traditional continental model (Clark 1983). They are autonomous institutions but subordinated to the Ministry of Education.

There are 32 polytechnics located all over the country, most of which are multidisciplinary institutions. This non-university sector of higher education was established during in the 1990s. Finnish polytechnics (or AMK-institutions) were created gradually by raising the standard of former higher vocational education by incorporating them into multidisciplinary polytechnics. All Finnish polytechnics were established as temporary institutions. However, most of them were developed into polytechnics operating on a permanent basis by August 2000. Finnish polytechnics are normally local institutions operated by a municipality, a federation of municipalities or a registered Finnish foundation or association.<sup>2</sup> In principle this means that part of the polytechnics are private institutions because they are run by foundations or associations. In practice, however, they are public institutions because they are funded by public sources (mainly by the Ministry of Education). (see Välimaa 2001b).

Finnish universities grant professional degrees, bachelor's degrees, master's degrees, licentiate degrees and doctoral degrees.<sup>3</sup> The Polytechnics all grant Bachelor level degrees differing from the academic degrees in the sense that they are targeted at a particular job area in working life.

Universities and Polytechnics select their own students, and the competition for study places may be stiff in popular fields of study. All university fields apply *numerus clausus*, in which entrance examinations are an essential element. Polytechnics also decide on their own selection criteria, and in many sectors there is also an entrance examination.

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2 The exceptions to the rule are the Police College (funded by the Ministry of Interior) and Ålands Yrkeshögskola which is subordinate to the self-governing Åland Islands. National Defence College is, in turn, a hybrid between these two higher education sectors, because it has elements with Polytechnic orientation (basic training curricula) and common structures and functions with universities: professors, research activities and the right to grant doctoral degrees (Laine et al. 2001). In this paper National Defence College is included in the Polytechnic sector because of its small size (only 5 professors) and orientation to serve the needs of National Defence (by training officers) rather than those of academic community.

3 There are national decrees on the university degree systems of each discipline. The decrees define the broad framework for each degree (extent, structure, main objectives), but the universities have autonomy to decide on the contents of each degree (Higher Education 2001).

### 1.3 The steering and funding of Finnish higher education

The Finnish Constitution secures the freedom of the sciences, the arts and the highest level of education. These principles are operationalised by new Universities Act (645/1997) which ensures the autonomy of the universities by prescribing their functions, operation and objectives in general terms only. By nature, the new Universities Act is a skeleton law covering all Finnish universities (see Välimaa & Jalkanen 2001). Within given limits, each university decides on the detailed organization of its administration and the decision-making power of its administrative bodies (Higher Education Policy 2001).

According to the Ministry of Education, the steering of Finnish higher education is based on consultation procedure -called *management by results*- by which the Ministry of Education and the institutions set jointly the objectives for each higher education institution. The Ministry of Education and each university sign a performance agreement in which both parties commit themselves to certain production objectives (measured in the numbers of degrees) and development projects and the level of funding. The agreement is signed for a three-year period but the financial aspects are checked and negotiated every year (Higher Education Policy 2001).

An important context for Finnish higher education is the change of the structure of funding during the 1990s. The proportion of public funding of higher education by the Ministry of Education decreased by 21 per cent between 1990 and 2001 (from 84% to 63%), while external funding from both private and public sources grew almost sixfold (KOTA 2001). In practice, it has affected the working conditions of academic staff because researchers on short-term contracts are normally paid from the external (market-like) funding sources. Together with increasing student intake the number of student per teacher is steadily growing. During the last ten year the student-teacher ratio has grown from 14,2 (in 1990) to 21,54 (in 2001) (KOTA).

Finnish higher education policy objectives reflect managerial ideas which have been defined as New Public Management (Pollit 1995). In higher education, a strong element has been the decentralisation of management authority. This policy principle is evident in the new Universities Act (1997). The official arguments emphasise the fact that universities have autonomy (in fact: only procedural autonomy) in deciding how to reach the targets (the number of academic degrees) set by the Ministry of Education. The second main trend has been the introduction of market or quasi-market type mechanisms in Finnish higher education. The marketization of higher education has led to competition both among and within higher education institutions. In fact, the Ministry of Education uses competition as a national steering instrument in its management by results negotiations with each university (Välimaa & Jalkanen 2001). In this sense the social context of Finnish higher education may be described as academic capitalism following the definition of Slaughter and Leslie (1997). The shift in the funding structures is also related to academic capitalism because it is increasing the impacts of market-like behaviour in the academic world and changing social dynamics inside universities. The third major trend has been the requirement that staff work to performance targets and output objectives. This trend is closely related to the shift in the basis of public employment from permanency and standard national pay and conditions towards term contracts and performance-related pay. In universities, this has led to increasing number of „project researchers“, that is, academics who have been appointed only for a certain fixed period to carry through a specific research project (see Välimaa 2001).

## 2. Academic staff in Finnish higher education

The nature of academic employment has not been changed after the writing of the previous study (see Välimaa 2001). Continuously, the academic staff and non-academic staff who work in the Finnish universities are regarded as civil servants. The nature of their contract with the State as represented by each university involves either a public office (*virka*), which is a permanent position, or a civil service relationship (*virkasuhde*), which is a temporary public office.<sup>4</sup> The rights and duties of employer and employee as well as the conditions of recruitment and dismissal are regulated by State Civil Servants' Act (*valtion virkamieslaki 19.8.1994/750*). The implementation of the Universities Act (645/1997) has provided universities with the right to nominate professors in addition to their previous rights to recruit other academic and non-academic staff. Universities may also establish or abolish public offices, civil service relationships and academic chairs within the limits defined in the State Civil Servants' Act. Recruitment processes have not been changed (see Välimaa 2001)

The working conditions of the academic staff are agreed upon through collective bargaining. This is normally characterised as a tripartite system because it includes the labour unions, the employers' organisations and the state (the public sector). The system is a statutory one and was introduced in the early 1970s. The central labour organisation for academics is the Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals (AKAVA), which has 32 affiliates and a total membership of 424 000 (including 86 000 student members). The largest union is the trade union of teachers (officially: The Trade Union of Education in Finland) with 111 000 members, whereas the unions of academics working in the universities are among the smaller ones: the Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers (FUURT: 6 000 members), the Union of Finnish Professors (UFUP: 2 000 members), and the Association of University Lecturers (UFUL: 1 700 members) in 2003 ([www.akava.fi/](http://www.akava.fi/)).

Normally the national labour organisations bargain with the national-level representatives of private and public sector employers' organisations every two to three years. These negotiations lead to a national-level agreement, which defines the general framework (percentage of salary rise, working conditions, etc) for the collective bargaining between individual trade unions and employers' organisations. Academic trade unions represented by AKAVA's Public-Sector Negotiating Commission (AKAVA-JS) bargain with the representatives of public sector. As regards the university teaching staff (mainly lecturers and professors), the agreements are nationally binding: all employers and employees in the field must follow them. There is not much room for local negotiations. Other academic staff (mainly researchers), represented by their local associations, negotiates with the respective university. Hence, researchers' working conditions and salaries are not necessarily comparable between universities. However, individual researchers or university teachers do not need to enter into negotiations with their employers, because a general framework has already been constructed in the national- or institutional-level contracts and agreements. These contracts are supported and implemented by a system of appointed representatives (*luottamusmiehet, shop steward*) maintained by the AKAVA-JS through its negotiation organ. Appointed representatives are responsible for local negotiations between the employee and the employer (Acatiimi 1998). In Finland, the system of appointed representatives is an essential instrument in defending union members' rights because it provides a link through which to negotiate on matters relating to individual and collective conditions of employment contracts. All three labour organisations

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4 In addition to these relationships there can be found also some temporary contracts called working contracts (*työsuhde*).

have their appointed representatives in the higher education institutions. Members also benefit from the Teacher's Unemployment Benefit Society (Välimaa 2001).

## 2.1 Academic staff in universities

Academics working in Finnish universities are regarded as civil servants, and for this reason they are defined as part of public sector. According to the statistical data on civil servants the staff working in universities and research institutes is the largest group consisting of about one third (32,7%) of all civil servants (Tietoja...1997-2001. VVM 24.5.2002). On the basis of average age the academics working in higher education institutions are the youngest as a group among civil servants, even though there can be found significant differences between various academic groups as will be discussed below. However, this notion is interesting in the context of aging Finnish population: it has been measured that as soon as 2005 there will be more people leaving the labour force than young generations entering in the labour market. According to calculations the difference will be about 10 000 person annually by the year 2010 (Työvoima 2020-väiliraportti, Työministeriö 2002).

The academic staff in Finnish universities may be divided into university teachers, researchers, and assisting staff. The number of university teachers has decreased steadily during the 1990s, whereas the number of other staff has grown rapidly. This increase has been mainly funded from external sources. According to the KOTA database, the growth has been most rapid among the other staff funded from external sources (see table 1). They consist of researchers, assisting and administrative personnel and university teachers.

The category of assisting personnel is more statistical because it covers those who cannot be included in the other two categories. Assisting staff may work either as librarians, or laboratory engineers, or their title may be research amanuensis or amanuensis in departments. In the latter case, their work consists in various departmental duties or research-related and assisting tasks.

Researchers are persons who are funded either by the Academy of Finland, a university, a ministry, or from other private or public funding sources. They are often called „project researchers“ (*projektitutkija*). Normally, they are provided with facilities by a university or a research institute and they hold the title of researcher (*tutkija*) or senior researcher (*erikoistutkija*). Senior researchers normally have a licentiate or a PhD degree and have longer contracts than researchers (Välimaa 2001).

Table 1: University Teachers and Other Staff in Finnish Universities 1985-2000 (absolute numbers, in %)

	1985	1990	2000
University teachers <sup>5</sup>	7,200 (38,7%)	7,800 (37,1%)	7,400 (28,0%)
Other staff on budget funds <sup>6</sup>	6,700 (36,0%)	8,000 (38,1%)	9,800 (36,8%)
Other staff on external funds <sup>7</sup>	4,700 (25,3%)	5,200 (24,8%)	9,400 (35,2%)
Total	18,600 (100%)	21,000 (100%)	26,600 (100%)

5 Professors, associate professors, lecturers, senior assistants, assistants. The figures also include human resource of teaching (913 years of teaching in year 2000).

6 Researchers (about 14%) and other staff, mainly administrative personnel (86%).

7 Project researchers, administrative and assisting personnel, and doctoral students in the year 2000. Source: KOTA database (2001).

The reform of doctoral training has contributed to the increase in the number of contract-based research staff in the Finnish universities. The position of doctoral students resembles that of contract researchers because they are also paid a salary during their studies, normally for a four-year period (Aittola & Määttä 1998). Doctoral students are included in the category of other staff on external funds. There were 2,059 academics who belonged to this category in 2000.

## 2.2 University teachers

There are three main categories of university teachers: *professors, lecturers and assistants*. All are regarded as civil servants. In addition to these categories there has remained a historical remnant called docent (*dosentti*). It is not a public office but requires permission to teach at the university concerned. Docents are paid according to their lecturing hours. (Välimaa 2001)

Professors are responsible for teaching and research and often for the administration of their departments. The category of professors (*professori*) consisted of professors and associate professors until July 31 1998. After that, there have only been professors because associate professor has been discontinued as a title even though it continues to exist as a salary grade (A26). Traditionally, professors and associate professors were given a permanent position and the title of professor echoed the prestige of the German professors. Things began to change in the 1990s when universities started to appoint people to fixed-term chairs (*määräaikainen professuuri*). A second new recruitment procedure introduced was based on invitations. This has been normally used to appoint someone for a fixed-term professorship, normally for five years. However, the majority of Finnish professors hold a permanent position because according to a survey only 11.9 per cent of them were in a temporary position in 2001 (Akatiimi 2002). Professors have been and still are the most prestigious group of academics, even though their social status has been challenged by fixed-term professors and by the invitation procedure. In the 1990s, this once homogeneous category comprised four types of professors: research professors (*tutkimusprofessori*) (salary grade A28-30) appointed by the Academy of Finland for a five-year period, the previous „full“ professors (salary grade A28), the new „ex-associate“ professors (salary grade A26), and fixed-term professors (salary grade A26-28), who have been appointed most often for a five-year period. (Välimaa 2001).

Lecturers (*lehtori*) are university teachers who are not expected to carry out research. Traditionally, their work was defined in terms of lecturing hours during the academic year (12 to 14 hours a week), even though this definition has been challenged by the free allocation of teaching resources: now, lecturers can do research (Välimaa 1993). They normally hold a permanent position and consist of lecturers, senior lecturers (*lehtori yp.*), and junior lecturers (*lehtori, ap.*). In all these categories, the possession of post-graduate degrees and teaching experience lead to an increase in salary. (Välimaa 2001).

Originally, an assistant's post (*assistentti*) was a doctoral training position offered to junior academics. However, because of the growth of Finnish higher education, the shortage of university teaching staff led to a situation where assistants found themselves with a heavy teaching load and many departmental duties. Furthermore, when the rapid expansion of Finnish universities slowed down in the 1970s and ceased in the 1980s, there emerged a „PhD jam“. Young PhDs who did not have access to chairs occupied assistants' posts, blocking the way for the younger generations. The position of senior assistant (*yliaassistentti*) was created to solve the problem in the 1980s. Senior assistants must hold a post-graduate degree, whereas assistants normally hold an MA degree. This policy seems to work quite well because 72 per cent of the senior assistants had either a PhD

or a Licentiate degree, whereas 67 per cent of the assistants held an MA degree in the early 1990s (Statistics Finland 1993). Both assistants and senior assistants are appointed for a fixed term, normally five years. (Välimaa 2001).

The lowest category of university teachers is the full-time teachers (*päätoiminen tuntiopettaja*). They have the lowest salary and the heaviest teaching load. Before the free allocation of teaching resources, it consisted of 14 hours of lecturing a week. The number of full-time teachers has dropped by almost 40 per cent, mainly because of the budget cuts in the 1990s. The newest categories of university teaching staff are the university teacher (*yliopiston opettaja*), or university lecturer (*yliopistonlehtori*), and researcher teacher (*tutkijaopettaja*). They combine the work of lecturers and full-time teachers and have a contract with the university. In addition to these categories there has been used a significant human resource on teaching in Finnish universities consisting of persons hired to teach a course etc. Calculated by years spent on teaching the quantity of human resource is about half of the number of professors (KOTA 2001).

With the expansion of higher education, the number of university teachers grew steadily until the 1980s and stagnated at the turn of the decade. Since then, there has been little change. The 1980s saw a growth in the number of all types of university teachers except assistants and full-time teachers (table 4). These trends can be seen in all statistical publications (Statistics Finland 1993, KOTA 2001). In addition to this number of hired persons there should be increased the quantity of human resource (consisting of part-time teachers and teachers hired for a certain course) used for. The drop in the number of assistants is due to conversions of assistantships into senior assistantships and doctoral training positions. The posts of full-time teachers have decreased because of economic problems: they are often based on short-term contracts and therefore are the easiest to abolish. These positions have been also changed into lecturer positions.

Table 2: University Teachers in Finnish Universities 1983-2000 (absolute numbers)

	1983	1987	1992	1998	2000
Professor	878	980	1,109	2,011	2,106
Associate professor	693	753	814	-	-
Senior assistant	251	380	629	649	689
Assistant	1,881	1,803	1,808	1,530	1,473
Lecturer	1,481	1,681	1,854	1,891	1,913
Full-time teacher	-	598	522	312	277
Teaching resource	1,747	1,317	1,090	897	913
Total	6,931	7,512	7,826	7,290	7,371

NOTE: teaching resource describes the quantity of human resource but not actual persons. Associate professors have been increased to the number of professors in 2000. The figures of 1992 exclude art academies.

Source: Statistics Finland (1993), KOTA (2000).

### 2.3 The age and gender structure of the teaching staff

There can be found two simultaneous trends in Finnish universities. Academic staff in Finnish universities is both getting older and the number of female professionals is increasing. According to Statistics Finland (1993), the median age of university teachers was 42 years in 1992. It rose by four years between 1983 and 1992, from 38 to 42 years, indicating the end of expansion of Finnish higher education. Median age was highest in permanent positions (professors, associate professors, senior lecturers, amanuensis) and lowest in temporary positions (assistants and senior assistants). The trend of rising average age has been continued during 1990s and the first year of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. During the last ten years the average age of Finnish professors has increased by four years (from 49 to 53 years) and the average age of lecturers has increased by 6 years. The average age of junior academic staff (the members of FUURT) has increased by 1,5 years during the last five years. This also indicates the fact the mobility is higher among the members of junior staff than among senior academics.

Table 3: Finnish University Teachers by Age and Gender at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century (absolute numbers, mean, in %)

	(N)	Age (average)	Female staff (in %)
Professor <sup>8</sup>	2,175	53	20,4%
Senior assistant <sup>9</sup>	677	40	33,8%
Assistant	1402	40	52,3%
Lecturers	2,027	46	54,1%
Full-time teacher	257	40	66,9%
Total	6,538	46	49,6%

Source: KOTA 2001, Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001, the membership registers of Finnish Union of Professors 2003, and University Lecturers 2003

The second main trend in Finnish universities is also evident on the basis of statistical data. The percentage of women teachers has increased steadily from the 1980s onwards. The percentage varies, however, between academic positions. In general, the proportion of women chair holders increased as the academic status decreased (table 3). This has been noted in other countries too (Kyvik 1991). Differences are caused also by disciplinary differences: almost 60 per cent of teachers and researchers in the humanities were women, whereas in technical fields, the percentage was 12 per cent at the beginning of the 1990s (Statistics Finland 1993).

8 The average age of professors is based on the register of the members of the Finnish Union of Professors in 2003.

9 The average age of senior assistants, assistants and Full-time teachers is based on estimation published in Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001.

Table 4: The development of female academic staff in Finnish universities

Year	Professors	Sen. Ass.	Assistants	Lectures	Full-Time Teachers
1983	9,1%	17,8%	..	41,2%	-
1985	10,0%	20,6%	31,3%	41,8%	-
1990	13,1%	25,8%	36,1%	44,2%	51,6%
1995	15,9%	27,9%	40,9%	47,4%	65,1%
2000	20,1%	36,9%	52,3%	58,2%	80,9%

Source: KOTA 2001, Husu 2001

This phenomenon has been called as „male-female pincers“ indicating the statistical fact that the proportion of female students is about 53 per cent in Finnish universities continuing to the point of university graduates. Approximately 58 per cent of them are female. However, after graduation the proportions turn into male dominance. The majority of PhD students are men and the trend continues in the academic world. The only exception to the rule is the group of lecturers, majority of which are women. Lecturers are normally in a permanent position with a heavy teaching load. As to status, however, their position is not easy to define. A lecturer seems to lie between that of a senior assistant (who have less teaching load and more time for research, but a temporary position) and a professor with more time for research and a permanent position.

The age and gender structure among Finnish professors differs from that of junior academic staff. According to the membership register Finnish professors are both older and the majority of them are men (table 3)<sup>10</sup>. The differences in the gender structure are mainly related to disciplinary differences. In the technical universities of Helsinki, Tampere and Lappeenranta the majority of professors are men (about 92 per cent), whereas the universities with strong faculties of humanities and social sciences (Universities of Jyväskylä, Joensuu, Tampere) have more woman professors (about 23 per cent). Statistical data on the members of UFUP shows that the average age of Finnish professors is 53 years. Typical to the senior staff in Finnish higher education has been the stability of the population. The number of newcomers and leavers has been rather small annually. However, this situation may change because the number of professors who will have an opportunity to retire within becoming 10 years is as big as 54,7 per cent of all professors.<sup>11</sup>

The members of Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers may be divided, in turn, into four main categories: researchers, who consist 40,1 per cent of the members, (various) teachers were about one third of the members (31,0%), other experts one fourth (25,2%), and others (3,8%). These groups consist of many different job titles and profiles indicating the heterogeneity of positions among junior academics in Finnish universities and research institutes. The category of researchers includes doctoral students, senior researcher, researchers nominated by the Finnish Academy, researchers and research assistants. The category of teachers include lecturers, assistants, senior assistants, professors, full-time and part-time teachers. The category of other experts includes amanuensis, librarians, directors of library, managers, planning officers, coordinators, secretaries, research assistants (see table 5.).

<sup>10</sup> Standard deviation is 7 years and the age range from 31 to 68 years.

<sup>11</sup> This professors who are at least 53 years old. The percentage is based on estimation, because Finnish professors may retire at the age of 63, but they have to retire at the age of 67. Source: the membership register of UFUP.

Table 5: Age and gender of junior academics

Category	Category (%)	Average Age (years)	Female (%)	Doctoral degree
Researcher 36,3 55,3 48	40,1	36,3	55,3	48
Teacher	31	40	51,2	32,1
Other Expert	25,2	42,6	71,4	66,7
Other	3,8	40	65,1	57,1

Source: Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001

According to the survey, the average age of the FUURT members was 41,1 years in November 2001. It had increased by 1,5 years during previous four years (Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001, Rantala 1998). The majority of researchers and teachers are female (54%) and their average age is 39 years.

There can be found two main factors behind these trends. Concerning the rising average age of academic staff, it should be noted that the expansion of Finnish universities ended by the beginning of the 1990s. As a rule, there has not been established new teaching positions to universities after the expansion, even though the number of temporary positions has almost doubled. For this reason it is natural that their average is the lowest among all Finnish Academics (see Table 3). The increase of project researchers has been caused by the increase of external funding and the establishment of post-graduate schools, which are also funded by external funding from the Ministry of Education through the Finnish Academy.

Concerning the increasing number of female academic staff it should be noted that this matter of fact should be seen as a consequence of policies aimed to increase the number of female academics. Equality of salary and working conditions for both sexes has been part of the national labour policy. Hence, there are no special programmes to promote the recruitment of women in the academia. However, as Husu (2001, 339) has noted „women 's presence as academics has increased in Finnish academia, and gender issues have arrived on the Finnish academic agenda -in curricula and research, in administration, in university and science policy- with quite a different impact than was the case even twenty years ago.“ It has also been noted that female academics, students and policy makers have been important change agents in this development. (Husu 2001)

## 2.4 Academic work and working conditions in the universities

### *The division of work: teaching, research, other duties*

In universities, academic work is divided into teaching, research and other tasks (mainly services and administrative duties). According to a time-budget study carried out by Statistics Finland (1993), the academic staff spend 44 per cent of their time on teaching, 44 per cent on research, and 16 per cent on other duties. The proportions vary, however, according to discipline, as can be seen in table 6.

Table 6: Share of working hours spent on major functions in Finnish universities in 1992 by field (mean percentage of respondents)

	<b>Humanities</b>	<b>Social sciences</b>	<b>Sciences</b>	<b>Forestry/ Agriculture</b>	<b>Tech. Sciences</b>	<b>Medicine</b>	<b>Total</b>
Teaching	55	42	39	44	41	41	44
Research	30	41	44	34	41	45	40
Other	15	17	17	22	18	14	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Statistics Finland (1993)

According to Statistics Finland (1993), significant differences can be found in the amount of time spent on teaching in different institutions, even in the same field, indicating differences between institutional resources. In the humanities, the variation was 14 per cent and in the social sciences it was 12 per cent. In science the difference was 10 per cent, followed by nine per cent in forestry and agronomy, seven per cent in technical sciences and six per cent in medicine. As for research, the differences were similar: 12 per cent in humanities, 12 per cent in social sciences, 10 per cent in science, three per cent in forestry and agronomy, 10 per cent in technical sciences and nine per cent in medicine (see table 6).

The structure of academic work is also linked to academic position and gender. In all academic positions, male teachers have more time for research, whereas women teachers devote more time to teaching. There are, however, variations according to academic positions: male professors teach more than women professors, whereas women senior assistants teach more than their male colleagues. As for researchers, women teach more but have fewer other duties than their male colleagues. It is quite natural that professors have more other duties than the rest of the academic staff since they are often responsible for their departments. (Välimaa 2001).

Typical to temporary position in Finnish higher education is the variation of the length of contracts.<sup>12</sup> As many as 76,5 per cent of them worked under temporary contracts. As for researchers, 91 per cent were in a fixed-term position. The length of project researchers' contracts and researchers' tasks and funding sources vary considerably. According to the survey, the majority of their contracts (53%) are for a maximum of one year in spring term 2001 (Puhakka & Rautovaara 2001, Rantala 1998). The situation of the members of FUURT has improved somewhat after the previous survey carried out on autumn term 1997 because the number of permanent staff has increased by 2,4 per cent. This does not, however, change the overall picture because as many as 57 per cent of the respondents felt that their job was threatened by fixed-term contracts. Most respondents (76,5%) had a short-term contract or worked on a scholarship. The percentage of permanent office holders was 23,5 per cent: they worked mostly in libraries.

The majority of Finnish professors are in permanent positions. According to a survey conducted by UFUP in 2001 only 11,9 per cent of the professors were in a fixed-term positions. It seems, however, that the nominations for fixed-term professorships are going out of fashion.

#### Social security

The academic staff benefit from a health care system which is paid for by the employer. It includes the free services of doctors and nurses. In case of unemployment, academic trade unions pay a certain proportion of the former salary (up to 50 %), even though the main funding comes

<sup>12</sup> The analysis is based on the survey of the members of FUURT. They work mainly in temporary positions.

from the state budget. Both the employer and the employee pay a proportion of the salary into pension funds. These service do not cover project researchers working on a scholarship.

## 2.5 Teaching staff in the polytechnics

Finnish polytechnics (or AMK institutions) employed 11, 194 senior teachers (38% women), lecturers (64% women) and full-time teachers (54% women) in 2001 (AMKOTA 2002). However, the composition and structure of the teaching staff in polytechnics differ significantly from that of the universities because there are neither professorships nor assistantships nor research posts. This is due to their tradition and mission of high-quality vocational education. The most prestigious category of polytechnic teachers is senior teachers (*yliopettaja*) who are responsible for developing and leading their departments or professional fields. Polytechnics aim to recruit PhDs or licentiate degree holders to these positions and they have also succeeded rather well in this aim as can be seen in table 7.

Table 7: Permanent Teaching Staff in the Finnish AMK Institutions by Gender and Degree in 2001 (absolute numbers, in %)

	Proportion of female staff	Degree				Total (N)
		PhD & Lic.	M.A.	BA	Other	
Senior teacher	38%	54%	42%	1%	3%	920 (100%)
Lecturer	64%	8%	79%	3%	10%	3,229 (100%)
Full-time teacher	54%	5%	59%	9%	27%	1,448 (100%)
Part-time teacher <sup>13</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	436
Total <sup>14</sup>	6355 (57%)					11,630

Source: AMKOTA database (2002)

Polytechnic lecturers' job profiles resemble those of traditional university lecturers, since neither are expected to do research. Most lecturers and full-time teachers in AMK institutions hold either an MA degree or a professional degree. Senior teachers, lecturers and full-time teachers have a permanent position, unlike part-time teachers. The high proportion of women teachers may be explained by the orientation of AMK institutions. In social work, health care, culture, and tourism, they are the majority. These are also strong fields in most polytechnics (OECD 2002).

<sup>13</sup> Not persons but the number of working years paid to part-time teachers and occasional lecturers.

<sup>14</sup> Calculated from the number of permanent positions.

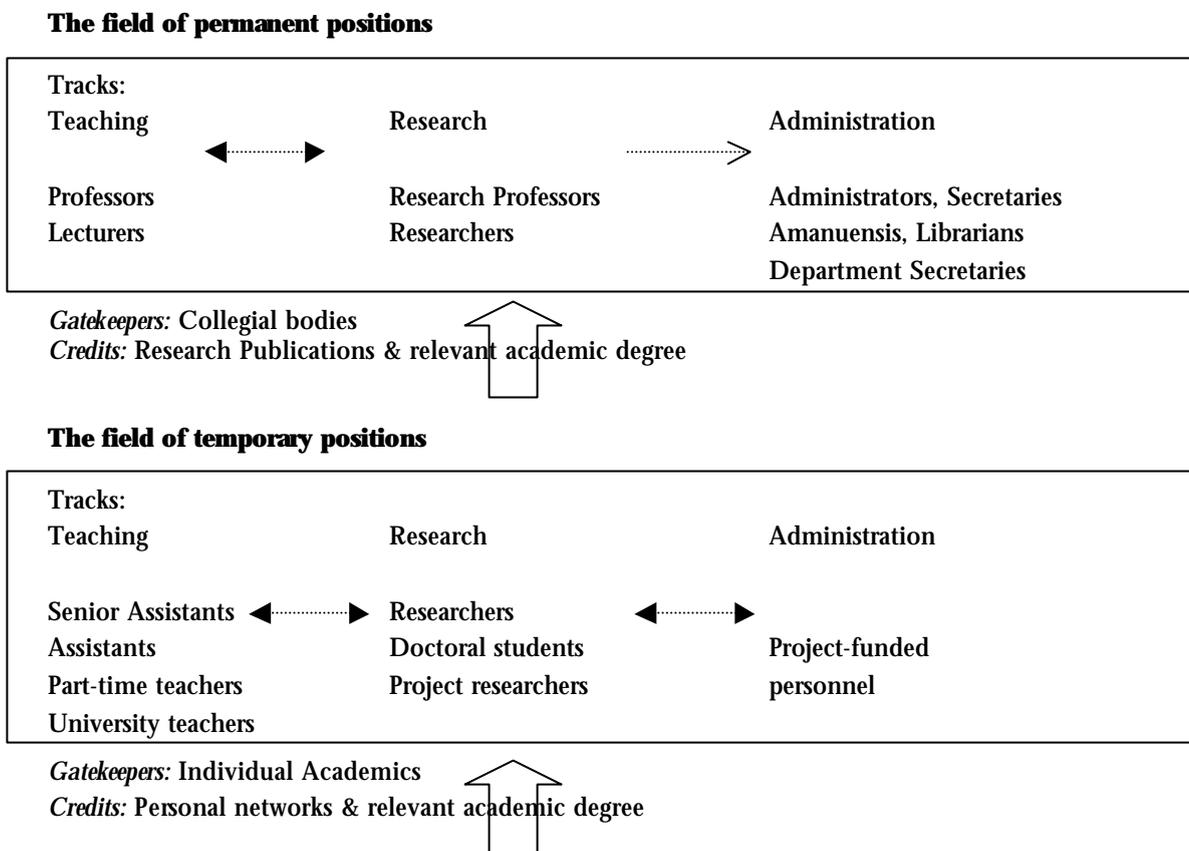
### 3. The functioning of Finnish universities from the perspective of academic career fields

In principle, the structure of an academic career is that of a career ladder which is supported by national legislation and university practices. The normal prerequisite for all lower academic positions (researchers, assistants, and lecturers) is an MA degree. For higher teaching and research posts (senior researcher, senior assistant, professor) a PhD degree is normally required.

In practice, however, the structure of career development is difficult to describe as a career ladder. In fact, the structure academic careers and academic work should be analysed as two separate academic career fields that are linked: the field of permanent positions and the field of temporary positions (Figure 1). In this case, one needs research credits to advance from the field of temporary academic positions to that of permanent positions. The teaching and research tracks are closely interconnected because in both cases the assessment criteria are dominated by publications.

In the „temporary field“, the essential question is how to find one’s first job and make it last. The first job also depends on one’s personal networks because project researchers (the most probable first job) are appointed by a project manager or a professor without the involvement of a collegial body. It is assumed that after a few years of active research one will be better qualified to apply for a better-paid or even a permanent position. There are many kinds of temporary and short-term contracts and positions available. Yet one may only remain a project researcher, especially if one does not obtain a doctoral degree. (Välimaa 2001).

Figure 1: The fields of permanent and temporary positions in Finnish Higher Education



The field of permanent positions follows a different logic. Here, one may speak about an academic career. The development of one's career greatly depends on research activities. Hence, it is harder for lecturers to become professors because they have less time for research than their colleagues who are funded by the Academy of Finland or some other external source. Building a career depends less on one's personal networks than on one's reputation, even though both are linked. Multi-member decision-making bodies normally appoint academics to permanent positions.

There were some 23,600 posts in the field of temporary positions (including 5 265 researcher posts, 2307 doctoral students, 677 senior assistants' posts, 1402 assistant's posts and 257 full-time teacher's posts) in 2001 (KOTA 2001). In principle, most „temporary“ academics aim at a permanent position. In the field of permanent positions there are 11,900 posts (KOTA 2001). However, only 4,200 are academic posts (including 2175 professors and 2027 lecturers), the rest being administrative posts (8,800). This means that there are at least 2.4 „temporary“ academic people applying for each permanent position. In practice, however, the figure is very much higher because holders of permanent position may also apply for these posts and also because the limits inside temporary field are rather flexible. One may move from researcher to teacher to project manager and vice versa.

In short, it is very difficult to advance from the temporary field to the permanent field. Normally this requires publications and a relevant academic degree. It will not, however, be enough because both the social dynamics and the role of the gatekeepers vary according to the field. In the temporary field, the gatekeepers are individuals, whereas in the permanent field they are collegial decision-making bodies. Even though reputation is the currency in both the fields, the nature of reputation varies between these fields. In temporary field reputation is created more with personal relations than with the help of publications, whereas in the field of permanent position reputation is rooted in one's publications. (Välimaa 2001).

One can also choose the administrative track. But it is very difficult to return to the academic field after having been part of the higher education administration. It is also possible to leave both these academic career fields and start working in „the real world“. Public sector is continuously the main employer of Finnish higher education students (see chapter 5).

There are at least two reasons that account for the present situation in Finland. First, the economies of scale. Now that higher education is no longer expanding, the system offers university teachers and researchers a limited market. As a result, there are few open posts available to junior academics. This is, in turn, related to the funding structure. Most of the funding for junior academics comes from external sources, which have created a market for short-term research contracts. The social dynamics between the two fields strengthen this situation. In the field of permanent positions typical phenomenon has been the stability of the population. There has not been many newcomers to the field or those who have left the field. The field of temporary positions has been, however, more dynamic because there has been more mobility between positions and also movers to and from the field.

#### **4. The national mobility of university teachers**

Staff mobility has been traditionally rather low in the Finnish universities. In the 1990s, as many as 76 per cent of the teachers worked in the university where they obtained their last degree (deviation: 71%-90%). The professors have been the most mobile group, since less than two-thirds

(59%) obtained their degree in the institution where they hold their chairs, whereas lecturers (67%), associate professors (70%), senior assistants (84%), and assistants (91%) mainly work in their alma mater (Statistics Finland 1993). The large universities (especially the University of Helsinki) have trained a greater proportion of university teachers and researchers than their size would suggest. This is partly due to the expansion of Finnish higher education in the 1960s and 1970s when new universities mainly recruited their professors from the University of Helsinki. On the basis of these figures, it becomes quite clear why the international mobility of academics has not been an issue in Finland: most of the academic staff was recruited from their own institution. This is reinforced by the isolation created by the Finnish language. These sentences refer to the fact that there are problems with social infrastructure (like English-speaking schools for children) for international visitors to live with their families in Finland -the only Finnish-speaking country in the world.

The Finnish model of recruitment seems to resemble the Norwegian recruitment model of universities called 'local circulation' by Vabo (2000). Following the pattern of local circulation Finnish academics normally make their academic career in one university. The Finnish model of local circulation thus follows this Nordic recruitment model rather than repeats the American or German ideal with extensive -and socially expected- mobility of academics in their national academic labour market. However, the traditional (German/American) ideal of academic mobility has had influence on the way of reasoning in Finland even though it is not clear to me why this ideal type -which easily is translated into a model to be followed- should be adopted in a small European nation state with a national language. It would be helpful to have empirical evidence to support the assumption that this ideal works well in the social contexts of small nation states.

## 5. The attractiveness of the academic workplace

### 5.1 Social benefits of higher education?

Does studying benefit students? An answer to this question may be found through the analysis of the relationship between employment and the level of education. As a rule the employment pattern in Finland follows the level of education: the more there is education, the less there will be unemployment. According to official statistics the rate of unemployment five years after graduations was as follows in 1996 (table 8):

Table 8: The relationship between the level of education and the unemployment rate after 0, 1, 5 and 10 years of graduation. Source: Havén 1999

Educational level	Unemployment rate (%)			
	0 year	1 year	5 years	10 years
Upper secondary/Vocational	51	39	26	21
Vocational college	35	21	12	9
Polytechnic	26	14	7	6
University	13	8	4	4
Doctorate level	4	4	3	2

There can be found differences between academic fields as to the employment. The lowest unemployment rates were among medical, engineering and business fields (1-2 %), whereas the highest were among the graduates of Fine Arts (21%) and theatre (14%) in 2000 (KOTA 2000). The differences between institutions followed more disciplinary orientation than geographical location of the institution.

These figures describe the fact that the majority of the graduates from universities (57,1%) or Polytechnics (39,4%) were employed by Public sector. The nature of employment follows this pattern because 82 per cent of university graduates (who graduated between 1995 and 1999) were employed as wage earners and only 1,4 per cent of them acted as private entrepreneurs (KOTA 2001). The students of Polytechnics followed the same patterns even though the figures are somewhat different: 79,8 per cent of polytechnic graduates (who graduated between 1996 and 2000) were employed as wage earners and only 2,0 per cent of them acted as private entrepreneurs (AMKOTA 2001).

The topic of private or public benefits of higher education has not been raised in Finland in the sense it is discussed in the American higher education (see Morey 2002). There has not been a need to debate on whether higher education is a private or a public good. In the context of Finnish higher education the private good is visible in and through improved employment opportunities of students, whereas public good of universities and polytechnics are defined through the concept of national innovation strategy. Historically, Finnish higher education has always served the needs of the Nation State (Välimaa 2001b). At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century higher education institutions are understood as a part of national innovation system helping the Nation State (and its enterprises) in the situation of global competition.

## *5.2 The experiences of academic staff working in universities*

The data on the experiences of academic staff working universities have been gathered by FUURT (Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001) and UFUP (Acatiimi 2002, 2003). According to the surveys it seems that there can be made a clear distinction between the fields of temporary and permanent positions concerning the experiences of academic workplace.

### *The field of temporary positions*

According to Puhakka and Rautopuro (2001) more than half of the respondents (52%) indicated that they felt either often or a lot of stress in their work. The causes of stress varied, however, between professional groups. Among teachers the stress was caused by teaching (81%), fixed-term contracts (78%), uncertainty concerning the future contracts (76%), research duties (70%), administrative duties (65%), and students (40%). Interesting with these figures is the fact that „normal“ stress factors like communicating with students, administrative duties and difficulties with research were superseded by uncertainty concerning future work contracts. The same factors were repeated by researchers who said that stress was caused by fixed-term contracts (80%), uncertainty concerning future contracts (79%), and research duties (72%). It may be assumed that these deconstructive stress factors caused by the uncertainty of contracts does not help to make academic careers interesting or inviting opportunity for junior academics.

### *The field of permanent positions*

The stress factors were felt and defined differently among the academic staff working in permanent positions. There is no sign that contract would be an issue to be worried about. According to Puhakka and Rautopuro (2001) the main stress factor was caused by contradictions among colleagues (71%) in the group of specialists who are mainly in permanent positions. They also see that working conditions could be improved by increasing the qualifications of academic staff (65%) and making division of duties more clear (65%). It seems rational to assume that they can afford to pay attention to problems which are „normal problems“ in professional organisations interested in improving their performance (see Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001). The survey also noted that majority of female experts are more sensitive to personal disagreements between colleagues (71 per cent answered positively), whereas only half of the male experts (51 per cent) agreed with this assumption.

The professors, in turn, answered that three most frustrating factors in their work were the lack resources, the lack of assisting personnel, and administrative duties.<sup>15</sup> Professors were also frustrated by the too little time for research, exhaustion in work and the atmosphere of the workplace. Most positive factors in their work were the challenges of their work, academic freedom and opportunities to research. In fact, these factors describe a traditional professional dedication to work. The issue of temporary contracts was not even asked in this survey. This is a rather natural choice in a group in which only every tenth member belongs to those with temporary positions.

### *5.3 Salaries and contracts compared*

The salaries of and contracts of academic staff working in universities should be compared with the rest of public sector also because the majority of the members of AKAVA are employed by public sector. According to Puhakka and Rautopuro (2001) the members of FUURT differ clearly from the members of AKAVA. Only 23,5 per cent of them are in permanent full-time position, whereas 76 per cent of the AKAVA members have a permanent full-time contract. The same difference is repeated in salaries. The average monthly salary of AKAVA members is 2,908€, whereas the monthly average salary of FUURT members is 2,300€. Important matter with the salaries of researchers and teachers is the fact that variation is rather high. About half of them (51%) earn 1,564-2354€ per month, whereas 41 per cent earn more than 2354€ in a month. Salary difference between sexes are on the average of 278€. This difference is mainly caused by the fact that men are over represented in the highest salary categories (senior assistants, senior researchers), whereas women are over represented in lower salary categories (librarians). The salaries between men and women are equal in the same salary categories.

The salaries of professors are facing interesting developments. According to surveys of professors (Akatimi 2002, 2003) it is evident that the differences between professors' salaries are increasing. On the average the salary of Finnish professors is 4,766€ (and median 4,743€) in a month. Variation is, however, between 3,200€ and 6,982€ in a month in 2002. The differences are caused by historical developments: about 15 per cent of the professors continuously enjoy the salary of previous associate professor (salary category A26), whereas 10 per cent of them enjoy the

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<sup>15</sup> Professors were asked to indicate three best and three worst factors in their work. The questionnaire was sent to a sample of the members of UFUP in November-December, 2001. The return rate was 49,4 per cent.

salary of Finnish Academy (A30). In addition, differences are caused by disciplinary differences with technical fields, medicine, pharmacy and business sciences being at the top of average salaries. The differences between universities also play a significant role, because the difference between the highest average monthly salary (in Lappeenranta Technical University 5,142€) and the lowest (in University of Turku 4,578€) is as much as 564€. This means that salary differences among professors are increasing even though, in principle, they all belong to same salary categories as civil servants.

On the basis of the empirical evidence analysed above it seems that the attractiveness of academic workplace is seen differently in two academic career fields. In the field of temporary positions stress is caused mainly by uncertainties concerning work contracts. In this field, academic careers for junior academics are labelled by uncertainty. Furthermore, working conditions elsewhere in the public sector as well as in private sector promise more secure work contracts. Due to these „uncertainty factors“ it may be assumed that lower academic positions are losing their attraction because in competition with other positions in public sector they appear to be both uncertain and underpaid.

However, in the field of permanent positions the situation is seen differently. In this field the attention focuses probably more on the contents of the work and relations between colleagues. These seem to be normal issues in all professional organisations. For this reason it may be assumed that the field of permanent positions remains, or even gains new attractiveness among senior academics seduced by academic freedom. The main factor which ties academics to universities in both of the fields seems to be „love for science“ as one of the persons defined his motivation to stick to a university (Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001). Crucial question is: will this be enough?

#### *Current hot topic: salary reform*

One of the rising topics in Finnish public debate is the attractiveness of public sector. This is related to two issues. On the one hand, Finnish labour force is getting older. It has been counted that by the year 2005 there will be more people leaving the labour force than young generations entering in the labour market. On the other hand, the system of national agreements is rather inflexible because all agreements are made either at the national or the trade-union level. As a result, there is not much room for sensitivity to local conditions or personal performance, even though a positive aspect is that national agreements bring stability and predictability to labour markets. One of the emerging public concerns is therefore how to make public sector attractive to young generations. Universities are especially important in this regard, because the majority of temporary positions of civil servants can be found in universities. The symbolic value of this state of matters also seems to exceed its statistic significance because young generations working in universities traditionally symbolise the hope of the Finnish nation. Should it be left on a temporary basis?

In this social context the Ministry of Finance has been willing both to increase local negotiations and to reform the existing salary structure. In fact, the Ministry of Finance has demanded universities to reform their salary structure in line with other salary reforms in public sector before the end of year 2003. The reform belongs to hot topics in Finnish higher education at the moment. It is currently being negotiated between employee and employer organisations.

The reform is based on the idea that each employee will have his/her own individual salary which is defined on the basis of three criteria. According to the employer's most recent plans the salary of university staff will be defined according to 1) the requirements of the work/task, 2) one's personal competence together with 3) the productivity of the unit. The first criteria would

cover about two thirds of the salary and the second and third criteria would cover the rest one third of the salary (Muistio 2003).

As can be seen from the objectives of the reform, there are three critical points in defining the criteria for one's personal salary. The first is how to define what are the requirements of academic work? There is a need to take into account at least three different categories of academic work: teaching, research, other duties (service, administrative duties like various management positions etc.). Secondly, there is a need to define how to measure one's personal competence. Academic world has developed various categories of positions (assistants, lecturers, professors) and status hierarchies (BA, MA, PhD) during its long history. The salary reform may break down this traditional hierarchical way of thinking because the aim of the reform is to emphasize one's actual performance at the cost of formal qualification. However, this hierarchical way of defining academic work also may be helpful when defining one's personal competence, because academics have already accepted the idea that there should be hierarchies and categories in the academic world. The third problem is how to define productivity. Problems are caused, first, by disciplinary differences. As empirical research has shown, there can not be found a single one criteria to measure productivity in different disciplines (Välimaa 1995, Becher 1989, Kyvik 1991). In addition to the problems caused by disciplinary differences, the various categories of academic work (teaching, research, other duties) should be taken into account when defining one's personal productivity. Crucial question at the moment is how to define the relationship between one's personal performance and the productivity of one's unit (whether it be basic unit, department, or institute). Labour organisations seem to emphasize the productivity of the unit at the cost of one's personal performance, whereas employer seem to put emphasis on personal performance.

#### *5.4 The expectations of doctoral students*

The above mentioned figures indicate that higher education degrees education are a rational individual investment in Finland. It requires, however, another perspective to answer to the question: is academic workplace attractive? Therefore, I will study first the expectations of doctoral students and then focus on the experiences of academic staff.

The analysis of expectations of doctoral students provides indirect evidence on the attractiveness of the academic workplace (in addition to describing the structure of labour market). According to an empirical study of doctoral students (Aittola & Määttä 1998) it can be seen that only 41 per cent of doctoral students would like to work in universities after having defended their dissertation. This is rather low proportion, because traditionally as many as many 87 per cent of Finnish PhD's work either in universities or research institutes (Puhakka & Rautopuro 2001). The differences between disciplines are, however, remarkable because 52 per cent of doctoral students in humanities and social sciences are interested in working in universities, whereas only 27 per cent of medical doctoral students and 32 per cent of science doctoral students would like to work in universities. These figure reflect on the fact that doctoral students are aware of the difficulties of universities to recruit them in the current situation when the number of PhD's is increasing rapidly in Finland. The production of PhD's has more doubled between 1990 and 2001 (from 490 PhD's to 1203 PhD's annually) (KOTA 2001). In addition to this, however, these figures show that universities are not necessarily seen as attractive workplaces. This interpretation is supported by a great number of doctoral students willing to work in research units in private enterprises. As many as 30 per cent of doctoral students in sciences and 20 per cent of medical doctoral students

favoured this opportunity. In the field of social sciences only 6 per cent preferred this opportunity (Aittola & Määttä 1998).

The production or overproduction of PhD degrees is a current hot topic in Finnish debates. The Ministry of education which uses the number of degrees as the main steering instrument of Finnish higher education system is willing to increase the production of doctoral degrees, whereas critical voices ask whether Finland really needs so many new PhDs (HeSa 6.4.2003). On the basis of empirical research only part of private enterprises are either interested in or have the capacity to offer challenging careers for PhDs (Välimaa 1998). Private enterprises assume they will recruit about 200 doctors in 2003 (TT 2003).

### *5.5 Academic Capitalism changing the social dynamics of academic workplace*

In the analysis of the changes taking place in the social dynamics inside Finnish higher education institutions an interesting perspective is provided by the intellectual device of academic capitalism. Especially market-like behaviour requires academics to be increasingly conscious of their 'market value' in competitions for external funding. This market-like behaviour means, however, somewhat different things in two academic career fields. In the field of temporary positions the consequences of this social trend are evident. Especially among the 'proletariat of academic capitalism' (read: project researchers) the essence of career perspective is defined by uncertainty because their next job often depends on the success in the competition for research funding. In the field of permanent positions academic capitalism shows different faces. In this field academic staff is expected to be active and successful in competition for external funding. Success is important both symbolically (it increases one's academic reputation) and economically (a project manager/professor is able to hire project researchers/doctoral students). However, in both fields the value of academic work is defined mainly with the help of academic productivity, which is normally measured with help of numbers. The number of degrees produced serve as departmental and institutional indicators to measure productivity, whereas the number of publications is the most important factor for individual academics. The data on productivity is collected at the levels of individuals, faculties, and institutions and published in national database (KOTA). However, one topic is missing. The quality of academic work has not been taken into account or debated in this context of academic capitalism and management by results. The Bologna process has the potential to open serious debates on academic quality and quality assurance.

## **6. Globalisation, internationalisation and the Bologna Process**

### *6.1 The international mobility of university teachers*

It seems that international mobility in Finnish higher education has been based on chance more than rational planning at both the national and institutional level. This state of matters has been tried to change in recent years. A national committee (Committee on the International Strategy of Higher Education Institutions. Finnish Ministry of Education 2001) has defined the aims of the Finnish strategy of internationalisation according to which „The number of foreign teachers, researchers and experts in Finnish higher education institutions will be at least double the 2001

figure“. In addition, the aim is to increase the number of foreign students in Finland and the volume of student exchange will be around 28, 000 persons annually. In 2001, only 4000 Finnish students took part in international student exchange (KOTA 2001). The committee report suggests that internationalisation is one of the important topics in Finnish higher education. It also suggests that the level of internationalisation is too low at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century.

A reliable statistical study of international academics in Finnish higher education is quite impossible because there is no database containing data on the basis of one's ethnic or national background (Hoffman 2003).<sup>16</sup> However, we can see that the dimension of internationalisation already exists rather strongly in Finnish higher education when analysing the international mobility in Finnish higher education from the perspective of international exchange of academics. Namely, 743 Finnish academics spent at least one month abroad in 2001. The average length of the visit was over four months. In addition, 617 academics spent less than a month in their visit abroad. These visitors (1360 persons) represent about 10,3 per cent of the population of academics (teachers, researchers, doctoral students) who are expected to be active in international relations (KOTA 2001). When taken into account those groups of academics who are expected to be internationally active in research (professors, senior assistants, assistants, researchers, doctoral students) the percentage of the internationally active population rises to 14,3 per cent. The number of international visitors to Finnish higher education universities institutions was somewhat higher than Finns going abroad because 1030 academics spent at least one month in Finnish universities in 2001. The average length of the visit was over five months. 713 foreign academics visited Finnish universities shorter than a month. Taken these numbers together it may be seen that 1743 foreign academics have visited Finnish universities. The majority of all the visits (to and from Finland) took place in both in sciences (373 Finns abroad and 544 foreign visitors to Finland) and technical fields (226 Finns abroad, and 535 foreign visitors to Finland). These fields covered 62 per cent of the visitors to Finnish universities and 44 per cent of the Finnish academics who visited universities abroad.

International activity of Finnish academics may be revealed by analysing the number of publications published abroad. The average of international publications was as high as 70 per cent among all Finnish academics, even though there can be found significant differences between disciplines. The highest numbers of international publications were produced by natural scientists (88,4%), technical disciplines (81%) and medical fields (80%), whereas the lowest rates are produced by jurists (7%), actors and dancers (25%) theologians (30%) and social scientists (42%) (KOTA 2002).

## *6.2 Globalisation*

Academic work in Finnish universities is in transition. Senior academic posts and positions are occupied by aging academics. Especially the number of professors retiring within a few years is rather high. Simultaneously, however, the training of younger generations has begun successfully whether it is measured in quantitative or qualitative terms (Aittola & Määttä 1998). In addition, the number of talented PhD's is growing and Finnish academics are becoming more international.

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<sup>16</sup> National legislation prevents the gathering of data containing information on one's ethnic or national background.

The question whether this is a satisfying development requires critical reflections. Namely, future perspectives opened by globalisation and Bologna process have the potential to challenge the traditional roles of Nation States. It is no longer self-evident that Nation states will be the main players in the national higher education policy fields. However, globalisation is debated both as a concept and social phenomenon (see Held et al 2001). Therefore, I suggest that we focus on two main dimensions of globalisation in higher education. First comes the globalisation of educational markets. This dimension is debated in GATS negotiations. Essential question in this process is whether education will be defined as a commodity or not, and consequently, will nation states be able to maintain their traditional monopoly as providers of higher education in their regions. The second dimension of globalisation is the impact of global actors on the production of knowledge in higher education institutions. This impact has already begun in Finland (see e.g. Välimaa 2002). The question remains only, how much global actors will have impact, and what are the disciplines which are influenced most by the commercial logic of global actors. This process of globalisation seems to have a direct connection to academic work and the training of new generations of academics because it may be assumed that part of the dissertations will be focused on topics related to the needs of global actors. In Finland, the question does not seem to be a question of brain drain, because the most important „Finnish“ global actors are in the fields of information technology. Nokia is a good example of this. On the basis of statistical data it seems that international mobility of academics is related to and supported by this link between business enterprises and higher education institutions. Therefore, in the Finnish context the question is: does this globalisation change the foci of institutions and disciplines?

The Bologna process opens yet another new perspective to academic work in Finnish higher education. Finnish universities and polytechnics are influenced by the Bologna Process through two different channels. First impacts are caused by the uncertainty created by Bologna Process. Nobody seems to know exactly what it means and what should be done with it at local level. In short, this means extra work for academics. Secondly, it is evident that the structures of curricula need to be changed to meet the expectations of two levels of degrees. This requires not only planning inside departments but also between departments and faculties. This may challenge, in turn, basic units and institutions to improve their academic quality. The reform of curricula also requires coordination between universities and polytechnics, because polytechnics produce BA-level degrees which are, however, not comparable with BA degrees granted by universities. This is, in turn, an issue to be decided in the national higher education policy level. One of the emerging issues in this confusing situation is quality and quality assurance. The problem is not only how to measure or define the level of education of incoming BA-level students but also how to secure the quality of university graduates and make their degrees comparable in Europe.

Taken these simultaneous processes together, it may be predicted that senior academic staff will have to spend extra hours in meetings and committees planning new curricula. Why senior academics? Because this kind of restructuring of curricula requires not only practical experience but also a profound theoretical understanding of one's own discipline.

When globalisation and the Bologna processes are analysed in the context of Finnish higher education it seems essential to reflect on them from the perspective of academic career fields. Concerning the field of temporary positions, an essential policy aims seems to increase the continuity and predictability of temporary positions. The improvement in the positions of junior academics should be one of the main concerns in Finnish higher education policy, if policy-makers are interested in the generation of academics who will continue to benefit Finnish nation state. In the field of permanent positions, however, the problems should be defined differently. The growing student-teacher ratio and increasing tasks of higher education institutions should be taken se-

riously. Improving the working conditions of senior academics should be taken seriously if Finnish policy-makers are interested in improving the performance of Finnish higher education system. Senior academics should be guaranteed a real chance to train high quality future researchers and teachers.

### *6.3 The role of national academics challenged by internationalisation and globalisation*

As a careful reader may have noticed this country report has concentrated on analysing mainly the positions, status and work of Finnish academics working in Finnish higher education institutions. However, the aim of this European study is to reflect on the international attractiveness of academic workplace. The topic is problematic. According to Musselin (2002) empirical studies show that there can be found three main obstacles to international mobility in Europe. First comes the diversity of legal status of faculty members in Europe. Most of them are civil servants but not all of them. The second obstacle is caused by salary situation not only because the salaries vary but also because the possibility for negotiation are diverse. The third obstacle is caused by variations in recruitment procedures (Musselin 2002). In addition to these differences hindering the development of European academic labour market the Finnish experience opens yet another perspective. Namely, in Finland we have a strong traditions of national academics who have been civil servants and whose work has either served (or at least reacted to) the needs of nation state. Academics have been loyal to their nation state and taken seriously their national responsibilities. It may even be maintained that academics working in higher education institutions have been national academics as to their social, cultural and political orientation (see Välimaa 2001b). They have lived with their families in their own nation states speaking their mother tongue, even though they may have had strong disciplinary identities which has linked them to international communities of scholars and academic traditions (see Scott 1995, Neave 2001). In Finland, this close relationship between academics and nation state has been strengthened by limited labour markets for academics who normally work in public offices. According to a sociologist Finnish intellectuals (who are typically university professors) may be called 'state intellectuals' because they have a close relationship with the nation state and its social, political and economic structures (Alapuro 1987). This tradition is visible also in the recent policy discourse according to which universities and polytechnics are understood as a significant part of the national innovation strategy (Välimaa 1996, 2001).

Taken these perspectives together we may assume that the positions of national academics are challenged by the Bologna process, globalisation and the debates to increase academic mobility in Europe. However, as Musselin (2002) argues reforms in various countries aim at solving national issue rather than building a more harmonised academic labour market in Europe. In this context the question should not be defined how many academics move from one European nation state to another, but the question should be defined: what are the roles, expectations and responsibilities of European, international academics? It is important to understand how international mobility may help to create academic careers. However, in addition to this individual perspective we should also reflect on cultural and social issues: who are European international academics serving and to whom are they loyal to? It seems that the increase of international academics is related to their expected social roles in Europe. Therefore, it is hard to see how European academics could replace national academics if it is not clear to them who are their audiences and what is their social role in Europe.

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## **The Academic Workplace: Up to now, it is not as bad ... but! Country Report France**

*Christine Musselin*

### **1. Introduction**

While some countries (Germany, Austria, Sweden, etc.) deeply reformed their academic labour markets within the last years, France did not experience major transformations in the management, process and structure of its academic labour market. But this does not mean that nothing occurred at all. First the management and careers of the academic staff appeared on the agenda. The Fréville report (2001-2002) for the French *Sénat*, and the Espéret report (2001) both signal an interest for these questions but also a different way to reflect on them. Consideration of the content of academic activities or career development was not usual for France: previous debates concentrated much more on the balance between the respective weight given to national and to the local bodies, or on the relevant internal structure of the academic staff (how many *échelons*, class, corps etc) than on career dynamics or on tasks.

A further change deals with the perception of the problems which are to be faced. While by the end of the nineties, the employment of the young doctorates was a main issue, it has become less important within the last years and two other issues have been more and more prevalent: the risk of a brain drain (how to keep the best French academics in France?) on the one hand, and on the other hand the lack of candidates for academic careers in order to meet the problem of the increase in retirement which is expected between the present and 2012.

In order to address these different points, an overall view of the French academic profession will be drawn and then issues related to its attractiveness and to its position on the international scene will be discussed.

### **2. Employment and working conditions of academic staff: stability but a few changes**

In this first section the data presented by T. Chevaillier (2001) in the book edited by Enders (2001) will be updated and the structure of the French academic profession will be described

more in detail because it rather precisely reflects the complex organisation of the French tertiary education and research system. This will explain why I shall be rather elusive on some members of the academic staff which belongs to the tertiary education but for which no aggregated information exists, and why the research staff will be included in this contribution even if they can not be considered as higher education teachers. Subsequent sections discuss the earnings, the character of the French academic labour market, and finally the major recent trends and the expected evolution, in terms of career and recruitment opportunities.

### 2.1 The structure of the French academic profession

Tertiary education in France is mainly organised in three main different sectors<sup>1</sup>. First some technical higher education programmes (called STS, *Section de technicien supérieur*) leading to a national degree in two years after the *baccalauréat*. These study programmes take place within *lycées* (high schools) and the teaching staff is composed of a specific group of secondary school teachers dedicated to these programmes, the number of which can not be found because it is not identified as such in the statistics of the ministry.

Another sector is composed of the so-called *grandes écoles* which prepare rather different qualified personnel (engineers, business men/women, intellectual or administrative elites) and are a very composite group: some of them are public and included within universities (in this case their staff is composed of the traditional teachers in universities, the so-called *enseignants-chercheurs*, cf. infra); others are also public, managed by the education ministry but have a specific status (for instance Sciences-Po, the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers*, etc.) and they have either university-like staff or staff specific to the institution (this concerns 12 institutes or *grandes écoles* not included within universities, 14 *grands établissements* (like the museum of natural science), 14 French schools in foreign countries (*Ecole de Rome* for instance) and 4 *écoles normales supérieures* (intellectual elite training).); still others are public and under the responsibility of ministries other than the education ministry (for instance the *Ecole Polytechnique*); others (mostly business schools) depend on para-public institutions such as the Chambers of commerce and Industry and have their own staff management and status; finally some are private. Some of these *Grandes Ecoles* can only be entered after passing highly selective exams which are prepared in two years in the *lycées* by the *classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles* (preparatory classes to enter *grandes écoles*) which are taught by another specific group of secondary school teachers (a little more than 2000 according to the *Repères et références statistiques, 2002*).

Finally there is the university sector : 85 universities which provide undergraduate and graduate studies, are involved in research activities (75% of the French staff engaged in research activity according to the CNER report (2003: 8)) and are mostly public<sup>2</sup>. The access to the university is non selective and is open to all *baccalauréat* holders but during the last thirty years selective job oriented degrees (*Licence professionnelle*, MIAGE, DESS...) were developed (mostly at the master level or three years after the *baccalauréat*) along side the traditional national degrees (DEUG, *Licence*, *Maîtrise*, *doctorat*). Their staff, the so-called *enseignants-chercheurs*, is mostly composed of ten-

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1 Parallel to these three main sectors, one finds fine and applied arts schools and also schools for health and social services.

2 There exist a few private universities which concern about 1% of the students.

ured academics with a two „corps“ structure<sup>3</sup>: the *maîtres de conférences* corps, divided in two categories, normal and exceptional, and the professorial corps, divided into three classes, second, first and exceptional class. They all have the same yearly teaching duties<sup>4</sup>: 128 hours of lectures (*cours magistral*) or their equivalence in discussions groups (*travaux dirigés*, TD) or laboratory work (*travaux pratiques*, TP), as one hour of lecture equals 1.5 hour of discussion groups or 2 hours of laboratory work.

But this tenured higher education staff (i.e. permanent civil servants) is not the only one teaching at universities. First of all, some secondary school teachers can teach (PRCE and PRAG<sup>5</sup>). They mostly are to be found in undergraduate courses and their teaching duties is twice as the *enseignants-chercheurs*, i.e. 384 hours of TD or TP a year. They are tenured (because they are secondary school teachers and thus civil servants) but do not have permanent contracts with the university: they can return to secondary schools. Their number is growing: they were 11239 in 1994-1995 and are 14029 in 200-2001 (about + 25%).

Some positions are also open to professionals working half time in a non academic position and half-time at the university. They are mostly employed in job-oriented study programmes and called PAST.

There also exists a certain number of persons who have a primary activity and teach some hours at the university on an overtime budget: they are required for specific course where no competence exist at the university or when the permanent staff can not meet the student numbers. No information about the official number of persons this concerns is available. They are recruited directly at the university level.

Furthermore, one can find *moniteurs de recherche*. In France, some doctoral students receive a fellowship from the Ministry of research to prepare their doctorate. They are called *allocataires de recherche* and their fellowships consist in temporary contracts of two years, that can be renewed for one year only once and that are paid by the ministry. Some of them (all of them in a near future if this project is implemented) are at the same time „*moniteurs*“<sup>6</sup>, which means that they have to teach 64 hours a year and receive a somewhat higher salary than those who are only *allocataires* (1524 € each month before income tax and before insurance tax for the former against 1190 €. For the latter, according to Ministère de la recherche 2002). They also have to attend the annual 10 hours of seminars offered by the ten CIES (Centres for Initiation to Higher Education), which were created in 1989 in order to prepare the *allocataires moniteurs* to an academic career. These *allocataires moniteurs* represent on average 45% of the 11500 *allocataires* and 8% of the 64170 doctoral students counted in 2000 by the Rapport sur les Etudes doctorales, (2001) according to the CNER report (2003: 14).

Finally, there are ATER (*Attachés temporaires d'enseignement et de recherche*) positions. These are time limited contracts, that can be renewed once and are mostly dedicated to doctoral students on the verge of finishing their thesis, or to doctorates who commit themselves to apply for faculty or research positions within the three coming years. They have the same teaching duties as the *en-*

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3 There still remain some tenured *assistants* but this corps is condemned since 1984 and it concerned only 1460 persons in 2000/2001).

4 Teaching duties can be reduced for faculty staff fulfilling academic leadership posts (university president or dean). And for all *enseignants-chercheurs*, a sabbatical of 6 months to one year may be granted each six years.

5 Decree of March the 25th 1993.

6 A recent study on this specific group has been led by A. Coulon, R. Ennaffaa and S. Paivandi and is to be published in a book, but the principal results were presented in a Note d'information (Coulon *et al.* 2003). It shows that the *allocataires moniteurs* are satisfied by their situation, by the CIES but also that in comparison with the other doctoral students they have had a more successful scolarity and come from more favoured social milieus. A further study developed at the IREDU by P. Mogueu (2003: 12 and 13) further show that their chance to become a faculty member or researcher are much higher and their risk of being unemployed much lower than other doctorants.

*seignants-chercheurs*. For those who already hold doctorates, such positions could be considered as a kind of „post-doc for teaching“: as all other university teachers, they are supposed to do research but they are not recruited on the basis of a research project, they can be, but do not have to be integrated in a research team... Furthermore, because of the quite heavy teaching load they have and of their situation as beginners in teaching, they hardly can be strongly involved in research: as a matter of fact such positions are never considered as post-docs in the disciplines where post-docs are needed to be recruited in a first permanent position (as in biology for instance).

If we consider the permanent and non permanent staff managed by the Education ministry, the figures for 2000/2001 are the following (Bideault and Rossi 2002). This concerns the higher education staff at the public universities, in *grandes écoles* belonging to universities, and in public *grandes écoles* and institutions managed by the ministry of education.

Repartition by status									
Tenured				Non tenured			Tenured on contracts		
Professors	Maîtres de conférences	Assistants (Footnote 7)	Sub-total	Specific medical staff	ATER	Moniteurs	Secondary school teachers in universities	Others	Total
18991	33570	1460	54021	4193	5993	5168	14029	421	83925

Repartition by types of institutions				
Universities*	IUT	Institutions or <i>grandes écoles</i> included in universities	Other institutions*	Total
66517	9444	1141	6823	83925

\* Including technological universities

Last but not least, in France there exist national research institutions which were created to make up for lack of research within universities. Of the 9 national research institutions, the CNRS (National Centre for Scientific research) regroups 70% of the staff. Each institutions has its own career paths and procedures, which are different from those for the university faculty members. It would nevertheless be wrong to deduce that universities and research institutions constitute two separate worlds, as is too often written. The status, recruitment procedures, career possibilities and development, salaries of the researchers are indeed different from those of the university faculty members, one of the main differences, not the slightest one being that the former have no compulsory teaching duty. Nevertheless, research staff and faculty members are more and more interacting, because the former more and more work within units which are located in universities. In the mid-sixties a procedure was introduced to invite university research units to apply for „association“ with the national research institutions: if the latter (for instance the CNRS) considered the team as good, the team receives a CNRS label, some operating budget, some CNRS research and/or administrative staff which are to work with the faculty staff of the unit. The number of those university teams with a CNRS (or INSERM, INRA) label grew over time and became higher and higher. This procedure evolved recently in order for the host university to be more active in

the process as until then the CNRS could label a university unit without involving the university management in the decision making: the latter was just informed that CNRS funding and staff would be allocated. Now, the concerned research centres are called „mixed research units“ (UMR) to signify that they are part of a university and recognised by it as well as part of one research institution (or more than one: some units are at the same time CNRS and INSERM for instance). Furthermore in the last decade research centres which were „purely“ CNRS (i.e. units only staffed by CNRS researchers and not linked to any university) were encouraged to be integrated within universities, to welcome university staff and to become UMR. As a result, (according to the CNER report 2003: 21), the CNRS now counts 1115 mixed units located in universities. It is also observed that 60% of the faculty staff and 40% of the CNRS researchers belong to mixed units (meaning that 40% of the faculty staff is based in „purely“ university research teams or not linked to any unit at all, and that 60% of the research institution staff is still working outside universities). To the mutually embedding procedure called „mixed research unit“ which fosters relationships and work in common among researchers and faculty members, one must add that many researchers often give seminars (mostly at the graduate level but not only) and advise doctoral students. For these reasons, I should also consider the research staff in this contribution. According to the CNER report (2003: 16) the nine national research institutions count about 16430 researchers.

## 2.2 Earnings

What do *enseignants-chercheurs* and research staff earn? In France their salaries are based on bureaucratic rules: for each corps, class and *échelon* a fixed salary is set.

According to the 2003 booklet of the ministry promoting the academic profession (Ministère de l'éducation nationale 2002), the monthly salary (before income tax and after insurance tax) is the following for the different status:

Monthly net salary in euros	Maîtres de conférences (MCF)	Professors
Beginning of the career	1,644	2,384
Two years later	1,850	2,522
Last <i>échelon</i> of the normal class for MCF and of the first class for professors	2,975	4,220
End of the career	3,491	4,786

But salaries are not the only potential income component of the *enseignants-chercheurs*. First of all, if academics give more than the 128 annual hours, they are paid overtime.

Furthermore there exist some bonuses. Not only is a yearly bonus of 1168€ due to each *enseignant-chercheur* whatever his/her performance, but since the beginning of the nineties, less egalitarian bonuses have been introduced. For the moment, these specific bonuses can not be cumulated. There exist first pedagogical bonuses allocated to academics developing specific pedagogical activities (excluding presential teaching) such as organising the arrival of first year students, creating new study programmes, organising internships in firms. They can be allocated to *enseignants-*

*chercheurs* as well as to PRAG and PRCE. This bonus can reach between 456 and 3530€ a year or be transformed into a reduction of the presential teaching duties. Secondly, there is an administrative bonus which is due to all academics having specific functions (university president for instance) and a bonus for administrative duties for which a global amount is allocated by the ministry to the university which then distributes it. It can also be transformed into reductions in presential teaching duties. In average it reaches 2019€ a year. Third, there is a research and doctoral bonus (annually 3336€ for the *maîtres de conférences*, 4819€ for the second class professors and 6302€ for first class professors). The allocation is for a four year period by the ministry (relying on expert advice) to academics having specific research activities (as adviser for doctorates, participant in reputed research team, publications in well known journals). On the 15000 applicants about two thirds obtain this bonus (CNER report 2003: 30). According to the Espéret report (2001:27) 10000 academics received a research bonus, 4 600 received an administrative bonus and about 9300 a pedagogical bonus.

Academics are also allowed to perceive complementary resources such as intellectual properties, author fees, consulting or expertise fees. It is rather difficult to be precise about the concerned amounts because the first and last study led on this point was published in 1992 (CERC 1992)! It showed that about half of the *enseignants-chercheurs* receive complementary incomes (i.e. consulting fees, droits d'auteurs, expertise, vocational training), from 73% in law, economics and management to 41% in science (CERC 1992: 86). This represented around 25% of their total income for Law, economics and management faculty members (and even 36% if one includes very extreme cases), but around 8% for those in science (CERC 1992: 100). Since the mid nineties faculty members can receive a part of the benefits issued from a given discovery and since the 1999 law for research and innovation, they can participate in the creation of firms developing their own research results, be paid for scientific consulting for this firm.

At the CNRS the wage structure in euros is the following (before income tax, after social insurance tax)<sup>7</sup>. Researchers also all received a bonus (whatever their performance) which is between 318 and 620 € according to the career stage, (Bilan social CNRS, 2002: 43). This bonus is not included in the following table.

Monthly net salary in euros	Chargés de recherche	Directeurs de recherche
Beginning of the career	1,638	2,418
Two years later	1,903	2,699
Last <i>échelon</i> of the first class for chargés de recherche and directeurs de recherche	3,019	4,281
End of the career	3,019	4,855

At research institutions and at the university, the ratio between the lowest and the highest salary is from 1 to about 3.

The salary scale is somewhat more advantageous at the CNRS than at the university, while the official qualification required are the same for access (PhD) or even lower (the *habilitation à diriger des recherches* –cf. infra- is not compulsory at the CNRS (even if some hiring committees are asking

<sup>7</sup> In order to better compare with the table for university faculty staff (which is found before income tax and after social insurance), I transformed the figures I found for the CNRS (which are given before tax and before social insurance) into net salary by retrenching 18.3% (the standard participation to social insurance)

for it). But the distribution among the different classes is more favourable at the university than at the CNRS. The number of *directeurs de recherche* in exceptional class is very low (146 or 1.2% of all CNRS researchers, against 2019 university professors in exceptional class, or 3.8% of all university professors and *maîtres de conférences*) and 75% of the *directeurs de recherche* belong to the second class, while at the university 50% of the professors belong to the second class. Career advancement is furthermore slower at the CNRS than at the university : while the average age of access is younger at the CNRS (31 and 6 months for a *chargé de recherche* position against 34 years and 8 months at the university for a first *maître de conférences* position), the average age of access to a senior position is older (45 and 10 months for a first position as *directeur de recherche* against 44 and 8 months for a first position as university professor).

### 2.3 Careers, recruitment and types of labour market

After this description of the academic and research staff structure, the recruitment procedures that characterise the French academic labour market will be discussed. As in many other European countries, a professionalisation of the process leading to an academic career occurred within the last two decades. It describes quite precisely the path to follow in order to have a chance to obtain an academic position.

#### *Access and career patterns*

The traditional access to a permanent position at the university follows quite standard steps. The first one consists, of course, in the thesis. According to Barré (2001: 34), about 65% of those who finished their PhD had a fellowship (80% in science and 25% in humanities) and 10% were wage-owners (either because they are employed as secondary school teachers or because they had an ATER position at the time they finished their PhD). There exist different fellowships. Some (the more numerous ones) are allotted by the ministry, some by the national research institutions (the BDI, *Bourse de docteur ingénieur* for instance), some by the regional authorities. There exist also the „CIFRE“ for doctoral students who are employed by a firm during their thesis (and employed to prepare it): their salary is paid half by the ministry, and half by the firm and they are at the same time members of the research centre of their PhD adviser. Fellowships can also be proposed by firms, other ministries, local public authorities. Fellowships reach between 910 and 1500 euros a month (before income tax and after insurance tax). Even if those fellowships are temporary employment contracts, those who prepare a PhD with a fellowship or as wage-owners are considered as „doctoral students“: they have to pay for fees (around 260 €). Nevertheless it is still frequent in France, and especially in the humanities, to be registered in a university as a doctoral student without having financial resources to prepare this PhD. It is also frequent, again in the humanities especially, and even for those with a fellowship, not to have an office within a research centre.

About 10 000 theses are completed each year. The new doctorates can apply for an ATER position or for a post-doc (generally abroad, because this kind of position was not very developed in France until recently) while they are waiting for the annual national *concours* for recruitment as *maîtres de conférence* or *chargés de recherche*. For the former type of positions, the candidates first

have to send their dossier to a national body (the *Conseil National des Universités*<sup>8</sup>, CNU) which must decide whether they are qualified enough or not to apply for a *maître de conférences* position. This qualification is obtained for four years. The qualified candidates can then apply for the vacant positions the Ministry publishes generally in March. By the end of May, beginning of June, local discipline based committees (elected for 4 years) will meet within the concerned universities and rank the dossiers they received. Their choice has to be approved (and mostly is) by the university council.

The access to professorships for the *maîtres de conférences* in science and humanities follows about the same procedure. They first have to defend an *habilitation à diriger des recherches* (kind of German *Habilitationschrift*), be recognised by the CNU as qualified to apply for a professor position and then send their dossier to the universities where vacant positions are published: they will also be ranked by the local discipline-based committees. For law, management, economics, political science, this procedure only concerns the *maîtres de conférence* with more than 10 years seniority and is considered as the less prestigious access to professorships: very few positions are open each year in this way. The „royal“ access consists in passing the very selective *agrégation du supérieur* exam. A number of professorships are opened for this exam each year, the *maîtres de conférence* (who intensively prepare it) pass the exam and they are ranked according to their performance: the first on the list can choose the position he/she prefers among the open ones, the second does the same upon the remaining positions and so on. In this case, the chosen universities do not have their say in the staff they will welcome!

For the *chargés de recherche* positions within the national research institutions, the candidates send a scientific project and an application which is examined by a national discipline-based section (they are 41 of them at the CNRS) which rank them. For each section a number of positions is open for recruitment each year and the scientific direction then decides in which research centres the recruited candidates will be affected on the three s/he indicated in his/her dossier. To become a *directeur de recherche*, *chargés de recherche* have to follow the same procedure: writing a scientific project and an application form, being examined and ranked by a national section.

### *Characterisation of the French academic labour market*

Within universities and research institutions, the same principles of selection can be observed for recruitment and for promotions from one class to the other: it always relies on „tournaments“ (Lazear and Rosen 1981), i.e. many candidates apply for one position and they are ranked according to their compared performance. This has to be distinguished from principles of selection like the American tenure system in which a candidate will obtain a promotion (tenure) if s/he meets some required (mostly very high) criteria.

A second characteristic of the French academic labour market is that the access to permanent positions happens early. The access to a post of *maîtrise de conférences* occurs at 34 on average, and one has to be less than 30 to apply for a CNRS *chargé de recherche* second class position. But the other way round, there exists a distinction within the permanent staff between *maîtres de conférences* and professors. The former are not dependant of the latter but there nevertheless exist differences in terms of division of work, responsibilities, access to budget, election rules etc. These differences are more or less pronounced and vary among disciplines and departments. Furthermore, the *maîtrise de conférences* is not always a transitory situation : some academics never become

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8 It is organised in 56 sections, representing sub-disciplines. Each section consists in an equal number of *maîtres de conférences* and professors, two third of them being elected and one third nominated by the ministry.

professors. In the ministry statistics (Bideault and Rossi 2002), 15,4% of the *maîtres de conférences* are 55 years old or more and most of them will remain in this category until they retire.

A third characteristic is that the French academic labour market combines poorly regulated internal labour markets and an external labour market (Doeringer and Piore 1971). Because it is possible to recruit one's own doctorates as *maîtres de conférences*, and to recruit a professor among the *maîtres de conférences* of one's department, there exist some „local“ careers. According to Cytermann *et al.* (2002) 32% of the new *maîtres de conférences* recruited in 2002 were doctoral students at the university where they have been recruited and almost 35% (may be the same) were already employed on time-limited contracts at the university which recruited them<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, they estimate that 55% of the professors were *maîtres de conférences* at the university where they became professors. Local recruitment is thus frequent even if not very legitimate and often criticised. But with the exception of this passage to *maître de conférences* and to professorships within one's own institution, the incentive mechanisms regulating the French universities as internal labour markets are very limited: the only other existing incentives are the bonuses described above and the promotions left to the university level (since the beginning of the 90's half of the promotions from one class to another are left to the universities while the CNU sections are responsible for the other half). It should be added that the few incentives mechanisms at work are facultative: there is no compulsory assessment, one can finish a career as *maître de conférences*, etc.

Nevertheless, the best way to „have a career“ is most of the time to move from one institution to another and to be recruited by one of the best reputed departments. This mobility has no significant impact on the salaries of the concerned academic staff, but allocates symbolic reward, which can then be transformed by better access to research contracts, more doctoral students.

The French academic labour market is thus protective, based on early tenure and on rare and facultative career incentives. It is also weakly differentiated and rather egalitarian.

## 2.4 The academic labour market

### *Diminishing recruitment possibilities during the last years*

Between 1996 and 2000, the global number of faculty staff globally rose by 9.2% (Barré 2001: 11): mathematics, engineer sciences and humanities benefited the most from this evolution, while universe sciences and medicine decreased slightly (-5 to -6 %). But, during the very last years, the number of positions open for recruitment in universities decreased. While 3325 positions were open in 1998, they were 2862 in 1999, 2534 in 2000 and 1999 in 2001 (minus 40% in four years). This diminution of course vary from one discipline to the others. Some disciplines (private law and criminal sciences, history of law, compared literature, anthropology, ethnology and pre-history, urbanism, chemistry and astronomy experienced reductions between -60 and -83%) while a few others experienced growth (German, Scandinavian and Slavonic languages; population biology and ecology; information and communications sciences).

The evolution of the number of positions open at the CNRS for CR2 and CR1 was rather stable on the same period (338 in 1998; 339 in 1999, 337 in 2000, according to Barré (2001:56), and 348 positions are open in 2003 (according to the last national decree). But on the 1996-2000 period of time, the global research staff in national research institutions decreased by 1.2%.

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9 At the CNRS, where recruitment sections are only national, one nevertheless observes that on the 86% of the newly recruited candidates who prepared their thesis in a CNRS unit, 42% are affected to this unit (Barré 2001: 67).

### *High retirement rates in the coming years*

The employment situation was thus not very good during the last years. This could rapidly change if the high retirement rates which are expected are occurring. According to Barré (2001:19), 1200 academics left universities or research institutions<sup>10</sup> each year between 1995 and 1999, there are 1750 between 2001 and 2004 and are expected to be 2200 and to reach 2400 between 2004 and 2012. Some disciplines are more concerned than others (astronomy, anthropology, molecular chemistry, natural milieus, theoretical physics, literature, geography) while other will experience little turn-over (physical activities, computer science, mechanics, law and political science, psychology, biochemistry).

According to Barré (2001:25), disciplines such as engineering sciences, information and communication technologies, which are considered as the promising field to develop, will reach 5 to 9% annual recruitment rate between 2001 and 2008 (while in average all disciplines will have a 3.7 to 7.4% annual recruitment rate).

The French landscape is thus simultaneously rather stable but expected to experience major quantitative change within the next coming years because of increasing retirement prospects.

## **3. The attractiveness of the French academic workplace**

In order to discuss whether the French academic profession will be able to face the expected change the question of its attractiveness will be explored along two ways. First I shall describe how the expected retirement waves changed the ambient discourses in France within the last years. Secondly, I shall turn to the existing projects aiming at modifying the way academic careers at the university are managed and discuss how this could impact on the attractiveness of the French academic profession even if it is not formulated in this terms.

### *3.1 Attractiveness in terms of recruitment*

One of the main question faced by the French academic profession is the following: is there (will there be) enough doctorates to face the coming needs? This question is at the same time an old and recurrent one, and a recent one. In a report written in 1981 after the election on the socialist government and aiming at better knowledge of the situation of the French academic profession, Quermonne (1981) already brought attention to the retirement waves that were to happen around 2000. One should thus not be surprised! He suggested creating academic positions by anticipation in order to avoid the „stop and go“ management of academic staff: as a matter of fact, many positions were created at the same time in the sixties to face the rising number of students, but in the following decades, while student numbers increased more slowly, academic recruitment slowed down too. New candidates for an academic career were confronted by a lack of positions and blocked careers. The academics recruited in the sixties are now all leaving at the same time and a lot of recruitment will be needed again: this would probably block again the access of the

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10 The number of CNRS researchers who will each year reach 65 years old between 2003 and 2013 will more than double in the four coming years and remain around 400 between 2003 and 2013 which should be the pick of this retirement wave. (Bilan social CNRS, 2002: 28).

next generation to an academic career and to professorial positions. In order to break this irregular flux in advance, Quermonne proposed to create positions to anticipate the retirement increase and to reduce the curves, but he did not receive support and his proposal was not implemented: a lot of positions were created since the beginning of the eighties, but they hardly cover the evolution of the student numbers. Nevertheless the succeeding French governments took into account the increasing need for young academics. In particular, when Jospin was Minister of education (from 1988 to 1992), he multiplied by two the number of existing fellowships for doctoral students and raised the monthly amount of these fellowships. But a few years later, alarm was launched by many groups (unions, doctorates association etc.) about the important rate of unemployed young doctors: while some claimed about the non-sufficient number of positions within public higher education and national research institutions, others criticised the French firms recruitment and their preference for young diplomas holders of French engineers *grandes écoles* rather than for doctors. Many studies were launched to measure the situation, seminars on doctoral training were organised students (see for instance, Paul 2002), some initiatives (such as the *doctoriales*<sup>11</sup>) emerged.

The more recent studies (Giret 2003; Beret, Giret and Récotillet, 2003) on the employment of doctorates are based on a questionnaire sent to new doctorates after their thesis and three years later. They show that they rather quickly find a job after their defence, but quite often a time limited one, with disciplinary variation and that they generally have a permanent job three years later (with discipline variations again). For instance in 2001, only 19% of the doctorates of 1998 had non permanent jobs and 7.4% were still unemployed (Beret *et al* 2003:12). But the first indicator reaches 32 in life sciences and 29 in humanities, but only 7 in engineers sciences; the second indicator reaches 20.3 in humanities and 10.2 in chemistry, but 1.6 for engineers and 4.5 in law.

But within a very short time, around 2000, these dominant discourse and preoccupations changed radically. The proximity of the retirement of the baby boomers in all French activity sectors (private as well as public) became a major worry. The disaffection of the students from the administrative elite school (Ecole Nationale d'Administration, ENA) or from the *Ecole polytechnique* for the public sector rings a bell: if the best positions within the public sector are no more attractive, what will happen in higher education and research? At the same time, many papers flourished in the press and in some reports about the dangers of a brain drain (see for instance, Institut Montaigne 2001, or Postel-Vinay 2002): French elites are said to leave France for more attractive positions in academia as well as in economic activities. There is little evidence about how serious and real this is, because no very precise and serious study is at hand. In the part 1. of the CEREQ/LEST study (Beret *et al.* 2003) 13% of the respondents left France for a certain period in the three years following their thesis (17% of the doctorates in science and 3% only of the doctorates in humanities). In a study led in France, Germany and the UK by the mid nineties (Mouranche, 1997), the French doctoral students interviewed outside France were all expecting to come back to France and anyway they had little hope of finding a position in the UK or in Germany. But brain drain is not only a question of numbers but also a question of quality : if the few who seem not to come back are the very best, there is a real problem for the French academic profession. But it is of course very difficult to „demonstrate“. Furthermore very important variations are probably to be found among disciplines. According to Barré (2001:59), 25% of the candidates applying for a CNRS positions are in post-docs abroad. This uncertainty about the reality of a

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11 The *Doctoriales* consist in one week seminars aiming at helping the new doctorates to develop a professional project, to learn about the jobs they can be offered (particularly within the private sector) etc. The first *Doctoriales* were launched by the Association Bernard Gregory but they quickly received support from the ministry for research.

brain drain leaves place for debates and questions about the attractiveness of the French academic profession and its capacity to receive enough interesting applications in the coming years.

Nevertheless, and until now, no crucial decisions were made by the French governments to increase the attractiveness of academic careers. Furthermore, the projections (Fréville 2001-2002, Barré 2001 and Barré *et al.* 2002) which were achieved do not indicate alarming perspectives. Barré estimated the doctoral students population to 40 to 50 000 persons, 10 000 of which are finishing their thesis each year. There are thus between 12 and 15 000 candidates competing for the 2 500 to 3000 positions<sup>12</sup> open each year (for universities and research institutions).

The ratio number of candidates/number of positions decreased at the CNRS between 1992 and 1996 (from 9.4 to 14.9) but improved again and is now around 11.7 (between 7 to 10 in nuclear physics, chemistry and life sciences, but reaching 15 to 20 in humanities) (Barré 2001: 55). At the university, this ratio is more difficult to evaluate as the number of candidates applying for qualification at the CNU is biased by the fact that one candidate can apply to more than one section. But Barré (2001:73) suggests looking at the year by which the newly recruited candidates obtain their qualification. If many of them were qualified in the past years (as in biochemistry, molecular biology or organic chemistry), it can be deduced that many candidates are waiting for a position; but when many of the newly recruited academics received their „qualification“ the year they were recruited, it indicates a rather narrow pool (as in computer science for instance). The comparison between the number of positions open and the number of candidates for a four year „qualification“ shows that both figures decrease but the second less than the first one.

	1998	1999		2000		2001	
	N	N	99/98	N	2000/98	N	2001/98
Number of open <i>maîtres de conférences</i> positions	3,325	2,862	-14%	2,534	-24%	1,999	-40%
Number of candidates applying for Qualification	20,107	16,302	-19%	15,449	-23%	14,597	-27%

Based on figures of the *direction des personnels enseignants*, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002

This tends to confirm Barré (2001) conclusions that there is no reason to worry seriously. A further argument in this direction could be derived from the explanations (Freeman, 1989) on the cobweb variations of the number doctoral students (i.e. alternation of unadjusted cycles of lack and excess of doctoral students and doctorates compared to the number of potential positions). The increased number of positions should appeal for new callings.

But nevertheless, these global figures can hide local problems for disciplines in development (computer science for instance or for disciplines like physics where the number of students decreased for years and where the number of doctorates can become non-sufficient). Furthermore the recruitment rates which were taken into account here did not integrate the Lisbon objectives<sup>13</sup> which, if they were to be reached would consequently increase the need for doctoral training!

12 All the *maîtres de conférences* positions open for recruitment within universities do not lead to new recruitments because in some cases the universities prefer recruiting by mobility, i.e. recruiting some one who already is a *maître de conférences* in another university.

13 I.e. to reach 3% of the European PIB for research and development before 2010. According to the OST (2002), France reaches 2.17% in 1999.

A further point to bring into the discussion concerns the evolution of the attractiveness of the public sector compared to the private one. Beret *et al* (2003: 13-15) observed a decrease in the employment of doctorates in the public sector: while 66% of the doctorates got a job in the public sector in 1997 (and 51 as faculty member or researcher), they are 53% in 2001 (and 40 as faculty member or researcher). While in 1997 15 % got a job in the private sector, they are 18% in 2001 (respectively 18 in 1997 and 24% in 2001 for doctorates in science): among the doctorates in science employed three years after their thesis, 40.5% always worked in the private sector, 39.2% in the public one, 5.5% went from private to public and 9.4% from public to private (Beret *et al.* 2003: 21). The decreasing number of open positions probably explains this trend, but one should not forget that on the whole the attraction for (or the recruitment needs in) private positions considerably increased within the last decade: the number of researcher positions in private firms strongly increased from 28100 in 1980 to 72800 in 1998 (OST 2002a: 7).

If up to now no particular solution has been developed to face this potential problem, one can consider that the recent creation of more than 400 post-docs positions<sup>14</sup> could keep some potential candidates for a university or research career on the academic market until the retirement waves occur and the vacant positions increase. But this of course depends very much on the disciplines that will be concerned by those post-docs, on the positions that will be opened to replace the retirements, and of their location. Some universities, some disciplines and some categories of posts have problem with attracting candidates: in 2001 for instance 10% of the *maîtres de conférences* but 31% of the professor positions remained vacant within French universities (more than 50% in English literature, roman literature, urbanism, regional cultures and physical activities). Furthermore this seems to worsen: the figures were of 7.5% for the *maîtres de conférences* and 29% for the professors in 2000.

### 3.2 Attractiveness of career development

Another way to look at attractiveness is to consider the potential for career development. As shown in the first part, the French academic profession is rather egalitarian and protective. As a result, on paper, careers are rather undifferentiated. All *enseignants-chercheurs* are supposed to dedicate 50% of his/her time to teaching (with 128 hours of lecture of equivalence yearly in presential teaching) and 50% to research. The introduction of the bonuses (cf. 1.1.) was a first step towards more differentiation and towards the recognition of varied forms of academic achievements. A step further was past with the recent Espéret report (2001) which pointed out to diversification of the tasks assumed by academics (including administrative tasks)<sup>15</sup> and to the diversification of each task: teaching does not consist only in course preparation, presential teaching and corrections of copies, but also in teaching engineering, e-learning conception, relationships with firms in job-oriented curricula etc., while research also incorporates expertise, evaluation, technology

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14 After a legal battle on how to calculate the age of the candidates in order to be sure that the age limit of 30 years old was respected to apply for a CR2 position at the CNRS, some candidates who would have been considered as under 30 before the battle happened to be considered as more than 30 after the battle and were no more allowed to apply. They contested this decision. Because the creation of a significant number of post-docs in France was already on the agenda, this leads to present post-doc positions as a solution to their problem: they could apply for those post-docs which would help them to improve their dossier and to directly apply for CR1 positions (for which no age limit is fixed). This year 400 post-docs were created (210 for the CNRS).

15 Academics often claim that they do not find the needed competencies to lighten their work (for instance jurist competent in research contracts, EU specialists..) and that the division of work between them and the administrative staff is not clear (see also Gueissaz 1999 on this point).

transfer). Last but not least, the report stressed that each individual academic does not match all these tasks the same way and that variations in the balance of these activities may also occur for the same person during his/her career. As a matter of fact, this report dared putting clearly on the paper what everyone knew for years. Even if it criticised the proposals expressed in the reports and said that the introduction of more contractual relationships are incompatible with the civil servants status of the faculty members, the SNESUP-FSU (leftist union for faculty members) recognised that the observations made on the reality of the academic work were interesting.

Among the solutions the report suggested in order to address these various questions, a very interesting one concerns the introduction of individual contracts that each university could negotiate with each faculty member. Such contracts could better incorporate specific needs: for instance the report suggests having the possibility to reduce the teaching duties of a beginning *maître de conférences*. Such reductions could also be negotiated for academics deeply involved in a research project for a certain period of time. Furthermore, the contracts could reflect personal choices: academics who prefer teaching could have less research objectives and vice versa.

Most of the time this report is presented as a proposal to better match the new reality of academic work as well as a way to increase the university management on academic staff. It is true that if the measures it suggested were adopted, it would transform French universities into „employers“. But it would also increase the attractiveness of the academic career if more variety was accepted and also recognised. Some universities already understand this and propose reductions in teaching to some *maîtres de conférences*, either when they start in the career or when they want to prepare their *habilitation*. But this remains marginal and there is a real interrogation on whether the Espéret report will be implemented and whether the management of the academic staff could become less bureaucratic and standardised, allowing for more differentiated jobs and careers. When it has been published, the reactions to this report were not very strongly opposed and the petition launched against was not successful. Most of the university presidents welcomed it and the CPU even organised its last annually conference on staff management in universities, thus showing its interest for these questions and promoting ministerial positions on this subject. Nevertheless, its real influence and the degree of acceptation to its proposals will be better known next September (2003), when the former Vice-President of the University President Conference – who has been charged by Luc Ferry, the current Minister for education, to suggest some concrete suggestions to modify the management of the French faculty members – will present his conclusions.

### 3.3 Parity in French university: a recent issue

In a last point I would like to discuss the attractiveness of the academic profession for women. In the last years the gender issue, which was quasi absent on the French scene, gained visibility. Many reports have been published (see for instance Boukhobza, Delavault, *et al.* 2000; Bonneau 2000, Esterle 2002) which focused on the low presence of women at universities as at the national research institutions. They show that while the presence of women among students increased, they still are very rare at the higher levels (professors and *directeurs de recherche* of course but also as deans, university presidents, members of decision-making bodies). The evolution is also contrasted from one place to the other. In universities, the percentage of women professors globally increased within the last years.

	Law		Humanities		Science		Health sciences		Total	
	MCF	Prof.	MCF	Prof.	MCF	Prof.	MCF	Prof.	MCF	Prof.
1994/1995	29.9	13.2	43.8	25.4	27.8	8.8	47.4	9.3	34.7	13.0
2001	36.6	15.5	47.9	27.7	29.6	10,1	48.6	11.2	37.6	15.0

But at the CNRS, 30.6% of the researchers are women while they were 30.1% in 1991 (Bilan social CNRS, 2002: 10). The percentage of women in the lowest positions (*chargés de recherche*) and in the very highest (*directeur de recherche classe exceptionnelle*) increased but decreased among other *directeurs de recherche*.

	Chargées de recherche 2 <sup>d</sup> class	Chargées de recherche 1 <sup>st</sup> class	Directrices de recherche 2 <sup>d</sup> class	Directrices de recherche 1 <sup>st</sup> class	Directrices de recherche exceptionnelle class
1991	33.3	35.8	23.3	15.6	5.6
2001	36.0*	37.2*	23.8	12.4	6.8*

\* More than 1% improvement within 10 years

Different measures have been launched. Missions for parity were created at the CNRS and at the Research ministry. According to its official functions, the latter aimed at developing good practices on three main aspects: equity among men and women; creation of measures to compensate disadvantages encountered by women during their career; promotion of the gender dimension in structures, institutions programmes, policies and practices. It organised a call for proposals encouraging universities to submit projects they would develop in order to promote the situation of women. It is too early to assess the impacts of the increasing focus on this issue as well as the effects of the projects developed by some universities, but there is a concern which never existed as such before.

#### 4. Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education

As a matter of fact the issue of internationalisation also clearly increased in France over the last years. Not only are mobility outside France, participation in international/European projects and the welcoming of foreign academics encouraged in discourse and sometimes by concrete actions (such as the creation of a scientific passport), but most meetings, reflection groups, commissions on higher education which look at foreign experiences, refer to the Bologna process and its consequences etc. This was never the case previously (Musselin 2001). Furthermore international indicators are more and more taken into account in the individual evaluation of academics as well as in the assessment of the research centers and projects. Internationalisation is also a recurrent topic in the four year contracts signed by each university with the ministry. There is thus a general trend in favour of the development of contacts, especially within Europe but not only. Unfortunately there exists no survey showing how this has been transformed into concrete collaborations, participation to international conferences, visiting fellowships, co-publications and whether it really increased compared with the past. We nevertheless know that the participation of France

in the 4<sup>th</sup> and in the 5<sup>th</sup> PCRD was important (measured in number of projects in which France is involved, France reached 43.3% of the projects in the 5<sup>th</sup> PCR, just after Germany (46.8) and the UK (49.3) (OST 2002b: 3). But as stressed by the study led by Charlet (Charlet 2002 and OST 2002b), these positive results should not hide that French laboratories are not very present in the projects dealing with promising scientific domains like biotechnology, new information technologies.

But internationalisation can also be considered differently. One possible entry deals with the presence of foreigners among the university and research staff. On this aspect, no clear evolution can be shown. On the one hand, Mogu rou (2002) stressed that the proportion of foreigners who become doctorates in France tends to decrease since the beginning of the 90s (they represented of third of the new doctorates in the 90s while they are one fifth at the end of the 90s). Moreover the figures given by Cytermann *et al.* (2003) show that the number of foreign candidates recruited on permanent positions at the university decreased during the last five years, and more than the global number of open positions (and more for professors than for *maitres de conf rences*). Among the 1038 foreign candidates recruited between 1998 and 2002 (Cytermann *et al.* 2003), the most represented country is Algeria (15%), then Italy (12.6%), Germany (almost 8%) followed by Morocco (7%) and Tunisia (5.4). On the whole 41% come from the EU.

	1998	1999		2000		2001		2002	
	N1	N2	99/98	N	2000/98	N	01/98	N	02/98
Recruited foreign Candidates (MCF and Pr)	341	316	-7.3%	261	-23.5%	215	-37%	212	-38%
Open positions (MCF And Pr)**	4,831	4,328	-10%	3,944	-18%	3,143	-35%		

\* according to Cytermann *et al.* (2003)

\*\* according to tables 1 published for 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001 by the DPE B3 of the Education Ministry

But on the other hand, there seems to be more foreign researchers. At the CNRS, 10.7% of the researchers<sup>16</sup> are not French, (while they were 8.1% in 1991) and they mostly come from the European Union (Bilan social CNRS, 2002: 9). According to Barr  (2001: 61) 10% of the candidates to CNRS *charg s de recherche* second class positions are foreigners (and they are 6.1% of the newly recruited researchers, but 14.3% in engineers sciences) while they are 38% among the candidates for a *charg  de recherche* first class positions (and they are 16.4% of the newly recruited CR1, 20% in life sciences).

There is no survey about the reasons why these foreign candidates choose France, but it is not known how many are „real“ foreigners, i.e. were not in France for a long time before they applied. In the two qualitative studies I directed on academic mobility (Mouranche 1997 and Dedieu 2002) it appears that those who remained in France never refer to the working conditions or to the salaries offered but, first of all, to the fact that the access to tenure occurs much earlier than in their own country and that as a post-doc in France their hosting centre offered to send their applications to French institutions.

Another aspect of internationalisation deals with the presence of France within the European and world scientific production. Data on this point can of course be discussed because they are

<sup>16</sup> Researchers in French national research institutions and *enseignants-chercheurs* at French universities are civil servants but they benefit from a derogatory status, so that non French individuals can be recruited as civil servants in these institutions.

based on bibliometrics whose limits are well known. Relying on the studies led by the ministry for Research and by the OST (2000), the CNER report (2003) sums up the performance in mathematics, sciences of the universe, physics, chemistry and fundamental biology. Within 16 years, the number of publications in these disciplines doubled. They all maintain or increase (in mathematics especially) their international impact in the number of articles and in the number of citations (with the exception of physics which decreased on this aspect). According to the study led by the OST (2000), France conserves its position within the EU and in the world in terms of its global number of publications and in terms of citations. Nevertheless the CNER report (2003: 103) stresses that the absolute value of the relative citation index decreases since 1987, despite an increasing number of publications, while an opposite evolution occurred for Germany (constant world part of German publications but increasing citation ratio) and for the UK (decreasing world part of British publications but increasing relative citation index too). Furthermore, patenting on the contrary is not very successful in France and cannot compete with the dominant situation of Germany which deposits almost three time more European patents than France (OST 2002a:10).

## **5. Conclusion**

On the whole the picture of France and of the academic profession is not very alarming: there is no evidence of lack of candidates and the situation on the international scene is not exceptional but is at least stable and still good. This is what is revealed by the synthesis of the latest different research studies and official reports. This diagnosis is nevertheless not shared by everyone in France: some much more pessimistic views are developed (see Postel-Vinay 2002 for instance) and recurrent threats on the brain drain of the best students or young scientists are frequently expressed by some of France's leading academics.

Without being so alarmist, I think that the absence of clear evidence of severe problems should not hide that the coming years will be decisive to know whether France will be able or not to maintain its current position. Many things will be at stake very soon. The renewal of a large part of the academic profession within a short period of time will be crucial. The future of French universities and research institutions very much depend on their capacity, not so much to find candidates, but to attract and to keep the right persons. A modification of the current rules of the game within the French academic profession seems difficult to avoid first for this very reason but also another. National traditions, rules, procedures will more than ever be influenced by the evolutions which occur outside of France. Up to now, the situation of French academics was not particularly good but not in too bad a shape either compared to their European neighbours. The compromise between rather egalitarian careers and early tenure was attractive enough to maintain most of our academics and most of them never think of a career out of France. But if other European countries evolve towards new models which increase the gap between the French situation and others, it will become more and more uncomfortable for France.

The number of recent reports on French academics and researchers proves that there exists a real concern for these issues. The theme of the annual conference of the French university president conference (CPU) in March 2003 was also dedicated to this question. The proposals of the Espéret report, of the Fréville report, of the recent CPU and the expected ministerial decisions on university autonomy (at least the information circulating on them) by and large converge on the needs to allow for more staff management at the university level and for enhancing individual evaluation, rewards, more personal, varied and adapted career development. But will this be really

sufficient to preserve some attractiveness to the French academic profession and to maintain the positioning of France in the world competition?

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## **Petrified Structures and still little Autonomy and Flexibility Country Report Germany**

*Ewald Berning*

### **1. The academic workplace in Germany: basic information and structural data**

The structure of higher education in Germany and the general employment and working conditions of academic staff have been described by Schimank (2001). Therefore in this place a comprehensive overview of structures and factors affecting the professional situation and perspectives of academic staff at various levels and in different fields and institutions of research and teaching may be sufficient.

*The role of the state:* Institutions of HE and research in Germany are predominantly public ones, with the exception of research laboratories run by industry. The 16 *Länder* in Germany dispose of the basic competencies for the HE sector regarding political responsibility, legislation, funding and organisation. The federal authorities launch the HE framework legislation (HE Framework Act, *Hochschulrahmengesetz*) and contribute in financing buildings, large scale equipment, and financial assistance for students. This share of political power and responsibility is regulated by the federal constitution (*Grundgesetz*).

*Institutions:* Among the 346 HE institutions (*Hochschulen*) there are 78 private ones, enrolling a very small number of students. There are 117 universities (including 6 teacher-training institutions), 182 universities of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulen*), and 47 institutions of fine arts and music. In the academic year 2001/2002 about 1.866.000 students were enrolled, among them 48 % female students. This is 30 % of the 19- to 26-years old population (within a total population in Germany of 82,4 million). 72 % of all students are studying at universities, 26 % at *Fachhochschulen*. The foreign students ratio is 11 %.

*Staff in HE:* The staff in the HE institutions consists of three large groups enjoying rather differing working conditions and professional security: professors (38.000), nonprofessorial academic staff (122.000), and nonacademic staff (264.000). Professors are as a rule civil servants (*Beamte*) and are paid on the basis of federal laws. The majority of the nonprofessorial staff are public employees (up to 80 %, depending from the various categories of staff) with temporary work contracts. This is because they are regarded as still in a process of scientific qualification which

should be limited and by this enable an efficient rotation of young scientists within the pool from which future professors are selected.

Staff at Fachhochschulen can be divided in professors, a small number of technical staff and administrative staff. The subjects of this report are of only little importance at Fachhochschulen. Therefore the report focuses on universities and research institutions.

Table 1: Higher Education in Germany – basic figures (BMBF 2002 b, 224-225)

Institutions	
Universities	117
universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschulen)	182
institutions of fine arts	47
Students	
HE students (2002)	1,866,000
Female students	48 %
students at universities	72 %
students at Fachhochschulen	26 %
foreign students	11 %
Graduates (2000)	
First degree graduates	188,700
doctor degree graduates	25,780
female	34 %
Habilitationen	2.128
Female	18 %
Staff in HE (2000)	
Professors	38,000
female	10 %
nonprofessorial academic staff	122,000
female	44 %
nonacademic staff	264,000

*Academic and research staff outside HE:* Alongside institutions of HE the majority of academic workplaces are offered by public and private units of research and development (R&D). Recent statistics show a total number of 463.000 persons working in R&D. 51 % are researchers, i. e. scientifically trained and adequately employed persons. 28 % of the researchers are working with universities, 16 % with public research institutions outside universities and 56 % with industry research labs. Although this country report deals prevalently with academic workplace in HE it is worthwhile to keep these figures in mind, not at least because of the interference and bilateral mobility of academic staff between universities and public research institutions outside universities. The workforce employed in R&D is about 1,6 % of all employed people in Germany; 0,6 % are researchers.

*The role of trade unions in HE:* The presence of trade unions is still rather insignificant in German HE and research institutions. Neither the union for public services „Ver.di“ nor that for education and science „Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft“ (GEW) play an efficient role in representing and bargaining the rights, needs, and perspectives of the academic staff (DUZ 2003: 10-13). On the other hand academia itself is mostly not aware of the importance of being supported by specific trade unions. This may be one of the reasons why the partners bargaining about the working conditions in HE and research did not yet succeed to come to special agreements and contracts for this field (*Wissenschaftlertarifvertrag*).

Table 2: Academic workplace in research and development (1998)

Sectors of R&D	Total	Researchers	Technical staff	Others
Industry	288,090	133,529	79,518	75,043
HE institutions	101,112	66,208	13,040	21,858
Public R&D institutions	73,800	38,200	19,100	16,500
Total	463,002	237,937	111,664	113,401
Percentage of all Employed	1,6 %	0,6 %		

BMBF 2000

## 2. The employment and working conditions of academic staff

### 2.1 Legislation, bargaining, actors, arrangements

#### Legislation

Since HE and research in Germany (except research by industry) are state activities the working and employment conditions depend to a very high degree from the public budgets, from fiscal and educational policies, and from corresponding decisions and regulations. As a consequence of the differing development of HE in the various Länder and the scarce competencies of the federal government it was only in 1976 that the first federal HE framework act (*Hochschulrahmengesetz, HRG*) was launched. According to the federal constitution it was enacted to guarantee somewhat equal HE structures, working and studying conditions all over the country. The law deals with the fundamental tasks of HE, studying and teaching, research, admission to HE, institutional autonomy, academic recognition, federal and regional legislation. The federal legislation and the amendments must be implemented into the HE laws of the individual Länder.

The structures of the academic staff, the various groups of professors and nonprofessorial staff, their rights and duties in research and teaching and the payment schemes are regulated by the HRG, by a particular law for the payment of professors (*Professorenbesoldungsgesetz*), and by the countrywide remuneration schemes for civil servants and other public employees. Therefore the working conditions of almost all academic staff are substantially affected by the federal legislation, in spite of the general competencies for HE on the part of the Länder.

The fifth amendment of the HRG in February 2002 has brought some important changes:

- only one comprehensive category of nonprofessorial staff (wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter, scientific collaborators);
- stricter regulations for temporary working contracts of this group;
- a new group of so called Juniorprofessoren (a kind of assistant professors) who are suggested to gain and to prove their scientific qualifications for a university career;
- at the same time suppression of the traditional Habilitation, the second very demanding thesis, until now an indispensable prerequisite when applying for a professorship;
- a new remuneration scheme for professors in which, for the first time in Germany, a basic payment is combined with elements of a performance based payment.

The prevalence of status elites vs. functional elites, that means the distinction between the group of professors enjoying broad academic freedom and the scientific collaborators, who literally work for, together with and under the authority of the professors, was not touched by the fifth amendment of the HRG.

*Bargaining: arrangements, actors, income*

The staff in public institutions of HE has only restricted opportunities for bargaining and income arrangements. The majority of the nonprofessorial staff, having temporary or permanent contracts is paid on the basis of the countrywide agreement for public employees (*Bundesangestelltentarifvertrag, BAT*), which does not distinguish between scientific and non scientific work within and outside HE. The small group of civil servants (*Beamte*) within the nonprofessorial staff, temporarily or permanently employed, is paid on the basis of analogue regulations for civil servants in other public sectors, such as upper secondary teachers.

The actors, bargaining and deciding the payment agreements, are as follows: for the civil servants (professors and small part of nonprofessorial staff) the federal and Länder ministers and parliaments and the trade unions for civil servants (*Deutscher Beamtenbund*); for the other public employees the federal and Länder ministries and parliaments and the joint trade unions of public employees (*Gewerkschaft ver.di*).

*Income examples*

The following income examples of academic staff in HE can be only superficial, because the laws and agreements are rather complicated. It gives an overview over the main income groups and the financial dimensions. Remuneration is one of the factors for the attractiveness of the academic workplace.

*Professors*

The income of professors in HE consists of a major basic payment and an additional performance based part. Performance indicators are:

- number of calls by other institutions of HE and research,
- outstanding achievements in research, teaching, arts and music,
- activities in continuing education and qualification of young academic staff,
- special functions and tasks within the individual institutions (deans, presidents, etc.).

*Table 3: Average income of professors in HE in Germany p. m. before taxes (2003)*

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Professor W 1 Juniorprofessor at univ.</b>	<b>full professor W 2 Fachhochsch. &amp; univ.</b>	<b>full professor W 3 chairholder at univ.</b>
basic payment p. m.	3,260 €	3,724 €	4,522 €
Performance based part	+ 260 € (after successful evaluation)	+ ca. 28 % 1.043 €	+ ca. 35 % 1,582 €
Total	3,520 € (13 x p. year)	4,767 € (13 x p. year)	6,104 € (13 x p. year)

Professors W 2 and W 3 are entitled to raise their income bargaining directly with their university and the responsible ministry at the occasion of a second or further call or to prevent their change to another institution. Universities may offer favourable conditions to attract outstanding persons from other institutions and from abroad. This can lead to maximum incomes of chair holders of more than 10.000 Euro p. m. (13 x p. year).

### *Nonprofessorial staff*

The salaries of the nonprofessorial academic staff are regulated according to the federal laws for civil servants (*Bundesbesoldungordnung A*) or the agreements for the public employees (*BAT*).

Table 4: Average minimum and maximum fulltime income of nonprofessorial staff (*wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter*) p. m. before taxes (2003)

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
Civil servants (Beamte) Akad. Rat (A 13)	2,858 €	3,850 €
Akad. Oberrat (A 14)	2,970 €	4,260 €
Akad. Direktor (A 15)	3,830 €	4,800 €
public employees (Angestellte) BAT II a (majority of the publ. employees)	2,500 €	2,700 €
BAT I b	2,900 €	4,500 €
BAT I a	3,200 €	5,400 €

### *Young scientists without firm posts, doctoral students, on campus students jobs*

The majority of young scientists and doctoral students (about 75 %) enjoy a university or contractual work employment during their qualification period, even if not always continuously. To cover the financial needs of those without firm posts or the periods without employment there is a broad range of funding sources available: stipends given by specific funding organisations for young scientists, qualification programmes offered by the major science organisations, scholarships from public and private sources etc. (Herrmann 2002; Scholz 2003; Mellinghoff 2003). The monthly amount of funds differs between some hundred and some thousands Euro, the latter comparable with the income of firmly employed staff. There is no entitlement and reliability in successfully getting those funds and they are usually given for short periods (up to three years) For the young scientists, in most cases about 30 years and older, this means professional and financial uncertainty and dependence in a stage of one's life, where many colleagues in extra-university academic professions are rather settled.

Undergraduate and graduate students at universities find broad job opportunities closely linked to the research and teaching activities of departments, institutes and individual professors. They share all kind of academic work to be done, from invigilation in libraries to real research work. Part of the students intend just to earn the needed money; others and particularly highly gifted students estimate this work because it offers early and close contacts with the world of science, important persons and networks.

Students as auxiliary staff are as a rule not formally employed but paid by the hour. The average salaries are between 8,- Euro (*studentische Hilfskräfte*, undergraduates) and 12,- Euro p. h. (*wissenschaftliche Hilfskräfte*, graduates).

## 2.2 Qualification of academic staff; legal and social status

### *Juniorprofessor, a new qualification track*

The traditional formal prerequisites for careers in university research and teaching are a doctor degree (*Promotion*) and the Habilitation, for professors at Fachhochschulen a doctor degree and five years of professional experience outside HE. The double step *Promotion* plus *Habilitation*, long study and qualification periods, and inflexible structures in academic hierarchies have led to the following, widely deplored phenomena in HE: the average age at the end of doctoral studies is about 33 years, regarding the Habilitation about 39,6 years (in 2002); the first appointment to a professorship happens at the average age of more than 42 years. The late beginning of undergraduate studies (at 22,5), their long average duration (first degree at 28) and time consuming breaks between the various education periods make academics rather old for the general academic labour market, and for the academic workplace in particular.

Many politicians and part of academia in Germany believe that new blood for research and teaching is, compared with other countries, too old, kept in too long lasting scientific and personal dependence, that they still underlie obsolete qualification procedures (Habilitation), and that they are not internationally competitive. The consequence: a brain drain of academic elites predominantly towards the USA, the United Kingdom and Switzerland.

The fifth amendment of the HE framework act (2002) has changed the formal prerequisites for academic careers, the categories of the nonprofessorial staff and their contractual conditions. The qualification periods must become shorter and the scientists younger at the various thresholds. They must get greater scientific freedom and independence at an earlier age. Elements of the anglo-american tenure track should be introduced in the German career schemes. The traditional Habilitation, regarded as „not reformable“, is intended to vanish until 2010. The regular way towards a university professorship will be the *Juniorprofessur*, a qualification post for a maximum time of six years, comparable with the assistant professors in US American universities.

Figure 1: Typical tracks towards a university professorship in Germany

old model		new model			
Habilitation		Juniorprofessor	wiss. Mitarbeiter	scientific work outside HE	professional work
	max. 6 years		max. 12 years		
	postdoc-period				
	max. 2 years				
Ph. D.	doct. studies, Ph. D.	scientific qualific., Ph. D.			
	max. 4 years				
1. degree		1. degree			

Berning 2002

The legal status and the working conditions of a Juniorprofessor seem to be more favourable than those of the new recruits bound into the traditional structures: formal membership in the group

of professors with all rights and duties; financial and other resources according to the conditions of the ordinary professors; right to apply for funds from contractual work; scientific evaluation after three years and confirmation of the ability for an academic career; given a positive evaluation opportunity to apply for a professorship already after three years of being Juniorprofessor; opportunity to get tenure at the own institution (until now forbidden); in the case of a negative evaluation transition to the extra-university labour market at a rather early age (Berning 2001, 2002).

#### *Nonprofessorial staff – working at unfavourable contractual conditions*

Only a small part of the nonprofessorial staff (*wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter*) has lifelong working contracts and is regarded as no longer in the process of their scientific qualification. The majority however is working – alongside the duties in research, teaching an administration – for the doctorate or the Habilitation. For this group the HRG has fixed a maximum contract time of 12 years (in medicine 15 years) to ensure a permanent rotation of human capital.

After having completed the doctorate and/or the Habilitation the *wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter* can work with public HE or research institutions for the rest of their maximum contract period, if they did not succeed in getting a permanent post. Since many publicly financed HE and research institutions get in great deal only temporarily funded research projects, the according scientific staff has limited working contracts employed, must rely on a chain of jobs and has to leave the scientific sector when the maximum time expires. Universities as producers (and at the same time employers) of qualified researchers and public research institutions as their prevalent employers are both legally treated by the HRG regulations. For more flexibility on the general labour market the federal government has launched in 2000 a law to ease part-time and temporary working contracts (*Teilzeit- und Befristungs-Gesetz*). But this law does not fit into the specific conditions of research work. An employment restriction for research staff in public institutions as the HRG prescribes it is similar to a working prohibition, because those researchers, after 12 years in public research, will not find an employment on the general labour market; they are overqualified, overspecialised and too old. On the other hand research institutions must nonsensically dismiss qualified staff. Politics, institutions, and trade unions demand special employment and remuneration schemes for scientists (*Wissenschaftlertarifvertrag*) which replace the existing general ones for civil servants and public employees. But until now the according negotiation partner were not able or willing to seriously begin the preparatory work.

Table 5: Doctor degrees, Habilitationen

<b>Disciplines</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2000</b>
Doctor degrees: All disciplines	18,494	22,387	25,780
Female	28 %	31 %	34 %
medical sciences	7,300	7,800	8,900
All disciplines exc. medical sc.	10,974	14,571	16,846
Female	21 %	25 %	28 %
Foreigners (all disc.)	1,214 (7 %)	1,488 (7 %)	1,926 (7 %)
Habilitationen	1,100	1,532	2,128
female	10 %	14 %	18 %
medical sc.	40 %	37 %	33 %

Wissenschaftsrat 2002

### *Doctoral studies and students*

At present the appropriate organisation of doctoral studies attracts high attention in many countries (CHEPS 2002; Kivinen, Ahola, Kaipainen 1999). The German university tradition basically offers all (gifted) students the opportunity to get a doctor degree independently from the intention to start a research career. A doctor degree still confers high social and professional prestige. In some academic professions such as medicine a missing degree is regarded as a lack of academic preparation; in others such as chemistry it is the proof of the „research ordination“. Among about 26.000 doctor graduates p. y. only 20 % intend to stay and work in academic institutions (Enders/Bornmann 2002). German universities still afford an enormous overproduction of doctor graduates while only a minority will be the reservoir for further academic recruitment.

### *Recent initiatives to optimize the doctoral studies*

The structures and the shaping of doctoral studies in Germany still follow in the majority of cases the classic master-disciple-paradigm, a bilateral scientific and personal relation between a professor (*Doktorvater!*) and „his/her“ doctoral student. Participation in the master’s scientific work, no formal enrolment, no additional lessons or courses; research work in „loneliness and freedom“ (Schelsky) are the characteristics of the traditional doctoral phase. University departments are formally involved only in the final examinations (*Rigorousum*) and the inauguration (*Promotion*) of the successful candidates.

Doctoral students are in many cases temporarily employed by their universities (*wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter*) in the employment framework described above (chapter 2.1). Their contracts secure them appropriate opportunities for their own scientific qualification; it’s organisation lies more or less in their private responsibility or that of the supervisors (*Doktorvater*).

Table 6: DFG Graduiertenkollegs 2000/2001

<b>disciplines</b>	<b>programmes</b>	<b>students</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>Funds in million €</b>
humanities, social sciences	85	1,293	651	20,5
biology, medicine	79	1,258	577	20,0
natural sciences	86	1,288	302	22,6
engineering	35	467	68	10,7
Total	285	4,306	1,598	73,8

DFG, Jahresbericht 2001

Recently doctoral studies in Germany are changing. A major effort was made by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)* launching in 1990 the „*Graduiertenkollegs*“ (graduate schools). They are designed as „university graduate training programmes established at a centre of scientific excellence in a specific field ... for 15 to 25 PhD students and by 8 to 15 faculty members at a single university or a small group of neighbouring universities. The students work in their theses within the framework of a coherent and often interdisciplinary research programme, they participate in an accompanying study programme organized by the faculty members and to some extent by the students themselves.“ (DFG 2002). At present there are about 280 *Graduiertenkollegs* funded by

the DFG, among them 27 international ones. The students get sufficient stipends from the DFG. About 10 % of all doctoral students are members of Graduiertenkollegs.

The *Max Planck Gesellschaft*, one of the major public extra university research associations, started International Max Planck Research Schools (IMPRS) together with partner universities. They intend to attract and train urgently needed junior scientists. The PhD courses to be offered are designed for highly qualified graduates from Germany and from abroad. For this reason, at least half of the fellowships available are to be allocated to foreign applicants and the programmes will be run largely in English. The PhDs are granted by the participating universities. In the years to come, further International Max Planck Research Schools will be founded. The International Max Planck Research Schools are, above all, meant to promote international collaboration and to significantly increase the interest amongst foreign applicants for earning a PhD degree in Germany. The PhD fellowships are therefore advertised internationally. The applicants are selected according to their qualifications and aptitude for special fields of research by the scientists involved in setting up the respective schools. Through the collaboration between Max Planck Institutes and universities, attractive training and research possibilities are being made available for doctoral candidates. The ability to implement interdisciplinary PhD projects, or ones that require special research equipment or materials, will be substantially improved as a result. Furthermore, by connecting research areas in order to encourage synergies, richer scientific results are expected as compared with isolated PhD projects. The research schools are financed by the partners involved and receive nominal additional support from the Max Planck Society. The schools are established for an initial period of six years and will be evaluated after four years. Depending on the recommendations of the expert commission an extension for another six years is possible. At present about 1.300 doctoral students are working in 28 IMPRS; 65 % among them are foreign students (MPG 2003).

The German Academic Exchange Service together with the DFG and funded by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF) offers since 2001 international doctoral studies (Promotion an Hochschulen in Deutschland – PHD). Structured international research studies at the cross-point of research fields are expected to make the Ph. D. at German universities more attractive.

Increasingly individual universities or departments improve their doctoral and research studies by introducing training elements which have been proved in the DFG Graduiertenkollegs and in research schools abroad.

The *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* (German Rectors' Conference) and the *Wissenschaftsrat* (Science Council) recommend similarly well structured doctoral studies in all disciplines and for all candidates, according to the practice of the Graduiertenkollegs. Their central aims are: Only the best graduates from the first degree studies should get access to doctoral studies; the working conditions for doctoral students should be optimally organised, so that excellent candidates can be attracted at the advantage of scientific achievements; the traditionally long duration of doctoral studies in Germany should be abbreviated, the medium duration should not exceed three to four years; alongside their special field of research doctoral students should acquire all embracing disciplinary knowledge and further scientific and social competencies (key competencies); doctoral students should early gain scientific independence and responsibility.

Doctoral studies should be generally organised as follows: They studies must be clearly structured, must have transparent procedures and a rational maximal duration; these condition are already given in the Graduiertenkollegs; they are efficient examples how to further organise doctoral studies in all disciplines. Following the German tradition doctoral studies lead to scientific careers and to extra-research professions as well; nevertheless the candidates have to prove their

high scientific ability. New study courses such as bachelor and master courses offer the chance to better harmonize basic studies with advanced ones such as doctoral studies. Internationalisation of doctoral studies is an important goal of study reforms; cooperation with HE partners from abroad is indispensable. The funding of doctoral student should be optimised on the basis of the proven measures: temporary work contracts as nonprofessorial staff, projects funded by contractual work (*Drittmittel*), stipends, funds from foundations and other public and private sources. Doctoral students should have a particular legal and enrolment status according to the recent amendments of the HE framework act (*Wissenschaftsrat 2002*).

It is the question, whether the traditional German way of getting a doctorate and the great number of graduates p. y. will be in future compatible with the prevailing international understanding of research training and staff development. At present the Bavarian State Institute for Higher Education Research and Planning in Munich is carrying out a study dealing with doctoral studies in the last ten years at Bavarian universities (Berning 2003). Alongside the analysis of the unsatisfying practice which has led to the recommendations of the Wissenschaftsrat quoted above the study is expected to point out, how institutions, professors and doctoral students estimate the perspectives of the necessary reform of such advanced studies.

#### *Recruitment and employment of doctoral students*

Posts for doctoral students in DFG Graduiertenkollegs and comparable programmes are advertised in various organs of the scientific communities to attract the best candidates nationwide and from abroad as well. But usually personal relations between professors and their gifted students, the quality of the written thesis for the final examinations (*Diplom-, Magisterarbeit*), academic jobs for students with professors and other academic staff are the main opportunities to discover talents and to offer them perspectives for their further qualification and for doctoral studies. Personal dense, but not far reaching acquaintances and scientific relations are still the basis from which many doctoral studies are starting. This means little publicity and transparency of recruitment.

University professors, particularly chair holders dispose of „their own“ nonprofessorial staff and often of research funds from contractual work. This allows the employment of doctoral students and other staff intending a doctor's degree via various forms of working contracts, almost exclusively temporary ones and often from different financial sources. Thus about two third of a recent cohort of doctor graduates in Germany were employed by their universities on posts from the regular university budget; 20 % had contracts on the basis of extra-university research funds; 25 % enjoyed a stipend; but about 50 % had to rely on additional private financial means (Enders/Bornmann 2001: 52 ff.). Regular employment and posts from additional research funds are much more available in the natural sciences, engineering and economics than in the humanities and social sciences whereas here stipends are private sources prevail.

The patchwork of contracts, stipends and other financial resources for doctoral studies seems to prove the flexibility of institutions and doctoral students to economically ensure this qualification period. But at the same time it shows the often difficult contractual, economic and social situation of junior scientists, often hoping from month to month to secure the basis of their scientific qualification at least for two or three years. A funding model for all doctoral students in form of working contracts like in Sweden is very unlikely for Germany, since 80 % or more of all doctoral students will certainly leave the HE and research sector after their graduation. Doctoral studies are regarded as a final period of studies, in private interest, less as the first period of academic work and employment. Institutions and politicians, responsible for the public budgets, can

hardly be convinced to invest in research manpower, that certainly will not remain available at middle and long range.

### *Promotion within staff*

The academic staff in public institutions of HE and research in Germany is bound into contractual and payment regulations ruled by laws or agreements between public authorities and trade unions. Therefore promotion for HE staff is quite different from comparable opportunities for instance in industry. The appointment to individual categories of staff allows only rather narrow promotion scales.

*Professors:* The promotion from the lower group W 2 to the higher group W 3 is as a rule only possible in case of a new appointment to another institution. Internal appointments were strictly forbidden until the recent past. The new HRG permits the promotion of successful Juniorprofessors to a permanent position W 2 or W 3 in the same institution, even without passing an application procedure. Changing a part-time or temporary professorship into a permanent one is possible. – Professors can substantially optimise their working and income conditions by bargaining at the occasion of repeated calls.

*Nonprofessorial staff:* Hierarchies of nonprofessorial staff are rather flat and the promotion opportunities too. Temporary staff preparing the own scientific career belong as a rule to a unique staff category, whereas permanent staff (both civil servants and public employees) is classified in one of three groups according to the scientific level and the responsibility of their work (table 4). A transition from a lower to a higher group depends – alongside scientific tasks and performance – from the time already employed by the institution.

## *2.3 Policies regarding academic staff*

### *Funding policies*

Only recently HE institutions enjoy more autonomy regarding staff affairs. In the past the HE budgets, the number, and the hierarchy of posts were fixed in detail in the HE budgets by the Länder parliaments. Institutions could only apply for the necessary resources and had little opportunities to flexibly use them according to the local needs. Meanwhile lump sum budgets and more flexibility in local implementation, modern steering instruments, specific profiles of the individual institution, and the evaluation of institutional performances allow HE policies which in fact affect the academic staff at the federal, the Länder and the institutional level.

The federal government is responsible for the framework regulations as shown above regarding staff classification and payment scales. The Länder are free to formulate their HE policies and to use the respective resources. The institutions at the end of the chain are more than before entitled to plan and to realise their specific profiles in research and teaching and to apply for the necessary staff, means, and measures, whereas the classification and remuneration of staff are still bound by the rather strict public regulations; but institutions are increasingly able to create particularly favourable working conditions for those persons and scientific subjects they prevalently want to promote.

Research funds from contractual work and further fund raising have become indispensable for universities, to a small degree also for Fachhochschulen. In some institutions these public and

private funds reach almost a third of the institutional budget. This allows substantially better working conditions for the staff and the students involved than would be possible from the current resources in the normal budgets. Therefore the Länder and institutional policies try to motivate institutions and individual professors to apply for these additional funds (Beiträge 2003).

#### *Evaluation, staff appraisal and development, accreditation*

Evaluation of externally funded research projects is a matter of course. A countrywide institutional evaluation of research and teaching including staff appraisal, as it is the case since years in other countries such as the Netherlands, is at the very beginning in Germany. There are examples of local and regional evaluations of institutions and selected disciplines, from which the scientific future of the chosen units is depending. But this is still a patchwork of very differing aims, methods, measures, results and consequences. The working conditions of academic staff are in some cases affected by local evaluations, but Länder- or countrywide evaluations are not yet in sight.

Staff development as in industrial companies does not exist in HE institutions in Germany. The practice of doctoral studies and further scientific qualification is still far away from a systematic discovery, qualification, continuing education and appointment of talents. Relations between older and younger scientists still follow the traditional master-disciple example or depend from other hierarchies. The sensitivity for these important and promising challenges is growing only slowly.

Accreditation of institutions and study courses are still at the very beginning in Germany. A special study shows how far theory and practice of accreditation has developed (Schwarz 2003).

#### *Scientific awards, scholarships, funds for new recruits*

A specific instrument to particularly promote junior scientists are scientific awards, scholarships and similar funds (Herrmann 2002). They open promising academic and scientific careers. The funds, although granted one-off or for a couple of years only, give the winners a temporary economic and scientific independence which mostly cannot be provided by the HE institutions themselves. A permanent employment can at most be expected as a medium term perspective.

Awards and specific funds are used as strategic instruments to attract or retain gifted graduates and postdocs and to prevent them from striving exclusively for an extra-university and in most cases better paid professional career. In research fields where HE institutions have to cope with this kind of competition (e. g. selected natural sciences, informatics and information technology, law, economics) they try to keep the HE labour market attractive.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

Attractiveness is a multidimensional concept. It comprehends objective and subjective elements, facts, feelings, images. The corresponding debates and findings deal with hard and soft information which cannot be transferred into immediate policies and measures.

### *3.1 Academic work compared with other sectors of the labour market*

The general social status of HE professors is still rather high in Germany, whereas the public perception of the nonprofessorial staff is vague. Working in HE is equated to working as a professor, and this is taken for high reputation, good income, broad professional freedom, scientific and personal networks. On the other hand research in HE institutions is a sector of the labour market in permanent competition with other areas, prevalently with industry.

A serious comparison regarding the competitiveness of the academic workplace on the general labour market is very difficult. Factors such as the situation and fluctuation of national and global economies, expected and paid salaries outside HE, concrete working conditions, promotion perspectives, the demand and offer of students and staff, the floating images of research activities etc. and on the other hand the real or perceived working situation in HE institutions take impact on the willingness of academic workforce to choose HE as their own field of professional activities.

Generally speaking research and teaching in German HE still seem to be attractive compared with comparable professional sectors. Since the publicly funded research institutions have to pay their staff according to the state regulations, they underlie a hard competition in remuneration with private institutions. At present selected disciplines in HE such as computer sciences, law, economics, physics, chemistry, and engineering face major difficulties not to loose highly qualified young scientists because of better positions and income outside HE.

### *3.2 Structures and perspectives of the academic staff*

The current debate focuses on the following subjects:

The new remuneration scheme for HE professors (*Professorenbesoldungsgesetz*) is complained by the conservative governed Länder as absolutely insufficient, negatively equalizing and preventing the economically strong Länder and institutions from adequately remunerating the top researchers according to international standards and in competition with industry. Some Länder have brought an action at the court of constitutional justice against the remuneration law which has not yet been decided (July 2003). On the other hand, full freedom for the individual Länder to remunerate the academic staff might cause a brain drain from the poorer regions in Germany towards the richer ones (north-south).

Petrified structures and remuneration schemes of academic staff and a lack of autonomy of the HE institutions to flexibly manage their own affairs are the main obstacles for an efficient and attractive organisation of academic workplaces at various levels. It seems that the situation in Germany is at present at the disadvantage of academia, prevalently of graduates and junior scientists. An alarming signal is the remarkable brain drain of science elites and their decision not to come back.

The recent amendments of the HE framework act did not fundamentally change the bureaucratic structures and procedures in German HE which still follow the organisational paradigm of public administrations. The profiles of US-American Ivy League universities, often praised in Germany as lucid examples for effective research and teaching, cannot be in nucleo transferred as long as institutions of HE in Germany are organised and administered as part in the whole of state institutions. New staff roles and career patterns, differentiation in remuneration, new models of part-time and temporary employment, a continuous exchange or academic work force between the academic and the general labour market, and therefore a real competition between these sec-

tors at equal conditions are not possible as long as HE institutions are bound into the traditional structures and restrictions. The various initiatives to give the HE institutions more autonomy and flexibility are only first and in many cases defensive steps towards a more entrepreneurial character of HE management and administration. Conservative forces in HE policies fear that the state could inadequately dismiss institutions and lose its supervision; progressive forces complain that the process of liberalisation is going on too slowly and without the necessary efficiency (Beiträge 2002; Kaplan, 2003: 26 f.).

### *3.3 The recruitment of graduates for a scientific career*

Like elsewhere there is a broad discussion in Germany how to efficiently organise doctoral studies and the continuing qualification of academic staff, particularly in research, less in teaching. In the past the unstructured system of doctoral studies in Germany may have sufficiently produced an adequate number of well trained scientists for HE research and teaching purposes. The changing international scientific cultures and working procedures demand better structured doctoral studies. Graduiertenkollegs and similar initiatives are first steps, at present for 10 % of the doctoral students only. This type of research training is highly attractive for home and foreign doctoral students, for scientific reasons but not at least because of the availability of funds and further scientific assistance. The success of the Graduiertenkollegs and the International Max Planck Research Schools prove that excellence in and the efficient organisation of doctoral studies are the basis for their international attractiveness. Therefore the enlargement of the training opportunities for academic and research elites is one of the central subjects on the agenda of HE policies (Wissenschaftsrat 2002).

### *3.4 The promotion of women in HE*

HE policies, institutions and research are since many years aware of the dramatically low presence of women in leading positions in HE. The first surveys regarding the professional opportunities for women in German HE were carried out 20 years ago (Röhrich 1986). In the meantime „women in HE“ has become an important subject in research and policies.

Gender studies and research, the international women's university during the EXPO 2000 in Hannover, several federal political programmes to particularly promote women in HE, special representatives in the HE institutions responsible for equal opportunities of women, and according measures prove the political and institutional willingness to create equal opportunities for men and women in HE. The most recent step was the decision of the Bund-Länder Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion (BLK) to definitely enforce the „law to implement the laws for equal treatment of men and women“ (*Gleichstellungsdurchsetzungsgesetz*) in publicly funded research institutions. Such an issue is a signal illustrating the difficulty to efficiently implement laws and regulations launched rather long time ago. HE teaching and research are working areas still dominated by men, disciplinary differences admitted. Laws, regulations and explicit promotion programmes are necessary but not enough to achieve equal rights, opportunities and treatment.

It is impossible to give an overview, not even a provisional one, regarding the current promotion measures for women in HE. The federal and Länder authorities have launched special temporary programmes containing particular measures for women (*Hochschulsonderprogramme*). Funding and science organisations pay particular attention to the needs of women in HE. In evaluation and budgeting of HE institutions the positions of women has often become one of the decisive criteria. Almost all HE institutions have set the promotion of women on their development agenda. Nevertheless efforts in this long-lasting process will be further necessary (Kehse 2003)<sup>1</sup>.

#### **4. Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education**

In the following the international attractiveness of the academic workplace Germany will be checked by means of some selected criteria: traditional and present international relations; presence of foreign students; doctoral students and scientists in Germany; mobility, loss, and gain of scientific work force (brain drain, brain gain, brain exchange), cooperation in international scientific projects.

##### *4.1 National traditions and actual tendencies regarding international scientific cooperation*

Long before the recent wave of internationalisation institutions of HE and research in Germany had broad relations with international partners. Alongside partnerships at the institutional top level (rectors, heads of administration), which often had no practical consequences for student and research exchange, there have always been – since the 19<sup>th</sup> century – individual excellent institutions able to attract many foreign students and scientists. Some examples regarding the decades before 1933: Göttingen (physics), Heidelberg (humanities, medicine), Tübingen (humanities, particularly theology), Munich (humanities, technical disciplines), Bonn (law, economics).

In 1925 the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD – German Academic Exchange Service) was founded to promote the international relations in HE and to exchange home and foreign students and scientists by means of exchange programmes, stipends and other exchange measures. In terms of academic employment the DAAD arranges temporary work opportunities of various organisational types. By means of diversified programmes the DAAD every year allows about 60.000 students and scientists to spend a study or working period in Germany or abroad (DAAD 2000).

The *Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung* (AvH – Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, founded in 1953) is a nonprofit foundation established by the Federal Republic of Germany for the promotion of international research cooperation. It enables highly qualified scholars not resident in Germany to spend extended periods of research in Germany and promotes stable academic contacts. The Foundation promotes an active worldwide network of scholars. Individual sponsorship during periods spent in Germany and longstanding follow up contacts have been hallmarks of the foundation's work since 1953. Through its work the foundation makes a significant contribution to Germany's cultural understanding with the world. There are more than 20.000 former Hum-

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1 Internet search machines and keywords such as „Frauen + Frauenförderung + Gleichstellung + Hochschule + Forschung“ offer broad information about this topic.

boldt guest scientists and scholars in 130 countries who, together with their spouses and children, guarantee a well-informed, differentiated image of Germany. In their particular disciplines they bring new perspectives, approaches to research and methodology, working techniques and technologies with them to Germany. And, above all, they take new ideas back home with them. Thus, they contribute to generating new knowledge in Germany, passing it on to the academic community and to the society as a whole. Research stipends for a temporary stay in Germany, research awards, AvH alumni networks, and special excellence research programmes enable about 700 foreign scientists per year to work in Germany (AvH 2001).

The *mobility schemes and research projects funded by of the European Union* caused a great increment of international relations and exchange in studying, teaching and research in the last 20 years (Jahr, Schomburg, Teichler 2002). Like the HE international activities described above cross country mobility and research do not create by themselves a new dimension of international academic workplace, but they are expected to take a substantial impact on the willingness of HE institutions to offer stable or temporary posts to colleagues from abroad, as far as the national conditions allow this.

The international exchange of workforce in the *extra university research institutions* is much more intense than in the HE institutions. This is mainly due to research as main task of those institutions, which can only be carried out in international cooperation, and to the fact, that the researchers have no teaching obligations in HE institutions, until the recent past exclusively bound to German as teaching language.

Since overall *statistics* regarding the exchange of international academic workforce are missing, the Max Planck Gesellschaft (MPG) may be quoted as an example: In 2002 the 81 Max Planck research institutes were internationally active in 1.300 projects with 2.900 foreign partners. About 11 % of the permanent and 29 % of the temporary MPG staff were foreigners, prevalently researchers (1.262 in a total of 11.600). The portion of foreigners among junior scientists still in qualification (students, doctoral students, postdocs) goes up to 60 %; two thirds of the doctoral students attending the Max Planck International Research schools come from abroad. These figures and relations should be more or less comparable with those in the other big research institutions in Germany (among them *Helmholtz Gemeinschaft, Wissenschaftsgemeinschaft Gottfried-Wilhelm-Leibniz, Fraunhofer Institute*, etc.). The portion of foreigners in the academic staff of universities and Fachhochschulen will be much smaller, exact data are not available.

Traditionally German HE and research institutions and individual researchers as well are members of *international associations* in institutional or individual membership. These innumerable memberships can only be checked for instance by means of the annual institutional reports or by more or less casual information on the part of individual scientific associations.

There are vivid *political tendencies* to further strengthen the international presence and effectiveness of HE and research institutions in Germany. It is a declared aim of the federal and Länder governments, the HE and research institutions, and the trade union for educational affairs as well that Germany should play an increasing role in the European and international HE and research context. The key concepts *Bologna process* and *European Research Area* have gained great attention and launched effective activities. Some institutions already understand themselves as global players on the international HE and research market.

The described tendencies and activities, although prerequisites for an open academic labour market, do not create per se an attractive and accessible academic workplace with a balanced brain exchange.

#### *4.2 The performance and international competitiveness of the academic profession*

The academic profession and its prestige strongly depend from the performance, the international competitiveness, and the attractiveness of the national HE and research systems as a whole. Each system has its strengths and weaknesses, excellent and mediocre institutions, first ranking and forgettable disciplines and personalities. Therefore general judgements or rankings are difficult, if justifiable at all. Nevertheless one can identify positive and negative phenomena contributing to the overall image of HE teaching, research and structures. A recently published study on the competitiveness of the German HE system contains the relevant information and shall be presented in extracts in the following (Dierkes & Merckens 2002).

The worldwide pressure on national educational systems to be internationally comparable and competitive is due to the increasing importance of scientific knowledge and academic education in the politically and economically globalised world. Without any doubt the US-American university system and particularly the Ivy League institutions set the benchmarks in quality and attractiveness for many other countries. Thus 50 % of all doctoral students in the USA do not hold a US-citizenship, and half of the total number of researchers are foreigners. HE institutions in the United Kingdom and in Australia are in a comparably good position in international competition. It is a common experience and belief in the industrialised countries that upper and top professional positions still depend from the quality of school and higher education. The German HE system is regarded as not yet (no more) competitive enough to keep the pace with American top institutions. But the willingness of gifted students, young scientists and their families to be geographically mobile and to financially invest in the own future has grown.

It is difficult to define the attractiveness of foreign and the weakness of the own national HE system by only objective criteria. Looking precisely at so called hard facts a great deal is due to perceptions, images and insinuations difficult to clear and to adjust. This is particularly true regarding overall judgements. But there are perceivable strong and weak elements in the German HE system regarding its international competitiveness.

##### *Strengths*

The average disciplinary broadness and quality of study courses at all types of HE institutions is very good, in many cases excellent. German graduates are highly estimated for instance as doctoral students or junior scientist in the USA and elsewhere. Up to the recent past 45 % of the German graduates studied natural or technical sciences, an important stock of human capital in the global industrial and economic competition. The integration of research and HE teaching enables students to acquire theoretical and practical competencies at a high and actual level. Doctoral students and postdocs are trained close to the current scientific state or the art.

HE and research staff in upper positions (professors, executive research staff) enjoys broad freedom in research and teaching. This may be factually true also for lower positions, depending from the individual behaviour of the responsible supervisors. The variety of intra- and extra-university research opportunities offers an attractive quantity of research and teaching posts for foreigners. German research and HE institutions are increasingly taking part in international exchange and research activities. This certainly supports the attractiveness of the institutions.

### *Deficits*

German study courses and degrees have lost part of their former international reputation. This is mainly due to the worldwide expansion and adoption of the Anglo-American HE system, its courses and degrees, but not to a lack of scientific quality in Germany. The consequence is a loss of foreign students from countries traditionally close to Germany but now following the Anglo-American mainstream (e. g. East Asia, Turkey). The loss of foreign students may cause a loss of young scientists from abroad too. Within the frame of the Bologna process HE institutions in Germany try to gain back that intellectual power by introducing new study courses and degrees, sometimes by English as teaching language, and by internationalising all academic activities.

The traditional high average quality of all HE institutions together with a low institutional diversification in types and scientific levels has led to a landscape of many very good institutions and – at the same time – a lack of stable centres of excellence. There is a remarkable incline of international attractiveness between the extra university institutions for basic research and the universities at the disadvantage of the latter. Competition among research/HE institutions still has an ideological taste of something indecent and nonacademic. Only recently national and international competitiveness including incentive, evaluation, and awarding systems gains certain recognition among the HE institutions.

There is too little staff exchange between the research/HE institutions and the general, particularly the scientific labour market. The fact that universities and the big research institutes are public and therefore employ public staff minimises the professional risks, but creates barriers for a permanent and flexible staff exchange. People within the system, particularly those with permanent contracts, do not leave their post because they fear to lose it definitely or to be overtaken by colleagues when coming back.

Immobile structures and underdeveloped management and steering systems make it still difficult for German research and HE institutions to internationally compete with more open, flexible and diversified systems abroad.

### *4.3 International mobility of academic staff*

#### *General figures*

The international *mobility* of students and staff from and towards Germany has largely developed in the course of the last 25 years. In 2003 about 11 % of all HE students in Germany are foreigners, four times more than 25 years ago. One third among them are „Bildungsinländer“ (foreigners holding a German school leaving diploma and as a rule permanently resident in Germany). 11 % (179.000) of the German students spend a study time of different length abroad (in 1997 about 44.000). In both groups (home and incoming students) there are differences between geographic regions, institutions, disciplines and exchange countries. The greatest number of mobile students is studying economics, German language and culture, and engineering. Half of them choose universities, prefer North-Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria, are from European countries, what is certainly due to the European mobility exchange schemes. Comparing the absolute student import Germany holds rank 4 behind the USA, the UK and France (DAAD 2002: 7-47).

Comprehensive and detailed statistics about the international exchange of *research and teaching staff* and the cross national position of Germany are not available. There is some information

about publicly funded staff exchange (by exchange and research institutions). According to these sources in 1998 about 11.000 foreign guest scientists worked in Germany assisted by public funds. 2.800 German scientists worked abroad in funded research projects or stays. Foreign guest-scientists in Germany are coming prevalently from the USA and are working mainly in physics and bio-sciences. German guest-scientists prefer the most excellent US research institutions, prevalently in natural and life-sciences (DAAD 2002: 48-60). These figures are certainly far lower than the real exchange. Moreover the word „guest scientist“ is not very clear, because it comprehends proven scientists, junior researchers, doctoral students, post docs and others. Therefore the data allow only a first impression of the dimensions of research exchange. But they show the preferred research areas and the main exchange streams chosen by mobile scientists.

### *Brain drain – brain gain*

A specific concern in Germany is the loss of young scientists towards foreign countries, prevalently the USA, the UK, and Switzerland. Two recent surveys on this subject have raised broad public attention. The first one, funded by the Federal Ministry of Research and Education, deals with young German scientists in the USA (62 interviews, 632 answers to an internet online-survey); the other, carried out on behalf of the German industry, covers a broader sample of junior researchers working in different countries and has asked 1.690 German and 2.197 foreign persons to answer a written questionnaire (BMBF 2001; Stifterverband 2002). Both studies focus the fact, that German talents leave their country to further qualify themselves and to work abroad and very often do not intend to come back.

The surveys identify a list of pull- and push-factors motivating young Germans to go abroad. *Pull-factors*: the opportunity to work with a research institution of international scientific reputation, in most cases as postdoc; the favourable research landscape in the chosen countries; the opportunity to deepen one's scientific perspectives, subjects and methods better than at home; the leading role of the USA on the international research market; the advice of the German thesis-supervisors to spend a certain research period abroad. – Nevertheless the general situation and quality of research in Germany is estimated as rather high.

*Push factors*: better career opportunities abroad (in universities: tenure track vs. German system of very late definite appointment); unfavourable structures on the labour market in Germany; hierarchies in the academic staff structures; lack of equality and cooperation among research colleagues; broader resources for young scientists; favourable social and family conditions abroad, for which research institutions feel responsible (BMBF 2001: 147-148; Stifterverband 2002: 1-10). – But: „Escaping from joblessness is not a motive for spending one's early career abroad“ (BMBF, 2001 b: 147).

Up to 45 % (differences among disciplines) of young German scientists abroad plan or have already decided not to return to Germany. The others intend to go home for personal and family reasons, sometime for career reasons, but not for scientific or institutional ones. The attractiveness of science work abroad is not a one way street: Among the foreign scientists working in Germany 85 % of those already or not yet decided to return home would like to stay for an adequate job, favourable research opportunities or income perspectives (Stifterverband 2002: 5).

The research landscape in Germany as a whole is not less attractive than in other countries and does not remain behind international standards. German scientists abroad prevalently look for better research and profession infrastructures in selected fields; foreigners complain the often closed offer of research posts and the rigid national regulations. The sensitivity in German HE institutions for the necessity of an international brain exchange is still underdeveloped.

#### *4.4 Participation of institutions for R & D in international cooperation and projects*

Alongside the bi- and multilateral international relations, contracts, and R&D projects carried out by research and HE institutions there are broad activities in R&D policies at the federal and Länder level. The Federal Republic of Germany formally cooperates within the R&D framework of the European Union, with European organisations and research institutions, with multilateral organisations, and with foreign governments as well. The corresponding dense R&D network is a solid basis to implement the political aims of cross-national R&D (BMBF 2001: 276)

The recent federal research report 2002 enumerates a great number of European and international organisations and research units, with whom Germany works as political and research partner such as EUREKA, CERN, COST, EMBC, OECD, IAEO, UNESCO and others (BMBF 2001 a: 284-304).

The European and worldwide R&D networks are part of the global scientific labour market, where academic staff exchange is going on. One may get the impression, that HE institutions in Germany, compared with extra-university research institutions, are still hesitating, or have less opportunity, to share the process of R&D globalisation, „brain gain and exchange“ of excellent international staff included. This should have – at medium term- consequences for a larger offer of academic workplaces in German HE.

#### *4.5 Europeanisation, the Bologna process, the European Research area, GATS*

The so called Bologna process as part of the Europeanisation of citizen's life has already taken a broad impact on the offer of new study opportunities at HE institutions, on academic mobility, and international research cooperation in Europe. New HE curricula and degrees (bachelor, master) have been introduced in additionally or complementarily to the existing system of study courses (Gensch, Schindler 2003). One cannot yet decide whether this mixed system will become the standard offer or whether, depending from the next years, a radical reform of the German study system will be necessary. Simply going back to the traditional system seems to be unlikely.

One cannot predict a direct impact of the process of Europeanisation on the working conditions and exchange opportunities of academic staff in the growing European research area. The political willingness to promote the European research area can only be implemented on the basis of already existing and further to be developed dense networks of scientific cooperation.

Which effects of the Europeanisation on the academic workplace can be observed? The European regulations guarantee full professional mobility for EU-citizens, academic staff included. In view of still missing detailed European employment statistics for HE and research one must be sceptic whether the academic labour market in Europe is really open. National employment traditions and regulations, defensive if not hostile policies towards foreigners in many states, and the very differing levels and intensity of scientific internationality still prevent a completely free exchange of academic workforce at equal and attractive conditions. The scientific brain drain in selected fields towards the USA should be taken as a warning signal to check the state of the arts in the home countries of the „scientific refugees“.

Regarding GATS, the imitative of the WTO and the global economy, national educational policies hesitate to open their protected national markets for free educational offers and exchange. The reserved position of the German public authorities is described in an expertise elaborated by Prof. Christoph Scherrer, University of Kassel (Scherrer 2002).

## 5. Concluding statements

### *Attractiveness of academic workplace, staff structures*

The academic workplace in German HE and research institutions is in general rather attractive. Indicators are demanding scientific tasks in teaching and research, freedom in choosing and organising one's work, dense scientific and personal networks, gratification by publishing research results, rather well paid professional positions, high social prestige. Professors, as a rule getting tenure with their first appointment, are highly privileged compared to the nonprofessorial staff which in majority has temporary contracts without secure professional perspectives if one does not find another adequate employment before the contracts expire. The federal framework legislation has still aggravated the situation by limiting the maximum temporary employment in all public institution of HE and research to 12 years (medicine 15 years). The intention to guarantee by this regulation the rotation of junior scientists threatens the professional opportunities of those, who do not succeed in getting a permanent position, but who want to remain in research, which in some fields such as the humanities is only possible on the basis of temporarily funded research projects.

There are no real career schemes, staff development and planning in German HE. Having completed their doctoral studies and decided to continue their scientific career most junior scientists face the following professional perspectives: The most successful one will be appointed professors; but this is not sure until the responsible minister formally issues the call. A rather small group succeeds getting a permanent position as nonprofessorial staff. For many of them this is not the first choice but a question of professional and social security. The large group of temporarily employed scientific collaborators faces severe professional uncertainties. They hope to start a successful scientific career, but cannot reliably plan it. For the majority the expiring date of their contracts, and not further scientific achievements to be expected, predestines the following professional phase.

Reforms of staff structures and working conditions by means of a particular agreement for scientific professions (*Wissenschaftlertarifvertrag*) should enable differentiated professional levels and careers within institutions of HE and research and to avoid the dilemma of academic professions as professions at a very high risk and a dubious selection of human capital.

### *Staff recruitment, doctoral studies*

The qualification of junior scientists, as a rule via doctoral studies, gains essential importance. Since in many other countries doctoral studies are conceived as research training and preparation towards permanent scientific activities, the traditional concept and practise of the German „Promotion“, utilising only 20 % of all PhDs for posts in HE and research, might be revised. The correspondent recommendations by the German Science Council are a first step towards modern doctoral studies. The given and possible future funding mechanisms for doctoral students depend from the quantity of candidates and from whether doctoral studies are regarded as third stage of HE studies or as first period of scientific work.

### *International attractiveness*

The brain drain in selected fields of science towards foreign countries should not be taken as proof of a general lack of international attractiveness in German HE and research. But there are signals that Germany has lost part of its former scientific prestige to a certain degree and in some fields. Foreign students hesitate to study first degree courses. The quantity of permanent upper academic positions in HE (e. g. professors) held by foreigners is rather small. The prevalent political aim is not to enlarge this small group, but to improve the mobility and (mostly temporary) employability of academic staff at all. Therefore national employment regulations must become more favourable for HE and research and should be accompanied by minimum European standards regarding the working conditions in this field.

Only people, that means students, teachers, professors and researchers are able to render HE and research internationally attractive. Personal and scientific relations and networks, joint study, teaching, and research programmes, and the willingness of academia to realize the brain exchange are as important as legal regulations.

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## **The Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace Country Report Greece**

*Yorgos Stamelos, Yiouli Papadiamantaki*

### **1. Introduction: A System in Transition**

The attractiveness of academic workplace cannot be assessed unless some background information is given on the Greek education system, which in the period during the last two decades has undergone significant changes.

In Greece, one can trace (in the period 1982-2002) a transition from a traditional, „closed“ and clearly structured three-level education system comprising a primary, secondary, and tertiary level towards a system, comprising a compulsory and a post-compulsory education sector. In this process higher education has acquired a more „open“, highly fluid, dynamic and partially unregulated character, as it can be seen to consist of a formal and a non-formal sector. New types of institutions have been added alongside the traditional ones. Recent developments led to a increasing blurring of the boundaries between higher education and post-compulsory education, as well as between formal and non-formal higher education.

The formal higher education sector comprises 19 universities and 14 technological education institutions. The size of the formal higher education sector is given in Tables 1-2 and 3 in the Appendix. The non-formal higher education sector comprises institutions that offer various forms of long life/continuous education, as well as the so-called „centres for free studies“, which offer programmes leading to foreign degrees not recognised by the state. Therefore, currently three different types of institutions offer higher education services:

- universities – AEI (formal sector)
- technological education institutions – TEI (formal sector),
- „Centres for Free Studies“ – CFS (non- formal sector).

To complete the landscape of Greek higher education, one should also take into consideration institutions that have been founded recently and whose existence was dictated by lifelong training needs. They have been introduced in the education system in the last decade, leading to a further expansion and diversification of higher education. Lifelong learning institutions comprise one Open University (EAP) and a number of centres for professional and continuous education and training (KEK). Universities operate some of these centres, while others are run by public or private agents.

In addition the structure and function of higher education institutions and free studies centres have been altered. Traditionally, (i.e. until 1992) universities offered two cycles of studies: a first 4, 5 or 6 year cycle<sup>1</sup> leading to the „Ptychion or Diploma“ and a second cycle leading to the „Doctorate“. In the 1980's the organisational structure of universities was altered, new fields of study were introduced and the university sector was expanded with the foundation of new universities and new departments.

The internal reorganisation, expansion and massification of the education system had profound implications for both teaching and research activities in the university sector. Universities, largely as a result of EU programs, became more actively involved in research, fact that resulted in the creation of various autonomous research institutes (known in Greece as EPI) as well as research centres within university departments. Furthermore, university departments now offer a variety of programmes of study, developed within the framework of lifelong learning or continuous training, which do not result to the traditional degrees, but to certificates of study. These programmes of study may be initiated by one (or more) department(s) but retain an organisational autonomy from the undergraduate programme(s) of the department(s) involved.

Since 1992, aided by EU funding, universities developed the formal structures for „Postgraduate Studies Programmes“ leading to a „Diploma“ (in most cases considered the equivalent to a Master's or D.E.A.). It should be noted that very few Post-graduate Programmes operated prior to 1992 in a rather informal way. The state funding of Postgraduate Studies has led to the creation of a variety of programmes organised on a departmental, inter-departmental or inter-university level that has strengthened the collaboration of Greek universities among them and with their foreign counterparts. Academics from other departments or independent experts (non-academics) may teach specific courses in postgraduate programmes of study. In case an academic from another university/department participates in such a programme s/he has no obligation to inform the department in which s/he has been elected that s/he teaches an additional course in the Postgraduate Programme organised by a different department/university.

All these structural and organisational changes in the university sector have one major implication for the academics; namely their increased autonomy from the departmental/university structure.

Free studies' centres operate since the late 1960's not as education institutions but as commercial enterprises, and are therefore subject to the authority of the Ministry of Trade. In the past the study programmes offered by the free studies centres concerned vocational training and lead to a certificate of studies. In the last decade or so, as a result of the liberalisation of the education market and the implementation of GATS agreements, free studies centres acquired the possibility to offer study programs that lead to foreign degrees (Bachelor's, Master's and PhDs). These degrees are offered through franchising agreements with foreign (mostly British, but also French and American) universities or other validated education institutions. The study programs are realised either in Greece, or partly in Greece and partly abroad and the degrees obtained are recognised in most European countries, but not in Greece, since free studies centres are not recognised higher education institutions. The operation of the free studies centres is totally unregulated from an education point of view (i.e. qualifications of teaching personnel, content of courses, academic standards etc).

Although most of the free studies' centres are of dubious reputation, a few have acquired a reputation in the labour market in certain fields of study (such as Business Administration, Marketing etc). They offer on the one hand an alternative to students, who have not succeeded to secure a position in higher education institutions, and on the other an employment perspective to

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1 Years of study vary by field of study (i.e. 5 years for engineering and 6 years for medical studies).

young scientists aspiring to an academic career. It is to be noted that the success of the foreign programmes offered by the free studies centres is related to the high social demand for higher education qualifications. This demand is also reflected in the high numbers of students studying abroad, as Greece is traditionally (since the 1960s) characterised by high outward student mobility.

In practice, formal higher education institutions, universities and higher technological education institutions, coexist and compete with a multitude of non-formal, unrecognised, private education organisations, which operate informally through the outlet of the free studies' centres.

Therefore it can be concluded that:

- The high social demand for higher education qualifications and an education system that (until 2000) offered limited action to higher education institutions, through the implementation of a *numerus clausus* policy, combined with
- Internationalisation and globalisation influences, such as EU policies/programmes and the liberalisation of the education system
- have led to a parallel operation of a formal and a non-formal higher education sector.

In the remainder of this essay we shall discuss the profound implications of these developments for the formal higher education sector (unless otherwise specifically indicated) and the way these have influenced the academic workplace.

## **2. The academic workplace**

### *2.1 The higher education system*

Currently the formal higher education system comprises universities and higher technological education institutions. The legal milestones that have shaped its present structure are the 1975 constitution and the ensuing 1982/83 legal reforms<sup>2</sup>.

By constitution, universities are public institutions. The establishment of private higher education institutions is not allowed and academic freedom is protected, since the status of university professors, was altered from civil servants (subject to government control) to public functionaries (not subject to such control) (Tsaoussis 2000: 128).

Law 1268/82 abolished the previous Humboltian organisational structure and introduced an Anglo-Saxon organisational system, based on schools, departments and divisions. The law stated that universities are fully self-governed legal entities of public law, under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs. „The supervision of the ministry is exercised in the form of setting the framework for [university] operation by means of legislative action...“ (Tsaoussis 2000: 129). It also defined the ranks of academic staff and set their terms of employment.

Law 1404/83 introduced in the higher education system the technological education institutions, (based as well on the Anglo-Saxon model); unified the existing, extremely diversified system of professional and vocational training, partially under private control, and brought it into the public sector and under state control. Technological education institutions function by their own

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<sup>2</sup> I. e. the Law-Framework 1268/82 „on the structure and function of higher education institutions“ and Law 1404/83 concerning the „establishment and structure of higher technological education institutes“ – TEI.

statutes, which are similar to, but not the same as, university statutes. Tables 1 and 2 provide basic figures of the university sector and table 3 of the higher technological educational sector.

Table 1: Number of university students and graduates

Academic year	Students	1 <sup>st</sup> degree Grads	Master's	Doctoral
1996 – 97	244,970	22,770	846	740
1997 – 98	253,915	21,309	1,555	728
1998 – 99	266,103	21,154	1,354	796
1999 – 00	276,902	22,784	2,275	1,049

Source: Euridyce Database: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2001 Athens

Table 2: Number of faculty members and admin/technical staff at universities

Academic year	Faculty		EDTP*		DP**	
	Total	Tenured***	Total	Permanent	Total	Permanent
1996 – 97	9,587	7,593	2,216	2,202	3,351	2,360
1997 – 98	9,794	7,999	2,200	2,176	3,885	2,713
1998 – 99	10,038	8,260	1,994	1,937	3,719	2,603
1999 – 00	10,459	8,027	1,949	1,923	3,560	3,049

Source: Euridyce Database: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2001 Athens

\* EDTP: Special Administrative and Technical Staff

\*\* DP: Administrative Staff

\*\*\* Also includes tenured faculty member (DEPs) (Lecturers and Associate Professors under the new regime) together with the scientific associates and assistants not holding a doctoral degree. Special scientists and educators falling under presidential decree 407 are not included.

Table 3: Number of students/graduates and teaching/administrative staff at TEI

Academic Year	Students	Graduates	Tenured Faculty	Contract Faculty	Auxiliary/ Admin. Staff
1996 – 97	101,206	8,623	2,456	4,100	1,399
1998 – 99	116,106	9,452	2,593	4,490	1,512
1999 – 00	129,683	9,301	2,636	5,050	1,488

Source: Euridyce Database: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2001 Athens

As a result of harmonisation of Greek to European Union legislation, especially directive 89/48 and the Bologna Declaration, higher technological education institutions were granted in 2001 university status. A transitional period was set (until 2008) to allow them to re-organise and submit new statutes according to the requirements of law 2916/2001. The binary system and the different orientation of the study programs offered still holds, as technological education institutions retain their technological character. However, technological education institutions are now granted the right to conduct research, establish joint postgraduate programs of study in co-

operation with Greek and/or foreign universities or other technologically oriented institutions and confer the corresponding degrees.

## 2.2 The university sector

The university sector comprises three distinct personnel categories that have different status, different terms of employment and receive different remuneration. These can be distinguished along a „formal/informal“ continuum, according to the position they occupy in the university. These are: (a) the academic staff, formally operating within the university sector that is paid by the State; (b) the adjuncts, who hold State contracts for a limited period and operate at the margins of the university sector; (c) other (informal) teaching, research or administrative personnel employed within the framework of specific teaching or research programs and is employed on a contract-basis by the research committees of universities or other funding agencies of these programs.

Just to give a general idea of the size of the academic personnel in Greece, we inform that according to data provided by the National Statistical Service of Greece for the year 1999, the total number of academics in 18 Universities arrived at 7.409 persons, out of which Professors 1.915, Associate Professors 1.899, Assistant Professors 2.361 and Lecturers 1.234. The number of Adjuncts arrived at 1.144 persons. As far as the technological education sector is concerned, according to data of the National Statistical Service for the year 1998, the number of scientific personnel that served at the 14 TEI's arrived at a total of 2.730 persons, out of which Professors 1.153, Assistant Professors 574 and Application's Professors 1.003. The number of collaborators arrived at 4.933 persons, (1.889 scientific collaborators and 3.044 laboratory collaborators).<sup>3</sup>

### *The academic staff*

Ranks and terms of employment:

Law 1268/82 distinguishes four hierarchical ranks of academic staff: (a) Professor, (b) Associate Professor, (c) Assistant Professor and (d) Lecturer. These positions may be either tenured (higher academic ranks) or term (lower academic ranks). More specifically: Professors and Associate Professors hold tenured positions, the position of the Assistant Professor can be either term (during the first three years one is elected in the rank) or tenured (tenure accorded after three years in a term position) while Lecturers hold term positions (Kladis and Panoussis, 1984).

The terms of employment of academic personnel include teaching, research and administrative duties. Academics may opt for either full-time or part-time employment.

Law 2530/97 specifies full-time employment as the obligatory presence on university premises for at least 20 hours per week and the participation of the academic in the collective bodies of the department. During the first three years of employment, all members of academic staff must hold a full-time position.

Part-time academics are obliged to be present at the department where they serve for at least 10 hours per week. They do not have the right to be voted for appointment in administrative position

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3 It is to be noted that the data refer to 1998, i.e. were collected prior to the 2001 reform, which upgraded the status of technological education institutions. Until 2001 TEI scientific personnel belonged to three ranks (Professors, Assistant Professors and Application's Professors). The rank of Associate Professors was added later on.

of the organs of the university, department or division, but they can participate in various committees.

#### Pay scales, subsidies and benefits:

Academics, as public functionaries are paid by the state, not by the university. Law 2530/97 sets the pay scale of members of academic staff. The current legal framework does not allow any private agreements and/or merit payment. Nonetheless it is possible that same-rank academics receive different remuneration. Two kinds of factors influence the final monthly remuneration of an academic: (a) legal provisions and (b) personal incentive.

Legal provisions comprise extra remuneration for academics serving at peripheral universities located close to northern and eastern borders of the country. This extra remuneration is offered as a financial incentive to strengthen the structures of the newly founded universities.

A public service subsidy, which is an increment of the basic salary, equal to 4% for the first year of service, increased thereafter by 4 percentile units every two additional years of public service and up to 60% of the basic salary.

Monthly emoluments for academics serving at the following administrative positions:

1. For the position of Rector 293 euros/month,
2. For the position of Vice-Rector 235 euros/month,
3. For the position of Dean or Department Chair 176 euros/month.

The basic salary of the full time Lecturer provides the basis for the calculation of basic salaries for higher ranks, serving full-time. The pay scale of part-time academics is reduced by 35%. Besides basic salary the total remuneration of academics (both full and part time) comprises several allowances, benefits and subsidies. Both categories of academics receive family benefits (if applicable) as set by law for all civil servants. The basic salaries and other allowances are summarised in the following table.

Table 4: Pay scale of academic staff, minimum amounts per month (Euros)

Rank	%	Basic Salary	Teaching allowance <sup>1</sup>	Research allowance <sup>2</sup>	Library Indemnity <sup>3</sup>	Postgraduate studies subsidy	Total
Lecturer	100	877	411	235	176	53	1.752,00
Assistant Professor	110	964,70	470	264	176	53	1.927,70
Associate Professor	130	1.140,10	528	293	264	53	2.278,10
Professor	150	1.315,50	587	323	411	53	2.689,50

<sup>1</sup> Allowance increased by 117 euros/month after 25 years of public service

<sup>2</sup> Allowance increased by 88 euros/month after 25 years of public service

<sup>3</sup> Allowance increased by 117 euros/month after 25 years of public service

**Personal incentive:** The research activities of an academic, as participation in certain categories of research and/or teaching programs may grant an academic the opportunity to double his/her earnings. However, universities do not have a policy demanding the involvement of academic staff in research. Therefore the extent to which an academic will be involved in research activities is a matter decided upon by the academic him/herself.

#### Qualifications, selection and promotion procedures:

Members of academic staff must hold a doctoral degree (or equivalent) to be elected into any academic rank. To enter at the (lowest) rank of the Lecturer the minimum requirements set by law are (a) either two years of teaching experience in a Greek or foreign university or two years of employment as a researcher in an acknowledged centre and (b) at least two publications in scientific journals. In practice most candidates for a Lecturer position have substantially higher qualifications than the ones required by the law.

For subsequent promotion to higher ranks, as necessary additional qualifications are considered: (a) the number of original publications, (b) successful autonomous teaching, (c) research experience, (d) expertise in the field, (e) ability for advancement and (f) acknowledgement by the peer-group.

The same procedure (law 2517/97) is followed for the election to the position of the Lecturer and subsequent promotions to the rank of Associate Professor. It is an open and competitive procedure; those reviewed for election (or promotion) to higher rank compete with other external candidates for the same position. Following the ministry's approval for filling a vacancy, calls for candidacies are published in the daily press and the government's official gazette. After candidacies are submitted, the department forms an electoral assembly, composed of members of the department that hold a rank equal or superior to that of the vacancy to be filled. A three-member recommendation committee, whose members need not belong to the department or even the university where the election takes place, is formed to review the candidacies and make recommendations to the electoral assembly, which then decides by majority vote. The procedure for the promotion from the rank of the Associate Professor to the rank of Professor is a closed procedure and no calls for external candidacies are published.

#### *The adjuncts*

Adjuncts were introduced in the education system in the 80's. Presidential Decree 407/80 provided that „scientists of acknowledged scientific authority or holders of a doctoral degree may be appointed by Act of the Rector or the corresponding administrative organisation to perform teaching, research, scientific and administrative tasks indicated in their contract“ (Kladis and Panoussis, 1989). Since 1996 the Ministry of Education allocates to the universities a lump sum for what is designated „extraordinary teaching personnel“ This sum represents a number of adjunct posts (calculated on the basis of the monthly salary of the Associate Professor). The universities then distribute the funds to the departments. The universities use adjuncts to fill vacancies at a lower cost, since they are not entitled to most of the benefits, allowances and subsidies of regular academic staff. Newly instituted departments use extensively adjuncts until they have organised and developed their study programme so that they can call for permanent teaching staff positions.

As we already mentioned in the introduction adjuncts operate at the margin of the university system. They are appointed on the basis of (state) contracts that (by law) should have duration ranging from one to six semesters. They may be involved in either teaching or research, but they do not perform administrative duties and they do not participate in the function of the department. Adjuncts act as external instructors and are not academics, as they have not (formally) entered an academic career and do not hold an academic title. Their teaching contracts can be renewed after the end of the six-semester period under the condition that s/he undertakes the teaching of a different course. There is one main difference in the status of (term) academic ranks and

adjuncts. Unlike the adjuncts, academics are public functionaries and even in (the uncommon) case their term is not renewed, they can apply for employment in another public sector position.

Adjuncts, like academics, are on the university payroll (i.e. they are paid by the State) and their salary is related (by law) to the remuneration of academics, and cannot be differentiated through private agreement. In most cases, the salary of an adjunct is calculated on the basis of the salary of a lecturer, but amounts to substantially lower total remuneration, given that s/he does not receive the teaching allowance that a lecturer receives. Furthermore, as he is paid on a contract basis the remuneration is not on a monthly basis. It should be noted however that is up to the department to recognise the qualifications of an adjunct as corresponding to those of a higher academic rank. To better understand the relations between adjuncts and academics, it should be noted that an academic (usually a lecturer) may hold an adjunct position at another university. Furthermore, it is common for a former adjunct to be elected to the rank of the Lecturer. Consequently, an adjunct post can be considered as the first step of a scientist towards an academic career, as the academics of a department have the opportunity (during this „trial period“) to evaluate a scientist's potential and ability to respond to the demands of the department.

### *Informal university staff*

Since the late 1980's early 1990's, the development of new university structures (i.e. the formation of postgraduate programmes of study, the operation of university research centres, university based centres of continuing education etc.) has led universities to employ non-academic staff to fulfil special teaching or research tasks. These needs quite often relate to the operation of teaching or research programs (funded either nationally or by the EU). This type of informal university staff comprises a large number of (usually but not exclusively young) scientists (doctoral candidates or doctorate holders who have recently acquired their degree) who are employed by a small number of academics, involved in the development of such programs.

This category of personnel is employed for a definite and limited period of time on a contract basis, to perform a particular teaching or research tasks. Their contracts are either with the research committee of a particular university or directly with other agencies participating in the funding of the program in question. The academic who is the scientific responsible of the program decides whom to hire. The prerequisite qualification for these positions is the Diploma of post-graduate studies (or equivalent). However, as we have pointed out, traditionally a doctoral degree (or equivalent) is the prerequisite for employment in a university position. Although informal university personnel is employed on a contract-basis and does not belong to the academic staff, practically a person that does not hold a doctoral degree has very few chances to get such a contract.

The remuneration of this type of informal, non-academic but university, personnel is regulated by private agreement between the university's research committee (or other funding agency) and the employee. In most cases, informal university staff receives minimum remuneration and has to accept difficult working conditions and terms of employment. Their contracts constitute no basis for permanent employment by the university; they receive no benefits, are not entitled to holidays or any type of overtime payment and often have to work long hours if they want to successfully respond to the assigned tasks. These terms of employment and working conditions are accepted in the hope that will eventually open up new career possibilities, leading to permanent employment. It is not uncommon that overqualified personnel is hired to perform administrative duties, if only such a job opening is available, just to develop good relations with the academic staff and keep his/her options open in case another opportunity arises.

### 2.3 The Higher Technological Education Sector

#### *The scientific personnel*

Ranks and terms of employment:

Law 2961/01 distinguishes four ranks of scientific personnel serving in technological education institutions (TEI): (a) Professor, (b) Associate Professor, (c) Assistant Professor and (d) Applications Professor. Professors and Associate Professors hold tenured positions, the positions of Assistant Professors and Application Professors can be either term (during the first three years one is elected in the rank) or tenured positions.

The terms of employment of scientific personnel traditionally included teaching and administrative duties. Recently research duties have been added. The scientific personnel of technological education institutions may opt for either full-time or part-time employment.

Pay scales, subsidies and benefits:

The basic salary of the full time Application's Professor provides the basis for the calculation of basic salaries for higher ranks, serving full-time. Besides the basic salary the total remuneration of scientific personnel (both full and part time) comprises several allowances, benefits and subsidies. The pay scale of full time scientific personnel is summarised in the following table.

Table 5: Pay scale of scientific personnel (minimum, in euros)

Rank	%	Basic Salary	Teaching allowance <sup>1</sup>	Research allowance <sup>2</sup>	Library Indemnity <sup>3</sup>	Postgraduate studies subsidy	Total
Applications Professor	100	749	264	117	147		1.377
Assistant Professor	115	861	381	147	176	44	1.724
Associate Professor	130	973	499	176	264	59	2.101
Professor	150	1122	558	176	323	88	2.417

<sup>1</sup> Allowance increased by 88 euros/month after 25 years of public service

<sup>2</sup> Allowance increased by 88 euros/month after 25 years of public service

<sup>3</sup> Allowance increased by 88 euros/month after 25 years of public service

The law also provides for a public service subsidy, a holiday's subsidy, family benefits as well as monthly emoluments for members of the scientific personnel serving at the following administrative positions:

- a) For the position of the President 382 euros/month,
- b) For the position of the Vice- President 323 euros/month,
- c) For the position of the Head of School 176 euros/month.
- d) For the position of the Head of Department 117 euros/month.

The monthly remuneration of part-time scientific personnel is 1/3 of the total remuneration of the full-time personnel with the same years of service at a corresponding rank. However part-time personnel receive full family benefits (if applicable), as set by law for all civil servants.

### Qualifications, selection and promotion procedures:

According to the recent law (2961/01) which has granted university status to the technological education institutions, the doctoral degree (or equivalent) is now the prerequisite for election in the three higher ranks of TEI's scientific personnel, i.e. the ranks of Professor, Associate Professor or Assistant Professor. The law provides that the prerequisite of a doctoral degree may be waived in certain cases, especially when the field of specialisation is such that doctoral studies are not possible or usual. In these cases, the criteria for election in the rank and the qualifications of the candidate are set by presidential decree. Such a decree is issued upon the recommendation of the Minister of National Education and Religious Affairs and with the agreement of the TEI department to which the candidate will be elected. For an election at the rank of Applications' Professor or a Post-graduate Diploma (or equivalent) is a necessary prerequisite.

As further necessary qualifications for election and promotion to the higher ranks of scientific personnel are considered:

- a) The years of professional experience in the field, ranging from 2-7 years in a managerial position
- b) Original publications in scientific journals or monographs.
- c) The proven ability to apply scientific knowledge and technological methods in research programmes and
- d) At least two years teaching experience in Greek or foreign technological education institutions.

All members of TEI scientific personnel have to complete three years of service at the rank and the institution in which they have been elected before they are allowed to submit a candidacy at an other institution or demand their promotion in a higher rank.

According to the provision of the law in the future TEI's scientific personnel will be promoted to higher ranks through open and competitive procedures similar to the procedures followed for the promotion of the academic staff. After candidacies are submitted, the department forms an electoral assembly, composed of members of the department that hold a rank equal or superior to that of the vacancy to be filled.

### *Collaborators and Special Teaching Personnel*

To cover the teaching, research and administrative needs of the institution, TEI councils may hire collaborators on a contract basis for one to three years. Collaborators are paid by the state, as is the scientific personnel of technical education institutions and their position in the technological education system is analogous to the position of the adjuncts in universities. They may opt for either full time or part time employment and their remuneration is equal to the remuneration of scientific personnel. The remuneration of part time personnel is equal to the 1/3 of the remuneration of full time personnel at the corresponding rank.

Collaborators are hired either at the position of scientific collaborators or as laboratory collaborators. The minimum qualifications for these positions correspond to the qualifications of Assistant Professor or Applications Professor. The calls for the required personnel are published in the government gazette and the press yearly. In case there are no candidates with adequate qualifications the TEI council may assign teaching duties to candidates that do not fulfil the requirements, but who are holders of the required degree, i.e. post-graduate diploma of studies or doctoral degree.

By decision of the TEI council, persons who hold only a first cycle degree (either from a university or a technological institution) but hold managerial positions in an important organisation

or in the industry may be hired by the TEI as special teaching personnel on a contract basis to teach one or two courses in their field of specialisation. This type of personnel should possess specialised knowledge in the application of innovation in the production process.

#### *2.4 The role of collective bargaining*

It should be noted that since 1998/99 the traditionally tranquil and unperturbed relations between the State (i.e. the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs) and the academic personnel have been disturbed. This fact is reflected in the rather frequent resort to strikes, organised by the academic staff. This development can be understood as related to the changes and reforms now underway in the higher education sector. The academic profession appears to undergo severe alterations in relation to what it used to be. The status and prestige of the academia is perceived as being lowered as a result of changes at the institutional level. The following developments appear relevant:

- a) The establishment of university level research centres outside the university organisational structure as well as
- b) The rapid and unregulated expansion of the „non-formal“ higher education sector (free studies' centres).

These changes that have occurred within the post-compulsory education sector have blurred the boundaries of higher education as a whole and have replaced the older and much clearer (to the academic staff) structure of primary, secondary and tertiary education. In turn, the typical prerequisites for entering the academic workplace are gradually differentiated, by type of educational institution. Furthermore the working conditions in the university sector are gradually but radically changing. Increasingly more academics consider that present conditions threaten their status and the academic freedom traditionally linked to the academic profession (see also, Beridze, 2000 and Snyder, 2000). Employment on a contract-basis and part-time employment, which in the past were considered an absolutely irregular and extraordinary development and a plight to the university, now become all the more frequent. Therefore a „working pool“ of qualified and experienced personnel of impressive magnitude is created, depending for employed on a small core of academics, usually holding tenured positions.

The tensions that have been created in the higher education sector as a whole have led to the rallying of academic (university) and scientific (technological education institutions) personnel in professional associations and the strengthening of the collective bargaining procedures.

Developments in the university sector:

As it was already mentioned until recently academics did not opt for collective action (fact which might relate to the provenance, social background and composition of the academic staff). As key-actors in the university sector were considered (and still remain) the State, especially the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs and the (individual) academics. The terms of employment of the different categories of university staff dictate their ability to promote their demands operating through collective bargaining. It is obvious that academics rather than non-academics, and especially the ones holding tenured positions, are in a better position to exert pressure towards the Ministry of Education, in order to pursue their institutional and economic demands.

Collective bargaining through the professional and trade-union association of the university academic staff (POSDEP), which in the past rallied only a small percentage of academics due to its extremely left wing political stance, acquired significance in the last 3-4 years, due to heightened frictions in the higher education sector. In the recent (2002) elections for a new Presidency participation of academics in the procedure was raised by 65% in comparison to previous elections.

It should be noted that the use of Euro as a common European currency facilitated comparisons concerning the total remuneration of academics across European countries and bluntly revealed the difference in pay scales to the disadvantage of Greek academics. This fact further intensified the existing tensions concerning the insufficient social protection policies for academics (health insurance benefits and pension policy) and upgraded the role of POSDEP that now rallies a large number of academics, promoting their economic and institutional demands.

In an attempt to acquire a broader base, the POSDEP Presidency after the recent elections decided to grant adjuncts the right to become members of the association, covering them in case of a strike. However this decision was not enforced due to the fact by Law adjuncts are not „formally“ members of the university academic staff and the enforcement of such a decision could lead to legal complications that would perplex the situation. However, the decision is characteristic of the prevailing climate. The same climate is depicted in an announcement, where POSDEP adopted quite a militant stance against the neo-liberal orientation of the university sector and commercialised knowledge. Such a development is seen as a result of GATS agreements, World Trade Organisation policies and the Bologna process, which will eventually lead to the degradation of the public university.

Developments in the higher technological education sector:

The scientific personnel of the higher technological education institutions have their separate professional and trade union association (OSEP-TEI). The association has rallied the majority of the scientific personnel, as one of the major and most controversial issues was the implementation of EU directive 48 (imminent since 1999 but effected in 2001) which would grant to technological education institutions university status.

Although the status of scientific personnel was to be upgraded in the process, there were long debates (which included strikes and resulted to the closing of the institutions for almost a semester in 2000) concerning the way of the implementation of the directive, which is accompanied by a request for evaluation of the programmes of studies offered and the demand for upgrading the qualifications of the scientific personnel of TEI, few of which have completed doctoral studies. The main demands of OSEP-TEI included granting immediately tenured positions to scientific personnel (approximately 2.500 persons), which has served for several years.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

According to all existing statistics, the most valuable degree in the Greek labour market is the (Greek) Diploma of post-graduate studies (or equivalent) (OCDE, 1996:76). Holders of doctoral degrees (or equivalent) trying to enter the labour market have to compete with holders of post-graduate diplomas under unfavourable conditions since:

- a) They are considered over-qualified for most junior positions available while

b) The extended period of studies is often considered a liability in the labour market, as holders of doctoral degrees usually have rather limited working experience.

Consequently, doctoral holders who have just received their degree have to either opt for junior positions, usually requiring fewer qualifications, or for positions related to the university sector (academic career or permanent/temporary positions with a Research Institute or a University Centre).

The status of a doctoral candidate is that of a student, as doctoral studies are the final stage of training and the completion of a doctoral degree a prerequisite for entry in the academia. However, most doctoral candidates, in the context of (research) training are informally employed by universities. Depending on university policy, doctoral candidates may even be expected to assist in teaching duties. In this sense they are part of the „informal university personnel“, referred to before, that does not hold academic rank, is not considered part of the academia and is not on the university payroll. Young doctors are frequently employed as junior researchers, in order to acquire research experience and their terms of employment are the same as the ones of the doctoral candidates. The MoE is contemplating formalising post-doctoral studies/training. The State Scholarships' Foundation grants 40 scholarships yearly, for one or two-year postdoctoral research in Greece. The amount of the scholarship is approximately 10.000-12.000 Euros per year. The terms of employment of doctoral candidates and post-doctoral researchers do not contribute to enhancing the attractiveness of the academic workplace.

### *3.1 Recruitment of graduates and possibilities for an academic career*

Traditionally the recruitment of young scientists into the academic ranks is a matter left up entirely to the academia and there are no official policies (either at the state or the institutional level) for the strengthening of the academic workplace.

The possibilities that a young doctoral holder will be elected into the academic ranks right away are rather limited and practically non-existent. There is a widespread feeling that the academic profession is highly competitive and there are very few job-openings. This initial estimate is not completely untrue but the reality is slightly different.

It should not be concealed that the university sector possesses characteristics of internal reproduction. The patterns of (social) reproduction of the scientific space does not allow easy access to a young scientist who does not belong to a social network related to the Greek academia.

One should admit that extremely restricted access is a reality for a „young scientist“ aspiring to a position in one of the old, traditional universities that are based in major urban centres. However „young scientists“ have better chances of employment in newer, smaller, peripheral universities or in newly formed departments. These departments/universities have an orientation that could be characterised rather professional than scientific. However, it should be noted that the term „young scientist“ is misleading to the extent that many newly elected low-rank academics are not really young and it is not uncommon to have scientists elected to the rank of the lecturer in their 40's or 50's.

The career pattern of a truly young scientist who has no family tradition in the academia usually is as follows:

a) Entrance in the administrative structure of the public sector (university) through contract-based employment in a research program, as junior research assistant.

- b) Stabilisation and (if possible) upgrading of the employment status, to that of senior researcher through participation in a specific scientific/research network, coupled with attempts to establish contacts with other research networks.
- c) Research experience may eventually (but not necessarily) lead to access to an adjunct position in a university department.
- d) After a certain period of time, which may be quite long, the time may come when s/he will be able to successfully compete in an election to an academic rank. The success presupposes that the candidate is able to remain in the academic workplace despite the difficult working and economic conditions, has entered the professional and social network of the academia and is lucky enough not to have to compete with superior candidates. In the mean time he has to make a living on contract-based, minimum remuneration, which may require travelling between two or three cities each week

As it can be concluded from the above an election in the academic ranks presupposes determination and hard work. However the reasons for obtaining a doctoral degree are not exclusively related to aspirations to an academic career. Doctoral candidates may aspire to the development of good professional relations with academics, which may lead to permanent positions, either in the administrative structure of the university or the private sector. Alternatively, although professional orientation plays a prominent role in submitting a doctoral candidacy, the case of doctoral candidates (usually already holding a permanent position in the public sector) who start a doctoral cycle of studies for personal/social or even cultural reasons is not uncommon.

### 3.2 *The social status and prestige of the academic profession*

There is a widespread feeling in the Greek society that the *top managerial* positions in the private sector offer salaries much higher than the ones offered in the public sector. However it should be noted that the great majority of the private sector employees are low rank and less well paid, in comparison to the (low rank) public sector employees.

The private sector positions that are accompanied by prestige and high remuneration packages are very few, highly competitive and usually require very long working hours. Promotion is related to individual initiative but not ensured in any way or related to the years of service. The public sector offers lower paying but secure job positions (in the sense that a working position in the public sector is for life) with fixed working hours, ensured raises and promotion through the ranks (which is related to the years of years of service).

As it has been already noted academics in Greece are public functionaries and therefore, for their work in the university, they receive the rather mediocre public sector salaries. However the following should be noted:

- a) Academics in service receive higher total remuneration than most public sector employees. However they receive lower pensions, which are calculated on the basis of their basic salaries (not on the basis of their total remuneration while in service).
- b) Election into the academic ranks appears to be related to higher social status, as generally speaking the academic profession is considered „closed“, both in the sense that there are few openings and in the sense of limited access.
- c) It appears that participation in academia, especially the generally recognised expertise in a certain field, offers certain advantages in pursuing further or parallel careers, either in politics or in the top positions of the private sector.

### *3.3 Recent policies for the strengthening of the academic workplace*

At this point it should be noted that as of 2000, the Ministry of Education is gradually developing an education policy aiming to strengthen higher education research structures and facilitate the recruitment of young graduates in academia. This policy is developed in the context of „Operational Programme for Education and Initial Vocational Training“ the second phase of which was launched in 2000, commonly referred to in Greece as EPEAEK II. The total EPEAEK II funding for the period 2000-2006 arrives at 2.486,6 million Euros.

#### *Programmes for the recruitment/promotion of young scientists*

Programmes for the recruitment and promotion of young scientists are developed under Axis 2 of the Operational Programme for Education and Initial Vocational Training. This axis has three separate social policy objectives.

The restructuring of the curriculum at all education levels and the development of new educational material.

The expansion of higher education and the development of new undergraduate programmes of study.

The expansion of post-graduate and the formation of post-doctoral studies, with a view to the development of basic research and the adjustment of the current scholarships' policy to the needs of research and postgraduate studies.

Within this framework new scholarship programmes have been already announced, while in the near future new programmes will be announced. The peculiarity of these programmes is that the funds are allocated to the institution, which proposes and supports the candidacies and are then transferred to the interested parties, i.e. the candidate and the supervisor. For example programme Heraclitus grants scholarships to doctoral candidates with a view to strengthen the research potential of the universities. Programme Archimedes supports post-doctoral research and aims at fostering the collaboration between universities and technological education institutions, with a view to develop a research tradition in the technological education sector.

#### *Programmes for the recruitment/promotion of women in research & academia*

The Ministry of Education has also undertaken the obligation to promote gender equality through EPEAEK II. A gender dimension has been included in the form of positive action for women in Axis 4 of the programme. Axis 4 specifically concerns the „improvement of the access/integration of women in the labour market“.

The limited scope of the policy is evident in the fact that only 0,6% of the total EPEAEK funds are allocated to the programmes for the „Support of women in Undergraduate and Post-graduate Studies“ and the „Development of Post-doctoral studies and Research programmes for women“. The programmes are realised through actions under Measure 4.2 of Axis 4. These aim at: (a) the development of undergraduate and post-graduate women studies programmes, (b) funding of research programmes on issues of equality in science and technology and (c) programmes for female researchers (*EPEAEK II Program Supplement: 250-257*).

The programme has a time span from 2003-2006 and foresees that during this phase two Post-graduate study programmes for Women's or Gender Studies will be organised in two different universities. The objective of the programme is to promote women in academia. Furthermore ap-

proximately 60 scholarships at doctoral level and another 60 at post-doctoral will be granted to women doctoral candidates/researchers. Candidacies for these scholarships are not submitted by the beneficiary himself but by the university where the research/study is taking place. It is foreseen that the universities in proposing candidates will keep in mind that the scholarships are offered for the purpose of strengthening the research structure of the institution.

*Programmes of the General Secretariat for Research and Technology (G.S.R.T.)*

The research activities of young scientists and women are further supported via the programmes of G.S.R.T., which forms part of the Ministry of Development. G.S.R.T. programmes are in force since the 80's and support the activities of scientific research institutes and of the industry, focusing on areas important for the national economy and for the improvement of the quality of life. Among the objectives of G.S.R.T. are included

- the promotion, transfer and dissemination of advanced technologies throughout the country's productive sector, ensuring early utilisation of the results of research activity.
- the reinforcement of the country's research manpower.
- the reorganisation of the research system and provision of knowledge in Greece through strengthening academic research in universities to support the education process and the training of young researchers.

The science policy of G.S.R.T. is expressly stated in the „Operational Program for Competitiveness (OPC)“, which under Measure 8.4 on the development of human potential foresees specific actions/programmes for the training of young researchers and for the promotion of gender equality in science.

This action addresses young scientists and/or doctoral candidates who wish to pursue a career in R& T. It promotes research carried out in universities (rather than research centres). All supported research must address specific problems in the industrial or the economic sector. To ensure that, the existence of an end-user (enterprise or industry), which will make specific use of the research results, is a prerequisite for the funding of the research. The trainees are expected to participate in seminars on research methodology as well as the introduction and management of innovation technologies. They also have the possibility to travel abroad for brief periods of time, in order to train on particular techniques or to use infrastructure that is not available in Greece. The action foresees the balanced participation of men and women in the training programmes, whereas in specific research areas where women are under-represented G.S.R.T. may provide specific motives to promote female participation. Finally, the enterprises or industries that participate in the action are expected to contribute to the research (Laws 1514/85, 1733/87, 2741/99).

Although the G.S.R.T. programmes support research carried out in universities, their main objective is not to strengthen the academia but the research manpower of Greece. Therefore they can be considered as complementary to the more recent, still under development but more focused policy of the National Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, which expressly aims at the strengthening of the academic workplace.

Despite the rather recent initiatives at the central (governmental) level for the internationalisation of higher education and the strengthening of the research potential of higher education institutions, most to-date existing policies have been formed either at the level of the Department or at the even lower level of the Department Division.

These were usually initiated as a result of the European orientation and the interest of particular academics and are even today sustained and further developed to a great extent due to their efforts and initiatives. Therefore, it should be more correct to view these policies as an „ad hoc“ re-

sponse of higher education institutions to the challenges posed by internationalisation tendencies.

#### **4. Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education**

Universities constitute the highest level of the national education system. As such they traditionally aimed at the reproduction of knowledge, the production of national discourse and the training of a national administrative and political elite. What was not made explicit was the fact that this national discourse acquired heavy ideological undertones, in its effort to better serve the national interest. Since its (re-)institution in 1837 and until recently (symbolically until 1981, date of entrance of Greece in the EEC) the Greek University reproduced accurately and speedily the knowledge that was produced outside Greece and could be judged as successful in its mission of production of a national ideology (Stamelos and Karanatsis 2002: 19-21).

During this period, the competitiveness, standing and performance of universities were judged in principle by the substantial number of Greek professors and/or researchers in foreign universities and research institutes of Greeks studying abroad and. It should be noted that traditionally universities were proud of the fact that their graduates were of high enough standard to follow, easily and successfully, study programmes of foreign universities, either at graduate or doctoral level.

This can be seen as related to two peculiarities of the Greek university system. On the one hand it developed and maintained close relations to the sources where new knowledge was produced, through its connection with (diaspora) Greek scientists and researchers working abroad, and on the other hand it was staffed by Greek scientists that have studied abroad.

The participation of Greece in the European Union (the EEC at that time) as well as the challenges posed and the opportunities offered by the EU policies and programmes appear to have created an atmosphere that is conducive to the development of personal initiatives. This development has gradually altered the picture described above and has resulted in a heightened interest for research and the production of new knowledge. This came as a result of the participation of the universities in European and other international research and mobility programmes.

The debate concerning the international positioning, performance and competitiveness of Greek universities is rather recent and develops as a response to the European and international debate about the new role of the university and the creation of a European Research Area.

It could be argued that the research activities of institutions and/or departments foster and support their European and international profile and collaborations. Internationalisation activities, student and teaching staff mobility (seem to) increase as a „natural“ result of research, even when the institution has no particular view in promoting relevant policies. In contrast institutions that present fewer research activities and have less developed infrastructure seem less able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by EU programmes. In such institutions internationalisation activities depend a lot on the initiatives of interested academics. Participation in research programmes brought to the surface the potential of Greek universities and led to the creation of collaborations with supra-national structures of production of new knowledge. Furthermore, the „national“ orientation of the university and the national discourse has become less prominent, and this is not totally accidental.

Risking the danger of over-simplifying the situation we could say that „active“ academics, meaning the ones who seek and develop international collaborations, seem to be worried and

motivated by the belief that a future evaluation will lead to a new hierarchy of departments, institutions, fields of study and education systems.

Nowadays, the discourse focuses around the necessity of participation in international research and educational networks. Such participation is considered as proof of relation to and knowledge of the current international developments and of good standing and reputation among an international peer-group. It appears that a new inter-university hierarchy may be formed in the recent, characterised by its international relations and which can be clearly juxtaposed to the traditional university hierarchy. The change appears to be significant to the extent that in the recent past the (minimum) requirement for an academic was knowledge of one foreign language.

However it would be misleading to regard such changes as related to an explicit and concerted internationalisation policy either at the institutional (university) or the national (state) level. Policies at the national and the institutional levels are not altogether absent but they are rather recent or still under development.

#### *4.1 The institutional level*

To some extent university policies have been formed after 1995, following the launch of the second phase of the Socrates/Erasmus programme and as a result of the introduction of the Institutional Contract. A qualitative research by Polydorides, Stamelos and Papadiamantaki (ADMIT, 1998-2000) in selected university departments and five Greek universities, revealed that institutional policies and practices on internationalisation vary depending on:

- a) The positioning of the university within the „hierarchy“ of institutions and the desire to develop and project an „international“ or „European“ profile.
- b) The scientific field which the department serves, meaning that some scientific fields are more prone to internationalisation than others;

In all cases the academics (their aims, views and attitudes) played a major role in the development, or not, of a departmental or university policy for internationalisation and the support of the international activities of the institution.

#### **Positive response:**

The institutions that responded positively to the challenges posed by EU policy, promote EU programmes in a systematic way, embracing them as part of a university policy. It appears that such institutions are more committed than others to internationalisation and usually present extensive research activities, which seem to facilitate their internationalisation activities and policies. It should be noted however that these institutions promote an „international“ rather than a „European“ approach to internationalisation, and that their academics „do not wish, neither conceptually, nor pragmatically an exclusive emphasis on Europe“ (Scot, 1998:93). The Greek universities that responded positively to EU policies are either

Institutions, (usually but not exclusively) specialising in a field of study prone to internationalisation. As such have been identified (a) Technology Oriented Studies (e.g. Engineering and Computer Science), (b) Economics and Business Studies (c) Foreign Language Studies.

Regional universities (located close to major urban centres) who view the support of internationalisation policies as a means to enhance their position within the country's university hierarchy.

The academics in these universities equally promote joint research projects; educational exchanges and student mobility towards the U.S. As the interviews with academics indicated, activities undertaken within the framework of Socrates/Erasmus are seen as part of a broader internationalisation policy. Interested academics have further promoted the international collaborations of their departments by formulating a policy for the recognition of coursework completed during a period of study abroad or participation in E.C.T.S.

The departments of universities that responded positively to EU policy adopted different policies concerning mobility, according to their positioning within the university hierarchy, the internationalisation of the field of study and the positioning of the field of study in the hierarchy of specialities.

The internationalisation activities of the academics within high status universities tend to be centred on research activities and collaborations. With regard to EU mobility schemes, it seems that such departments assign greater importance to „targeted“ mobility schemes at the postgraduate level. These schemes are a means to train students in the latest techniques, with a view to enhance research practice and recruit scientific personnel both for the departments and the affiliated research institutes.

In contrast, academics in departments who do not present extensive research activities view EU policies and programmes as a means of enhancing the department's visibility and international profile. It furthermore appears that, in such cases, active participation by the involved academics is of heightened importance. For example, in the case of Erasmus exchanges, the close supervision and contact with the incoming students may help achieve the desired result (an academically productive experience) and partially compensate for the lack of infrastructure.

Minimal response:

Some institutions choose not to develop any institutional policy. Also at the departmental level EU programmes is rarely treated in a systematic way. Therefore any response is usually the initiative of certain interested academics, which were left free to decide whether they wanted to participate in EU programmes. Such institutions present on the whole few research activities, related to specific fields of study or departments. The role of the academics in supporting the international activities of the institution, (as for example setting and supporting student mobility schemes) acquires an importance beyond any reasonable academic practice, but is very rare.

The attitudes of academics towards internationalisation activities vary according to the benefits they may receive and their own incentives. Such incentives might include enhanced teaching opportunities at other European universities, opportunities to establish professional relations and international visibility of their scientific work.

Lower status departments in low status universities seem to be less willing and able to support internationalisation activities. It may be that the lack of a relevant infrastructure, such as libraries and/or affiliated research institutes influences the attitude of academics and impedes the development of internationalisation activities. However, even in such cases, quite successful schemes have been developed in fields of study prone to internationalisation, as a result of the interest of a minority of academics in the department (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000).

## 4.2 State policies

The Ministry of Education, after remaining passive for a rather long period of time, now appears to design and develop a full-fledged policy for internationalisation. This policy is about to enter the implementation phase and the concrete results of such a policy remain to be seen.

International collaboration is also strengthened through other complementary state initiatives. For example, the French and Greek governments have reached a joint decision to offer joint post-graduate studies programmes as of 2003/04. Similar discussions are going on between the Greek and the German governments.

Greece also takes part in the discussions concerning the foundation of the (international) University of the Adriatic. This university is to be a joint initiative of countries around the Adriatic Sea. From Greece three universities participate in the discussions, the Universities of Patras and Ioannina and the Ionian University. The foundation of an international university located in Thessaloniki, is also discussed, however it is not clear as yet if it will be a result of the collaboration of existing universities or if it will be a completely new institution.

## 5. Concluding remarks

The Greek education system, especially the higher education system, appears to change radically, as a result of the pressures of globalisation, Europeanisation and internationalisation processes.

However, national, i.e. state and institutional, policies are shaped ad hoc and as an immediate or less immediate response to challenges posed by the European and international policies. Until recently, the development of an indigenous sui generis education policy, including a policy for the strengthening of the academic workplace, did not appear to be the case in Greece. In contrast the personal initiatives of academics appear to acquire extreme importance for the development of one's own career, the strengthening of the research potential of the university and for the implementation of a policy that is at confluence with the developments in Europe. Recently the MoE has started developing a more explicit policy for the strengthening of the academic workplace as well as a more general policy for internationalisation, which appears to be in the right direction. This policy is still either at the design or an (early) implementation stage and its concrete results remain to be seen.

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# **The Academic Workplace Country Report Hungary**

*Péter Tibor Nagy*

## **1. Introduction**

This paper attempts to offer a general description of the situation of the Hungarian academic staff. The historical past does not only objectively influence the circumstances of academic staff, but also in the „ideological“ sense. The past does not only determine the different levels of the academic buildings, the social backgrounds or the income conditions, but also the prestige and the language of argumentations the staff relies upon. The prestige of the different groups of academic staff is influenced by the different pasts of the academic institutions. Therefore contrary to the most influential academic works (Clark, 1983; Teichler, 1988; Neave and Van Vught, 1991; Becher and Kogan, 1992) we would not like to apply the term „academic staff“ as a „unit“ or as an agent in the arena of the higher education, but we wish to stress those cleavages which determine to different parts of academic staff in forming different goals and different coalitions. In the volume edited by Enders (2001) the authors stress the dominant conflict between interests of the managers and of the academics. Probably similar cleavages will persist in the Hungarian society in the future too, but in the present moment the traditional cleavages are stronger.

### *1.1 The Hungarian higher education system*

The present Hungarian higher education is a binary system, with research and teaching oriented universities (34,7% of students) and teaching oriented colleges (55,5% of students). (There is a postgraduate sector too). Formally some large universities as huge umbrella organisation integrate the colleges, but in the reality the colleges and arms of universities very separated and diversified institutions: 89 ones (Official, 2003). Nearby this „German type“ higher education system a French type of research institute network (compare CRNS in France exists).

The universities and colleges are owned by the state (87% of students belongs to this sector), although these institutions have a wide autonomy in many university matters. In the last decade a new private and church maintained sector started to increase. (Hrubos, 2002). It is not possible to

enter higher education without a secondary school maturity. In the 20-24 years old group more than 53% finished the secondary school, in the five years older generation it is only 47% (National census of 2001).

The massification has occurred in the last decade (Ladányi,2002). Its consequences within the student/age group ratio (1990:15,5%, 2000:44,7%), student/institute ratio and student/staff ratio has happened in the last decade bring great conflicts into the system. There are 349 thousand students in the system; the student staff ratio is 21,2. Almost 50% of students finance its own studies (Official,2002).

There are 16089 member of teaching staff in the higher education, 60% of them is academic of a university, 31% of them is academic of a college, the others are physical education, language, student hostel etc teachers. Nearby this group there are 6774 part time job staff members (Kutatás, 2000; Official, 2002, Bukodi, 1998).

Table 1: ademic staff of universities

	<b>University Professor</b>	<b>University Reader</b>	<b>University Lecturer</b>	<b>University Assistent</b>
Full job	1,645	2,680	2,814	2,340
Full and part time	1,979	3,165	3,349	2,652
Full job ratio to total staff	83.	84.7	84	88.2

Table 2: Academic staff of colleges

	<b>College Professor</b>	<b>College Reader</b>	<b>College Lecturer</b>	<b>College Assistent</b>
Full job	772	1,756	1,712	806
Full and part time	1,060	2,090	2,108	991
Full job ratio to total staff	72.8	84	81.2	81.3

Table 3: Non Academic teaching staff of universities and colleges – the total number of academic and non academic teaching staff

	<b>Language teacher</b>	<b>Phys. Ed. teacher</b>	<b>Stud. Host. Teacher</b>	<b>Other teacher</b>	<b>All acad. + non acad. teachers</b>
Full job	905	147	56	456	16089
Full and part time	1324	221	68	3856	22863
Full job ratio to total staff	68,4	66,5	82,4	11,8	70,4

Source: Official 2003

## **2. Employment and working conditions**

### *2.1 Legal regulations and bargaining process*

Since 1993 the type of positions and the prerequisite of employing, the order of staffing are regulated by the Higher Education Act. In the reality every question of working conditions, social security questions, number of lessons, (and employing of the concrete persons within the institutional autonomy) depend on a bargaining process. The most important actors of the collective bargaining are:

- Trade Union of Higher Education Employees (one trade union of academic and non academic staff) the Trade Union of Researchers (an other group of academic staff of HE, and the research institutes), the different and sometimes political party-affiliated organisation of students, post-graduate students;
- Intermediate organisations (Rectors Conference of Universities, Directors conference of colleges, Accreditation Committee from academics, Higher Education and Scientific Council from academics, state and employers);
- Ministry of Education (as „owner“ of state universities and colleges, and some other ministries which are involved the questions of Agrarian Universities, Defence University, Medical University etc.);
- Ministry of finance;
- Higher education committee of parliament, and formal and informal meetings of policy advisers nearby the parliamentary parties;
- Leaders of institutions (delegated to meeting to ministry, and keeping an everyday contact);
- Hungarian Academy of Sciences (a huge non-governmental – but state financed – institution, as the owner of research institutes, and as a kind of representative body of academics with qualification);
- Academic societies as NGOs. (Some of them 100-130 years old and very prestigious in and out of the sphere of education and science).

In the bargaining process the salary table of staff was worked out as a compromise of the government and the trade union. The government preferred a „clean“ qualification- and rank-oriented salary table; the trade union preferred an age-oriented modification within this framework. The working conditions, the number of lessons, the possibilities of new employing are influenced by the student/staff ratio and the size of state investment into higher education institutes, are determined by the state funding. The funding is principally on the basis of the „normative“ after the number of students – but practically a bargaining process (between the ministry and academic sphere, especially the institutions) determines the number of financed students in every institute and every subject.

The accreditation of Ph. D. schools, the accreditation of old and new colleges/universities, and the accreditation of subjects is a bargaining processes itself. This bargaining process happens in the Accreditation Committee among the academic pressure groups. Regarding the financing of one or an other department and employing new persons for new positions, there are bargaining process within the institution, but other strong academic groups step into this process on an informal way.

## 2.2 Academic qualifications

Similarly to any other hierarchical system we can find academic ladders in Hungary, too. Due to historical reasons, the prestige and the symbolical market of the academic titles are very complicated – it is necessary to understand two different hierarchies (Kozma, 2002).

Hierarchy (1): In the period of 1949-1993 there were a combined system of universities issued „dr. univ.“, the Academy issued „Candidate of Sciences, CSc“ and „Doctor of Sciences, DSc“ system. The Academy (practically only from the DSc. owners) invited corresponding members and full-members.

Hierarchy (2): In 1993 a Ph. D.-system was legislated, the Ph. D. schools of universities started to issue Ph. D. A habilitation process is necessary as a precondition of professorship. In 1994 „Doctor of Sciences“ system was legislated in the act about Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

These academic titles – more or less – are the pre-conditions to obtain different jobs and positions at universities, institutes, and (since 1993) in colleges. These are the pre-conditions to apply for grants to the National Research Fund. To understand the complicated hierarchy of the system a closer look at the titles is necessary.

„dr. univ.“:

Universities, with not to high academic requirements, gave the „univ. dr.“ title till 1993. A „univ. dr.“ title if it was given after 1984 and it was signed by a „summa cum laude“ mark was accepted as Ph. D. titles after 1993, by the original universities. Naturally there were some conflicts from the contradiction that there were some „univ dr.“ titles which would have been fit for these preconditions, apart from the fact that the university had no accredited Ph. D. program in this field. So these „univ doctors“ did not get Ph. D. title. The role of „univ. doctors“ is relatively high among the associate professors of universities, and readers of colleges. In the everyday life the „dr.“ letters is used instead of „dr. univ“ – it makes sometimes complications, because the medical doctors and lawyers use the same title.

CSc. Candidate of Science:

A national level Scientific Qualification Committee was founded in 1949. The members of this committee were invited from the university elite and from the research institutions and from ministries. It was a kind of authority in the science. They offered grants for selected applicants, discussed and allowed (!) the planned topics and pointed out the tutors, accept or refused the final thesis. There were a group of scholars (especially in social sciences, finished the university in the late 1960s and sympathised with the non-communist or anticommunist ideologies and political values) decided they did not step in the system. They argued not only with the political infiltration of this system, but with the fact, that the whole process opened very wide possibilities for the lobbying, and if somebody got monopoly in this Committee the other scholars of other paradigms could not get CSc. These opponents of the political and academic-rank system remained in low level academic positions till the late 1980s or early 1990s because they were not ready to enter into this kind of bargaining process. A lot of them were very prestigious and within the academic life they were the „standard“ persons. (Nowadays you can find strange phenomenon in CVs of academics: parking for decades in the same low-academic position in the 1970s and 1980s. That could be one of the reasons.)

After ten years of the „death of the CSc system“ nearby this above mentioned „feudal“ or „totalitarian“ features, we have to mention that this system meant a kind of national standard in opposite of contemporary Ph. D.-system that belongs to the university autonomy and mean very

different standards in different universities. After 1993, for a shorter period, the CSc. and Ph. D. system worked parallel. Since the late 1990s there are no new CSc. titles. The old CSc. titles are automatically convertible to Ph. D. titles. This title is typical among the readers of universities and professors of colleges.

DSc. – The Doctor of Science:

About 1/5 of CSc. winners got a higher academic position. The Doctor of Science is a rare and very prestigious position in the academic life. Generally these persons had a longer academic career, wrote not only a CSc. and a DSc. thesis but also two-three or more books. They had strong positions in the academic societies. In the employment ladder they generally reached the full professor status, or the research professor status. The academic ad-hoc committees, juries, PhD-schools, tender-juries generally need a DSc.-owner as the president of the body. In 1993 and 1994 when the act of higher education and act of Hungarian Academy of Sciences were passed, some political and academic groups wanted to abolish this whole DSc. title, arguing that it does not exist in the Anglo-Saxon world, its nothing else only a „feudal“ or „Stalinist“ reminiscence (nobody mentioned the existence of Doctor of Letters position in England).

The groups, which wanted to keep and stabilise this title, argued: that would be the only possibility in the hand of Hungarian Academy of Sciences to form the academic procedures. This is the only title, which is principally standardized on *national* level. It is a very important factor as a precondition of becoming a director of a Ph. D. school. It is not a precondition in the applying for professor positions, but it is important in the process. (In the process of national level accreditation, the applicant got the highest point automatically if he/she has a DSc. In other cases the opponents look for the number of books and articles, impact factor, the citation index etc.)

To acquire this title (in the last regime and nowadays) needs a long procedure within the bodies of Hungarian Academy of Sciences. More than 90% of DSc. of higher education is full professor in universities.

Members of academy (correspondent and full-members):

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences is a self-governing body. The members of Academy invites its new members. The Academy is a closed number body. The original (pre-1994) plan was to form an absolute closed number body, but this solution was attacked as a too „gerontocratic“ one. In this moment the number of members of Academy – younger than 70 years old – could not be more than 200. Over this number there are so called „outside member of Hungarian Academy of Sciences“. These scientists – for example Hungarian emigrant scholars from the communist period – have great prestige but not too great power in the system. The so-called correspondent members of academy are similarly elected persons „standing in the queue“ and when a full member reaches the 70 or dye they became a full member. The members of academy are generally university professors, heads of departments or research institutes.

Ph. D.:

The higher education act of 1993 introduced the Ph. D. system, following Anglo-Saxon patterns. The Ph. D. schools of universities will be important „sources“ of the academic staff of universities – in the future. In this moment the greatest part of so called Ph. D. holder „got“ its Ph. D. from the changes of his original CSc. title, hoping it will be a higher prestige. But the experiences of academic level of Ph. D. not less contradictorily than the level of old CSc. (In the sphere of arts the DLA is equivalent with Ph. D.). In the most selective universities the Ph. D. is precondition of lecturers, sometimes-assistant job.

### Habilitation:

This is a post-Ph. D./CSc. process, dominated by the inner academic forces of the universities. It is a precondition of the full professorship. Without a vacant professor job, a lot of academics used the „readers – with habilitation“ title.

### Tenure and non-tenure positions in universities:

At universities and colleges the following posts exist

- professors (in the Hungarian language the name of this position: „tanár“, the same word which for the secondary school teachers, too. In the everyday language the word „professor“ is used for them). They are tenured, DSc (minimum: Ph. D., CSc). If they acquired this position after 1993 they have had to pass a habilitation.
- readers (in the Hungarian language the name of this position: „docens“, after the German (and Latin) word: Docent. In English texts its name sometimes: associate professor.) They are tenured, PhD/CSc;
- lecturers (in the Hungarian language the name of this position: „adjunktus“. (In English texts its name sometimes: senior lecturer, assistant professor);
- assistant lecturers (in the Hungarian language the name of this position „tanársegéd“, „teaching assistant, instructor“);
- language teachers;
- physical education instructors;
- art teachers;
- resident teachers;
- other posts involving teaching;
- researchers.

The members of teaching staff – except the researchers – called in Hungarian language „oktató“ – is a neologism coming from the version of the verb „to teach“ or „to educate“ which refers to something like „to make clever“.

### Tenured and non tenured positions in colleges:

The hierarchy is parallel to ones of universities. The difference is, that habilitation is not necessary for the professorship, and Ph. D. is not necessary for the applicant of reader’s job.

Table 4: Relation between titles and jobs (Parallel hierarchies)

1. Hierarchy of titles issued by Academy	2. Hierarchy of titles issued by universities	3. Hierarchy of jobs of universities	4. Hierarchy of jobs of colleges	5. Hierarchy of jobs of R and D institutes
Member of academy				
Doctor of Sciences	Habilitation	Professor		Research professor
Candidate of Sciences	Ph. D./DLA	Reader	Professor	Senior researcher
	dr. univ.	Lecturer	Reader	Research fellow
	MA	Assistant lecturer	Lecturer, Assistant lecturer	Research assistant

### The tenured and non tenured positions in research and development (R and D) institutes:

In the research institutes (belonging to Hungarian Academy of Sciences or to ministries) the hierarchy is similar to university. The precondition of appointing a research professor is getting a

second PhD/CsC from a second field of science *or* habilitation on an „academically nearby“ university *or* getting DSc.

The table shows the sociologically dominant realities and not formal-legal situation. (*Italic: there are no „new“ persons with these titles in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.*)

Table 5: The realisation of the formal preconditions in%

	<b>University Prof</b>	<b>University Reader</b>	<b>University Lecturer</b>	<b>University Assist</b>	
Ratio of Doctor of Science (Post Ph. D. Category)	49,3	2,2	0,8	0	
Ratio of Ph. D. (or equivalent: CSc., DLA)	44,2	92,3	29,2	5,6	
	College Professor	College Reader	College Lecturer	College Assistant	
Ratio of Doctor of Science (Post Ph. D. Category)	1	0	0,1	0	
Ratio of Ph. D. (or equivalent: CSc., DLA)	84,7	10,7	1,9	0,2	
	Language teacher	Phys. Ed. teacher	Stud. Host. Teacher	Other teacher	All academic and non academic teachers
Ratio of Doctor of Science (Post Ph. D. Category)	0,4	0,7	0	2	5,6
Ratio of Ph. D. (or equivalent: CSc., DLA)	0,5	0,7	1,8	4,4	31,5

Official 2003

### 2.3 Legal and political questions and the academic staff

#### *The legal status of non tenured staff*

The act states: „The appointment of university and college assistant lecturers, and the appointment of university and college lecturers, shall be for a limited period of four years at the most.“ The appointment of university and college assistant lecturers may be renewed on one occasion, and the appointment of university and college senior lecturers on two occasions. There were major debates concerning this issue. This pre-condition increased the cleavage between the leading elite of HE – who have been tenure, immovable on the one hand, – and the „younger“ academics on the other. The (formal and informal) representatives of the younger elite stressed that this situation gave a huge power in the hand of the old academic oligarchy. They stressed: the tenures – especially the professors – were not interested in any research, or publication activity, or any kind of high level teaching activity. The counter-argument emphasises the fact that the professor interested in it because they have to apply new grants, new positions etc, but it is not a legal precondition of remaining in the job.

The young academics of colleges make a grievance of the fact that the majority of college readers – without PhD – are tenures only because they are older. The „maximum four-year or maximum eight-year“ rule (for the limited appointment) means a „stress“ among assistants and lecturers. There were a lot of lecturers – older than 40, sometimes 50 – who up to the passing of

the act had no ambition „to intensify“ their academic career. Their ambition was to remain in a lower position in the college or university, giving lectures and seminars without any academic activity. But the keeping/stabilising of these academic positions (without climbing in the academic ladder) were very important for them in the local (town-society) prestige. For these persons it is a hard to decide to choose between the „forced“ academic careers on the one hand and to leave the higher education after 4 or 8 years on the other. This situation results an intensive psychological pressure for the Ph. D. schools. Some groups suggested to change this act on the way: to create the possibility for remaining in the position of staff member without the requirement to get a Ph. D. The head of the higher education institution appoints and dismisses the teaching staff and the scientific researchers of the higher education institution. Appointments are made at the proposal of the organisational unit of the teaching staff, and occur by taking into consideration the opinion of the institution council and in accordance with the stipulations in the regulations of the institution.

#### *The route to application for professorship*

An institution council may confer the title of „privat docent“ of a university or „honorary college professor“ on a person not employed by the institution, if that person possesses a doctoral degree and if he/she satisfies the conditions defined in the Regulations of the institution. An honorary college professor has the right to advertise their lectures in their special fields Another question concerns the fact that since the credit system exist, it is not possible to find enough students interested in a course, which does not offer a credit point.

Habilitation refers to teaching and lecturing skills and to the scientific achievements is judged by the university. Anyone may request the start of the habilitation procedure that possesses a doctoral degree. The applicant provides evidence in the manner defined in the regulations of the university concerning his/her scientific and professional activities and concerning his/her teaching, research, practical or creative accomplishments after the acquisition of the doctoral degree. The applicant proves his ability to deliver a lecture in giving a public open lecture or lectures, in a foreign language as well. A university is entitled to conduct the habilitation procedure in any area of science or branch of science in which it is entitled to conduct doctoral education and to award the doctoral degree. In order to conduct the habilitation procedure, a university establishes a habilitation committee. In big universities habilitation committees may be established for each faculty and/or field of study. University full professors form a majority on a habilitation committee.

#### *Appointing conditions for professors*

Conditions for appointing a university professor are:

- a PhD/CSc degree,
- habilitation,
- to be truly recognised by the competent national and international authority in his/her branch of science or area of arts,
- to conduct outstanding scientific research or artistic activity,
- to have a personality able to create a scientific school, has already demonstrated his/her teaching skills as well as the readiness to conduct scientific or artistic activity,
- to participate in the doctoral education,
- to be able to give lectures in a foreign language as well.

From the above-mentioned preconditions three questions have been debated very intensively. „Truly recognised researcher“ is a critical point for college tenures given the lack of demand for research during decades in the college sphere. Practically hundreds of college teachers became reader or professor without any research activity. A lot of colleges publish local yearbooks, as a media for publication of staff members, whose academic level would not be enough to publish articles in the national or international academic reviews. The criteria of „foreign language speaking“ among teaching oriented college staff and the „teaching on doctorate course“ are really problematic for staff members whose career belong to the universities which do not organise Ph. D. programs for their field. This is a serious contradiction that the universities „produce“ the PhD titles and the habilitations meanwhile the existence of enough professor is a precondition for forming new faculties, whereas in any other area the universities increase there own prestige and „fund themselves“ from state budget.

### *The process of invitation*

The institution council expresses its opinion on applicants for posts of university professor. In the last decade the most significant contradiction concerned the right of students in this whole process. It has happened several times that the students' organisations (having  $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{3}$  of the seats of university councils) refused the appointment of a professor from *political* reasons. Principally that kind of non academic viewpoint can motivate the academic members council, too, but the representatives of „foreign“ fields are interested in to accept the academic opinion of the concrete filed – hoping similar response, when their own professor status will be vacant.

This whole process – brought by the act of 1993 – guarantees for the leading elite of universities to invite new members into the academic staff and practically means an absolute obstacle to force somebody to the university from outside or from „above.“ In academic matters and with regard to the staff-policy the university is really independent. Since 1999 (a modification of the act) the act the Accreditation Committee got right a „last checking“ before the (formal) decision of the minister and the president. It is a kind of national level academic control – naturally with new bargains and new experts, new actors.

### *The situation of an appointed professor or a reader is very stable*

The President of the Republic may dismiss a university professor only if

- a) he/she has reached the age of seventy years; or
- b) he/she has seriously violated the norms of academic ethics, or for some other reason has become unworthy to fulfil his position as a professor and that this fact has been established in the framework of a disciplinary procedure; or
- c) the university professor himself/herself requests it.

In case of the employment the head of the higher education institution exercises rights of the university and college professors, with the exception of appointment and dismissal.

### *Cleavages within university tenures*

Because of the expansion of the higher education and because of the forced transformation of certain colleges into „universities“ a new cleavage appeared within the academic staff of universi-

ties: to belong to a Ph. D. school, respectively to be a founding member of PhD- school on the one side, to be involved only into the undergraduate teaching on the other side.

#### *The integration and the staff*

The act ordered: a university may be established and may operate if it is capable of offering and it is suitable for several areas of science as well to offer different courses with each area, further, within areas of science various areas of learning in various fields of studies. This order conflicted some important groups of the staff, especially not the academically weakest forces of the Hungarian Higher Education. The small institutions from the countryside in different towns could form formal agreements and have become a „university“. Whereas one of the best (and internationally recognised) institutions: for instance the University of Economy was threatened that it would lose its university status. (It taught „only one“ subject. The staffs of these universities were entirely uninterested to accept the suggestions of the governments, for example to join to the University of Budapest as an economic faculty. The explanation was that the allowances of the host institution, referring to the bureaucratic expenses of major grants wined by the staff of the University of Economy would have been much higher if they would belong to the greater University of Budapest.)

#### *The „compulsory“ PhD school and the staff*

The other precondition of being a university is to provide at least a four-year-long university graduate education, and further studies on general and/or specialised education. The precondition was to carry out scientific research, doctoral courses or liberal arts education as well as to award the title Ph. D. or the title of liberal arts (DLA). Some new institutions changed their profile from college to university. Among the staff there were enough persons who possessed CSc. and Ph. D. But there were no DSc. or member of Academy. Without that high –ranking academics, the Ph. D. school has no chance to be accredited by the national level accreditation council. This precondition – concerning the running of a Ph. D. school forced the local elites „jump two“ – in the situation when they can jump only one (from fulfilling the precondition of being „college“ to fulfil the preconditions of being „university“). In these institutions a lot of members possessing DSc. as well as members of the academy were invited formally, by only asking their „name“ and not their works. There are conflicts within those new universities for the following reason. Some groups of scholars and staff members who are very much interested to obtain the university status and they are ready to pay a lot of money for persons who only minimally contribute to the real teaching and research work whereas on the hand there are others who would prefer not inviting such academics in order to save money for their own salaries and improving work conditions.

#### *The debate on the market oriented activities and financing of higher education*

Higher education institutions according to regulations laid down in a later passed Act – in line with regulations concerning vocational training – may conduct accredited higher vocational education organised within the school-system, and may issue certificates appropriate for such activity, in accordance with requirements prescribed for higher level qualifications laid down in the National Qualification Register if the possibility for continuing education on college or university

level is assured by the higher education institution within its own framework, and if one third of the knowledge obtained in the higher vocational education may be transferred to college or university credit. The same regulations shall apply to transferring college or university credits to higher vocational education.

The interests of staff are rather contradictory at this point. Some of them engaged into the non-higher educational level teaching process, to get some extra income. But because of the academic level of these courses (being less selective, for example) necessarily lower, there are groups in every institute that opposed this. The academic elite of greater universities was also concerned: they argue that a person who fulfilled a non-higher educational course, got a credit which is accepted by a college, and the college-credit has to be accepted by the university, the level of exact knowledge of a student will be very different varying from subject to subject.

#### *Getting state money with increasing number of students and/or research oriented elites?*

The state finances the HE after the number of „state financed students place“. Different-size supports belong to different subjects. Naturally, there are intensive debates within the academic staff about the real size of these supports. Naturally, the norms themselves are a debated question. In some professions the average norm could be more than enough – in other fields the norms could be too small or not differentiated enough. For example, the faculty of arts got a fixed and equal norm after the number of faculty of arts students. Naturally, a field which requires hundreds of West European or American books and reviews needs much more money than, for example, Hungarian literature where the classical sources are given in the library. On the other hand, the „average norm“ could be a very small sum especially in the small Institutions. The traditional forces of agricultural or industrial colleges could guarantee to maintain expensive laboratories or special experimental farms – although fewer and fewer students attend the subjects. In these institutes the imbalance between the cost and benefit of the different subjects has been growing each year.

Naturally, there is a contradiction within the large universities too. The special small sciences (Assyriology, Portuguese) are taught to only a dozen students. The academic oligarchy of Budapest University has realised the high prestige of these – relatively „expensive“ – departments, consequently there are no plans for destroying these fields. But the leading elite of these departments is afraid that the process of managerial leadership of higher education (which is only a plan, but supported by every government since 1990) would be dangerous for them. There are intensive debates among staff members on „who finances who“ in this system? The Research Allocation determined by the annual state budgetary act will be available for the support of scientific research, technical development and working groups in higher education institutions, and for ensuring the conditions for the programmes preparing students to acquire doctoral degrees within the framework of doctorate education. The amount of the Research Allocation must be determined on the basis of the increase of the number of teachers and researchers working in higher education institutions possessing scientific or artistic degrees, the number of those participating in state financed full time doctoral education and the research support norm. (9/E. §) The research support norm may not be less than the lowest education norm multiplied two. This new order passed by the social-liberal parliamentary majority has supported the quality-oriented groups.

*Extra scholarship possibilities?*

Alternative staff income possibilities were introduced in different government terms. In the period of the first social-liberal government (1994-1998) great progress was made in the financing of higher education. The so-called „Szechenyi“ scholarship was a significant sum (comparable to a full salary) for financing the qualified (but not old) elite, preventing them from leaving the country, stopping the brain drain. It was a scholarship and not a normal salary, so it was not necessary to pay it to staff-members from low-prestige universities and colleges. In the time of the year of monetary restrictions, paying a significant amount of money for the best teachers was the only solution. The selection was made in an academic way including the university and R and D academic elite. One year later the possibility of applying for a scholarship was opened to the non full time employed academics of higher education.

After 1998 the new – right wing – government cancelled the Széchenyi Professor scholarship, and introduced a new possibility in 2000. The act stated (In its Section 10/A) that in the system of competition, university readers, college professors, researchers (scientific senior advisor) appointed at higher education institutions (including researchers of a unit of the Hungarian Scientific Academia operating at higher education institutions), having scientific or an equal artistic diploma may receive, for a period of three years, the Széchenyi István Professorial Scholarship. The new scholarship was not open to professors; it complemented the salary of the readers up to the level of a professor’s salary. Some assistant lecturer and lecturer have similar possibility for apply the so-called „Békésy György Post-doctoral Scholarship“ in order to carry out original research or artistic activity. The Békésy scholarship complemented the salary up to the level of a university reader’s salary.

The National Research Found is an independent body. The support from this is applicable individually and the member of boards and the experts are invited in different fields of HE and R and D institutions. The precondition of the application is the PhD, but the researchers or staff members can apply for it (in the name of a society or any formally created foundation) without the permission of theirs employee institution (in the period 2003-2006 658 academics got 20 million Euro. 55% of applicants got support.). Some other national level foundation supports the researches, in which the PhD is not a precondition (OTKA, 2003).

Table 6: National and institutional level decisions concerning staffing

National political level (parliament, ministry)	Creating new institutions, forcing the unification of institution (with great advantage and disadvantage of academics)
	Creating new acts and orders for employment
	Creating new salary table
	Defining the number of financed students field by field, institute by institute
National academic level (intermediate bodies, accreditation committee)	Extra research funds for individual applicants
	Extra scholarships for individual applicants
	Extra high academic titles (DSc, member of Academy)
National – Institutional level (a compromise necessary)	Appointing professors
	Opening subjects
	Creating PhD-schools
Institutional level (institute council or department)	Appointing all other staff member
	Electing all leaders of university
	Defining the clients (the rule of selection of applicants and students)
	Inner regulations (compulsory lessons)

This table shows a kind of sociological reality and not the formal cognisance!

### 3. Attractiveness of the academic workplace

#### 3.1 Pay scales and current earnings

##### Academic salary

The salary system till the late 1990s was determined by the „Public servant system“. As in every German-type public servant system the salaries were determined by the level of education and the number of years that spent in one’s office. The public servant system guaranteed plus money after a second diploma, but it was impossible to stimulate or to remunerate getting new academic positions. Since the late 90s a new academic salary system was created for the academic staff of higher education and for the research institutions. The system -since 2000- followed the academic rank. The trade union – saving the interest of older professors – involved a seniority-ladder within one-one academic categories. Nearby this a radical increase (56%!) in the salaries of staff members occurred in 2002.

The standard amount of the basic salary of a university professor in the first year of her/his professorship is used as the relative indicator to define all other salaries.

Table 7: Salary table

Category	Grades	Ratio of basic salary of „univ. prof. 1“ (%)	HUF	in Euro
University professor	3	160	576,000	2,156
University professor	2	130	468,000	1752
University professor	1	100	360,000	1,348
University reader	3	76	273,600	1,024
University reader	2	73	262,800	984
University reader	1	70	252,000	943
University associate	2	53	190,800	714
University associate	1	50	180,000	674
University assistant	-	40	144,000	539
College professor	3	81	291,600	1,092
College professor	2	78	280,800	1,051
College professor	1	75	270,000	1,011
College reader	3	61	219,600	822
College reader	2	58	208,800	782
College reader	1	55	198,000	741
College associate	2	48	172,800	647
College associate	1	45	162,000	606
College assistant	-	40	144,000	539

<http://www.mnb.hu/napiarfolyam.asp?id=16> [http://www.fdsz.hu/fdsz\\_tartalom.html](http://www.fdsz.hu/fdsz_tartalom.html)

In the national labour market these salaries are can be compared to different incomes as follows. The minimum income of a young teacher in public education is 70% of a young academics, the maximum salary of an old teacher is 33% of an old full-professor. (Naturally the greatest part of academics never reaches the full professor status. So the fact that an old secondary school teacher – before retiring – earn 70% of a similar university reader – is much more relevant. The distance between the secondary school and university more or less from the starting till the finishing point of the career.

The monthly average of „non-manual workers“ (a wide category of central statistical office) income in the public administration and defence reaches the College reader-“1“ income. There is a little more money in the industrial sector. In the financial sector it reaches the income of a university reader „1“. Obviously the „non-manual“ workers usually consist of person holding very different educational degrees, so in the reality the managers and other leaders of industry and financial sector could earn 10 times more than a university professor. ([http://www.ksh.hu/pls/ksh/docs/index\\_fontosabb\\_adatok.html](http://www.ksh.hu/pls/ksh/docs/index_fontosabb_adatok.html))

Three years before a survey described the situation of the young elite. By that time the average net income of a young engineer earned 153% of a young academic, and economist earned 209% of a young academic. (Educatio, 2002/2/p235) The business elite – in 1998 – earned 9 times more than a university professor! (Sociological database of Gy Lengyel, University of Economy). All together we can say that technical and economical elites earned much more in the private sphere.

In an international comparison the situation is somewhat more complex. In principle the above-mentioned incomes count is extremely low. Practically the real purchasing value of these salaries is higher than in a EU country. The everyday experience shows that the living standard of a Hungarian full-professor reaches 70% of the European average of tenures, if we do not speak about travel possibilities, and purchasing books printed in Europe and in the US. Otherwise almost every academics has a second perhaps a third income. These second-third incomes determine the real cleavages within the academic staff.

#### *Income-structure within the Ph. D./CSc. holder group*

In order to provide exact figures about the academic elite of the Hungarian society we have to speak at first about the group which has academic degrees. The sizes of incomes – in absolute and relative terms – has changed a lot since a survey described the situation of the late 1990s. These older data could be interesting as a sign of the inner cleavages and differentiation of the academic staff (Bukodi:1998, Angelusz- Tardos, 1997). The head teachers in 1997 earned 114% of academic average, the head researchers earned 121% of it. The members of academy earned 145% of it. The ordinary teachers earned more or less the same as the ordinary researchers. There were no significant differences between the spheres of social science and natural science. This income was a little better than the average in the public sphere and significantly worse than in the market sphere, in which the intellectuals and professionals earned 141% of the academic average. By that time about 76% of the income of academics came from the main job, and 24% from other sources.

#### *The role of extra (out of salary) sources is relatively high in some groups*

1. Members of academy (the role of extra income:37%). To be a member of academy naturally carries a very high prestige. A lot of institutions – in the market and in the public sphere – invited members of academy to its board or supervisory council. They wanted to be represented with

their names. That kind of board membership sometimes requires relatively little work, so some members of the academy are able to fill lots of these kinds of positions.

2. The social scientists (the role of extra income: 36%). A lot of social scientists publish not in clearly academic but in political and popular reviews. Since the crisis of communism social scientists have had an outstanding position in political life, too. (Adviser positions nearby MPs, ministers, members of the municipal bodies etc. Only to be an MP is a full job, the other political positions are generally a part time job. The members of local councils could fulfil any academic position.) A lot of programmes in the state and commercial televisions need (according to Hungarian customs) experts – sociologists, political analysts, and historians. These are the main sources of the extra income of the social scientists.

The shortage of student quotas in the fields of social sciences provides a source of income. There is 5-10 times competition among the applicants for the university student status in the field of law, social sciences, economy etc. These secondary school students pay high fees for preparatory courses organised by universities, and some of them (not getting enough credits to attend universities in normal student status) are ready to pay for the full price courses at the universities. Teaching both at the preparatory courses and at the full price courses could be a remarkable extra income for academic staff.

3. The technical scientists (the role of extra income: 30%). The technical scientists are naturally concentrated in the technical university, and in some major technical research institutes. A special type of income spread in this sphere: the academic elite used the very expensive equipment of the technical university with no – or minimal – financial compensation for their own private work, which was ordered by industry.

4. Naturally in this way the head researchers earn more than average (the role of extra income: 27%). There is a custom – especially in the medical sciences – that the head of the department is called as „co-author“ or „adviser“ in the projects. Sometimes this relationship means not only prestige but extra money, too. In almost every research unit the head of the research unit got 1% of the income of grants or research supports of any staff member for some administrative work related to the project.

#### *The role of extra (out of salary) sources is relatively low in some groups*

1. Women: (the role of extra income: 21%). The women are over-represented in the teacher training colleges in which the role of extra income is naturally low. The other side is the weaker motivation: at this moment the Hungarian society tolerates the „academic women without good income“ as prestige, much more than the same status among males.

2. The countryside employees (the role of extra income: 20%). Naturally the most important sources of the extra income – press, media, international firms, and solvent secondary school students – are concentrated in Budapest.

3. Living alone (the role of extra income: 20%). Perhaps the motivation of getting extra income is lower in this group.

4. Agricultural scientists (the role of extra income: 20%). Practically it is possible to find only a few market actors, who would be ready to order any service by the agricultural scientists. The agrarian policies of the right wing governments have created an obstacle to the formation of real capitalist agricultural firms in Hungary.

5. Natural scientists (the role of extra income: 17%). There is not any real market for the extra activity of natural sciences. As the popularity of natural sciences as a field of undergraduate students declined – the full-price prep. courses for entering exams did not mean extra income any

more. (It changes: at the time of communism, the natural sciences as a field of study were popular among the traditional middle class, because this sector did not belong directly to the spheres of ideology or to power like law, social sciences or the economy).

*The relative size of the income*

So the net total income was – in 1997 – higher than the average academic salary. It was 229% of it in case of the members of academy, 165% in the case of head researchers, 148% in the case of the head teachers of HE, 130% in the case of teachers of HE, 121% in the case of researchers. The income of scientists comprises two-thirds of the income of their families. The typical wife of an academic male is a secondary school teacher, or a not very successful lady in some other profession. The typical husband of an academic female perhaps earns a little more than his wife, but the high percentage of single female academics statistically compensates this fact. The income of scientists is comparable to that of the leading intellectuals and leader elite of Budapest if we consider the income per family member. The head teachers did not earn significantly more than the ordinary teachers of higher education institutions, but the head researchers earn more than the ordinary researchers of research institutions. We can find two reasons for this: the typical extra income at a university or in a college (the preps) as low prestige work is much less problematic for the ordinary teachers than the head teachers. The second important argument for the minimal difference is in the age: the average age of a teacher is 51; the average age of a head teacher is 53. The average age of researchers is 50, the head researchers 56. So the difference between the heads and not heads is a little bigger in research institutions than the HE. The third element of difference between the spheres is that the Doctors of Sciences are concentrated in the leading research institutes and not head teacher positions, and the Doctor of Sciences as a title means a significant grant every month, without any extra activity.

We can say that the salary does not magnetise the young elite to the higher education, comparing the market-jobs, or comparing the best public administration positions. But the second job possibilities, extra income possibilities significantly better than in other sphere of public spheres. Otherwise since the new salary system belongs to salary to the positional rank, which related (principally) to the owning of Ph. D., in the new system ambitious young academics can earn more than a non-ambitious older one.

*Table 8: Researchers and research activity in different spheres*

	<b>Scientists and engineers in research and developing institutions</b>	<b>Teachers and scientists in research units of higher education</b>	<b>Scientists and engineers in R&amp;D units of enterprises</b>
FTE	4,653	5,852	3,901
In nature	5,366	17,760	4,750
% FTE	86.7	33	82.1

Official 2003, Kutatás 2000

These figures show that in the research institutions the research activity of researchers gets closer to the 100%. (Their administrative roles have become smaller, but naturally this type of figure is very „soft“). 1/3 of the active work time of the academic staff of higher education belongs to re-

search activity. This ratio had not declined since the number of student started to increase. It shows that this information is very „soft“: it is impossible that the student/staff ratio has changed, the number of lessons of staff has increased – and the ratio of the time for research activity has not changed. It is customary in the higher education institutions to say, „1/3 of my activity is re-search activity.“

Table 9: Role of part time job academics in the whole academic staff of Higher Education

	University	College
Professor	16,9	27,2
Reader	15,3	16
Lecturer	16	18,8
Assistant	11,8	18,7

Official 2003

The higher role of part-time employees in the college sphere shows that after 1993 the colleges employed some qualified person to fulfil the requirements of accreditation as part time employee. The relative high ratio of part time employees on university level is determined by the country-side universities.

#### *Career of PhD/CsC holder group in and out from academic spheres*

Looking at the career history, the attractiveness of the academic career has declined. In the cohorts 60-69 which was born before 1938 we can find 13% who *started* their career as a head: at that time – in the 1950s – the regime trusted the newly socialised young elite as opposed to the old (called „Bourgeois“, „religious“ etc.) one. The youngest generation – who was born after 1957 – find a consolidated academic world, with very stable positions. Only 4% of this generation has acquired a leading position. This generation – the majority of them between 30-39 at the time of the survey – has remained very underrepresented in the leading position.

As said before only a part of people who have got an academic degree is (or was) employed in the academic sphere. Comparing the generations we can say that only 46% of the generation of 60-69 is/was employed in the academic sphere, but this sphere employs 63% of the x-39 generation. In the older generation – especially in the 1960s and 1970s – the academic legitimacy was a good personal capital for the administrative, political or plan-economy-type „business“ career, therefore these spheres „invited“ the academics from the sphere of academic life. After the changes of 1990 a professionalisation started in public administration, as well as management-oriented business life, therefore the importance of academic qualification became smaller in those fields. The holders of new academic qualifications remained in academic life (Bukodi:1998).

There is one field in which the majority of the degree holders belong to the non-academic sphere: the health sector. The titles of CSc and DSc of medicine are a kind of precondition to getting leading positions in hospitals. (It is an interesting phenomenon that in the university and academic spheres the CSc or DSc as a title is not used very commonly in the everyday life of the academic institutions or universities. In hospitals the CSc and DSc holders are called and mentioned with this title. The customs of medical universities are similar to this pattern and not the general academic patterns.)

### *Opinions about importance of elements of academic activities*

In the survey there were some other questions concerning the opinions of the academic elite. The academic elite used a scale of 1-10 and the average rated the number of publications at 3.2 points, the importance of research topic at 4.1 points, and taking part in higher education at 4.2 points. The younger generation prefers value of the publications, the older generation prefers value of teaching. Giving lectures in higher education – is a prestigious activity for the older generation, and sometimes does not require new researches and new academic qualities. Giving seminars or special courses, is the duty of younger staff members who are interested in publications. The articles have to have new data or achievements – therefore this is the field in which they can show themselves in a real competitive situation, this is the way to increase the independence of younger elite from their bosses.

CSc holders prefer teaching, DSc holders prefer publications (DSc holders are over-represented in research institutions as opposed to higher education). The members of academy and the DSc holders rank higher the situation of technical and material resources of research than the CSc holders – compared to the international and national average. This higher elite – being in leading positions of institutions and in the research fund committees is able to define its relative „weight“ more realistically. The CSc-holders – in lower positions – are in more intensive competition and naturally have bigger ambitions – than the resources would allow. They usually feel that the money or equipment is „not enough“ – it has been given to other researchers by the director or by the Research Fund.

### *3.2 The symbolical-historical cleavages within the academic staff*

#### *Being the member of academic staff in university and college*

We have mentioned several elements of the college/university cleavages in the employment and legal situation. Regarding the symbolical markets of the positions and social prestige, we will find similar or deeper cleavages. Historically the greatest part of full-job academic staff was employed by universities, and the private docents were not employed (in a permanent job) by the universities at all. The non-university level of colleges was not a relevant factor in the higher education. After 1949 the situation had changed: the new quickly growing industry, the planned economy, as well as the collective agriculture had offered many mid-level positions. Numerous technical and agricultural, commercial etc. colleges had emerged. Since 1958 the teachers of 6-10 age groups and the nurses of kindergartens have not been trained on secondary school level, but on college level (Biró, 2002). The staffs of these institutions were very different from the staff of universities. The academic qualifications – doctoral thesis, or publishing in academic reviews of national or international level had not been a requirement for the academic staff of the colleges. The curriculum of the colleges was very practical. The colleges were very small institutions; so the members of academic staff did not have enough time to specialise itself in any particular scientific topic. All these circumstances resulted in the increasing gap between the academic level of colleges and universities. The interest of the staff of colleges and of the staff of universities can be very different. There are important and numerous groups within the college sphere which are not interested in the integration of universities and college level. (And not interested in the Bologna process, at all.) Integration into a university means that in the governing bodies of universities the traditional elite of college professors had not been sufficiently prepared.

There has been an intensive debate in the circles of higher education since the 1980s, concerning the relative size the „extra-moneys coming from state budget“ (scholarships, research-grants) have compared to the normal salaries. Generally the college-professors are interested in the higher ratio of salary – because in the competition for grants and scholarships the colleges have not been too successful. (Sometimes these opinions lead to funny argumentations. It would be an interesting case study to consider that in the mid 1990s, a new extra scholarship appeared in the low-paid higher education system: the „Széchenyi Professor Scholarship“. The social-liberal government stressed the aim of this Fund to keep the best scientists in the academic sphere and to stop the leaving of the home-learned professions -for business, industrial or abroad academic jobs. The requirements for the application were: academic excellence, publications, Ph. D./CSc, teaching practice in any sector of the higher education, academically based plan for academic activity for the next four year. The trade union of higher education employees protested by arguing: among the college professors, the Ph. D.-title is scarce, so an „affirmative action“ or a „numerus clausus“ would be necessary in order to guarantee, that the college-professors and college-readers (without any academic title!) would be eligible to obtain the scholarship designed for the best academics. The attractiveness of higher education: the existence of possibility of creating a real individual strategy from the quick career in a college to a slower career in a higher prestige university.

*Being member of academic staff in the „main stream“ universities and in separated institutions*

There is another cleavage between the traditional universities and specialised ones. In the circumstances of planned economy and the communist-type of public administration, every department of the Party and every department of the Plan Office, as well as every ministries did have a special responsibility for „a field of social life“. Therefore the University of Medical Sciences, the College of Health were separated from the university. They were supervised by the Ministry of Health and informally influenced by the political groups, which were responsible for the welfare system, or for the health policy. The universities of agriculture, horticulture, several colleges of agrarian and forestry activities were supervised by the Ministry of Agriculture. The military university and the different military colleges were supervised by the Ministry of Defence etc. Not all the ministries and political circles had their „own“ university, but all of them managed its own academic staff in ministerial research institutions (labour, transport etc), or in different museums (history of sport, industry etc). The different sometimes very small institutes had maintained their autonomy until the present – although the original governmental logic had already disappeared. There is a common place (or prejudice?) within the academic community, that on the fields which are separated from the university life (agriculture, defence etc.) it was possible to obtain academic titles or full professorships in a much easier way, than in the „normal“ academic life. The isolation of those institutions and social groups remained an important obstacle in the working together of the different groups of the higher education, as well in the rational management of expensive technical equipment. After 1990 an other type of separation appeared: the church maintained universities. (Catholic, Calvinist, Jewish, Lutheran) All salary and work conditions are very similar to the state universities. The Hungarian academic elite is a very secular one; therefore the competition in these universities not as intensive as the parallel state maintained ones. These cleavages offer real alternative life-strategies for academics too.

*Being member of academic staff in research institutes and in higher education*

Before the Second World War the universities were the institutions with organised research. The Academy had financed various projects through scholarships, as well the printing of books, and had also supported travelling abroad, but there were no scientific institutes. The Hungarian Academy changed its face after the 1949. A lot of old academics were fired and the Academy became an authority of science, which gave the academic titles. The Hungarian Academy organised national research institutes, similar to the Soviet Academy. Without referring to this, the French model (CRNS) was the other pattern. Gradually these institutes started to become factors as important in the potential career of scholars as the universities.

In certain periods of the Communist Regime, the academic institutes were much more comfortable places for research than the universities. The universities were forced to be practical training institutions. The main function of the faculty of arts and of the faculty of sciences was to be „secondary school teacher-training institutes“. The 50s and 60s the „main task“ of the Marxist science was to „re-conceptualise“ literature, economy and history as such instead of treating specialised topics. In this respect there was no difference between teaching and research. Later the situation had changed: the re-conceptualising of history, of literature etc had already been „ready“ so the too general topics and narratives became less important. Since the 1960s, the researchers of academic institutes started to specialise. In the higher education it was not really possible.

Since the late 60s – especially in the social sciences a further phenomenon appeared. The system started to tolerate the opposition, the intellectual independency of academic life – however not in the university sphere which was an important ideological forum. The staff of the institutes of social sciences was much more independent than the staff of universities. Due to a more intensified specialisation in the academic institutes these workplaces started to offer more independence not only on the politically, but also in the sense of the liberty to treat a wider range of academic paradigms. In the later period of socialism a new type of research institutes appeared. These institutes served first and foremost the supporting of ministries to form governmental strategies of education, labour, agriculture etc. These institutes had mainly been designed for applied social sciences. In reality, they became parallel centres for basic research. A lot of researchers were working in these institutions in topics, which had no close relevance for governmental activities. Some of these institutions became more „world-oriented“, the most interdisciplinary places for particular fields of research.

There are great shift in the last decades. It was an extremely quick mobility within the youngest generation of Ph. D. holders. In 1985 only 27% of this generation was employed by higher education. Till 1990 it had reached the 35% and in 1997 it had reached 39%. This is a multi-causal phenomenon. A lot of new academic positions have appeared in the countryside universities, which have offered a quicker movement in the academic ladder for the young researchers. The act of 1993 started to exclude the traditional leading elite – without academic titles – from colleges, so the college leadership had to offer possibilities for mobile and younger scholars with academic degrees. The act of higher education and the accreditation process forced a lot of academics to choose between the simultaneously held jobs, and a lot of them chose the job in higher education. The objective figures (the international student/age group statistics) and the party programs since 1989 have led to an expectation among the academics that there would be a quick enlargement of higher education, therefore there would be great possibilities of a career.

On the other hand, the attractiveness of researcher jobs declined. The higher level of independence in ideological and political terms used to be one of the great attractions till the late 80s of the research institutions as opposed to higher education. After 1989 as pluralism became the normal situation in universities too, this difference disappeared. The autonomy of universities –

published in the act of 1993 – became a strong guarantee of freedom within the university – at a time when the right-wing government restricted the resources of the state research institutions in which researchers with liberal and socialist views were in a majority. It was clear that the danger of the restriction of the budget of a university (which would hurt not only the employees, but the interests of thousands of students) is smaller than the restriction of any „only“ research units.

In the early 90s the institutions of the academy got into an equivocal situation. The political elite – the right wing and the liberal one, too – called the model of the parallel existence of academic institutions and universities, which was similar to the Max Plank institutes, or the CRNS model of Germany and France, simply a „Stalinist model“. The right wing elite wanted to go back to the Humboldtian model of pre communist Hungary, the liberals preferred the Anglo-Saxon model, and therefore they stressed the necessity of integration of research institutes with the universities. A lot of researchers were afraid of the crisis and escaped into the university sphere. This career pattern is in relation to the social background too. The children of intellectuals are over-represented in the elite research institutions. The children of physical workers are relatively over-represented in the research institutions that were linked to the circumstances of the plan economy: heavy industry, collective agriculture. The members of this group felt that their integration into the academic sphere has been weaker.

The more stable income circumstances of the university sphere is – less additional resources, weaker international relations, weaker symbolic compensational possibilities – the more important is for them, than for the researchers coming from intellectual families. After this process, the cleavage between the staffs of higher education (especially the college sphere) and the research institutions became deeper than before. There are real possibilities for the academics to choose from these traditions, and there are possibilities to work in a research and in a teaching institution parallel.

#### *Being member of academic staff in University of Budapest and in the countryside*

One of the most important changes the shift of the Budapest-countryside relation. Traditionally the prestige of Budapest-elite was incomparable higher than the academic elite of countryside universities. The academic elite in Budapest is part of a huge very educated „class“ – the „intellectual class“ of Budapest, the only „cosmopolis“ of the country. It was in a competitive situation (internationally, market-public relation, and existing of parallel universities). The university professors of Budapest (as members of a multi-positional elite group) were important actors in the national level political life. There was one prime minister and some ministers of culture, health and justice who came from a university position. All of them were professors of (one of) the Budapest universities. The members of academic oligarchy of the University of Economy played role in the most important advisory committees in the pre-communist, reform-communist, and post-communist periods. The first prime minister of post communist period belonged to the academic oligarchy (he was the director and scientific leader of the medical history museum) the first Chair of Parliament of the post-communist period was a history professor; the second president of the republic was (has been up to now) a professor of international law. All of them were employed by Budapest academic institutions originally.

One of the important phenomena of the Hungarian Academic elite was that „to be a university professor in Budapest“ and „to be a university professor in the countryside“ are two distinct issues, and imply a very different image. In the last decade many changes disappeared from this traditional Budapest-countryside cleavage. The university of Budapest – being a very prestigious centre – has been dominated by the academic oligarchy, which has been continuously in position

since the 1970s or early 1980s in a lot of fields. In the countryside universities a new local elite appeared which – in a national level competition – had to compensate its particularity. So sometimes in some professions excellent professors organised excellent departments in the countryside universities as opposed to Budapest University, where sometimes the traditional structures and personal relations have remained dominant.

In the hard competition for the academic positions, the staff, which does not possess the status of professor of the Budapest University, realised the slow upheaval of their academic ladder. They were employed as full-professors by the countryside universities. The academic elite of the non-teaching academic institutions (research institutes) was ambitious in getting a second (part time or full) job in the university sphere. This effect strengthened this tendency. The new and fast trains – West European type intercity trains made this tendency possible. New cleavages appeared within these countryside universities: „the intercity professors“ contra „local professors“. More precisely certain decisions related to the University of Debrecen, or Pecs or Miskolc, are „literally made“ on the train by those professors, which are located in Budapest but teach and are even heads of department in these towns. These „intercity professors“ have given birth in this way to a new lobby in the decision making process of the higher education. A part of the countryside elite – far away from the major libraries – has become more open for the possibilities of the Internet. (Using e-mail in communications, building websites etc.) Backwardness has sometimes become an advantage on the web. Far away from the most important national sources, they have become open for the international applications, too. The greatest international firms, the most important dailies and weeklies, the national level non-profit organisations, the public offices offered much better paying jobs for the young elites of Budapest. These workplaces are very prestigious too. The living conditions – especially renting flats – are much cheaper in the countryside towns. The best „part“ of young elite has not choose Universities of Budapest as workplace, but the attractiveness of local university as a workplace remained high for the best part of local youth. These facts caused that the advantages of Budapest started to decline in the last decade.

The statistical figures mirror an increasing of countryside elite: in the older generation, after getting a diploma in a countryside university only 66% started to work in the countryside university town, the others moved to Budapest. In the younger generation this figure has reached 82 percent. It shows that the last decades the countryside universities started to be a more popular workplace for young academics.

All of the above described phenomenon show that there are a lot of patterns, lot of different strategy of the academic career. The number of variations of strategies – contrary the common place that this is an over-regulated hierarchical system – really nice and exciting for a lot of people.

### *3.3 Women in higher staff positions*

Since 1946 there is no any formal obstacle of equality of woman in learning and teaching in any sphere of higher education. „Naturally“ the sociological and statistical data shows significant inequalities: less than 40% of staff is women. Naturally there are differences within this inequality in the different groups. In the national census of 2001 data about staff of higher education is forthcoming soon. However it is possible to provide one table based upon informally obtained data.

Table 10: Members of higher education staff

Age group	Total	Male	Female	Ratio of female
-29	1,623	803	820	50.5%
30-39	2,989	1,755	1,234	41.3%
40-49	3,932	2,180	1,752	44.6%
50-54	2,448	1,452	996	40.7%
55-59	1,972	1,315	657	33.3%
60-x	1,705	1,424	281	16.5%
SUM	14,669	8,929	5,740	39.1%

National census 2001

As we study the history of education, we can say, that the level of education reaches the stage of mass-education if the role of women becomes obviously bigger in the teaching staff. In addition to the elementary level, this has occurred on lower secondary and later upper secondary levels. Perhaps we can find a similar phenomenon in higher education too. In the generation, which started to work in the 1960s, only 1/3 of academic staff was woman. In the youngest generation – started to work in the late 1990s – the ratio of women was 50,2%. In the older generation men were generally over-represented within the highly educated group. In 1994 10,1% of the 60-64 men age group and only the 4.5% of the women age group graduated from the higher education. In the younger generations this difference has disappeared: 12.1% of 30-34 men age group and 13.5% of 30-34 women age group graduated from the higher education. The database of the ministry – shows the role of women in the different positions.

Table 11: Ratio of women to full time employees

University Prof	University Reader	University Lecturer	University Assist	
9,5	25,6	35	43	
College Professor	College Reader	College Lecturer	College Assistant	
25,4	42	51,8	63,4	
Language teacher	Phys. Ed. teacher	Stud. Host. Teacher	Other teacher	All and non academic teachers
76,5	32	35,7	32	37,7

Official 2003

The women are over-represented in the lower positions of higher education institutions, and much more represented in the sphere of colleges. The relatively low position of women in the hierarchy of HE determined the fact that the tenure hierarchy within the academic sphere shows a male dominance. 61% of the whole staff of HE is men, 81% of the group of CSc. holder are men, 89% of DSc. (a title which is attainable only 1/5 of Ph. D. or CSc. holder) are men, and 97% of the members of the academy are men. The positions naturally related these facts (Bukodi: 1998).

If we look for the Ph. D./CSc. holder group, the most „feminised“ spheres are the arts and music (40-50%) as well as ethnography and pharmacology. The art as an academic sphere is a traditional and important sphere of the women of Budapest. Pharmacology was one of the first professions, which opened itself for women at the turn of the last century. The ratio of female is 33% in the academic sphere of foreign and Hungarian languages and literature, education, psychology, sociology and political sciences. The language and literature as academic field recruits its scholars from the secondary schoolteacher students, and the whole teacher profession is a very feminine one. The „feminisation“ of education as an academic field is determined by the high role of women in the staff of the elementary school teacher training college and the departments of education in the university too (But all of the heads of university Education Departments are male...). Sociology and political science are relatively new fields – and in the 80s and 90s the ratio of women students – and Ph. D. students – expanded.

It is much more likely, that the typical *man* on the scientific field is „married“ than the „average man“ in the educated society. In the population 25% of the 30-39 year old higher educated group was not married – that ratio is only 13.8% among CSc. holder. In the older groups this difference remains. The reasons are clear: the academic staff is living in a relatively open life, meet a lot of people, travel a lot. The workplaces are very co-educated. All of these facts increase the chance to be married. We can find a very different picture looking at the female scientists. 16% of the age group 30-39 remained single in the whole university graduated woman population and 24.2% remained single among the female CSc. holders. The difference remains in every age group. The traditional woman-role is in a strong contradiction with the academic career.

There is no special program or any kind of „affirmative action“ to promote the role of women in the higher education. None of the political parties or trade unions aims to put it on agenda. Otherwise in the whole market sphere the discrimination against the woman is a sociological fact: for example the average income of the university graduated men 144,2% of the salary of university graduated women, and there are significant inequalities within the small professional groups too. That kind of inequalities – because of the salary system is impossible in the academic sphere (Magyar Hirlap, 2002.04.27). All together the attractiveness of an academic career for a young women is more favourable than some decades before.

### 3.4 The younger generation

Table 12 shows that in the college sphere there a much quicker career possible for young academics.

Table 12: The average size of birth cohorts among academic staff of higher education

1971/1977	270,5
1962/1971	298,9
1952/1963	393,2
1947/1951	489,6
1942/1946	394,4

National census 2001

The census of 2001 has shown that the generation, which was born before and directly after the second world, war not only the most prestigious, but also relatively the most numerous in the higher education. So contrary to the relatively low student/staff ratio, the higher education has to employ a lot of young people in the next decade. The number of mid generation relatively low, so parallel to the change of older and mid generation, the younger generation will step into higher academic positions. A young academic – with PhD – has a lot of possibilities to festinate the traditionally slow climbing in the academic ladder: the National Research Found have a separated found for the under 35 groups, there are much more international scholarships in the EU for Hungarian young academics, than 10 years before, the national level scholarships help the young academics reach the income level of readers or professors.

Table 13: Old and young academics (%)

	<b>University Professor</b>	<b>University Reader</b>	<b>University Lecturer</b>	<b>University Assistent</b>	
Ratio of younger than 30	0	0.2	1.4	26.8	
Ratio of pensioner	16.3	5.7	3.3	0.1	
	College Professor	College Reader	College Lecturer	College Assistent	
Ratio of younger than 30	0.5	0.1	4.3	42.7	
Ratio of pensioner	18.4	12.3	3.4	2.5	
	Language teacher	Phys. Ed. teacher	Stud. Host. teacher	Other teacher	All acad. and non acad. Teachers
Ratio of younger than 30	12.8	6.8	8.9	28.1	8.4
Ratio of pensioner	1.3	3.4	5.4	5	6.2

Official 2003

#### 4. Internationalisation

The National Statistical Office published the fact, that 10% of supports of Hungarian Research and development is coming from abroad. There are expert, who appraises it is 30%. This contradiction is possible because up to now the most important (and most popular) route of internationalisation is the private one. Individual visits to abroad, and organising individual pilot tours, applying individual scholarships, inviting foreign professors to visit to Hungary a half-tourist half professional way. A wide and thorough (and long and expensive) research should be necessary to understand the situation of the internationalisation. As this is not possible, the main sources of internationalisation are outlined (Világosság 2003: 1-2):

- World Bank;
- Fulbright scholarship (Hungarian-American intergovernmental agreement, 500 Americans visit and research in Hungary, 450 Hungarian to US);

- Tempus program (within the Phare) helping the modernisation of higher education. It financed curriculum building, economy-higher-education contacts, university administration modernisation, 6000 student visit to abroad in the period 1990-1997);
- 12 European Studies Centre;
- Support of European Social Found;
- Erasmus: 4200 students visit abroad (the dominant fields, in which the research supports and staff mobility occur are languages, business and managerial studies, education);
- Intergovernmental agreements: 800 persons (from 2000 applicants) get scholarship to abroad. (6 month/year on average);
- The Soros Foundation (since 1984) has paid 21 million US dollar to Hungarian Higher education and research. 60% of this covers the infrastructure modernisation of social science departments;
- George Soros finances the Central European University and Open Society Institute (the most international units of Higher education in Central Europe);
- Socrates programme of EU.

Another meaning of internationalisation is that the Hungarian ministry supports all element of the Bologna process. At this moment nobody knows how the Bologna process will restructure the main cleavages of higher education.

## **5. Concluding remarks**

The income possibilities and working conditions within the higher education comparing to the situation of industrial, financial or public administration leader elite is definitely low. The government guaranteed salaries are not comparable to the salaries of leader elite in the free market. The second income possibilities cause a real diversification within the academic staff. The social and political prestige of being employed in higher education is relatively high, but it is very diversified too. There are a lot of combinations to build individual careers and life patterns in the academic life and this is the real attractiveness of it:

- combining the teaching and research work, its psychological advantages;
- being a prestigious person in the local society, local marriage market, being in the network of local elite of towns or Budapest;
- applying international scholarships and research grant – compensating the too slow climbing on the academic ladder;
- applying for support to travel abroad, forming international friendships;
- collecting more jobs within higher education, full time or part time;
- using the infrastructure of HE institutions and formally „official hours“ to build the individual career, research grants etc.;
- using the name of university for private success in the real and virtual market, media;
- choosing between the slow career as a member of a high prestige university and a quick career (after getting Ph. D.) in a small prestige college;
- enjoying the bigger flexibility of working conditions and accountability;
- enjoying the „academic freedom“ the weak orders of curricula, the weak influence of heads of department.

This diversification and variety of career possibilities and life-style possibilities is the real attractiveness of the academic career of today.

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# **The Academic Workplace Country Report Ireland**

*Maureen Killeavy*

## **1. Introduction**

Higher education in Ireland is provided mainly by the universities, institutes of technology and colleges of education. A number of smaller institutions provide specialised courses in such areas as art, design, law, medicine, music, and theology. The Irish third level education system is structured in a two-tier or binary model comprising the university sector and the institutes of technology. Most Irish third level institutions obtain the major part of their funding from the state and the universities and institutes of technology receive ninety percent of their income from state funds. Although funded by the state the universities are private institutions institutional autonomy, a right that has been underwritten in the legislation (Universities Act 1997) The universities however, are not independent of external control in that their duties and responsibilities have been laid down in law. They are also monitored by a statutory body, the Higher Education Authority (HEA), which allocates the funding which comes to them from the state. The other major sector of the two tier or binary Irish third level education system is made up largely of the institutes of technology (ITs) which operate under the monitoring agency, the Higher Education and Training Awards Council (HETAC).

## **2. Employment and working conditions**

### *2.1 Legal regulations and collective bargaining*

Legal regulations governing academic staff in third level education in Ireland derive from a variety of legislative and regulatory measures comprising specific acts of parliament relating to education and educational institutions, national and EU employment law, statutory instruments, guidelines of statutory bodies, generally accepted industrial relations measures and individual agreements between academic staff associations and relevant institutions.

The recent Universities Act 1997 is of major importance in that it provides a legislative framework for the operation of all aspects of the universities' sector of the their level education system in Ireland. It is of particular relevance to the attractiveness of the academic workplace in that it includes matters relating to the tenured nature of academic employment, the governance, objectives and functions of the university, academic freedom, university autonomy and quality assurance matters. Prior to the enactment of the universities legislation in 1997, the notion of tenure for academic staff was enshrined in the statutes of the universities and this right was never challenged in the courts of the State. The tenured nature of academic employment involves in effect a fixed term contract on appointment as an academic extending to retirement age with dismissal only being possible on grounds of incompetence, disability or outrageous conduct (Irish Federation of University Teachers 1998, p.1). In a situation of redundancy, compensation equivalent to at least the salary outstanding to retirement age was considered to be the right of academic staff. In the case of the closure of an institution, as established with staff in Carysfort College reasonable redeployment was considered an alternative to compensation. The 1997 legislation provides an explicit guarantee of tenure in that it stipulates that a permanent, full-time member of the academic staff of the university is designated an officer of the institution (Universities Act 1997, 3.1). Further, the Act requires that a statute of the university be passed to provide for tenure. This provision places tenure on a firmer footing than was previously the case under the 1908 Act which regulated the operation of the institutions of the National University of Ireland prior to the recent legislation.

The initial appointment of a member of staff to an academic position in an Irish university has usually been at the assistant lecturer or lecturer level depending on the candidate's qualifications and prior experience. Currently, there is a growing tendency to amalgamate these two positions into a single lecturer scale. It is usual for a first appointment as a lecturer to be for a probationary period of twelve months. At the end of this period the promotions committee (made up of the senior officers of the university together with four elected academic staff representatives) decide on whether to award tenure or extend the probation period further. The guidelines used in deciding on the award of tenure include satisfactory performance of lecturing and other duties; evidence of interest in the pursuit of research and scholarship; evidence of interest in and contribution to the affairs of the department; and, the college and academic achievement. The award of a doctoral degree or equivalent constitutes adequate evidence of academic achievement. On completion of a satisfactory probation the lecturer is deemed to have tenure.

Two statutory bodies, the Higher Education Authority (HEA) and the Higher Education and Training Awards Council (HETAC), have a powerful, if indirect impact on academic staff on third level educational institutions in Ireland. The Higher Education Authority which dates from 1968 is the planning and development body for the university sector and the Higher Education and Training Awards Council, has an important, if less extensive remit in relation to non-university third level institutions. The Higher Education Authority Act 1971 that conferred statutory power on the HEA strengthened its role as the monitoring body for the universities with the responsibility for apportioning government funding in the sector. The Authority was given additional responsibilities under the Universities' Act, 1997. These include reviewing quality assurance procedures, equal opportunity policies and the strategic development plans of each institution and their implementation. These new responsibilities have serious implications for academic staff. This extension of the functions of the HEA, in particular the linking in one body the responsibility for policy matters. Budgetary allocations, accountability, the evaluation of cost effectiveness and the monitoring of quality assurance procedures gives that body a very powerful role within the university sector.

While the Higher Education Authority has a role in relation to quality assurance this role is a monitoring one. Unlike the situation in the UK and other EU countries where external agencies have a direct role in quality assurance and assessment, the development and implementation of quality assurance policies in universities in Ireland lies with the institutions themselves. The Higher Education and Training Awards Council (HETAC) is the statutory body responsible for the co-ordination, development and promotion of higher education outside the universities. It approves courses and confers degrees, diplomas, certificates and other educational awards. It sets and monitors standards in the colleges.

During recent decades collective pay bargaining between the social partners and the Government was a major feature of industrial relations in Ireland. Agreements such as Partnership 2000 (P2000) were negotiated between the government of the day, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) and other social partners. Within these agreements, remuneration for academic staffs in Irish universities was arrived at through a series of procedures based almost exclusively on a system of relativities between academic and civil service salary grades. Relativity based salary increases for academic staff could be contested and negotiated because of a lack of direct comparability between the civil service and the university contexts. However, such relativities were adhered to as a general rule. The recommendations contained in the Report of the Benchmarking Body (2003) constituted a significant break with the custom of relativities, in that salary increases were proposed based on a system of benchmarking. The Irish Federation of University Teachers and university management alike were dissatisfied with the outcome of the benchmarking process. The Benchmarking Report has been described the report as a shoddy and obscure piece of work lacking in transparency and accountability, grossly undervaluing university teachers and riddled with errors. (ASA, UCD Document, 200c). In March 2003 members of the Federation voted to reject the report by an overwhelming majority.

The principal professional body representing academic staff in universities in the Republic of Ireland is the Irish Federation of University Teachers (IFUT). The membership of this organisation is drawn from members of the academic staff in the five older universities in the State. The Federation is both a professional organisation and a trade union and it is affiliated to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. The organisation had its beginnings in the 1960's at which time the academic staff associations in each of the five universities became the local branches of the Federation. Third-level teachers who do not come from the university sector and who wish to join a union, may become members of the Teachers Union of Ireland (TUI) which teachers at second and third level of education. In Dublin City University all staff including academics are represented by the Services Industrial Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU). Similarly in the University of Limerick the Manufacturing Science and Finance Union (MSF) represents staff throughout the institution.

The main aims of the Irish Federation of University Teachers, which was founded in 1963, are the advancement of higher education and research; the promotion and protection of academic freedom; the protection of the terms and conditions employment of its members; and the safeguarding of their professional interests. The chief activities undertaken by IFUT in seeking to fulfil these objectives include negotiating salaries on behalf of its members; representing members who have been dismissed, or are threatened with dismissal, from their posts; responding to government policies on higher education; and representing Ireland at international conferences of teacher unions. (Coleman, 1999).

Recent institutional and individual arrangements within the various institutions in the university sector have been broadly similar, a matter attributable to the close cooperation and collaboration between the seven Irish universities. The Conference of Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU)

which was established in the 1970s has developed a powerful voice in articulating the interests of the combined institutions not only on management issues but more importantly on policy matters. CHIU has developed close links with the Irish Business and Employers Conference (IBEC) through a Joint Council for the development of cooperation in areas common to enterprise. At a European level CHIU is a member of the confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences and the European University Association. This level of cooperative involvement has resulted in significant correspondence between the institutions in matters of policy and management.

Following the passing of the Universities Act 1997, the four National University of Ireland institutions (University College Dublin, University College Cork, University College Galway, and the National University of Ireland Maynooth), now separate universities, have each been updating their statutes. Each new statute must be in accordance with the new legislation and accepted by the Governing Authority of the institution in question. For the most part there has been a broad similarity between the proposed new statutes in the universities. The Universities Act (1997) also stipulated that policies on such matters on quality assurance and equality should be developed in each institution. The various institutions within the university sector have somewhat different salary scales, however, once again, there is a broad similarity between the scales and the differences that exist between them are relatively minor.

Salary negotiations for the third level education sector in Ireland is not a matter of bargaining between the management in each individual institutions and the union or unions representing academic staff. Neither is there a bargaining process between management representative bodies and the unions representing academic staff throughout the third level education sector. This is the result of the social contract to which all unions within the Irish public sector have agreed, and in which government and unions are social partners in a collective bargaining process. The fact that salary scales in Irish universities are not determined by each institution but form part of public sector pay negotiations does not mean that industrial relations within universities are not conflictual. Many matters with an impact on salary levels, such as promotion procedures, come within the remit of the individual institution. Such areas are a matter for negotiation between the management of the institution and the union or unions representing academic staff.

The legal status of a full-time permanent member of the academic staff in an Irish university is that of an officer with tenure. This is discussed in more detail in other sections of this study. The contractual duties of academics are detailed in various documents issued by the authorities of the various colleges and agreed with the relevant staff associations which, in the case the five older universities, are the local branches of the Irish Federation of University Teachers. The duties of lecturers are as assigned by the head of the department and these may include, lectures, tutorials, seminars, practical classes, student consultations, supervision of research, and examining. The conditions of appointment document in which these duties are specified also includes details of pension arrangements, the grounds for termination of employment and other related matters.

The academic staff who are not protected by tenure are those who, for the most part, are in part-time or temporary employment or, who are employed on a short term contract basis. In recent years there has been a marked increase in the numbers of academics who have been employed in such non-permanent positions. This change in recruitment patterns in universities in recent years has become a major concern and because of its recent nature it is not yet possible to quantify the extent of its occurrence. Members of staff employed in contract positions, which are usually for a period of three years or less, are protected to a certain extent by unfair dismissal legislation. However, the transient nature of their employment is an insecure foundation to establishing an academic career.

Students pursuing doctoral studies in Irish universities do not automatically become members of staff at the university as in some European countries. Neither are they entitled to any resources or stipend to defray their living expenses, in addition, they are liable for course fees of approximately €3,000 – 00 per year. The fees for a number of courses are considerably higher than this and may amount to €6,000 – 00 per year approximately. Non EU students are charged what are termed 'economic' fees and these can be as high as twice the fees charged to an EU national. It is necessary to point out however that while this situation is particularly true of students in the languages and humanities areas who have a only limited number of scholarship awards on a highly competitive basis available to them, doctoral students in the sciences are rarely without financial support. This support may take the form of part-time employment as a tutor or demonstrator or support from research funding. Occasionally, a doctoral student may be appointed to a lecturing post at a junior level in the university, however, while this situation did occur infrequently in the past it is rare in the current competitive climate for academic positions in universities. This competitive climate for academic positions is evidenced in the financial sacrifices and commitment that the successful completion of a doctoral degree requires from students in the Irish university system.

## *2.2 Qualifications, legal status and contractual situations*

Full-time teaching positions in the university sector in Ireland require an honours primary degree and a post graduate degree. In addition appropriate professional qualification and post qualification experience are required for appointment to areas of professional studies. Because of the extent of competition for academic positions, proven research competence, teaching experience at university level and a creditable publication record is a major factor in the allocation of all academic teaching positions, particularly those at professorial level. Non-university institutions in the third level sector have similar criteria for appointment. For appointment to the post of college lecturer in such subjects as architecture or engineering candidates must have a degree or degree equivalent or a relevant professional qualification obtained through examination.

The legal status of most academic staff in Irish universities who have achieved permanence is that of an office holder with tenure (the current situation relating to tenure is outlined above). Non-permanent members of the academic staff who have not tenured positions are protected by Irish and EU employment legislation.

## *2.3 Pay scales, current earnings, social security and benefits*

The pensions of the majority of those in academic employment in the older universities in Ireland are funded by their institution while a system of contributory pensions operates in the colleges of education and the two new universities. As a general rule individuals who have reached the pensionable age of sixty-five years are entitled to an annual pension of one eightieth of salary at retirement for each year of pensionable service. A gratuity, usually of one and a half year's salary, is paid to staff on completion of forty year's service.

#### *2.4 Recruitment, selection and promotion of academic staff*

Currently full-time teaching positions in the university sector in Ireland require an honours primary degree and a post graduate degree usually at masters level as a minimum. In addition an appropriate professional qualification and post qualification experience is typically required for appointment to in the area of professional studies. Currently, the competition for academic appointments is such that the vast majority of candidates usually present with qualifications at doctoral level and a creditable research profile. Initial appointment is usually at assistant lecturer or lecturer grade and any new members of the academic staff who have not completed their doctoral studies are expected to complete them prior to being considered for permanency and granted tenure. In accordance with international standards proven research competence, teaching experience at university level and a creditable international publication record is a major factor in the allocation of all senior academic teaching posts, and these are an absolute requirement for positions at professorial level. In the case of appointment to the headship of a department within the university candidates would usually be expected to have administrative ability (Higher Education Authority, 1998, p17).

In the non-university sector of the third level education system a recognised degree or an equivalent professional qualification is a minimum requirement for all teaching appointments. In the institutes of technology the minimum requirements for appointment to the post of college teacher are a primary degree or equivalent qualification together with a minimum of two years approved post qualification teaching experience. For appointment to the post of college lecturer in such subjects as architecture or engineering candidates must have a degree or degree equivalent or a relevant professional qualification obtained through examination. In areas such as art and design, music and business studies similar qualifications are required for the position of college lecturer.

The Irish universities have broadly similar procedures governing both the probation period prior to the award of tenure and the conditions for promotion. First appointments to an academic position in an Irish university are usually at the assistant lecturer or lecturer level depending on the qualifications and prior experience of candidates. It is necessary to point out, however, that in some universities these two positions have been amalgamated into a single scale. The regulations in operation at University College Dublin (NUI,D) stipulate that on appointment as an assistant lecturer there should be an initial probationary period of six months. If the employment is continued beyond this preliminary period the full probationary period shall be three years from the date of appointment. (University College Dublin, Report of the Governing Authority, 1983, p.1). The Assessment Board involved in the selection of candidates may recommend certain alternatives to the full probationary period and it is usual for all or part of the three years probation to be dispensed with for more mature candidates.

#### *2.5 Ranks and positions of academic staff*

On appointment as lecturer (formerly termed college lecturer in the NUI colleges) the normal probationary period is one year. This period may be extended for a further year on the recommendation of the head of department with the approval of the promotions committee. However, this latter arrangement is a rare occurrence in most institutions. The Promotions Committee is made up of the senior officers of the university together with four elected academic staff represe n-

tatives. The guidelines used in deciding on the award of tenure or the promotion to lecturer include satisfactory performance of lecturing and other duties; evidence of interest in the pursuit of research and scholarship; contribution to the affairs of the department and the college, and, academic achievement. The award of a doctoral degree or equivalent constitutes adequate evidence of academic achievement. On completion of a satisfactory probation the lecturer is deemed to have tenure.

The grading structure of academic staff with tenure in Irish universities is organised in four main grade levels comprising lecturer, senior lecturer, associate professor and professor. A number of other promotional posts exist within each of the institutions, however, these are usually concerned with additional administrative duties and selection is for the most part confined to the particular institution. These posts are frequently for a fixed term and carry additional remuneration for the duration of that term. Such positions include deanships within the National University of Ireland institutions, and the position of Senior Lecturer and Senior Tutor in Trinity College Dublin.

## *2.6 Accountability and evaluation*

Charting Our Education Future recommended that the Higher Education Authority should be restructured and be given the responsibility for the monitoring and evaluation of quality audit systems within the various institutions. This was followed by a recommendation in 1996 that national and international peers preceded by an internal evaluation should base such a system on cyclical evaluation of departments and faculties. (HEA, 1996).

The university legislation of 1997 incorporated new accountability procedures and charged the Governing Authority of each institution with the preparation of strategic development plan. Further, the President (or Chief Officer) of each institution was given the task of establishing procedures for evaluating the quality of the teaching and research carried out by the institution. The HEA was given an overseeing role in relation to the proposals for strategic planning and quality assurance procedures. The Act stipulates that the evaluation should provide „national and international comparisons on the quality of the teaching and research and the provision of other services at university level“ (Universities Act 1997, 35.2).

In effect, quality assurance procedures had been initiated on a trial basis prior to the university legislation. The Committee of Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU) and the HEA – after consultation with staff and international experts in the field – had developed programmes which were put into operation on a pilot basis in departments which had volunteered to take part in the programme. The major thrust of these developments was that appraisal should focus on the departmental unit rather than on individual members of staff in the university. It was considered important that the initiative in the Irish universities should benefit from the international experience in this area and that the major problems associated with punitive and unproductive programmes of staff assessment should be avoided. A study carried out on behalf of the Irish Federation of University Teachers found that the members were supportive of such an initiative and they would cooperate with programmes designed to improve the quality of teaching, research and administration within their academic department.

### 3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace

The attractiveness of the academic workplace to prospective members of staff as measured in salary terms is outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: The salary range and scale points of five main academic staff positions in three Irish universities

Academic Staff Position	University College Cork NUI, C		University College Dublin NUI, D		National University of Ireland Maynooth	
	Salary range	Scale points	Salary range	Scale points	Salary range	Scale points
Assistant Lecturer	Na		€ 26,338 – € 42,508	1 – 2	€ 28,516 – € 33,581	1 – 5
Lecturer	€ 26,340 – € 42,791 € 49,549 – € 65,267	1 – 12 1 – 5	€ 40,261 – € 65,267	1 – 7	€ 40,261 – € 65,269	1 – 17
Senior Lecturer	€ 53,405 – € 75,671	1 – 6	€ 53,577 – € 75,663	1 – 8	€ 53,577 – € 75,663	1 – 8
Associate Professor	€ 75,919 – € 89,162	1 – 6	€ 65,071 – € 86,978	1 – 6	€ 65,071 – € 86,978	1 – 6
Professor	€ 82,722 – € 106,441	1 – 7	€ 82,722 – € 106,441	1 – 7	€ 82,722 – € 106,441	1 – 6

This table presents a representative outline of academic staff remuneration for three Irish universities as representative of the sector generally. The salary range for each academic staff position is given i.e. the salary or entry point on appointment to the position and the final or maximum salary for the position in question. In the second column for each institution the scale points, or number of years or time-span through which staff salary rises incrementally by an equal percentage, until the maximum point in the scale is attained. Usually, an academic is appointed at the first point of the scale although exceptions to this do occur, further it is not necessary to complete all the points on a particular scale before applying for a position carrying a higher salary scale. However, these two possibilities are exceptions rather than the rule in academic appointments.

The attractiveness of the salary scales, which are dependent on grade and not on the particular subject area of staff members, varies according to the particular academic discipline involved. It should be noted that in some areas of expertise such as the business world, and in the highly specialised professional areas, considerable financial rewards are available. In these situations the salaries and other rewards offered to academics in universities may be less than the salaries they can command outside the university sector. Up to the present there has been resistance to the promotion of a system of differential payments designed to attract academic staff in areas in which recruitment can be problematic because of the financial rewards offered outside the university sector.

Unlike the system in a number of other countries, merit pay as such, does not exist in Irish universities. However, career advancement in terms of tenure and promotion to higher grades (discussed in the previous section) is dependent on satisfactory performance of lecturing, research and other duties. Perhaps the single most attractive aspect of an academic post, apart from the opportunity to teach and pursue research is the security it offers. The tenured nature of academic

employment means that in the unlikely event of redundancy the academic should be entitled to compensation of at least the salary outstanding to retirement or to reasonable redeployment as an alternative to compensation.

No specific programmes or regulations exist for the promotion of women in higher education in terms of positive discrimination. One of the most important guarantees of the Universities Act (1997) in relation to fair employment practice is cited under the Objects of the University namely, to promote gender balance and equality of opportunity among students and employees of the university. In relation to equality policy the Act states that the governing authority „shall require the chief officer to prepare a statement of the policies of the university in respect of gender equality and the university shall implement the position as set out in this statement „ (Universities Act, 1997, 36.3) This provision is legally binding on the institutions to rectify the very serious anomalies and the discrimination suffered by female staff which is still apparent in the promotional profiles of female and male academics. While some progress has been made in this regard, the improvement in the gender composition of the higher academic grade levels is marginal. Currently, approximately ten percent of women occupy chairs in Irish universities although they have equal representation at the lowest levels of academic employment. While this increase in female representation from five to ten percent is welcome the rate of improvement is unacceptable slow and not in accordance with terms of the legislation.

The universities and colleges within the third level education sector have developed a range of equality policies which, in time, should help to remove the effects of discrimination and inequality as it affects the working conditions of female staff. The Governing Authority of University College Dublin developed and adopted a *Policy on Dignity and Respect* dealing with matters of sexual harassment, bullying and harassment in the workplace just over a year ago. Currently, an external audit of equality in the institution, funded by the Higher Education Authority is in progress. This major investigation is expected to form a cornerstone of policy formation within the Irish third level education sector

#### **4. Internationalization of higher education**

##### *4.1 International scientific contacts and collaboration*

The Irish academic community has traditionally had very strong links with colleagues in other countries both in terms of collaboration and in the area of peer review. The sector has traditionally utilised the services of international experts as external examiners (i) to ensure the quality of degrees awarded and the assessment procedures used; (ii) as assessors in the peer review process of quality assurance procedures related to teaching and research; and, (iii) as members of appointments boards and as referees for candidates seeking promotion within the institution. The external examination system involves an annual assessment of primary and higher degrees by international experts who act as assessors. In 2002 over ninety experts from sixteen different countries examined and reported on all aspects of degree programmes including assessment procedures in each department within the Irish university system (CHIU 2003, pp. 72-73). At a less formal but nonetheless important level the system of peer review of research publication by international experts and the peer assessment of applications for research funding are important elements of the Irish university system. A major criterion of suitability for academic appointment, tenure and promotion is the academic's research record which is based on the number of scholarly publica-

tions in refereed international academic journals that have achieved a creditable standing in the Citation index. This system is similar to that operating in the most English speaking countries and consequently many academic partnerships and collaborative ventures have developed as a result.

#### *4.2 International competitiveness within the academic profession*

International competition has been customary in the selection of candidates for academic positions in Irish universities; this is particularly true in relation to senior posts such as professorships. Vacancies for such posts are advertised in the international press and the usual practice is for interview selection boards for these positions to include international experts in the appropriate field. Of course, it should be noted, that international in this context usually refers to English speaking candidates. Some positions in universities such as that of dean are restricted to candidates from within the institution, however, this is because of the generally held belief that the duties of such a post require a detailed knowledge of the working structures and procedures of the institution.

Competition to acquire the best students from within the EU has not, as yet, been a feature of Irish third level education. Irish institutions unlike those in England and Wales do not charge tuition fees to any EU students who secure a place in annual open competition subject to certain conditions (Points System, 1999). However, this factor does not seem to have had any significant effect on student applications to the Central Applications Office (CAO) and no advertising campaign has been mounted by the Irish universities to attract undergraduates from other countries. This situation may be due in part to the cost of travel to and accommodation in Ireland.

New developments that are designed to promote and facilitate student mobility may result in changes in this area. The Irish government has not yet put the provisions of the Bologna Agreement relating to a wide range of activities in higher education into practice. The most urgent of these provisions for Irish third level institutions concerns the promotion student mobility. According to the Declaration governments and institutions are required to remove any obstacles to student mobility. This means that the European Credit Transfer System that is now widespread in Ireland must be extended to allow for credit transfer as well as credit accumulation. When this occurs the falling numbers of students which are projected for in the next ten years may force Irish third level institutions into a competitive international arena in order to fill their student places. The Skilbeck Report recommends that Irish universities become a competitive global force and focus on „selling such services as undergraduate and post graduate places“ in a similar manner to Australia, Japan, Switzerland and the UK among others (Skilbeck, 2001, p.147).

Policy changes relating to the funding and functions of universities are very likely to bring international competition in relation to the acquisition of research funding. Skilbeck suggests that Irish universities respond to the challenges of modernisation and the highly competitive global market by becoming entrepreneurial in their approach to securing funding for research and consultancy (Skilbeck, 2001, p.146). Further, the Report goes on to suggest that those institutions insufficiently well placed for this purpose should confine themselves to a local or regional context. The Skilbeck Report (2002) undertaken at the behest of the Conference of Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU), the Higher Education Authority (HEA) and supported under the National Development Plan (NPD) may be viewed as representing the agreed and accepted wisdom of the academic and statutory authorities in the university sector. The emphasis on this aspect of develop-

ment may well indicate that the major stakeholders in the university sector not only favour globalisation but agree on strategies for dealing with it.

#### *4.3 International mobility of academic staff*

It is customary for many academic staff in Irish universities to engage in post-graduate studies abroad. On completion of post graduate studies young Irish academics frequently take up junior teaching or research appointments in the host country for a period. After this they may decide to return to Ireland if a suitable post becomes available. Irish academics taking up a position outside the state, for the most part, favour English speaking countries and there are particularly close ties between Irish universities and their counterparts in the UK, the US and Canada. An exception to this trend occurs with academics in language studies who, when they go abroad, tend to study and teach in the country in which their subject area is the spoken language. This process also occurs in reverse with both students and academic staff from abroad coming to Irish universities for either a number of years or in some cases on a permanent basis. It is not possible to quantify the numbers of non-nationals in Irish universities, as no national database on such matters is available. (HEA 2003). A straw poll of a random group of approximately academics in a range of disciplines revealed that 15% originated outside the country.

#### *4.4 The Europeanisation of higher education*

Recent legislative developments and policy recommendations culminating in proposed in the Skilbeck Report (2002) when viewed in conjunction with the extension of the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) to third level educational services are a cause of serious concern to academic staff. These matters are relevant to the entire third level educational system both the university and non-university sector.

Within the non university sector of the Irish third level educational system the Qualifications (Education and Training) Act, 1999 states that the standards set for awards should be informed by internationally accepted best practice and at least equal with the highest standards internationally. The recently established National Qualifications Authority has been given an international liaison role in ensuring this (NQA Act 1999). These developments echo parallel initiatives in the development of credit transfer frameworks such as those in the United Kingdom and the Northern Ireland Credit Accumulation and Transfer System (NICATS).

The Bologna Declaration (1999) and the later Salamanca Convention (2001) and the meeting of the European Education Ministers in Prague (2001) stressed to need to facilitate the comparability of qualifications throughout Europe. The 1999 declaration that was signed by 31 states including Ireland, gave a commitment to the promotion quality assurance as a basis for developing „comparable criteria and methodologies.“ The authorities of universities throughout Europe, including the European University Association (EUA) have supported the development of quality benchmarks for their institutions as a basis for achieving comparability. The Conference of Heads of Irish Universities has proposed a Framework for Quality in Irish Universities as a first step in meeting this challenge. The establishment of the Irish Universities Quality Board (IUQB) has supplemented this.

The Conference of Heads of Irish Universities has expressed concern about the inclusion of higher education as one of the subjects being considered in the GATS round. Concern about this matter has extended throughout Europe and The Department of Education and Science has been kept informed about the situation by CHIU as a member of the European University Association's (EUA) position. A Joint Declaration signed by the EUA with the American Council on Education and the Association of Canadian Colleges and Universities stressed the need for greater transparency and open dialogue. The Declaration points out the marked contrast between these negotiations and those concerning other services where providers were consulted. The major fear is that the cooperation and fair competition between universities promoted by the Bologna Declaration will be undermined by the encouragement of market forces and the undue stress on competition between universities

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## **The Academic Workplace Country Report Italy**

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### **1. Introduction: Higher Education in Italy between change and persistence**

From the second half of 1996, the Italian Higher Education system has undergone a process of deep institutional change, triggered by the former (center-left) government. This process has regarded the main structural and organisational aspect of the system, aiming at innovating and conforming it to the European standard in the sector and to the requirements of Sorbonne-Bologna-Prague process (Cannata, 2002; Luzzato, 2001; Vaira 2003a; 2003b). For our concern, we must firstly acknowledge a set of structural features characterising the Italian Higher Education system and its change dynamics and outcomes, since they are the background against which the process of actual, or expected, change in the academic workplace is taking place. These include: (i) the system's structure of governance reform and universities organisational arrangements and (ii) the source of academics' resistance to the occurring changes in their professional environment.

#### *1.1 Structure of governance reform and organisational arrangements*

Considering the first point, the reform was intended to overcome the traditional centralised, bureaucratic and normatively hypertrophic structure of governance. Thus, the reform has been based on the extension of institutional autonomy principles to universities, that now are responsible of their own organisational, financial, statutory, didactic and recruitment arrangements and procedures. This does not mean that the State simply has given up the sector. On the contrary, it has still a relevant role in ruling, evaluating and financing activities, since the public nature of higher education has been kept untouched. What changed has been its regulatory pervasiveness in the sector, leaving wider rooms to each university initiatives. More in detail, the changes in the structure of governance entailed that:

1. The legislative role is to emanate frame laws giving the general and political directions for HE system, in order to coordinate, accommodate and stimulate the innovations in accordance with the national economic, social and political needs;

2. The bureaucratic control system is going to be replaced by an *ex-post* evaluation system of each institutions and institutional articulation performance. Performance regards productivity indicators (e.g.: graduates number, scientific productivity, innovation capability, etc.), as well as quality standards (e.g.: didactic, structures and personnel appropriateness, research output, etc.). The control structure remains in relation (i) to the curriculum innovation – that must be submitted for approval to the Ministry and to a central disciplinary-based representative organism (University National Council- CUN)- and (ii) to the definition of maximum fees level;

3. The financing system shifted from a public and universalistic model to a performance-based one related to the actual needs of each university. Although public funding still remain the main financial income for universities, its constant reduction, or at least its stability, compelled them to look for additional financial resources elsewhere. Universities now are the more and more pulled to, and concerned about, the construction of linkages with local institutions (private and public) and students attraction in order to secure and increase incomes from students fees;

4. Last but not least, the introduction of institutional autonomy changed the sense of the autonomy itself, as it has been intended in the academia so far: that is to say, the academics' individual autonomy (Tapper and Salter, 1994). Although we do not experience a „decline of donnish dominion“ yet, nonetheless the individual autonomy is being eroded and challenged. This change is one source of academics' resistance, as we will discuss further on. In these regards, Italian Higher Education system has tried to keep up with the last fifteen years international trend, based on State's stirring at distance and evaluative role, larger institutional autonomy and „entrepreneurialisation“ of academic institutions. But within this converging trend, one must consider also an important organisational feature, typical of the Italian HE system: the central role of faculty structures.

Not to be misunderstood, the word „faculty“ has a different meaning from the American one. It is not referred to the academics, but to an intermediate organisational structure between university (as a corporate structure) and didactic structures. It is important to consider this organisational articulation because, as we will show further on, it has a crucial role in academics' recruitment and careers. Faculty can be conceived as a disciplinary confederation (Capano, 1998), composed by different disciplines with different weight and power. Not infrequently, within a faculty, there is an hegemonic disciplinary corporation; in other cases, an hegemonic structure emerge from negotiation, bargaining and alliance among two or more disciplines. Thus, the faculty can be more precisely conceived as a collegiate structure (Clark, 1983), where the decision making process follows bargaining pattern among disciplinary groups.

In any case, the faculty manages the main aspect of academic life: study courses, their innovation and the enactment of new ones, definition and coordination of tasks and classes timetable, didactic quality evaluation and, more important, recruitment and careers development. It is in this sense that faculty is a coordinating but also a co-opting structure. Its power in recruitment and career dynamic has not been compromised by the reform. Thus, the real power inside the Italian professoriate is embodied in faculties: the faculties not the Rector, or the Academic Senate<sup>1</sup> actually and substantially manage and runs the academe.

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1 Actually, both are expressions of the academic community, and thus of the faculties.

## 1.2 Current trends and issues at stake

Autonomy has been „the name of the game“ in recent years. From 1996 on the ministry of University has introduced a number of measures in this direction giving more power to individual university and trying at the same time to change the working of the entire system of higher education. The combination of autonomy with evaluation represented a new way of considering the system as a collection of independent entities coordinated by a centre which should not be the ministry itself as instead an intermediate structure (a „buffer“) created by the ministry but made by academic staff members: The Evaluation Observatory („*Osservatorio della valutazione*“) later renamed as National Committee for the Evaluation of the University System („*Comitato nazionale per la valutazione del sistema universitario*“) with the task of linking in a network all 'Centres of evaluation' established in each university. Along the same policy, another coordination centre has been represented by the Conference of the Italian Rectors („*Conferenza dei Rettori Italiani*“) which also has taken the more and more the role of intermediary body between the universities and the state.

So far the reaction of the professoriate confronted by this new state policy based on the autonomy, the new more direct responsibility and the indirect state control via ex-post evaluation has been contradictory. From one side, some part of the academic staff members have received the message of a global changing in a positive way, especially in those disciplinary fields more affected by the international relations (Natural Sciences, Engineering, Economics). From the other, groups of consolidated interests are opposing the innovative trend, particularly were the pure (guild type) academic perspective prevails over any others (as in Law or Medicine).

Consequently, two levels of resistance can be detected.

- I. A general resistance toward innovation which affects both the academic and the administrative staff due to the relevant amount of changes the autonomy reform has brought in the organisation of each university including the structure of departments, of courses, curricula, and budget.
- II. A specific resistance when the balance of academic and administrative power has been put under pressure.

The main organisational difficulties are related to:

- the budget autonomy given to the universities and inside them to the departments. This change implied more responsibility and required new administrative skill from the personnel at different level;
- the institutional autonomy, entailing a gradual erosion of individual autonomy. Academics are now called to be accountable by university, students, external stakeholders; their activities (teaching and researching) are subjected to evaluation; they are called to fit and conform their teaching subject and contents to the new curricula and to their different aims and formative purposes;
- the new structure of curricula organised into three tracks in sequence leading to the first degree („laurea“) after three year courses, to the second degree („laurea specialistica“) after two more years, and to the third degree („dottorato di ricerca“) after three more years. This structure (of 3,5,8 year paths) following the philosophy of the Bologna Declaration completely disrupted the traditional one-level system;
- the introduction of a credit-system to make courses and degrees more flexible and more open to an international dimension;
- the spread of the evaluation of university activities with some economic consequences in terms of incentives or penalisation related to performances.

Resistances came also as a consequence of the curricula reform. The three-five years structure was conceived as a way of better relating the university courses to the changing professional needs of the economy. This new perspective from one side, gave ground to the creation of brand new courses for the training of new professional figures; as from the other, put the academia in trouble in the effort to reduce the first level from the traditional four years to the new three years courses.

In recent years, there has been a proliferation of courses with new titles related to a large variety of professional figures (some times not even existing in the labour market) and often representing only personal interest of some prominent academics eager to count more and enlarge their power through „their“ new courses and the related new openings for new teaching places (Clark,1977). At the same time, the academia interpreted the length reduction of courses as a lowering of the cultural and scientific level of the university as an institution for the distribution of knowledge at high level. This interpretation was resented very much as a loss of prestige, especially in some disciplinary areas like Law and the Humanities. It is possible to say that in this respect, at least for a part of the academia, the reform marked the end of the „university for the elite“ which many conceived as still existing, although attended by more than 65% of the upper secondary degree holders.

The reform is under way for three years now and the first level of three years length has been completed while in many cases also the second level (the plus two) leading to the „*laurea specialistica*“ has started out. The new government in power since 2001 did not liked very much the reform the previous government had extended to all the system of education. In fact, as far the other level of education (primary and secondary) the reform has been cancelled and a new project has been brought out, while at the university level the reform was already implemented to a too large extend to be stopped. But the resistances from some part of the academia found an interested echo in the government and a committee has been created by the ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) to study the possible changes.

## **2. Employment and working conditions**

As far as the academic staff is concerned, the committee has informally elaborated some „suggestions“ to the ministry with special care devoted to the revision of the academics legal status. In particular, differences between full time and part-time conditions would be abolished, introducing some limits to the external activities; a minimum of 120 hours per year of teaching (more or less equal to two courses) will become part of academic duties; special agreements with the university will be encouraged (and remunerated) for extra-activities in teaching, or research, or administration.

Tightly connected to the structure of governance reform, introduced at the end of the '90s, is the change in recruitment system: with the institutional autonomy, universities are free to recruit their academic staff. Thus, the recruitment system shifts from a centralised and national competitive exams and appointments to a local one, that is, to the single institution. The intended purpose was twofold: from the one hand, to make the recruitment system more flexible and closer to single university's actual personnel needs; from the other, it was intended to promote and stimulate academics' mobility.

As often happens, outcomes do not follow intentions. Actually, the recruitment reform is producing unintended and opposite consequences, caused by the intersection and interaction of three factors. First, as aforementioned, State retrenchment in HE sector is serious and the funding

gap is far from to be compensated by alternative funding sources. Second, the centrality of faculty as a co-opting structure, foster an inward logic of recruitment. Third, given that careers development was progressing very slowly in the last decade due to the complexity of the bureaucratic procedures, the reform was seen as an opportunity to speed it up. Thus the emphasis, so far, was put on internal careers development instead of on recruitment of new and younger staff.

In addition to these features, one must consider the academics' legal status which has a public nature. Relating to the changing process, this entails a set of consequences. First, academics are civil servants, thus all their recruitment, working, managing and salary conditions are subject to national law and law-enforced contracting. Most important, as an individual is recruited in the first stable academic position (researcher) he cannot be dismissed, given the employment public nature. At the same time, each university enjoy a wide autonomy in deciding the number of new posts and their related academic positions, constrained in that only by its available funds. In other words, traditionally the university personnel – belonging both to the academic staff or to the administrative and technical staff – can be hired by each university according its own budget, keeping in mind that total expenses for personnel cannot exceed the 90% of the global budget. Salaries at all level of academic and non-academic staff are regulated nationally by law.

These opposite features of Italian academic workplace produce an hybrid structure where the legal constrains are in some way combined with a more flexible recruitment arrangements and with the financial constrains. In turn, this hybrid structure combined with the State's funding retrenchment and the centrality of faculty as a co-opting structure, reproduces and enforces the selection and recruitment inward logic and the development of a strong internal labour market (Bianco, 2002; Costa, 2001; Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

### *2.1 Evolution and structural features of academic population*

Now we turn our attention to some structural and quantitative features of Italian academic staff that allow to depict its recent evolution. First we recall some data from the 1999 research (Moscati, 2000) adding data related to the year 2001, to show whether, how and how much the academic staff has changed in these last years. Then we present more in detail data related to 1997-2001 period. In particular we focus on structural features like positions, age and gender. Data regarding 2002 and 2003 are not available yet. The basic data of disciplines areas has been treated with a different gathering criterion in respect of 1999 report (there were nine categories), having in mind the ministerial re-aggregation of the various disciplines, in scientific-disciplinary fields. Thus we have six fields, namely:

1. *Sciences*: Agriculture; Mathematics; Physics; Biology; Chemistry; Environmental Science;
2. *Architecture and Engineering*: Architecture; Engineering; Nautical Science;
3. *Medicine*: Medicine; Veterinary; Pharmacy;
4. *Economics*: Economics; Statistics; Banking, Financial and Insurance Science;
5. *Social Sciences*: Sociology; Political Science; Law; Communication and Performing Arts;
6. *Humanities*: Arts and Philosophy; Foreign Literature and Languages; Teachers' Training Science; Cultural Heritage Science; Psychology; Oriental Studies; Musicology.

We start, then, with some longitudinal data to assess academic staff development in the period 1985-2001. Table 1 show the academic staff evolution by positions on the whole.

Table 1: Academic staff by positions

Year	Full	Associate	Researcher
1985	9,009	17,990	15,459
1990	11,693	16,923	15,509
1997	13,599	15,826	19,359
2001	16,746	17,684	19,946

Source: Italian Ministry of Education-MIUR

As the figures show, Full professor grew constantly in the considered period, whereas associate professors declined, because of career advancement to full professor position. Only in 2001 they started to grow again, even if there are about 300 units less than in 1985. Researchers also grew in the same period but the main growth took place between 1990 and 1997. Before and after this time span they stayed almost stable. This first set of data seems to provide a clue of the aforementioned internal career development and low level of recruitment of „new blood“ which seems to follow a stop-and-go, or a wave-like pattern (stability-recruitment-stability). In this regard, it is important not to be misled by absolute figures related to researchers: as we illustrate further on, they show the lower recruitment rate in relation to both full and associate professors in the period 1997-2001.

Taking a closer look at the evolution of academic staff by scientific-disciplinary field and by positions, it appears that in sixteen years the number of full professors doubled (more or less) in all areas, whereas associates declined between 1985-1997 and then grew again, but quite slowly in 2001. Researchers show different dynamics in different areas: they almost doubled in Agriculture, Economics and Engineering (even if declined in 2001); decreased in Humanities; substantially remained stable in Architecture; slowly grew in Medicine where then had a more consistent growth in 2001; Law and Social Science grew but more slowly. Furthermore, the researchers growth took place mainly in the period between 1990-1997. Actually, the most consistent growth in many areas (Agriculture, Economics, Engineering, Law, Social Science and Natural Sciences) occurred in this time-span, whereas Medicine grew between 1997 and 2001. Again, this seems to corroborate the impression that „new blood“ flowed in the Italian academia from 1990 to 1997 and then slowed down, in favour of career promotion from researcher to associate and from associate to full professor.

These data on the whole are quite relevant. To assess better the process of change in Italian academic workplace, we turn our attention to the developments occurred in 1997-2001 period, which has been characterised by the reform of Higher Education system, having in mind the different disciplinary fields aggregation aforementioned. The data on the whole allow us to depict Italian university as a *frozen*, *ageing* and *gendered* organisation. Firstly we present some data regarding the academic staff in six scientific-disciplinary fields (Table 2).

Table 2: Academic staff (full, associate, researchers) in scientific-disciplinary fields

Year	Scientific-Disciplinary Fields					
	Science	Arch/Eng	Med	Social Sc	Humanit.	Economics
1997	10,703	8,367	13,201	4,533	8,507	3,614
1998	10,696	8,381	13,199	4,519	8,527	3,629
1999	10,920	8,775	13,374	4,721	8,629	3,849
2000	11,128	8,965	13,769	4,879	8,813	4,051
2001	11,520	9,338	14,943	5,175	9,241	4,269

Source: Italian Ministry of Education – MIUR

Three fields out of six (Science, Medicine and Social Sciences) experienced a break in staff growth between 1997 and 1998, whereas the other three fields (Engineering/Architecture, Humanities and Economics) grew quite constantly through all the four years. Between 1997 and 2001 the academic staff grew on an average rate of 12,2%, with a minimum of 7,6% in Natural Sciences and a maximum of 18,1% in Economics. Engineering, Medicine, Social Science fields grew respectively of 11,6%, 13,2%, 14,2%. Humanities grew only of 8,7%.

These different growth rate could be explained on the basis of different impact of HE system reform in different fields: The most „traditional“ and less vocationally oriented fields, at least in the Italian context, as Science and Humanities, seem to benefit less from the reform than the most vocationally oriented (or socially perceived as such) fields. Traditional fields find more difficulties in adaptation to innovation triggered by the reform than the other fields that seem more proactive, and this could be reflected in the different recruitment dynamics. This is mostly an impression, but could be used as a hypothesis to be tested in further research.

Looking closer at the development of each positions in all fields, the main changes in academic staff on the whole started from 1999, whereas between 1997 and 1998 there was a quite stable situation. Changes regarded mainly full professors while associate professors show ups and downs, where ups correspond to career advancement from research position to associate one, and downs to advancements from associate to full professor position. Researchers declined from 1998 to 2000 and then started growing, albeit very slowly, in 2001.

These data confirm that (a) changes in academic staff has been triggered by the reform process and that (b) reform has been interpreted and used as an opportunity to open up internal careers instead of one to recruit new and younger staff. Obviously, different fields show different staff evolution, but on the whole the Italian academic workplace can be easily depicted as structured by a strong internal labour market. Table 3 strongly corroborate this finding:

Table 3: Recruitment growth rate by positions in all fields

Year	Full	Associate	Researcher
1997 – 1998	0%	0,01%	0,09%
1998 – 1999	-3,65%	15,45%	-5,10%
1999 – 2000	16,36%	-4,29%	0,57%
2000 – 2001	12,41%	3,57%	2,14%

Source: Italian Ministry of Education – MIUR

These data clearly show that:

- a) 1997 – 1998 was characterised by great stability in all academic positions;
- b) 1998 – 1999 witnessed a first wave of career advancement from research position to associate one. Decrease in full professors was due partly by retirements and partly to deferment of the promotions from associate to full position. Researchers declined and that means that the advancement from this position was compensated only to a limited extent by new recruitments;
- c) 1999 – 2000 shows the career advancement from associate position to full one, while researchers experienced a modest growth;
- d) 2000 – 2001 witnessed a growth in all positions, but also a great difference among them. Full professors grew threefold and sixfold respectively to associate and researchers, while associates growth was only one and half higher than researchers.

These findings, on the whole, confirm the image of the Italian University as a frozen organisation, where recruitment of new blood is still lagging and where endogamy reproduction of the professoriate seems to be the main personnel policy. In other words, those who are already inside the academe, enjoy good opportunities for career advancements; on the contrary those who are outside find quite hard to step in (Bianco, 2002). This findings, as Bianco points out (*ib.*, p. 422), are the clearest evidence that mechanisms of academic staff reproduction are working inefficiently: the limited resources allocated for young researchers' recruitment, constitute a waste of human resources.

## 2.2 Age and gender

Strongly linked to this image of the frozen organisation is the university as an ageing organisation. The Italian professoriate is old and keep on ageing: in the period 1985-2001 age modal value grew from 38 to 54 years old and the average age in the same time span grew of 7 years. In 1998 only 8% of all academics was mere then 60 years old, whereas in 2001 the percentage grew to 20%.

Looking at the distribution of full, associate and researcher by class of age, the findings are impressive. In 2001, 56% of full professors are concentrated in the class 55-75 years of age, and 20,5% are placed in the elder class (65-75 years old), while in 1997 this percentage was almost 64% (24% in the elder class). Associate professors in 2001 show a most balanced distribution: almost 60% is placed in the class of 35-45 years of age, but a substantial part (32%) is placed in the class 55-64 years old. Researchers in the same year are mainly concentrated in the class of 35-54 years (75%), but 35% of them are in the class of 45-54 and only 14% are placed in the younger class (less then 35 years old): Most important, this class experienced a decline between 1997 and 2001 (from almost 16% to 14%). Still a 11% is placed in the two elder classes (55-64 and 65-75) and this percentage grew more than twofold between 1997 and 2001 (from 4% to 11%).

These data speak by themselves, but considering the retirement forecast 2002-2017, the scenario worsens: 44% of the 2001 academics will retire because of coming the age limits; retirement by positions involve 64% of 2001 full professors, 43% of 2001 associates and 28% of 2001 researchers. A strong recruitment policy, as well as an adequate funding to support it, evidently are urgent and cannot be postponed.

Regarding the gender structure inside academe it appears that academic staff is for its largest part constituted by men. This applies to all positions and to all scientific-disciplinary fields (with the exception of Humanities).

Table 4: Gender distribution of academic staff (all fields and positions)

Year	Male	Female	Totale	Male%	Female%
1997	35,613	13,574	49,187	72,4%	27,6%
1998	35,628	13,579	49,207	72,4%	27,6%
1999	36,169	14,332	50,501	71,6%	28,4%
2000	36,983	14,970	51,593	71,7%	28,3%
2001	38,484	16,372	54,856	70,1%	29,9%

Source: Italian Ministry of Education – MIUR

Table 4 shows how still in 2001 women represent less than one third of the whole academic population. To a certain extent this could be due to the fact that women experience more career discontinuity than men because of motherhood and parental care. But to a larger extent this is due to a cultural heritage that favours more men than women in career development. As Bianco points out (2002), even in university women experience a glass ceiling in their career advancement as in other high level professional activities. In spite of a recent policy aimed at overcoming gender discrimination and promoting women participation in all jobs, the gender equality is far to be achieved.

Turning back to university, we consider now the gender distribution by positions and the gender distribution by scientific-disciplinary fields in the period 1997-2001. Regarding the gender distribution by position, percentage of women full professor in 1997 was 11.4% while in 2001 the percentage was 14.6%. For associate position women grew from 26% in 1997 to almost 30% in 2001. Finally, in researcher position, women in 1997 were almost 40% and this percentage grew to 43% in 2001. It is worth mentioning that there are three times more female researchers than female full professors. Although the position of women in these four years improved at the highest career level, the data confirm the existence of a glass ceiling in women academics' career development as the percentage related to associate and, above all, researcher position clearly show. The graphic representation of gender positions in Italian university is that one of a pyramid with a very large base (women researchers) and a narrow top (Bianco, 2002).

Looking at feminisation rate in scientific-disciplinary fields, we can clearly identify three different groups. The highest feminisation rate is in Humanities with a percentage near to 50%, but this percentage is stable through the four years considered (from 45.6% in 1997 to 46% in 2001). The second group is represented by four scientific-disciplinary fields, namely Medicine, Economics, Social Sciences, and Science, all placed around 30% (in 2001 the highest feminisation rate in this group was in Science with a 31%, while the lowest was in Medicine with a 28%). Last group is represented by Architecture and Engineering where the feminisation rate is the lowest one with a modest 17.3% in 2001 (in 1997 the percentage was 15.3).

Data regarding the feminisation growth rate by scientific-disciplinary fields (table 5) are more impressive, because the percentage of this growth is almost non significant in all fields, thus they confirm the persistence of the gender bias of Italian academe still in recent years.

Table 5: Feminisation rate growth by scientific-disciplinary field

Years	Science	Arch/Eng	Med	Social Sc	Humanit.	Economics	All fields (average)
1997 – 1998	0	0	0	0	-0,002	0,004	0,0003
1998 – 1999	0,021	0,06	0,05	0,03	0,01	0,01	0,03
1999 – 2000	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,05	0,004	0,01	0,021
2000 – 2001	0,04	0,05	0,07	-0,003	-0,004	0,04	0,032

Source: Italian Ministry of Education – MIUR

### 2.3 Recruitment and career development processes

In this section, we focus on how the academic recruitment occurs and career develops, starting from the Doctorate which is generally considered the first step to enter the academic world. Since the beginning, in the academic year 1983-1984, the doctoral programmes were conceived – at least informally – as the first step in the academic career. In fact, the large majority of the young scholars admitted to the programmes did not had many alternatives in the labour market as the other professional sectors were not interested in the Ph. D. owners. In the first years all the participants to the doctoral programmes were subsidised by a ministerial fellowship for the entire three year period of training. This procedure also restricted the total number of students to the global amount of fellowships the government made available each year. As a result, the enrolled students were around 2000 in the first period, then the number went up little by little to double (4000) in ten years. Very recently the number has increased substantially thanks to a changing in the rules which gave to the universities the possibility to admit students without fellowship and to hunt for fellowship from different sources (basically in the economic private sector).

In the year 1999 the 15<sup>th</sup> doctoral programme<sup>2</sup> had 8366 place available, 7432 students were admitted (160 coming from foreign countries), while the year before (1998) 2884 students received the doctorate.

Table 6: Research doctorate courses – places available(1998/'99-1999/'00)

Cycle	N. of available places	with fellowships	Students admitted			Foreigners		
			Male	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
XIV	4,262		2,119	2,037	4,156	83	38	121
XV	8,366	5,399	3,646	3,786	7,432	99	61	160

Source: Italian Ministry of Education – MIUR

<sup>2</sup> Doctoral Programmes are numbered progressively by the Ministry starting from the first in the academic year 1983 – '84.

Table 7: Research doctorate: number of degrees granted – year 1998

Number of Degrees Granted by Cycle												Extra-places granted to foreign students		Total of Doctorates		
7° Cycle		8° Cycle		9° Cycle		10° Cycle		11° Cycle		Foreigners (all cycles)						
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
30	42	74	42	444	442	770	632	219	126	14	6	42	21	1579	1305	2884

M = Male, F = Female

Source: Italian Ministry of Education – MIUR

Of course, not all the graduate from the doctoral programmes are interested in or try to start the academic career. But a relevant majority does. Doctoral students are considered as students although they are often involved in research projects as unpaid personnel.

A further step in this direction is represented by a four-year post-doc fellowship programme that is granted by the government and administered by each individual university. Those who get this fellowship are considered (by the university milieu) as perspective scholars to be directed toward the academic career. The number of post-doc fellowships is very difficult to evaluate since the universities use them in different ways, often including some young researchers with post-doc fellowships in budget of research from where it is difficult to let them to emerge. It is fair to say that this kind of fellowship covers about 2/3 of the Ph. D. owners. Recently another kind of post-doctorate fellowship has been instituted, it is the so called research grant (*assegno di ricerca*). This two-years fellowship (renewable for other two) is provided by University funds obtained from the Ministry in a different number each year according to the lump sum made available for this purpose. A research grant can be also created inside each research project subsidised with funds obtained both from public and private sources. Obviously these kind of grants will last the duration of the project. Ph. D. owners and recipient of post-doc fellowships are in a rather ambiguous position, since many of them are participating in research and teaching activities frequently unpaid with the excuse of making professional experiences. In general, they are accepting to be exploited in the hope of becoming part *de facto* of the department, and through this process to be somehow entitled to participate at the competition for a researcher position.

A new rule for the recruitment and career development has been introduced in 1998 and it is still operating. Under the new policy of autonomy the ministry of Education, University and Research simply calls for national competition twice or even thrice a year, but it is to the individual university to create an opening at one of the three levels of the career: from the bottom either at the „researcher“ level, or at the „associate professor“ one, or at the „full professor“ one.

The first level of stable position in the academic career is that of „researcher“. In this case a commission is created for each university opening. The commission is made by an internal member nominated by the university and by two academicians elected at national level by members of the related discipline in such a way that the commission will have a full professor, an associate professor and a researcher. Exams for the researcher position are both written (two tests: one more theoretical and the other more experimental) and oral. The unwritten rule operating at this level speaks in favour of the local candidate who most of the time comes from the small number of internal recipients of post-doc fellowships.

The next stage of the career refers to the „associate professors“. Here when a university creates an opening a commission is made with an internal member nominated by the university and four

professors belonging to the disciplinary area coming from national elections in such a way that the commission will be made by three full professors and two associate professors. The commission can make two candidates eligible for the opening among which the university will choose the one for his own available place while the other can be hired by any other university which is interested and has the financial resources to pay his salary. After two years if no university will hire the second „winner“ he will lose his position and will stay at the previous level, although keeping the possibility to participate to similar competitions in the future.

Exams for the position of associate professor are based on the presentation of scientific publications, oral analysis of their contents, and a 45 minutes lecture in front of the commission given by the candidates to demonstrate their ability to teach. In this case, while the local candidate is considered in a sort of benevolent way, chances for the „cosmopolitans“ are consistent.

Finally, at the level of „full professors“ the process is similar to the one for the associate professors. Only the commission is made by five full professors of the discipline, one of whom is acting as internal member and the other four are elected at national level. Exams are based only on the evaluation of candidates' scientific production.

After six years the impact of the reform in the recruiting procedure can be evaluated with some accuracy. A number of interesting aspects are emerging. First of all, the autonomy of individual university budget plays a crucial role. Autonomy of individual university in financial terms means that each university will have to freely subdivide into the different items of expenditure the lump sum received from the government plus the amount of the students' fees and plus – to a minimum extent – possible grants from private sources. In addition, the item devoted to personnel cannot overcome the 90% of the total budget. Until 1993, under the centralised system, the university budget was subdivided according to established items preventing any free choice of each university, and the possibility to obtain any resources for additional academic staff was a matter of constant deal between the individual university and the ministry of Education.

Under the new rule, many universities – as has been said – cannot hire new staff members having reached the 90% of their budget in that item. And those who can afford it have to evaluate comparatively the cost of different professorship. In fact, according to the salary scale a full professor costs to the university – at the top of his career – about 90,000 Euros per year (including insurances and social benefits), while an associate professor costs about 63,000 Euros and a researcher about 44,100 Euros. As a result, to hire a new staff member coming from another university is rather more expensive than creating an opening for an internal member who, if can pass the exam and thus be considered „eligible“, will cost only the difference between his previous salary and the new one pertaining to the attained level. The obvious convenience of this process is increased by the career progression inside each of the three levels which involves small raises of the salary every two years. Consequently, the jump from a certain level of one category – after a number of years – to the first stage of the next higher level (as for example, from „researcher“ to „associate professor“ after 6 or 8 years of academic activity) doesn't represent a substantial change in the salary, and therefore in the cost of the staff member for his own university. In this way the total number of the academic staff members will remain stable (remembering that the academic staff cannot be fired). At the same time, inside promotion may be conceived as a reward distribution while the homogeneity of the department is not endangered by the hiring of a new „unknown“ member.

The impact of this economic dimension on the recruiting process and the career of the academic staff has been rather impressive. From one side, the number of openings at the three levels has been almost the same: during the four year period between 1999 and 2002 the university system (74 universities) has enrolled 5265 full professors, 5534 associate professors and 6502 re-

searchers with some disciplinary areas having enrolled more full professors than researchers as it is the case of Law, History, Philosophy, Pedagogy and Psychology. Again, we must not be misled by the absolute numbers because, as we discussed in the previous section, the recruitment growth rate percentages show a strong imbalance between new recruitments (researcher position) and careers advancement (full and associate positions). From the other side, the overwhelming majority of new staff members hired in the same period came from his own university (internal promotion). Particularly impressive is the percentage of full professors (89,0%), while also that of the associate professors is definitively relevant (75,2%). The internal recruitment reached a pick of more than 90% in the Polytechnics (Engineering and Architecture) and in the recently created universities, while only few very peripheral ones have been „constrained“ to add new blood from elsewhere, probably due to their difficulty to produce valid candidates at local level.

All in all, the reform of the higher education system based on autonomy of individual universities has created a number of financial problems which had an impact on the recruiting procedure of the academic staff and on their career. It is now progressively raising (a) the possible shortage of academicians due to the rapid aging of the category and the insufficient recruitment from the bottom (researchers), and (b) the growing „parochialism“ of universities not sustained in the recruitment of too costly „cosmopolitans“.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic profession**

#### *3.1 New policy developments*

The scenario just described may change in the next months. The new centre-right political majority (which won the elections in May 2001) through its ministry of Education and University, introduced last January to the Parliament and to the Rectors' Conference a bill to reform the recruitment system. The bill aims at tackling some problems left unresolved, and/or created by the academe's interpretation of the former reform. In particular:

1. overcoming the inward and local recruitment;
2. coping with the growing ageing of the professoriate;
3. stimulating the recruitment of new staff and the academics' mobility;
4. innovating the procedures and the incentives to recruit foreign academics.

These goals, in particular the first three, seem likely to be achieved through a strong reduction of stable positions (tenure) in the academic labour market. Actually, the main bill's proposal is to reform radically the academics' legal status and thus recruitment procedures: Specifically, these will be the main changes affecting our subject:

The recruiting process of full and associate professors should be revised introducing an evaluation contest at national level every two years for each disciplinary field. A national evaluation committee will be established (by the ministry of the University) which will produce a list of qualified subjects chosen among those who will participate in the contest. Each university would then be allowed to pick up from the list of the qualified (or „eligible“) those considered as suitable for its own needs.

The universities would be entitled to hire new professors on a temporary basis (three year contract to be renewed only once) with the possibility to transform the temporary position into a stable one after an internal evaluation.

As for the researchers the universities would be allowed to hire them also on a temporary basis (five year contract only once renewable) choosing independently the hiring procedure and giving special relevance to candidates holding the doctorate degree or other post-degree titles. These temporary positions will have a new status, since they will not enjoy a stable position, traditionally granted to the academic staff. As a matter of fact, a temporary position with the possibility to be fired introduces elements of private status in the academic profession.

These proposals seem to be inspired by a neo-Fordist reforming strategy (Brown and Lauder 1997; Vaira 2003c), aiming at introducing in the academic recruitment and workplace a stronger market logic accompanied by a numerically flexible strategy in recruitment. The basic purposes of these measures seem related to the effort of making more flexible and thus more efficient the academic staff. They can be better understood in the general framework of the modernisation policy the political elite in power is trying to implement in the higher education and in the research domain. The „philosophy“ underlying this policy is based on the assumption that privatisation, or better, marketisation, of public services will improve their quality, thus stability of employment like tenure are conceived as negative, while temporary employment and numerical flexibility together with evaluation procedures and competition among individuals and institutions will enhance productivity in all sectors of the economy (including social services and education).

Not by chance, this policy is pursued by a government where managers and entrepreneurs are largely represented. Among them, the minister of Education, University and Research is a manager (and the prime minister is an entrepreneur).

Some difficulties and contradictions seem to affect the realisation of this policy. One is represented by the shortage of financial resources to support programs of selective rewards to additional duties among the academic staff. In fact, the state financial crisis is going to affect severely any kind of higher education policy, including future recruitment of a new generation of scholars. And the reduction of tenured places seems to go in this direction. The other contradiction is related to the policy of competition among universities which implies a substantial degree of autonomy. But the go back to the national (centralised) system of evaluation of eligible professors plus a tight ministerial control of the comprehensive evaluation procedures of the university performances seems to practically restrain the possibility of differentiate and qualify the policy of each individual university. In addition, the complexities of running the autonomy have almost overwhelmed the limited capacities of universities' administrations not trained for a dynamic enterprise-like policy (Luzzato, 2001; Vaira, 2003c). The drive toward a new centralised administration of the higher education system seems to find the more and more a coincidence of interests.

Academic staff – as has been mentioned – has reacted in a differentiated way to the autonomy reform. Many academics have accepted in a way or in another the new system, many are on the way of understanding the positive aspect through practical experiences. It is difficult to predict what the perspective changes of their legal status with more duties and less stability without any benefits or rewards will produce, also considering that the reform has implied more administrative and organisational activities without any real financial return. In other words, academics are experiencing a process of role accretion (Stinchcombe, 1983; Vaira, 2003c) without any kind of positive incentive (monetary and/or qualification for career) to reward them.

### 3.2 Non-standard academics: An emerging new academic figure?

Reform has triggered the growing resort to time-contract teachers, in order to cope with the increasing number of new courses, subjects and students enrolment. This is, evidently, a strategy based on numerical flexibility, necessary to face the new didactic burdens in a situation of low rate of new recruitments given the shortage of financial resources. These non-standard academics seem to be constituted mainly by young on-training researchers that do not enjoy a stable position in academic labour structure. Generally they are second or third year doctorate students, post-doc scholarship holders and granted researchers (*assegnisti di ricerca*), waiting for getting a researcher position.

In addition, we face a growing process of hiring „experts“ or professionals from outside the university to teach courses on subjects not included in the university competencies. This phenomenon is justified by the drive toward professionalisation of courses, but also by the low cost of external personnel, who is low paid but receive some additional prestige from teaching at the university.

Although the phenomenon is relevant, our data do not allow us to draw a precise profile of these non-standard academics, and that for two reasons: First, there are no disaggregated data about the age and academic status of them; second, data on their numerical position seem to be ambiguous, because they do not consider the length of teaching contract, the highly differentiated paid and, above all, obscure the fact that some staffed academics are called to deliver – additionally – courses on time-contracts, so that we do not know how many are the true non-standard academics. For these reasons, the data we present in this section must be taken with caution. In any case, the employment status both of young scholars and outside professionals is one of contract-hired staff whose contracts may be renewed year after year. Within the period of contract, non-standard academics have the same didactic duties of staffed professors (teaching, examinations, students counselling).

The number of non-standard academics is rapidly growing in the period 1997-2001, representing more than one quarter of universities teaching personnel on the whole. It is worth mentioning the trend of their growth rate: 4,85% in 1998-1999, 3,47% in 1999-2000 and an impressive 11,13% in 2000-2001. This last strong increment is due to the fact that university in that period enacted the new study courses generated by the reform. Since Universities are still enacting new courses, especially in the second level degree (*Laurea specialistica*), but also in the first three-years track, we can expect that in the 2001-2002 and 2002-2003 periods the rate growth has increased, bringing the percentage of non-standards around 30%, if not more.

While non-standard academics' strongest growth occurred mainly in 2000-2001 period, in different fields we can find different periods of growth. Economics had anticipated the overall trend with a strong growth already in 1998-1999; Social Science, Engineering and Economics again increased their non standards number in 1999-2000, whereas Humanities had its strongest growth in 2000-2001. On the whole, Medicine is the scientific-disciplinary field with the highest number of non-standard staff. This is probably due to the fact that in this field some courses can be delivered by non-academic doctors with high specialisations in some medical branches, working in the health sector. We must add that in Medicine there is the study course in Nursing and it is likely that the most part of it is held by sector's professionals working in different health organisations.

Data available cannot allow us to say more about this new academic type. Non-standard academics, and above all their sub-population of young on-training and granted researchers, could be a research field that is needed to be investigated more accurately and systematically to assess and appraise the phenomenon.

### 3.3 Is the academic profession becoming less attractive?

In trying to evaluate the degree of attractiveness that can be granted to the academic profession today several contradictory aspects have to be taken into consideration.

First of all, it is crucial to consider the decline of social prestige due to the spread of higher education. Being member of the academic staff is not as being the training staff of the elite anymore: „The profession of the professions“, as it has been said many times ago has lost some of its appeal. This process of declining social prestige is somehow related to the process of modernisation which affects society. In Italy this can be detected in comparing developed regions in the North with less developed and more traditionally oriented regions in the South. In the latter ones university professors still enjoy a sort of social consideration which in the former has definitely disappeared.

Social consideration seems to be related more and more to the relevance attributed by society to specific roles academicians can play thanks to their expertise and its use outside the university milieu. The importance of technicalities differentiate the social consideration among disciplinary fields in favour of hard applied sciences and penalising pure sciences. For a country with strong humanistic traditions this is an interesting process of cultural change under way.

Economically, the academic profession per se is not very attractive because the initial salary is rather modest and the first steps in the career are not easy nor rapid, as it has been mentioned. Of course, a lot depends on the other professions of reference. The following table shows average salaries of some categories in the Public Administration compared with salaries of the three levels of the academic profession each of them considered in the middle of an average career.

Table 8: Salary of professional figures in the public sector in Euros (year 2000)

Work Status	Salary* (means)
Blue Collar	14,621
Office Worker	17,414
Teacher**	17,979
Junior manager-Official	23,102
Senior manager	32,613
Professional	34,284
Self-employed	19,484
Family business	15,752
Shareholder/partner	24,679
Unemployed	5,369
Work pension	19,947
Temporary employment	19,014
Univ. full professor	39,767
Univ. associate professor	27,889
Univ. Researcher	19,625

\* Net salar

\*\* The category includes both teacher at secondary and at tertiary level

Source: Bank of Italy

The real appeal of the academic profession –economically speaking– then comes from outside sources that some can and others cannot count on. In this respect the economic situation of the environment plays a mixed role: from one side, a wealthy city may offer interesting alternatives for prospective researchers, from the other, it may offer opportunities to use their competencies (and thus increase their earning) to well known full professors. The opposite may very well be the situation in peripheral not so developed areas. The external relations with the society has actually divided the professoriate for years now. This has been made worse by the general attitude of the individual university which has almost never played an institutional role in the economic market, leaving each academic to make its own deal alone.

#### 4. Internationalisation

##### 4.1 The brain drain of researchers

Finding aggregate data on the research international mobility is not an easy matter nowadays in Italy. Many researchers and academic staff members spend time abroad through exchanges between universities not included in special programmes and therefore not registered at national level. Due to the shortage and heterogeneity of information, it is quite difficult to evaluate the dimension of mobility of Italian university researchers. Presently, the only source taking into account in a relatively systematic way the researchers working abroad is the data base „Da Vinci“ of the Ministry of Foreign affairs. It includes any kind of researchers (not only in universities as also in private and public research institutes) and data refer to 1.302 individuals in 25 different countries. A recent study<sup>3</sup> integrates the „Da Vinci“ source with other sources and extends the number to of Italian researchers abroad to 2.678 plus 52 doctoral students. The study shows that Europe is the main destination (50,7%) but USA is the first country (34,9%) of migration for Italian researchers (see Table 9). The study also shows that emigrated researchers are mostly working in universities (65,9%) and research centres (23,4%), predominantly male(67,3%), in their thirties (58,8%) and mainly holding a doctoral title obtained abroad (61,5%).

Table 9: Emigration of Italian researchers by country of destination%

Europe	50,7
Of which	
France	6,5
Germany	17,5
United Kingdom	21,2
USA	34,9
Others	14,4
Total	100,0

Source: Censis 2002

3 Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia-Censis, Un capitale da valorizzare. Indagine conoscitiva sulla fuga dei cervelli italiani all'estero. Rapporto finale, mimeo, Venezia-Roma, February 2002.

## 4.2 Integrated study programmes

The integration of studies fostered by EU Commission's Programmes and bilateral agreements with European partners produced in the last ten years a flourishing of „joint degrees“ and „double degrees“ in Italian universities. It is a specific kind of integrated study programmes or curricula which are characterised by common responsibilities referring to the design of curriculum, the organisation of the studies and the type of qualification offered.

In 2003 CIMEA has set up a national database on joint and double degrees. The recorded agreements in the field are presently 310. Joint degrees programmes account for 42% of the total, research doctorates are 38% and masters 18% (the rest referring to specific minor agreements).

As for the disciplines, social sciences (31%) and engineering and architectural studies (25%) cover more than 50% of the recorded agreements. As for the partners, the CIMEA study stresses a marked preference of Italian universities for finding partnerships with institutions from larger European countries: France (39%), Spain (19%), Germany (18%) and UK (18%). USA universities have a share of 9%. Moreover, two special experiences have to be mentioned, the Italian –French university and the Italian-German university. The first, born through a ministerial agreement in 1998, is a virtual university (*université sans murs*) which aims at coordinating the cooperation between institutions of the two countries and is prevalently based on distance learning.

The Italian-German university, born through an agreement signed by Rector's Conferences of the two countries, the German DAAD, the University of Trento, The Culture Ministers' Conference of the German Laender and the Autonomous Province of Trento, aims to promote the development of new joint programmes both at bachelor and master level and at a common supervision of doctoral theses as well as the creation of joint post-graduate courses in hard sciences and technical fields.

## 5. Mobility

The data referred to Socrates/Erasmus programmes show a fast increase in the participation of Italian professors and researchers to the two European mobility programmes. In the four academic years from 1998/99 to 2001/2002 (last available data), the participation increased of about 48%. (table 10). As for the status of participants, it is quite interesting to stress that the share of senior professors (full and associate) is about the same (respectively 39.7% and 40.4%), when juniors (researchers) participate much less (19.8%) (table 11).

The disciplines involved are mainly languages and philology (about 18% of participants), Engineering and technology (10.4), Social sciences (10.3) and Arts and design (8.4%) (table 12). Spain rank first as country of destination (22.8%), followed by France (19.7%), Germany (9.4%), Portugal (5.4%) and UK(5.0%). A sign that, at least within this mobility programme, Italian professors and researchers prefer closer areas and with traditionally more familiar languages.

Table 10: Academic staff mobility under Socrates Programme – different academic years

	a. a. 2001/2002	a. a. 2000/2001	a. a. 1999/2000	a. a. 1998/1999
Total	922	825	735	623

Source: Erasmus Office-Rome

Table 11: Academic staff mobility under Socrates Programme – a.a.2001/2002

<b>Level in the profession</b>	<b>No. of academic staff members</b>
Full Professors	366
Associate Professors	373
Researchers	183
<b>Total</b>	<b>922</b>

Source: Erasmus Office – Rome

Table 12: Academic staff mobility under Socrates Programme – a. a. 2001/2002 by disciplinary field

<b>Disciplinary Field</b>	<b>No. of Academic Staff Members</b>
Sciences	148
Architecture and Engineering	159
Medicine	70
Economics	40
Social Sciences	156
Humanities	335
Other areas	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>922</b>

Source: Erasmus Office – Rome

## 6. Concluding Statements

The first steps of the academic career in the Italian university are very difficult, uncertain and characterised by a period of variable length in which academic activities of support (teaching and research) are low paid or not remunerated at all. The degree of exploitation of this special kind of labour force varies according to fields and local situation, but on average is rather high and of significant length. Personal relations between academic „barons“ and young scholars have a crucial role for the academic career and, needless to say, it is a very unequal kind of relationship. Through a long period of reform, this tradition as remained rather stable as has been described by Burton Clark some 25 years ago.

Attractiveness of the academic profession is severely affected by this long period of „taking off“ which favours wealthy people (who don't need a decent salary to survive) and those who are more able to „follow the leaders“. The other category which can survive is made by people intellectually gifted but especially full of enthusiasm for the profession and therefore ready to pay the price to pursue their scientific interests. But many chose other routes, especially in large cities where the labour market can offer valuable professional alternatives.

A crucial aspects of the picture is represented by the financial resources which are made available for the first steps of the academic career. The reduction of the financial support from the

state has not found so far in Italy a compensation worth to be mentioned from other public or private sources. Universities don't seem to have developed the right attitude toward a policy of raising funds, while external institutions, both public and private, don't seem to need services from the universities as institutions (choosing, instead, to ask for expertise of the individual researchers and scientists).

Under these circumstances, future perspectives for the academic careers are not very brilliant. Recruiting procedures will be somehow rationalised through rather long periods of temporary positions (lasting five plus five years). If this, from one side, will make more clear the existing uncertain and confuse combination of post doctorate fellowships, from the other, it will make longer the period between the Ph. D. and the possible insertion in a stable position: if on average a Ph. D. can be acquired around 35 year of age, only at 45 one (young?) researcher will be able to try to get inside the academia.

This perspective of postponing a stable job if combined with the low level of salaries attributed to the first stages of the academic career may very well reduce the already low degree of attractiveness of the professoriate in the Italian labour market.

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## **Academic Personnel: Working Conditions and Career Opportunities Country Report Latvia**

*Ilze Trapenciere, Liga Jermolajeva, Ieva Karklina*

### **1. An overview of the most important recent changes in employment and working conditions of academic personnel**

#### *1.1 Main stages of structural changes in Latvian higher education and research*

In this report we give a short historical overview of development of higher education in Latvia since independence, with particular accent on the recent developments after regaining independence in 1991. The first higher education institution, Riga Polytechnic Institute, was established in 1862. At that time it was the first polytechnic in the Russian Empire. Despite the fact, that Latvia was a part of Russian Empire by that time, Latvian education was mostly dominated by German traditions. Academic personnel of the Riga Polytechnic Institute (RPI) were Germans, the studies were in German, and the institution was modelled after Zurich Technical School. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century RPI became as an internationally recognized centre of chemical and technological science. After proclamation of independence in 1918, the University of Latvia was established. It has become a full University during the next years. During the decades (1920-1940) University had three main research priorities: (1) science as a source of national self-assertion – history, folklore, ethnography, Latvian philology; (2) agricultural sciences, studies on natural resources, medicine and health care; (3) natural sciences.

In general, we can distinguish three periods in the history of Latvian higher education and research:

1. development of higher education and research during the 1<sup>st</sup> independence (1918-1940);
2. development during the Soviet regime (1940-1990). During that period the main field of study was engineering (50% in the USSR) and the proportion of students in social sciences – less than 10%;
3. reorganization and development during the regained independence after 1991.

In this report we discuss the development of higher education after 1991. Rapid changes have taken place in Latvia's higher education system since it regained independence in 1991. The na-

tional policy and strategy of higher education is based on the assumption that Latvia is in the phase of transition from the centralized economy to the market economy. Radical changes that have taken place in politics and economy have created a new preconditions for the development of higher education.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, when Latvia regained its independence after being incorporated in the Soviet Union, Latvian Educational system in general and higher education and research in particular, had to go through profound changes in legislation.

During the decade (1992-2002) new universities have been founded, the status of universities has changed. Before 1990 there were only 10 state institutions of higher education including one university. The number of state universities has increased to 5, and the total number of institutions of higher education increased to 34 in 2003 with accompanying structural changes. Private institutions of higher education have been established, with 14 such schools operating in 2003.

The rapid increase of the number of students and HEI has allowed Latvia to overcome the educational crisis evident in 1993. The number of students has been increasing for nine consecutive years, with the total number reaching 118,845 in the 2002/2003 academic year. There are 496 students per every 10,000 residents of Latvia.

The higher education system in Latvia consists of universities, colleges and non-university type institutions of higher education. Both universities and non-university type institutions of higher education can offer a university and non-university education. A new type of institution has developed as part of the higher education system – *college*, offering short (2 – 3 years) programs in upper level professional education.

Universities are characterized by a potentially higher level of scientific and research work, they often cooperate with research institutes in related fields and subdivisions. During the last decade numerous research institutes of former Academy of Science were integrated into the University of Latvia becoming the basic component of the academic structure. There are 20 University research institutes with independent legal status, 12 state research institutes and 15 other state research organizations in Latvia. This attempt of integration between higher education and research was expected to ensure unity of studies and research necessary for higher education.

Since 1995 a system of accreditation and quality assessment was introduced in the higher education system. The content and quality of the curriculum is increasingly being assessed according to international standards. Updating of the curricula content and its implementation is ongoing, new directions of study are being added.

However, along with these positive development trends, several problems have surfaced. The tremendous increase in the number of students has not been accompanied by an appropriate development of teaching personnel and infrastructure of HEI. For this reason it is becoming difficult to maintain the quality of education being offered. Updating of resources and technical bases at the university level has been insignificant. The number of instructors, especially the number of professors, does not correspond with the number of students, thus making it impossible to guarantee the quality of education. Renewal and replacement of academic personnel has been insufficient.

Summarizing, we can conclude that the main characteristics of higher education and research during the transition period are as follows:

- post-Soviet restructuring of the studies, changing legislation in higher education and research sector;
- changing fields of studies (increasing social sciences up to 52% in 2002/3, decreasing natural sciences, health care, agriculture);

- introduction of tuition fees for one part of students, decreasing numbers of state supported or so called „budget students“. Moving toward a system financed heavily by student fees was not because of deliberate policy choice but because of severe economic conditions;
- increasing numbers of students starting from 1993. Number of students has increase almost three times during the decade (37500 in 1993/4 to 118845 in 2002/3);
- academic personnel is taking increasing instructional burden as enrolments increase and problems related to lack of instructors;
- changing structure of research and scientific institutions – decreasing numbers of researchers.

## *1.2 Development of legislation in higher education*

After regaining independence Latvia had to formulate the objectives of educational policy and the ways of realization of those objectives. The legal system in the Republic of Latvia could be characterized by continuous efforts to formulate and to more precisely define the new legislation that has drastically changed the system of higher education and research.

*Law on Education* (1991) and *Law on Higher Educational Establishments* (1995, amended in 2000) provided the institutions of higher education with substantial autonomy from the state. This was possibly the main shock of the transition to higher education. Autonomy grants the authority to establish contents and forms of study, the organisational and administrative structure, basic directions of research work. Law defines status, tasks, management and administration of higher educational institutions, principles of staff recruitment, fundamental financing principles, research and business activity. Law defines various types of higher education institutions and programmes, defines various academic qualifications, etc. This Law for the first time introduces licensing and accreditation of higher education institutions and study programs.

*Universities* are defined as institutions that cover one or several major scientific fields, and are entitled to confer degrees up to the doctoral degree (Bachelor, Master, Doctoral). Universities provide both academic and professional study programmes. University Constitution (*Satversme*) must be approved by Parliament (*Saeima*). There are 5 state Universities in Latvia (University of Latvia, Riga Technical University with Riga Business Institute, Latvia University of Agriculture, Stradins University/Academy of Medicine, Daugavpils University).

There are *other state institutions* of higher education *Augstskola Akademija*, which have no university status, and mainly are specialised in a small number of disciplines. Some of them (6) may grant Doctoral Degree (internationally equated with PhD). Degrees below doctoral level are granted by another 8 state institutions of higher education.

In recent years, a number of *private higher education institutions* have been established. They must be licensed by Ministry of Education and Science (MES) in accordance with regulations of Cabinet of Ministers, and programmes may then be accredited. Accreditation allows private higher education institutions to grant diplomas and degrees that are recognised by state. Private higher education institutions offer both academic and professional programmes.

Law on Higher Educational Establishments authorises „*colleges*“ as professional higher education studies less than 4 years. According to the *Law on Professional Education* (1999) it is defined as „*first level of professional higher education*“.

Term *higher education institution* „HEI“ will be used in this report to refer to all institutions of higher education unless a specific type is designated.

Improvements in the quality of academic personnel and doctorate procedures are defined by the regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers „*Statutes on requirements for teacher education and professional qualification*“ (2000), the „*Statutes on the assessment of scientific and instructional qualifications of candidates for the position of Associate Professor and Professor*“ (2001), the „*Statute on procedure and criteria of promotion*“ (1999), and the „*Rules of operation of the Latvian Science Board*“. The scientific work of academic personnel is regulated by legislation defining the national research program and the rules of commissioning research projects by national institutions. The salary structure of academic personnel is defined by the „*Regulations on pedagogues' salaries*“ passed by the Cabinet of Ministers in 2000. Unfortunately, academic personnel was not included in the category of pedagogues who received salary increase starting from 2000. It has resulted in situation when teachers' salaries had increased for about 45 LVL (about 80EUR) during three years but salaries of academic personnel have remained without changes. According to amendments to these regulations in 2002, academic personnel of HEI should receive salary increase starting from autumn 2003, receiving salary increase 10% per year.

Curriculum contents, academic and professional degrees and professional qualification are defined by the *Regulations on the national academic education standard*, adopted by the Ministry Cabinet in 2002, the *Regulations on the standards for First Level professional higher education*, and the *Regulations on the standards for Second Level professional higher education*; both passed in 2001. Definition and maintenance of the quality of study programs is regulated by the *Rules for the licensing of study programs for institutions of higher education*, ratified by the Ministry Cabinet in 2002, and the *Rules for the accreditation of institutions of higher education and their curricula*, adopted by the Ministry Cabinet in 2001. These regulations also define the qualification requirements for academic personnel.

HEI funding is defined by the regulation passed in the Ministry Cabinet in 2001 pertaining to the „*Order in which HEI are allotted funding from the national budget*“.

In total, the existing legislation defines the most important aspects of qualification requirements for academic personnel, academic position, job regulations and salary.

### *1.3 The principal institutions*

Most of the state HEI in Latvia operate under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Science. However, there are HEI that operate under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture (1), the Ministry of Culture (3), the Ministry of the Interior (1) and the Ministry of Defence (1). Questions of the realization of higher education, university quality control and definition of quality of academic personnel are overseen by the Ministry of Education and Science. Thus, the requirements for all universities, including private institutions, are the same.

Ministry of Education and Science (MES) has formal authority to implement the *Law on Higher Educational Establishments*, and the Minister represents interests of higher education at the *Cabinet of Ministers* and *Parliament (Saeima)*. MES is responsible for licensing the HEI, accreditation process according to regulations established by the Cabinet of Ministers (CoM). CoM has a right to take a decision about reorganisation or closure of HEI, which should be done on the basis of recommendation of the MES and a study by the Council of Higher Education.

The activities of the *Council of Higher Education* take place in accord with the *Law on higher educational establishments*. The Council consists of delegated representatives from various organizations that represent all interested parties in higher education and science (HEI, the sciences, employers, Trade unions and the government). The members of the Council of Higher Education

are government officials who receive remuneration from the national budget based on signed labour contracts. The Council of Higher Education is responsible for strategic questions of higher education including formulation of national concept for the development of higher education and HEI, long-term plans for development of higher education, qualification of academic personnel and the quality of scientific work and study programs. It also serves in a consultative capacity for CoM on the proposed state budget for higher education, consults on questions concerning the number of university professors and university financing.

Rectors of HEI are elected and may not serve longer than two terms. Election of rector must be approved by the CoM on the recommendation of MES.

The *Board of Rectors* is an internal university institution that coordinates cooperative efforts among universities and serves as an intermediary between universities and the Ministry of Education and Science. The Board of Rectors consists of university administrative representatives, mainly rectors. The Board of Rectors is responsible for deciding on joint study programs, evaluate draft laws, draft proposals for distribution of state budgetary resources among HEI, it coordinates international collaborative efforts. Its delegates participate in international activities and inform the university academic personnel about these activities. The Board of Rectors participates in the work of the European University Association and collaborates in the development of a unified European educational system.

The other institutions involved in higher education (the *Board of University Professors*, the *College Association*, and the *Private University Association*) realize their proposals through the institutions in which they are represented such as the Higher Education Board.

Scientific research is coordinated by the *Council of Science*. One of its functions is the organization of the competition of research grant proposals whereby funded research grants are evaluated, selected and nominated for funding.

Many academics are involved in organizations that are formed based on specialty or profession (various subject-specific associations, the Association of Construction Engineers, lawyers' associations, doctors' associations, chemists' association, etc.). These organizations have no direct impact on the work of academic personnel, although close cooperation between academic personnel and the various professional organizations helps guarantee a connection with the professional sphere in accord with the principles of the Bologna Process.

### *Role of Trade unions*

On a national level, Trade unions make their opinion known through other organizations with union representatives. *Free Trade Union Confederation* participates in the National Tripartite Coordinate Council on issues related to Professional and Higher Education.

*Trade union of Educational and Science Employees (LIZDA)* addresses the issues of salaries and working conditions of educational and research employees. LIZDA has established a Committee dealing with the problems in higher education and research.

The agreement on educational concerns between *LIZDA* and the main political parties in Latvia can be seen as a positive accomplishment.

In 1995 LIZDA has signed an Agreement with the Ministry of Education and Science. Both parties actualize the agreement regularly.

LIZDA representative participates in the work of the *Council of Higher Education*.

LIZDA participate in the work of HEI elected institutions.

#### *1.4 Academic qualification levels*

In accord with the *Law on higher educational establishments* Section 4 Paragraph 27, in Latvia the academic staff consists of the following personnel:

1. professors, associate professors;
2. assistant professors (docents), leading researchers;
3. lecturers, researchers;
4. assistants.

All the academic staff has the status of public employees.

In spite of the opinion that the requirements for the rank of professor are too rigorous, experts believe that these requirements should not be lowered only to create a higher proportion of professors in the total number of academic personnel. Lowering requirements could result in a lower quality of work.

**Professor** is an internationally recognized specialist in his/her field, who conducts scientific research or creative work in the arts according to contemporary standards, thereby guaranteeing a high level of education in his respective scientific or artistic field. To qualify for the position of professor, the candidate must have a doctorate and not less than three years work experience at the associate professor level. In the various artistic fields a person can be elected professor based on his creative work as long as it complies with the standards set forth by the University Senate pertaining to academic positions. The number of professors and who gets elected in specific scientific or artistic fields is determined by the Minister of Education and Science, giving consideration to proposals by the Higher Education Board and the various universities, the number of students and funding.

The main duties of a professor are:

1. delivering high quality lectures, overseeing studies, lessons and examinations in his course of study;
2. directing scientific research or creative work in the arts in his field commensurate with the professor level;
3. directing doctorate level studies and scientific research or creative work in his field commensurate with the professor level;
4. participating in the quality assessment of study programs and the work of universities and structural units therein;
5. preparing the next generation of scientists, artists and assistant professors.

**Associate Professor** – to qualify for the position of associate professor, the candidate must have a doctorate. In the various artistic fields a person can be elected associate professor based on his creative work as long as it complies with the standards set forth by the University Senate pertaining to academic positions. In programs of professional study, a person with the pertinent higher education and at least 10 years work experience in the pertinent field can also hold the position of associate professor.

The main duties of an associate professor are:

1. performing scientific research or creative work in his field commensurate with the associate professor level;
2. directing student research for the doctorate or masters degree;
3. directing and guaranteeing work of the study program.

Each university determines its number of associate professors based on need and financial feasibility. If a university has an associate professor vacancy, the University Senate determines if,

when and in which scientific or artistic field a competition is to be held to fill the vacancy. They also decide the appropriate salary level of the position based on its function and duties.

All professors and associate professors are elected for a period of six years. An open competition is announced for any vacancy at the professor or associate professor level. Candidates for positions of professor and associate professor are elected by the Board of Professors in the specific field. Every candidate for the position of professor or associate professor must obtain an independent international evaluation, which is organized by the Board of Professors in the specific field. The Board of Professors submits its final decision to the University Rector. In the arts, a person can be elected associate professor based on his creative work as long as it complies with the standards set forth by the University Senate pertaining to academic positions.

The scientific or instructional qualifications of candidates for the position of professor or associate professor are assessed by the Board of Professors in the specific field. Based on the decision of the Board of Professors, the University Rector signs a labour contract with the newly elected professor or associate professor.

The position of *Docent* can be held by a person with a doctorate. In the artistic specialties, a person can be elected docent based on his creative achievements in the specific field. The main duties of docent are:

1. performing research in his scientific field or creative work in the arts;
2. delivering lectures, overseeing lessons, organizing tests and examinations in his study program (course, field), especially for entry level courses.

Recently there seems to be a trend toward a lower number of docent in Latvia, because the qualifications for and duties of this position are very similar to those of associate professor.

The position of *lecturer* can be held by a person with a doctorate or masters degree. In the arts and professional studies the degree is not necessary if other university requirements are met. The position of *assistant* can be held by a person with a doctorate or masters degree. If the person does not have a doctorate, he can be elected assistant no more than twice consecutively. This is one way the university attempts to motivate young instructors to undertake independent scientific research more quickly to raise their level of qualification.

Candidates for the above mentioned positions are elected for a period of six years.

The same positions can be held by a person (guest professor, guest associate professor, guest lecturer) who meets all the mentioned requirements and with whom the rector signs a labour contract for a specific period, usually one year. These academic personnel have all the rights and responsibilities of the permanent academic staff, but they are not allowed to work at university elected institutions.

*Leading researcher, researcher* are positions for researchers at universities and/or institutes which do mainly academic and/or applied research. Researcher and leading researcher position can be held by person with a doctorate. Research sphere is regulated by „Law on Research Activities“ (1998).

Research work is mandatory for each academic staff member, and is carried out as part of the research projects, based on grants, bilateral agreements and contracts with enterprises and other non-university institutions. In some fields (Law, Economics) academic staff members are employed in drafting new laws and various projects. At the same time there could be areas and study fields lacking financial support for research.

Higher education institutions are autonomous institutions of education and science. They have the right to independently determine the content and form of study programs, the direction of scientific research, and salary rates which cannot, however, be lower than those allowed by law.

Academic personnel have the right of academic freedom, the right to choose the area and direction of scientific research based on its scientific interests and competence. Independently of the university administration with which a researcher has a working relationship, he can compete for funding from the government, business, community organizations and various funds, he can compete, without administrative restrictions, for the opportunity to raise his level of qualification, and he can publish his research results without censorship and administrative restrictions. Once every six years a member of academic personnel may take a six-month academic leave for scientific research purposes. Once every election period a member of academic personnel may take a 24 month leave to work as a guest professor or guest lecturer at another university.

The Constitution of HEI serves as the main legislative guarantee of adherence to the principles of internal democracy at the universities. The constitution defines the various councils, boards and management institutions at the HEI as well as the distribution of power among these groups. Each member of the academic personnel at HEI has the right by law and constitution to participate in the governing of HEI. In cases of conflict between academic personnel and the administration, courts of arbitration are provided for as a democratic means of conflict resolution.

### *1.5 Working conditions of academic personnel*

A labour contract for a specified period of time (6 years) is signed with every academic staff member. The responsibilities therein can be divided into three main areas:

- work with students (lectures, seminars, laboratory and practical work, consultations etc.);
- methodology (developing new courses of study, updating existing courses of study, elaboration of methodological materials);
- research and scientific work.

The unit of measurement to achieve the above is the time frame whose criteria are determined by the HEI itself. The proportional distribution of the three areas is not strictly regulated and it differs from institution to institution. Generally, a professor is expected to put more emphasis on scientific work and research and less time on direct student contact. An assistant and a lecturer, on the other hand, have reverse expectations. This is, however, highly theoretical. In practice, considering the dynamic growth in number of students, a professor often has as many student contact hours as does a lecturer.

Each HEI independently determines the workload of its academic personnel. Considerable differences can be observed in this regard between HEIs. Even at the same HEI, workloads can fluctuate from 600 to 1200 hours per year. In assessing workload execution, completed contact hours are often set as the most significant criterion.

Many of the staff members due to low salaries are forced to undertake additional job, working at several HEIs (especially assistant professors and lecturers) or not directly associated with improvement of quality in their specific subject area. Therefore they are not able to participate in all staff development activities and do not have enough time for elaboration of textbooks, compendiums and other teaching materials. In some fields these problems are rather serious, and clear human resources development strategy is not developed.

In the attempt to lower the cost of study programs and to increase their financial feasibility, the working load of academic personnel increases, the flow of students increases in lectures, seminars, discussion groups and other forms of study that are not possible with groups of several hundreds.

**The quality of academic personnel**

*Table 1: University academic personnel for the 2002/2003 academic year (main job)\**

Type of institution	Academic personnel	Professors		Associate professors		Docents		Lectors		Assistants	
		No	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No	%
State	3176	335	11	472	15	807	25	1060	33	352	11
Private	642	49	8	76	12	176	27	282	44	56	9
Total	3818	384	10	548	14	983	26	1342	35	408	11

\* Data does not include those researchers who work at university scientific institutions and also work as instructors.

The increase in the number of associated professors at state universities can be viewed as a positive tendency that could lead to an increase in the number of professors in upcoming years. However, a recent negative tendency can also be observed at state HEI. The number of academic personnel holding advanced degrees has decreased (50% in the 2000/2001 academic year, 46% in the 2003/2004). Certain inconsistencies in the election of professors and associate professors at private universities must be noted as well. Nationally defined criteria are not always adhered to in these cases.

*Table 2: University academic personnel holding an advanced scientific degree*

Type of institution	Total - Academic personnel	Incl., with scientific degree	% from total
State	3,176	1,465	46
Private	642	282	44
Total	3,818	1,747	46

The age structure of academic personnel is one of the key problems connected with the preservation of a high level of academic quality. Academic personnel, especially professors but also associate and assistant professors are aging, but younger academic personnel is slow to join the academic ranks.

*Table 3: Age structure of academic personnel, 2002/2003 academic year*

Type of institution	< 30 yrs		30 - 39 yrs		40 - 49 yrs		50 - 59 yrs		< 60 yrs	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
State	383	12	522	16	721	22	781	24	818	26
Private	113	17	105	15	154	23	185	27	125	18
Total	496	13	627	15	875	22	966	25	943	25

The number of academic personnel under the age of thirty is not increasing at the HEI, but the number of academic personnel age 60 and older is growing, and the proportion of staff over 50 constitute 50%. On the average, every fourth, but at some universities every third academic staff member falls into the latter grouping. The problem of renewing academic personnel is one of the most acute that universities must resolve in the near future in cooperation with the MES and other government institutions.

The rapid growth in numbers of students in recent years notwithstanding, the number of academic and total personnel at the HEI remains practically unchanged. This results in a larger student to instructor ratio (29: 1). The number of students per instructor (main work) is growing. At state HEI it is from four to fifty students per instructor. At private HEI this indicator is even higher: at four of fourteen private HEI there is one instructor for every 60 – 80 students. Obviously, HEI capacity and their governing mechanism must be assessed in order to guarantee a qualitative higher education. One indicator used to characterize the educational environment is floor space per student. During the 2002/2003 academic year floor space per student was less than 1 sq. meter per student at several private HEI. Floor space per student was just slightly over 1 sq. meter per student at several state HEI.

This, of course, has an affect on the working conditions of academic personnel. Shortage of space does not allow the instructor to allot sufficient work space. A large number of academic personnel (particularly assistants, lecturers) of HEI do not have their own office. Instructors are guaranteed space for lectures, but the rest of their work must be done in an inappropriate setting (for example, in the department in office often simultaneously being used by several instructors).

The opportunity to develop an academic career at HEI mainly depends on results of scientific work and research. The doctoral defence is evidence of this at the career onset. The doctorate is the main factor that allows an assistant or lecturer to attain the position of docent or assistant professor. The number of assistant professors at state institutions of higher education is relatively small. The requirements for this position are distinguished professional accomplishments and extensive work experience. To attain the level of associate professor or professor, scientific work and research must have international significance, the candidate must actively participate in international projects and he/she must be a leader in a scientific area or subdivision.

### *1.6 Doctoral programs and renewal of academic personnel*

Doctoral programs have to be licensed and accredited like all other study programmes (144 credit points). One part of doctoral programmes is devoted for specific study subjects, and majority of credit points is for the work on approved theme of dissertation. Full time doctoral students may receive stipend grant. In addition to this stipend doctoral students may apply for additional stipend – so called „*stipend equalized to loan*“. If doctoral student does not defend the thesis during the following five years after graduation from Ph. D. Programme, he/she must pay the stipend – loan back to state.

During the last five years the number of doctoral students has been insufficient. The number of doctoral students in 2002 was 1319 or 1.9% from the total number of students. This number is insignificant in comparison with European Union countries (See Table 4). The number of doctoral students defending their Thesis in Latvia is very low although the situation shows slow improvements during the last years.

*Table 4: The number of doctoral students and doctorates in some countries*

<b>Country</b>	<b>No. of doctoral students</b>	<b>% from the total No. of students</b>	<b>Received scientific degree</b>	<b>% from total No of doctoral students</b>
Sweden	18,000	5.3	3,100	7.5
Finland			1,165	6.8
Czech Republic	11,500	6.6		
Slovenia			206	2.4
Estonia	1,251	2.7	135	2.7
Lithuania	2,023	2.4		
Latvia	1,319	1.2	78	0.2

There are several reasons for low indicators in Latvia:

1. the salaries of academic personnel (especially those of assistants and lecturers) are not competitive with other areas of the national economy, where salaries are often 2 to 3 times higher;

2. requirements for the doctorate are very stringent. A full-time doctoral program lasts 2 to 3 years. During this time the doctoral student must graduate from his program of study, he must write 5 publications accepted by internationally recognized journals; he must write and defend his doctoral dissertation. These requirements are more demanding than those of most other European countries. This has been pointed out by international evaluation committee experts during the doctoral program accreditation process. Unable to complete all the doctorate requirements, the doctoral student, upon completion of his doctoral studies, chooses to pursue another career and does not return the academics;

3. external controls (strictly formalized requirements for the defence of the dissertation) are highly bureaucratic and internal controls are not sufficiently democratic.

There are no many young people in the science. A dangerous void has developed in the 28 – 40 year age group. The professorship situation is critical: of the 490 state professor positions authorized in Latvia only 285 are filled. The reason for this is the shortage of qualified applicants. It must be noted too, that the average age of professors is 57 years, but 26% of all academic personnel is older than 60.

The Latvian Science Council, by process of competition, awards Latvian Science Council doctoral grants annually for the whole length of the doctoral program. The number of doctoral grants is limited and they are received by about every seventh doctoral student. The Latvian Science Council defines the priorities by which the grants are awarded.

It is necessary to increase doctoral enrolments along with increased emphasis on quality measures, develop and intensify doctoral programs. Besides, it is necessary to motivate the new Ph. D. To enter academic ranks. This requires improved salary and working conditions for teaching and research, opportunities to have postdoctoral training in European Union or other countries. However, also risks of brain drain exists. According to experts, about 1000 academics have long-term contracts abroad.

### **1.7 Funding higher education**

During the last five years education has been one of the specified priorities of the government of Latvia. The total funding for education was 7.2% of the Gross Domestic Product in 2001, and the funding for higher education was 1.4% of the GDP, and the funding for research was 0.18% from the GDP. Latvia's GDP and total budget, however, are considerably smaller than those of comparable European Union countries. Thus, funding for education as an absolute value is rather small, and resources provided by the state are inadequate both for high quality academic programs for a rapidly increasing volume of students, and for development of research capacity.

The state funding to higher education is based on fixed quota of students for whom the state HEIs receive full funding. For example, for University of Latvia, this quota approximates 29% of total enrolment. The balance of the enrolment is comprised of tuition paying students.

Practically, only state HEI receive funding from the national budget. The amount of the funding is based on the number of allotted students per HEI, the basic expenses per student and expense coefficients of the range of subjects of study.

Since 2002 contracts have been signed by state HEI and the government (Ministry of Education and Science) providing for the education and training of a specified number of specialists paid for by national budget funds. The contract specifies the distribution of students by subject and program of study to be supported by national budget funds. It also specifies the number of specialists to be educated and trained every year. This determines the amount of government funding for every state HEI for the following academic year. The HEI must guarantee effective use of these funded study placements. HEI can propose the number of funded study placements for the following academic year. These numbers are then negotiated by the Ministry of Education and Science and the HEI, until both sides reach an agreement. Then this number is included in the contract. The HEI is not allowed to arbitrarily adjust the number of specialists to be prepared.

In this way the government determines each HEI's funding from the national budget. Subsequent distribution of funds by position is not specified. The HEI itself has the right to further distribute funds by position. This is one of the most significant expressions of HEI autonomy. At the end of each year the HEI submits a report to the Ministry of Education and Science to show how the funding was spent.

In general, national budget funding makes up about 45% of the HEI budget. The remainder consists of private financing (mainly tuition fees – about 40%), other income (income from commissioned scientific research, HEI commercial activities, various subsidies, etc. – 15%). Although the total funding for higher education has consistently grown since 1995, this growth can be attributed mainly to income outside the budget framework.

A similar situation exists regarding state support for basic and applied research.

### **1.8 Salary structure of academic personnel**

The principles involved in structuring the HEI budget also affect the salaries of academic personnel. The salary structure is determined by the HEI Senate, but it cannot be lower than the minimum salary specified by Amendments to „*Regulations on pedagogues' salaries*“, Cabinet of Ministers (2002). This must be adhered to by private universities as well. Only a professor's salary is somewhat competitive in comparison with the salary of highly qualified specialists in other fields. The minimum salary of associate professors is twice as low as a professor's salary, but the assistant's

salary is 3.5 times as low. Understandably, such a salary structure would make it very difficult to retain existing staff, much less attract new academic personnel. For this reason HEI are attempting to increase the salary of academic staff by making use of its own earned miscellaneous income. Additional payments are decided by HEI themselves. Additions could be received by both „rich programmes“ with high proportion of students who pay fees (Law, Economics, modern languages) and those who have mainly the „budget students“. There is some kind of redistribution: rich programmes pay some proportion to the total budget of HEI which is distributed to other programmes. These additions to the base salary can be more or less long term:

- for taking on an additional workload over an extended period of time, specifying the salary coefficient;
- one-time payment for taking on additional responsibilities (for example, work on admissions committees, national examination administration committees, etc.);
- special payments for work with „paying students“ (students who are not supported by national budget funds but pay the tuition) etc.;
- special contracts for scientific research, methodological work.

Thanks to these payments, the average monthly salary of academic personnel can exceed a professor's salary by as much as two times. This is evidence of the appeal of the individual HEI's study program, compliance with the demand of existing and future students, effective organization of the study process and other positive factors. It must be noted, however, that the amount of these additional payments varies among the HEIs. The highest average monthly salary and the lowest average monthly salary at two different HEI can differ 4 times. This can create disproportion in the higher education system, resulting in academic personnel following students to more attractive fields and professions, leaving areas vital to the Latvian national economy lacking qualitative academic personnel. Engineering is experiencing this phenomenon in Latvia. There is little influx of young academics, and the academic personnel in engineering is rapidly aging.

Salary can differ just as radically within one HEI and often within one department depending on whether or not the study programs available „make money“ or „don't make money“. One is forced to conclude that the average salary hardly reflects reality. A large portion of academic personnel still do not earn more than the minimum salary specified by national budget funding guidelines.

### *1.9 Development policy of higher education*

In 2002 government has adopted the Concept for the Development of Education from 2002 to 2005. Based on this concept, attention in higher education will mainly be focused on two long-term programs: the renewal of scientific and academic personnel and the development of a funding plan for higher education.

The program for the renewal of scientific and academic personnel intends to guarantee education and training of academic and scientific staff at the highest level of qualification. It is planned to significantly increase the number of doctoral grants, to establish post-doctoral grants for two years following completion of the doctorate. Doctoral students will receive loans that do not have to be repaid if they defend their thesis within the allotted time frame and work at HEI or research institute.

Special funding was planned for „re-emigration“ to promote the return of Latvian scientists working abroad and to provide priority support for the development of their research field.

In order to guarantee the renewal of scientific and academic personnel and to create normal career opportunities for scientists of all age groups, it is necessary to increase the number of state professors/scientists emeritus\* to about 15% of all retirement age academics, at the same time increasing the monthly support they receive for their scientific or academic work. (\*professor emeritus – an honorary title bestowed upon retired professors and associate professors for special contributions to higher education and science. They may receive pension of emeritus if they give up their salary for academic and research activities. At the same time they may stay as voluntary consultants). Emeritus scholarship is based on completions. In 2003, about 200 academics receive emeritus professorships. At present, about 50 more academics may pretend to this grant which is to be paid during the lifetime of emeritus person in addition to pension.

The development of a funding plan for higher education expects to put in order a salary structure for academic and administrative personnel by 2007. A professor's salary would change proportionally with changes in average salary for government officials, but the salaries of remaining academic and administrative personnel would comprise a certain part of a professor's salary (each lower level would receive 80% of the salary of the previous level).

There are plans to increase the number of doctoral students, to increase funding for scientific development at the HEI level, to separate out funding for scientific infrastructure and to guarantee scientists working at HEI minimum security funding (up to now scientists' salaries have been provided for as part of grants received).

There are plans to increase the amount of funding from various international programs. A student and teacher exchange with European Union universities is part of Phase 2 of the European education program 'Socrates'. By 2005 there are plans to almost quadruple the number of instructors in Socrates/Erasmus programs.

### *1.10 Development of research field*

In 1990 research and science had employed 2,2% of the Latvia's entire workforce, it was only 0,5% after 1994. The number of researchers has decreased almost four times. The supposed increase in the period of time from 1990 to 2000 should be related to the deepened accounting in the business sector and that of higher education.

In absolute figures this constituted 5448 people in 2000 (calculated to the full-time equivalent, respectively, by summing up part-time work etc.). This decrease has occurred mainly due to the elimination of research institutes of the former Academy of Sciences, as well as the withdrawal of the scientists from the Latvian science: some had left the science field and have switched to other spheres, some proportion of scientists have established their own companies, a number of scientists have left Latvia and work for foreign research institutes, companies and universities. thus there was a brain drain from the science. Rough calculations indicate that about 1000 of Latvia's scientists have moved to work in other countries.

*Table 5: Age structure of scientists, 2000 In absolute numbers)*

< 30	30 – 39	40 – 49	50 – 59	> 60
43	265	622	880	750

Source: Statistical report of Ministry of Education and Science, 2002

The present research staff is aging, and the average age of researcher is about 56 years. Table shows the average distribution of scientists by age (see Table 5).

## **2. Research results and discussion on the attractiveness of the academic workplace**

### *2.1 Reforms and discussion about academic personnel – structure, salary, workload*

During the last five years, with the number of students almost doubled, the teaching staff at HEI has increased only by 15%. As the number of students increases, so too does the proportion of students per lecturer. Therefore, the lecturer has to assume a heavier workload, which can negatively affect the quality of work.

Concepts have been developed and legislation has been drafted addressing the problem of renewing scientific and academic personnel, improving working conditions and attracting new and younger specialists to academic career.

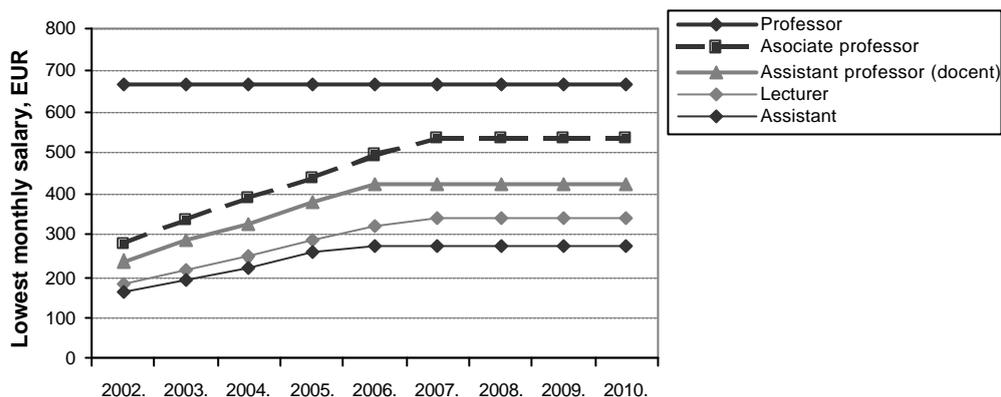
In 2003 quite heated about the necessity to lift age restrictions for professors, associated professors, assistant professors (docents) and administrative personnel. Verse 27 of the University Law states that: *„The positions of elected professor, associate professor, assistant professor (docent) and administrative staff (rector, pro-rector, dean) at the university level may be held up to the age of 65.“* Protest against this law is most often heard from academic personnel who are approaching the mentioned age, and as a result these regulations were abolished in spring 2003 although people responsible for policy making at the university level counter with several arguments. First, similar legislation regarding age restrictions exists in most European countries. Also before, retired academic staff members were not locked out of the academic environment. Individual contracts with the government or other institutions may be signed with these specialists, providing for specific payment for services rendered within the specialty of the individual.

According to experts, repealing the 65 year age restriction could result in a monopoly of specific people in certain positions with no desire to guarantee succession by the younger generation of scientists and lecturers, which is so crucial to the professorial ranks in Latvia. It is noted that repealing the age limitation would not solve the problem of optimal numbers and renewal of scientific and academic personnel. The problem would become even more serious. The need to increase the motivation of young, qualified specialists to pursue a career in academics has become very topical.

One of the main factors deterring young and talented specialists from selecting a career in the sciences or higher education is the question of finances – academic personnel receive relatively low salaries.

In 2002 the LCS developed the project *„Guidelines for the Development of Higher Education, the Sciences and Technology from 2002 to 2010“*, with the goal of improving higher education, the sciences and technology as part of the economic and cultural long-term development plan of a civil society. One proposal within the framework of this project was revision of the salary structure of academic personnel based on the individual level of academic qualification and work results. The experts offered a plan whereby professorial salaries would change proportionally with average salary changes for government employees and the salaries of the remaining academic personnel would comprise a certain portion of professorial salaries, each lower level receiving 80% of the salary of the previous level (see Figure 1)

Figure 1: Planned salary dynamics for academic personnel, 2002 to 2010



Source: Rivža B., Kondratovics U., *Professorship in Latvia and Opportunity for Renewal*: <http://www.aip.lv/raksti>

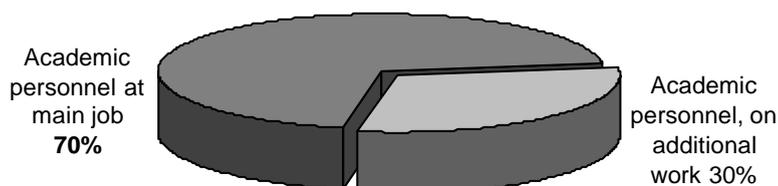
It must be noted that on November 4, 2002 amendments to regulations „*Regulations on Pedagogue salaries*“ (2000) provided for salary increases for academic personnel (except professors) of about 20%; these regulations came into effect in November 2002.

For lifelong contributions to Latvian science, scientists emeritus receive financial support of about 105 EUR, which should be raised to at least 160 EUR, the amount of the Culture Capital Fund stipend for emeritus famous culture employees, because the criteria for awarding support is similar, but the level of national recognition is not. In the project „*Guidelines for the Development of Higher Education, the Sciences and Technology from 2002 to 2010*“ it is proposed that a social assistance fund be created for retired scientists and academic personnel; the fund would provide emeritus grants starting at 1.27 million EUR per year.

In order to reflect the data regarding the proportion of university academic personnel working at their primary job, the LR Labour Law states: *a normal work day may not exceed eight hours, and a normal work week consists of 40 hours*“. Upon signing a job contract at a specific university, the candidate may or may not be allowed to work at another job to supplement his or her income.

In accord with data for the 2001/2002 academic year, of the 5372 academic personnel working in Latvian universities, about 70% or 3779 listed this as their primary job (see figure 2). About 30% of academic personnel work in at least two jobs.

Figure 2: Academic personnel (2001/2002 acad. year)



Source: Report on the Operations of Latvian Universities, LR IZM AIZD, 2002

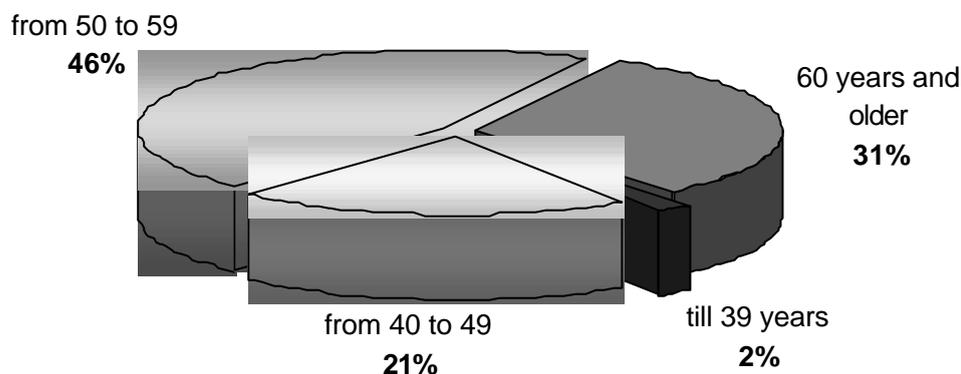
The high workload is directly related to the academic salary structure as well. In order to earn more, lecturers, docents and other academic personnel work at several HEI. They combine work at state HEI with work at private HEI, where it is possible to earn up to twice as much.

Policy makers in higher education have assessed the situation, several projects have been drafted, for example, „*The Program for the Renewal of Scientific and Academic Personnel*“, to solve the problems connected with academic personnel. Several other concepts and proposed legislation are pertinent with the goal of updating academic personnel and helping to raise the qualification level of existing personnel, simultaneously raising the quality of study programs.

## 2.2 Attracting new graduates to an academic career – conditions and career opportunities

Attracting younger specialists to an academic career provides the opportunity to guarantee and promote the renewal of academic personnel. According to statistical data, the aging of academic personnel is one of the most significant obstacles in the development of higher education in Latvia.

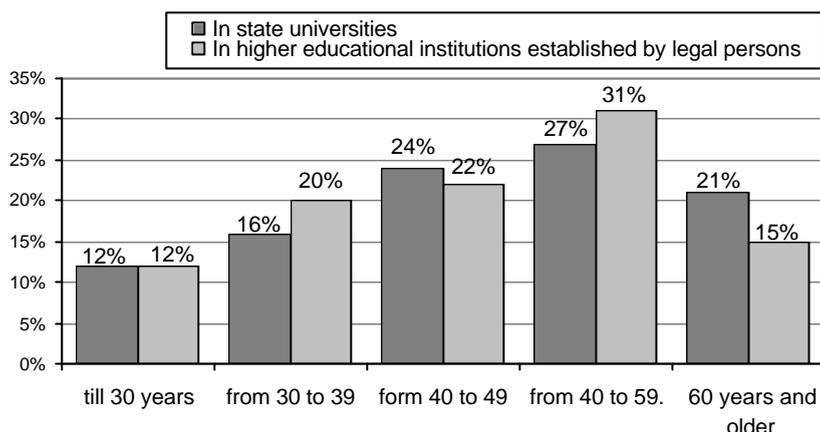
Figure 3: Age structure of professors (2001/2002 acad. year)



Source: Report on the Operations of Latvian Universities, LR IZM AIZD, 2002

The overall ageing of academic personnel is a problem as well, not only is a rapidly ageing professorship characteristic in Latvia. Both in state and private universities almost one half of the academic personnel is over the age of 50, but less than 1/3 of university academic personnel is under the age of 40 (See Figure 4).

Figure 4: Academic personnel' age structure by type of HEI (2001/2002 acad. year)



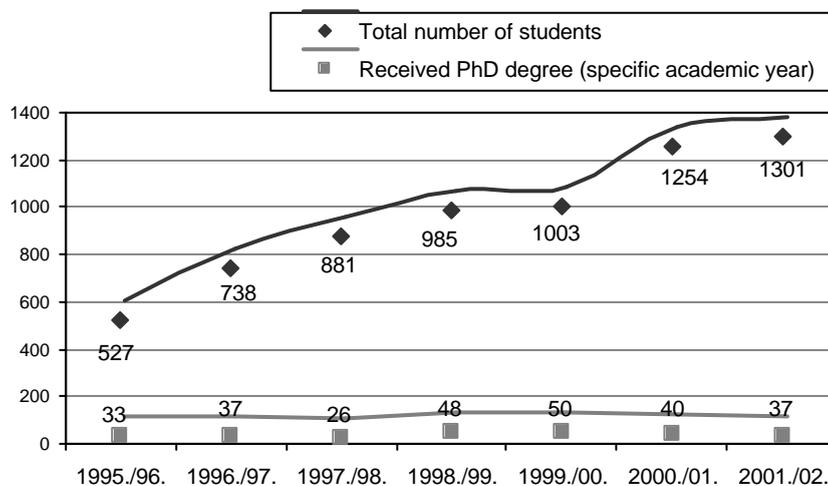
Source: Report on the Operations of Latvian Universities, LR IZM AIZD, 2002

It is not only ageing those points to the necessity to renew the ranks of professor and other academic personnel. In 2002 the Council of Higher Education prescribed that there will be 533 professorial positions. Due to the lack of qualified candidates only 60% or 317 professorial staff positions have been filled.

In accord with Verses 30-32 of the *Law on Higher Education Establishments*, in order to be elected as docent or associate professor, the candidate must have a doctorate or a habilitated doctorate. It follows that the doctoral program is a significant step towards an academic career. It promotes the development of higher education and guarantees the renewal of academic personnel.

In characterizing the situation in doctoral studies, it must be noted that 1.2% of all HEI students were enrolled in doctoral programs at Latvian universities. According to the data, since 1998 only 3-5% of all doctoral students actually have graduated and received their doctorate (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Total number of doctoral students in Latvian universities, 1995/96 – 2001/02



Source: Educational Institutions in Latvia, Riga, 1996, idem. 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001

Data prove that young people in Latvia do not find academic career opportunities very attractive. Many highly qualified young specialists, often before defending their doctoral thesis give preference to employment in the private sector rather than to work at universities or research institutes. The reasons why these potential new academic personnel are not motivated to embark on an academic career are working conditions and financial concerns. While studying in the doctoral program it is possible to receive a stipend of about 95 EUR, which is comparable to the minimum monthly wage in Latvia. Starting as a lecturer it is possible to earn about 240 EUR per month, while specialists in the private sector earn 2-3 times more for their work.

Experts from the Council of Higher Education admit that the present number of students studying in and graduating from doctoral programs and the pace of growth in Latvia cannot adequately guarantee the renewal of academic and scientific personnel. Every year at least 300 new PhDs, who, upon graduation would remain to work at universities and scientific institutions would be necessary.

In order to motivate young and talented specialists to choose an academic career, policy makers in higher education have formulated several proposals. For example, the development of a program of material, technical and personnel guarantees for doctoral study locations, so called doctoral centres (presently Council of Higher Education has received proposals from three HEI outlining projects for the development of a doctoral centre).

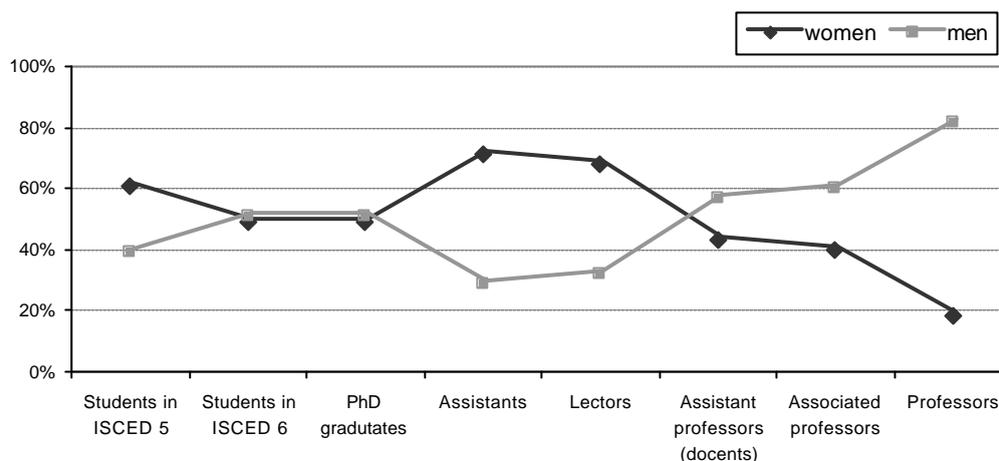
There are various financial improvements that could serve to motivate young specialists to defend their doctoral thesis and remain to work at universities. These improvements would include increasing the doctoral stipend to 145 EUR, enlarging the number and scope of the Latvian Sciences Board doctoral grants, developing a post-doctoral assistance program, and creating competitively salaried job positions for a period of 3-5 years for successful doctoral graduates. There are several other innovations that would make doctoral studies more appealing. These might include grant support for at least a 6-month study period abroad once during the doctoral program, cooperation with EU universities to develop a joint doctoral program along with joint institutions, and the development of a grant system for the enhancement of personnel qualification, which would provide for a competition procedure whereby every six years candidates would compete for financial support for a six-month period of studies abroad.

### *2.3 Women as part of academic personnel (special programs and regulations)*

Questions and discussion of women in science, the proportion of women in higher education, as part of academic and scientific personnel have arisen in Latvia relatively recently. There is still very little statistical information that reflects the similarities and differences for men and women in the educating and educational processes.

In order to provide a more detailed characterization of the situation of women in higher education and as part of academic personnel, a schematic plan was devised to show the relative proportion of men and women in the educational process from HEI enrolment all the way to the highest level of academic and scientific qualification – the professorship. It must be noted that this schematic plan reflects data for the 2000/2001 academic year (See Figure 6).

Figure 6: The academic career: relative distribution based on gender



\* The data base for students receiving doctorate degrees in the 2001/2002 academic year was less than 100 graduates.

Source: Department of Statistics of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, *Women and Men in the Baltic Countries 2002*, Vilnius 2002.

LR Ministry of Science and Education data for the 1999/2000 academic year.

As evidenced by the data, there is a higher representation of women at the basic level of higher education – bachelor degree studies or professional education. The situation changes at the level of doctoral studies and obtaining the doctorate degree. At this higher level there is no significant difference between the proportion of men and women<sup>1</sup>.

Distinct gender differences can be observed when analyzing data about gender distribution in the ranks of academic personnel. A trend can be seen relative to position. Women more often than men fill lower positions, working as assistants and lecturers, while men more often than women hold the higher positions in the academic personnel hierarchy structure – docent, associate professor and professor positions.

Comparing gender differences in various thematic educational groupings, it can be concluded that the situation in Latvia is characterized by distinctly „feminized“ study programs, for example, education and the humanities (especially linguistics). Both at the basic and doctoral level of study and at the professorial level, women comprise a noticeably greater proportion than men. On the other hand, men receive academic and scientific degrees in the natural sciences and mathematics more often than women.

The situation of women in higher education is explained partly by prevailing social stereotypes about male and female professions as well as the opinion expressed by women themselves that men have more opportunities to attain higher positions both in education and in national government<sup>2</sup>. As evidenced by data in the 2001 study by the Welfare Ministry „Popular Understanding and Attitude About Questions of Gender Equality“, more than one third of the people questioned believe that men have a greater opportunity to distinguish themselves, to form their career, to work at a well-paying job, while relative to women, only every tenth respondent believes that equal opportunity exists<sup>3</sup>.

1 Department of Statistics of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, *Women and Men in the Baltic Countries 2002*, Vilnius, 2002.

2 Gender and National Development in Latvia, UNDP, Riga, 1999

3 Welfare Ministry Social Policy Research Results for 2001, LR LM, 2001

Since only less than 20% of professors in Latvia are women, experts believe that increasing the proportion of female professors is significant as Latvia becomes part of the European educational system. It must be pointed out, however, that presently in Latvia there are no existing or proposed programs aimed at attracting women to the academic work place. Similarly, existing regulations like „The Conception of the Development of Universities and Higher Education to 2010“ and „The Program for the Renewal of Scientific and Academic Personnel“ do not pay special attention to the situation of women in higher education. Experts believe that it is most important to guarantee both genders, men and women, equal opportunities to receive a higher education, a scientific degree and to develop their academic and scientific career. It is believed that special privileges for one gender group, such as special staff professor positions, could negatively affect the quality of the teaching staff by not electing the best qualified candidate, but rather electing a candidate based on gender.

#### *2.4 The attractiveness of an academic position in comparison with other work sectors requiring a high level of qualification*

In our attempt to accurately reflect the level of ‘appeal’ of academic positions in Latvian universities in comparison with other work sectors requiring a high level of qualification, we will mainly focus our attention the following indicators:

- salary;
- the time required to fulfil all necessary requirements in order to qualify for a certain position, i.e. time required to acquire the necessary education, work experience etc.

In order to precisely define ‘a work sector requiring a high level of qualification’, we accepted the LR Professional Classifier as our main source of criteria. Highly qualified workers appear in categories such as ‘*manager*’ and ‘*senior specialist*’ (for example, computer specialists, architects, engineers, and teachers).

As evidenced by analysis of statistical data pertaining to gross monthly salary, academic personnel at institutions of higher learning receive approximately 70-80% of the average salary earned by computer specialists, lawyers, and architects. A significant problem can be noted also in comparison of the average monthly wage of scientific workers. According to the data, scientific workers in Latvia receive less than 50% of the average gross monthly salary of other senior specialists.

A relatively more favourable situation can be observed when analyzing average monthly salaries of academic personnel working at institutions of primary and secondary education (ISCED 1-3). According to the data, academic personnel earn about 35% more than do teachers at schools of general education and special schools. Similar connections can be observed when comparing salary indicators for academic personnel and senior health care specialists – academic personnel at the university level earn an average of about 30% more than senior health care specialists.

It must be remarked that ‘average salary’ does not reflect the fact that private sector specialists earn a higher salary than workers in the government sector. Thus, we can conclude that the academic personnel working at state universities not only earn less than private sector workers as a whole, but also less than academic personnel working at private universities.

Undeniably, a person’s income in large part determines his social status. Specialists receiving higher remuneration for their work are viewed with greater respect. It follows that most academic personnel in Latvia find themselves in a relatively unfavourable position in this regard. In addi-

tion, it must be remembered that in order to hold the highest academic positions (assistant professor (docent), associate professor, professor), it is necessary to attend school longer (a doctors degree is mandatory). This means limited financial resources during the university period. Potential career growth in academics is also relatively slower as compared with the private sector.

As shown by various programs produced by education policy makers, materialistic indicators (low stipends while studying and a relatively lower salary) are the main reason that many young, well-educated, talented and creative specialists choose to work in the private sector rather than in academics or science. By doing so, they guarantee themselves a better-paying job, relatively more rapid career growth and, as a result, a higher social status.

### **3. Internationalisation of higher education and research**

International collaboration is one of the means of further development of higher education and research in Latvia. International collaboration contacts are established in both state and private HEI.

In recent years we can speak about the internationalization of higher education and research. However, we have to admit that there are no clear methodology, data basis and statistics about the international co-operation in higher education and research. Therefore the data are fragmentary and are not compiled on regular basis.

There are different types on international collaboration in Latvian higher education and research. Here we mention the most prevalent types of international co-operation in the sphere of higher education and research:

- participation in joint international projects (for example, European Commission projects, PHARE, 5<sup>th</sup> Framework Program, 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Program);
- co-operation agreements between countries (for example, Latvia has agreements on co-operation in higher education and research with at least 20 countries);
- participation in the TEMPUS program (1992 – 2001);
- participation in the SOCRATES (ERASMUS) and Leonardo da Vinci Program;
- scholarships awarded to academic staff by Nordic Council, ministries of Education of Finland, Denmark; the British Council, Swedish Institute, SOROS foundation and other international sources;
- individual applications and awards for professorships, research scholarships all over the world; development and implementation of study programs and courses;
- foreign assistance in the development of technical base and structural perfection;
- joint conferences, workshops and other activities;
- long-term or permanent research and/or professorships in foreign countries;
- development of international courses, programs.

Representative statistical data of international academics in Latvian higher education and research is quite impossible because there is no database containing data on international cooperation on institutional level. Latvian National Agency of Socrates Program (*Academic Program Agency, APA*) provides information on academics mobility within TEMPUS programme (1992 – 2001 in Latvia) and the ERASMUS program. TEMPUS program in Latvia (1992 – 2001) had a huge impact on the development of higher education, management of higher education, internal quality management, legislation in higher education and implementation of legislation.

HEI, some ministries, and higher education related bodies, student associations and other institutions have been TEMPUS beneficiaries. Apart from increased experience in the subject matter and curriculum development, TEMPUS helped a lot to develop the infrastructure of HEI, upgrading HEI libraries, or just a minimum number of necessary books. TEMPUS priorities included teacher training, strengthening social science and European studies, development of higher education in view of EU programs, integration of higher education and research.

TEMPUS has funded 51 Joint European projects, 19 complementary/compact measures and 393 Individual mobility grants in Latvia. Total staff and student mobility from Latvia has reached about 2400<sup>4</sup>.

According to the ERASMUS data academics' mobility during 1999/2000 – 2002/2003 academic year more than 150 faculty members from Latvia have participated in the Erasmus program. A positive relationship characterizes the mobility of faculty members – during the Latvian participation, the proportion of Latvian HEI Erasmus faculty has grown by almost 15%. At the same time it should be noted that the number of incoming foreign academics is higher than Latvian outgoing academics. The main subject fields of incoming academics has been business and management, art and design. The main subject fields of both outgoing ERASMUS academics from Latvia are in social sciences, education and teacher training, language and philology, business and management studies, and arts. There have been very few cases of ERASMUS exchange academics in maths, computer sciences, architecture, and engineering. For example, in 2000/01 there was only one incoming academic in engineering technologies, and in 2001/02 there were 5 academics in engineering technologies.

Looking at the data from a regional perspective, it can be concluded that both Universities located in the capital Riga (University of Latvia, Riga Technical University et al) and regional HEI participate in the Erasmus program. However, data show that state HEI tend to be more interested in Erasmus participation than their private counterparts.

Faculty members having participated in the Erasmus program rated it quite positively. Academics' reports show that all the participating faculty members rated their experience as excellent. Both academic and cultural benefits were rated very highly: „*my visit provided me with significant experiences and knowledge, which I will be able to use in my professional career*“, „*I was able to work in the library during this time, to get to know the latest literature, ideas which I will include in my lectures and my research work*“, „*I am very grateful for such an opportunity*“, „*it was absolutely fabulous*“ etc. (interviews with participants for the Evaluation study on SOCRATES).

To improve the activities of the Erasmus program, it was suggested that special attention should be paid to more involvement of academics from Eastern and Central European countries. It was also suggested that it be possible to spend a longer time at the guest university. It is crucial to improve international collaboration in areas where it is relatively poor, such as law, communications, mathematics and information technologies, thereby improving the upper level quality of these areas so important in today's information society.

During the last years Latvian HEI have signed about 400 international agreements on institutional co-operation with more than 30 countries all over the world (starting from Baltic and Nordic countries to Japan, Mexico etc.). About 257 academics have been on exchange visits within those international institutional agreements. We can speak about institutional planning of international mobility.

However, generally speaking, it seems that international mobility in Latvian higher education is more often based on chance than planning at national level.

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4 Rauhvargers, 2003

There have been large numbers of international conferences, workshops and seminars held in Latvia and number of conferences attended by Latvian scientists. Latvian Council of Science (LCS) awards conference grants to scientists invited to participate in *international conferences*. According to the Resolution of the LCS, the conference grants may cover only the conference participation fee, and not travel costs, and the maximum amount of conference grant may not exceed 270 LVL (about 415 EUR). One researcher may apply for conference grants not more than twice a year.

Table 5 shows the dynamics of conference grants for academics during 1998-2003. During the last six years LCS conference grant has helped academics to participate in 2682 conferences. Data show that during the last years the number of academics receiving international conference grants is increasing. It could be explained by several reasons – increasing activity of academics, increasing sources allocated for conference grants.

*Table 6: Number of academics receiving LSC international conference grants, 1998-2003*

<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003 (01.11.)</b>
390	371	492	472	517	440

Source: Data from Latvian Council of Science, 2003

There have been another important international activities that have helped development of higher education and research field in Latvia:

development of the Eurofaculty in March 1993 (at CBSS Ministerial Session in Helsinki). The objective of Eurofaculty was to assist in reforming higher education of Law, Economics, Public Administration and Business Administration at several Universities in the Baltic Sea region. The Eurofaculty Directorate is located in Riga, Latvia. Eurofaculty offers course taught by local academic personnel, visiting professors and provide short intensive language courses. Funding to Baltic Eurofaculties is provided by the Foreign ministries of Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, European Commission, and Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland.

Baltic University network – established as a programme at Uppsala University under an international board. The programme is financed by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Swedish Institute and by participating universities. The participants of this network are 160 universities in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Sweden, Belarus, Ukraine, Germany, Denmark, Norway and other countries.

Agenda 21 for Education in the Baltic Sea region, which is of crucial importance for education and cooperation on sustainable development in the Baltic sea region.

### *International cooperation in research*

During the decade of independence Latvian researchers have tried to enter the international arena of research. Latvian researchers have been represented already in the 4<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme. Regular co-operation with the European Community started in 1992 with the EC Directorate General XII Research Funding the 3rd Framework Programme. So far, co-operation in the 4<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme has focussed mainly on COPERNICUS (Specific Program for Cooperation with Central and Eastern European Countries and New Independent States, 24 projects, PECO'94 (7projects).

18 Latvian research groups participated in the COPERNICUS 1994-1995 programme. In the COPERNICUS 1996 submissions there have been 14 Latvian, and in 1995 the participation of 5 Latvian research groups was accepted. These considerably low figures do not, however, adequately reflect the much higher Research and Development potential of Latvian science. Participation in PECO and COPERNICUS programmes has had a decidedly positive impact on the quality of research through the measurable results of international cooperation, and on informational exchange activities.

Latvia has been participating in the Fifth Framework Programme as well as in the 5th Euratom Framework Programme of research and training activities since 1999. About 140 5<sup>th</sup> Framework projects have been accepted with Latvian participants. Latvia expressed interest in being associated with the Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006).

During 1989-1992 the total number of SCI publications between the three Baltic countries was rather similar – each country had about 250 scientific SCI publications per year. During the last 10 years the number of SCI publications has only slightly increased in Latvia – about 300 SCI publications per year. Calculations of SCI publications per 1 million of population show that in 2001, Latvian scientists had 125 publications.

However, we must admit that it is extremely complicated to make a list of Latvian scientists who have the highest number of SCI publications. Majority of the scientists are quite mobile (particularly the younger ones). Analyses of publications show that several researchers who have started their academic career at Latvian scientific centres, now are permanently employed in foreign companies and research centres. At the same time they continue to publish together with their Latvian colleagues and scientific supervisors.

In general, the increase of contribution of life sciences has increased for about twice. If the same tendency continues, one could hypothesize that in future Latvia will follow the science structure of developed countries.

Latvian scientologists have mentioned also that Latvian researchers are regularly employed by foreign companies or research centres for several months a year.

Latvia is characterised by a high proportion (55%) of joint international publications. The main spheres of international publications – nuclear physics, environment. Latvian scientists have joint publications with scientists from 55 countries. Majority of those publications are made together with scientists from Germany (270 during last 5 years), Sweden (187), Russia (113), and USA (108). Several Latvian research institutions (Institute of Solid-state physics, Institute of Organic Synthesis) have permanent foreign research partners, and joint publications include both partner sides.

#### **4. Conclusions**

In compiling information about the ‘appeal’ of working as university personnel in Latvia, several serious problems can be observed. These problems are the topic of discussion at various levels – at the Ministry of Science and Education, in the mass media, by those holding academic positions and by university students.

The fact that education policy makers have become aware of the most significant problems such as the aging of academic personnel (as the proportion of retirement age personnel increases), especially professors, and the shortage of qualified specialists (as the student/teacher ratio increases) can be evaluated very positively. Solutions are also being sought for questions dealing

with the need to attract young specialists to careers in science and academics, the need to enlarge stipends for doctoral students, the need to ease certain bank credit requirements, the need to offer supplemental opportunities to raise qualification levels abroad and others. Greater attention must be paid to questions of gender equality, empowering and stimulating women to select not only the lower academic positions such as assistant or lecturer, but to compete more often for the higher academic positions such as associate professor and professor.

Although most provisions included in various education programs have not been adequately realized due to lack of funding, it seems that along with making education a priority of the 2003 national budget, greater attention will also be paid to questions of university academic personnel. By supporting a competitive salary structure allowing for greater growth and development as posited by education policy makers, greater opportunities will exist to renew academic personnel and raise the quality level of study programs. In other words, we will be able to prepare even better qualified specialists in various fields, thereby guaranteeing Latvia success in reaching its national strategic goals including joining the European educational system.

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# **The Academic Workplace Country Report The Netherlands**

*Egbert de Weert*

## **1. Introduction**

This report discusses the working conditions of academic staff as well as the attractiveness of the academic workplace in the Netherlands. The focus is on policy developments in the last few years which have a large impact on the working conditions of staff. These developments have to be viewed in a broader policy context, the main elements of which can be indicated in the following key statements.

The time that each academic has autonomy about what is taught or researched is behind us. University management steers education and research more towards institutional goals. In addition government and research councils steer the research system more in desired directions. Societal relevance of education and research is increasingly becoming an important criterion.

Higher education has faced and will continuously be faced with severe budget cuts. The government has launched financial cuts up to 10 percent for the sector in the coming years. In a way this seems to contradict with the emphasis in governmental papers on the knowledge society and international competitiveness. Higher education is supposed to play a key role in this process.

In the knowledge society the role of higher education is gradually changing. Universities and HBOs are supposed to develop more activities outside their own institution (contract education and contract research), more emphasis on strategic and applied research and more emphasis on exchange of knowledge between institutions and their external constituencies. Privatisation of higher education institutions is regularly on the political agenda.

Reorganisations of faculties and research groups, concentration of research in research schools and emphasis on distinctive features in an increasingly international context.

The replacement of the traditional degree structure by the Anglo-Saxon Bachelor-Master degree structure in all teaching programmes and linkages with the doctoral degree.

Although the list could be extended, these changes indicate the changes that the Dutch system faces. These effect the academic profession in many respects. This report discusses the working place for both the university and the HBO sector. The HBOs or 'Universities for professional education' constitute an important part of higher education, both in numbers and substance. About 65 percent of all students in higher education are in HBOs. The relationship between uni-

versities and HBOs is not a static one with clear demarcations between them. In the binary system the distinctions are becoming more and more blurred and have been challenged by the introduction of the Bachelor-Master model. Moreover, the last few years show a growing collaboration between the two systems and some universities and HBOs have established close institutional arrangements.

The report is organised as follows. First the regulation of terms and conditions of employment, the actors involved, contractual situation and the different academic positions will be discussed. Next an overview on the findings and debates on the attractiveness of the academic workplace will be provided. Special attention will be paid to recent developments in the sphere of personnel management and the restructuring of academic jobs and new positions. Finally the paper discusses trends and views on internationalisation and globalisation.

## **2. Recent changes in employment and working conditions of academic staff**

### *2.1 Regulation of terms and conditions of employment*

In the last decade Dutch higher education has witnessed a decentralisation of decision-making powers from the central government to high education. The basic idea of this decentralisation is that a nation wide state system is no longer appropriate to consider the complexities of higher education. This development has culminated in 1999 in the practice that terms and conditions of employment are settled bilaterally between employers and employees, either on an individual basis or through collective bargaining. From that time the institutional framework in such that universities and HBOs negotiate with the trade unions to negotiate about pay, salary increases and conditions of service. There are separate bargaining tables for the universities and HBOs with different constituents. The universities are represented through their intermediary body, the VSNU (Association of Dutch Universities) as the official employers' association and the HBOs by the HBO-council. The employees are represented by the trade unions that are active in the sector (AOB, ABVAKABO, CNV, CMHF-VAWO/NFTO). The entire package of terms and conditions of service has become subject of negotiation, resulting in a collective agreement that is binding on all parties. Although quite similar, universities and research institutes have their own separate agreements. So altogether three collective labour agreements (CAO) are negotiated, one for universities (a separate one for the three private universities which have a denominational basis), one for HBOs and one for the research institutes. In practice, these agreements do not differ substantially and in the process towards the new agreement there is fine tuning between the sectors.

The decentralisation of terms and conditions of employment included a transition from the status of public employees (civil servants) towards a 'private contract relationship' (public employees). In several phases there were different viewpoints on the possible consequences of the process. The minister was reluctant to let his authority slide, but adopted the belief that through deregulation institutions would be better able to cope with external constraints and to implement new personnel management approaches. Trade unions generally favoured this development although there was fear that decentralisation would result in competition between the different educational sectors regarding their employment conditions (this actually is occurring as becomes clear in the next section). At the same time the unions assumed that institutions were better bargaining parties as they were more sensitive to the special needs of academic personnel than the central government. It should be added that some trade unions are more concentrated on pay

and related issues, while other unions take a broader perspective including issues relating to academic matters such as the quality and organisation of teaching and scientific research. Some unions have adapted their internal organisation including the specific expertise of their staff members on a broad range of issues in order to be a solid discussion partner of the employers.

What are the experiences with the decentralisation of regulating working conditions? Is higher education better off when negotiations are restricted to their own sector rather than negotiations for the educational sector as a whole or for the total sector of public employees? Does decentralisation achieve the aim of increasing the flexibility and increase the degrees of freedom for institutions to develop approaches tailored to specific circumstances? An important question is what should be determined nationally and what should be left to the local, institutional level. If collective agreements are highly regulated, there is less flexibility left to individual institutions. According to the covenant signed by government, employers, and trade unions, negotiations at the national level should include: general salary development, function appraisal schemes, working hours, social security and „all that employers and unions decide among themselves“.

The experiences so far learn that the bargaining parties are positive about the decentralisation. Much emphasis in the bargaining is on salaries, but also more specific themes are on the agenda. A tension became manifest between the institutional managers who claim more innovation regarding personnel issues, whereas the trade unions take a more reluctant position.

The tendency to supplement regulation on the central with local arrangements implies that the total negotiating process expands which has far-reaching consequences for the work organisation for both the employers and the employee organisation. It has become clear that in order to function adequately in a decentralised sector more personnel formation is required. In addition, as the joint evaluation of the trade unions makes clear there is a 'natural trend' to decentralise further on the local level. Consequently, there is increased appeal to trade unions to provide assistance to these local processes. The apparatuses are not yet well equipped for this task (AOB, 2003a). Nevertheless considering the goals of decentralisation, namely to tune working conditions more to the higher education sector, positive reactions prevail and parties have expressed their satisfaction with what has been achieved so far.

This trend to 'go local' has another dimension in that it tends to undermine the central agreement. In many private employment sectors in the Netherlands, collective bargaining is being eroded in favour of agreements at the level of individual companies or concern-level. Particularly in the university sector, the scope of the employer association is limited, with the result that negotiations were deferred. Institutions claim more freedom of action in devising systems that allow for individual, subject, or market differences. These differences point to for example pay scales (for example the salaries and employment position of research trainees differ between universities and even faculties and appointment procedures see next paragraph). Most notably, this is becoming manifest in 'à la carte menu' which employees utilise on a large scale. Each individual institution can offer each individual employee a flexible package of working conditions. The employee can compose a package tuned to his/her personal needs. The basic idea is that 'sources' like salary, holidays, can be exchanged against for example the right for sabbatical leave and leisure given the fiscal and legal frameworks. Generally it is believed that such a flexible system of working conditions contributes positively to the image of a university or HBO enhancing the attractiveness of working in the sector (Vredevelde & Jansen 2000).

Although the general conditions of this flexible model have been framed in the national agreement, it appears that since more staff utilises the possibilities (currently about 40 percent of all university staff), negotiations are increasingly located deeper within the institution.

Another undermining factor for central agreements points to the role of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science which continuously interferes in personnel issues and sets strict conditions such as regarding social security issues or earmarked funding. For example additional funding for specific positions (such as the earmarked budget for innovative research or the appointment of lectures in HBO) has direct links with employment conditions and career patterns. The labour unions argue that these initiatives were taken without involvement of the unions whereas these are matters for which both employers and unions have taken joint responsibility. The government also puts much pressure on universities and HBOs to develop more activities to generate income outside the regular government funding. It is not yet clear how this development imparts on the bargaining parties (AOB 2003b).

Both the trend to go local and governmental interference result in a weakening of the collective agreements on the national level. This is not to say that central agreements will disappear. While it is possible to negotiate on an individual basis, the transaction costs would be extremely high especially for smaller institutions. Collective negotiations over salaries and working conditions will be very efficient, with the possibilities of economies of scale. Moreover, as Willke (1998) notes, collective negotiations allow a more efficient response to signals from the market.

An outcome of these new employment relationships is that in the HBO sector the trade unions and the HBO-council have agreed to bear common responsibility for important developments in the sector. They signed in April 2002 a covenant in which the partners agree on the basic objectives to which the HBO sector is heading to (HBO-council et al 2002). Examples are the recognition of HBOs as knowledge institutions, their role in life long learning, and their attractiveness for non-traditional students. The partners also emphasise the necessary development of professionalisation of personnel and competence-development. Some of these points will return later, but it is interesting to note that this is a rather unique phenomenon in Dutch labour relations. It moves away from the classical conflict model towards a coalition model. The initiative of such a covenant emanates a shared interest opposite to government cuts on the budget. A joint operation of the social partners takes a stand towards the government to facilitate financial conditions in a structural way. In this way trade unions and institutional management are more partners in opposing governmental attempts to cut the higher education budget. However, this joint operation, however, does not mean that the two parties agree on all points. Conflicts arise regularly, for example on retirement schemes of staff in HBO and the legal status of academic staff.

## *2.2 Legal status and staff ranks*

During the process of decentralisation, a continuing debate has been whether the legal status of staff should be changed from a civil servant status and to replace it by employment contracts under private law. Particularly in the university sector this has been a dominant theme. University management advocates the privatisation of universities whereby academic staff are employed by universities as the legal employers whereas trade unions are sceptical about this move. The juridical possibilities and consequences of a transition of the civil status of personnel at public universities in a contractual relationship under private law were thoroughly researched in a report by jurists of the Free University of Amsterdam. They concluded that for such a transition a statutory measure has to be taken, but that the nature of public universities or functional type of personnel does not impede such a transition to be effected (Noorlander & Stege, 2000). Further attempts

of changing the legal status resulted in a row between employers and trade unions, whereby the latter came off best: university staff remain civil servants. By way of compensation the trade unions agreed to implement far-reaching changes regarding flexible rewarding systems, and the classification of functions, and extension of the choice model (see next section).

Apart from the public universities, the three denominational universities as well as the HBOs (with the exception of one institution) are private and regulated by private law. Especially since several institutions across the binary line are seeking more collaboration and have established close institutional arrangements, the difference in employment status is felt to be a hindrance. University managers continue to argue that it would be more pragmatic when the same employment status would apply. It is to be expected that proposals to abolish the civil servant status will be back on the political agenda soon.

### Universities

In the university sector there are three main ranks which constitute a typical employee career ladder:

- Professor (Hoogleraar)
- University main lecturer (Universitair hoofddocent – UHD)
- University lecturer (Universitair docent – UD)

These three ranks are mostly permanent positions. All staff in these ranks have both teaching and research duties, but it is left to individual universities and faculties on how the different job tasks are to be assigned. In addition to these basic ranks the following positions exist:

- Research trainees (Assistant-in-Opleiding: AiO) leading to the doctoral degree;
- Postdoc: a temporary position of two years duration (with possibilities for prolongation) after the doctoral degree;
- Other academic staff: research and teaching associates. These staff are mostly connected to specific research institutes, either on a temporary basis (depending on external funding) or on a permanent basis.

Table 1: Staff at universities: functions and gender per 31-12-2001 (in fte)

Function	Man	Women	Total	Mutation compared to 31-12-2000	
Professor	2,161	166	2,327	-143	-5.8%
UHD	1,982	250	2,232		
UD	3,673	1,076	4,749	-314	-6.2%
Other acad	3,847	1,977	5,824	-1213	-17.2%
AiO	3,524	2,402	5,926	+1025	+22.2%
Assistants	425	284	709	+24	+3.55
Non-acad	10,807	8,825	19,632	-590	-2.9%
Total	26,419	14,980	41,399	-1400	-3.3%

Source: VSNU/WOPI, 2002

In universities the numbers in most ranks have decreased, especially in the tenured functions (UD, UHD and professors). The picture is rather biased as the decline is predominantly due to the fact that personnel from medical faculties have been shifted to university medical centres the personnel of which are not included in the standard figures. The decline of other academic personnel and the growth of AiO's is due to an administrative rearrangement between these two categories. But aside from this the number of AiO's has increased substantially, indicating that such a position gains more popularity. Finally, the number of non-academic staff (administrative and supportive functions) declines. This is a continuous trend since 1993.

The AiO-system which stems from the mid 1980s makes research training a formal part of postgraduate education. The research trainees receive research training and supervision, and at the same time they are supposed to contribute to the research output of their faculties. Usually they are charged with teaching and other obligations up to a maximum of 25 percent of their total working time. The candidates are successful when they deliver and defend their thesis, after which they receive the doctoral degree.

Contrary to postgraduate research training elsewhere, Dutch research trainees hold a distinct academic position. They are appointed in principle for a standard four-year period and are treated as members of the academic staff. Part of them were until recently employed by the research councils with a slightly different employment status, but at present all research trainees are employed by the university. In addition to the AiO-system, universities do offer scholarship to doctoral students who, contrary to AiO's, have no employment contract. This difference has important financial consequences for universities: scholarships offer financial benefits to universities because the institution is not charged unemployment benefits in case the graduate becomes unemployed. Research trainees in the AiO-system are due to their employment status entitled to such benefits. To date, only the University of Amsterdam offers scholarships to students particularly in the humanities and social sciences, fields in which fewer research funds are available for young academics.

The AiO system is at present the standard route to enter the academic profession. A postdoc is usually considered as an intermediary period, but the transition is not a matter-of-course, and many are entangled in the system without further career prospects.

### *The HBOs*

In the HBO sector, the grading structure has changed in the last few years. According to the current collective agreement, the following positions (teaching or teaching-related) are distinguished (CAO-HBO):

- a) instructor technical skills
- b) instructor practical education
- c) senior instructor practical education
- d) college teacher (docent)
- e) senior college teacher (hogeschooldocent)
- f) senior lecturer (hogeschoolhoofddocent)
- g) lector

These titles stand in a ranking order. In all these functions educational activities constitute an essential component. The lowest rank involves coaching of individual students, the other two ranks of instructors involve the provision of teaching practical skills to groups of students, links between theory and practice and more co-ordinating and management tasks.

The four categories in the teaching staff require ever higher levels of qualification. The college teacher is not only supposed to teach in the field, but also contributes to the coaching of the learning process, the development of instructional material, and carrying out of contract activities such as providing courses for external constituencies. The next two ranks (senior college teacher and senior lecturer) have more broader teaching tasks that require higher and more profound knowledge of the subject field. Apart from their teaching obligations, they are responsible for the development of educational programmes and innovative curricular activities as well as the learning processes of students. They also have to carry out research and consultancy activities for external constituencies.

Finally the lector is charged with rather complex activities, such as project leader of multidisciplinary teams regarding research and consultancy.

Both in university and HBO the functional structure is in the process of complete restructuring as most current functions will be converted into a new job ranking system. Also the function of lector in HBO is subject to a new framework. These developments will be discussed hereafter.

Table 2: Staff in HBO: functions and gender per 31-12-2002 in fte

	<b>1998 total (% female)</b>	<b>2000 total (% female)</b>	<b>2002 total (% female)</b>
Instructor (3 levels)	1,424 (46%)	1,746 (50%)	2,097 (52%)
College teacher	4,316 (37%)	4,093 (39%)	4,080 (40%)
Senior college teacher	6,853 (23%)	6,927 (24%)	6,918 (25%)
Senior lecturer/Lector	665 (9%)	607 (12%)	561 (14%)
Total Non-academic staff	8,613 (49%)	9,113 (50%)	10,454 (52%)
Total	21,871 (37%)	22,485 (39%)	24,108 (42%)

Source: HBO-council (RAHO), March 2003

Table 2 summarises the situation in the HBO. The total number of academic staff has increased slightly from 13 285 in 1998 to 13656 in 2002. This growth is mainly due to the three ranks of instructors (to which scale 9 and 10 are connected) whereas on balance (men and women) four teaching positions (college teacher up to lector) has decreased (scale 11 and higher). It is interesting to note that the number of men in these higher scales has decreased whereas on the other hand the proportion of women has slightly increased.

Contrary to the trend in universities where the proportion of supportive and academic staff in universities has declined, the employment of academic staff in HBOs has increased in the last five years with 2.5 percent against 17 percent for supportive and administrative staff. In other words, the latter category attributes to a larger part to the growth of the total employment volume. The employment in HBOs is mainly determined by the increase of the number of new entrants and the budget as offered by the government. The number of new entrants has increased with 16 percent and the macro budget with 10 percent. The growth of the number of new students has not kept pace with the category of academic staff. The following overview shows the development in the student/academic staff ratios and the ratio student/total personnel.

Table 3: Student-staff ratios

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Student/total personnel	12.8	13.1	13.6	13.7	13.6
Student/acad. Staff	21.0	21.5	22.6	23.0	23.3

Source: SBO Programma Arbeidsmarktbeleid (2002)

The proportion with respect to the total personnel has increased about 6 percent. However, the student/academic staff ratio has increased with 11 percent, indicating that changes have occurred in the tasks of academic (teaching) staff and workload has intensified. Generally workload has been translated into teaching tasks, which can be questioned as teachers also are charged with other tasks. Some tasks have been adopted by supporting and administrative staff, but this is not a sufficient relief of the increasing administrative and organisational duties teachers have to do. A further reduction in funding per student will result in an increase of the student/academic staff ratio which may require further adaptations in the educational process.

### 2.3 Salary scales

Since the decentralisation the salaries are negotiated within the respective sectors with the consequence that salary differences occur in the public sector as well as between the different educational sectors. The current earnings of academic staff are based on the grade structure in the public sector's pay grades which consists of 18 grades. Each grade has associated fixed salary scales, with between 9 to 12 annual increments. Salary increments are no longer an automatism and institutions have legally the possibility of withholding them for poor performers.

Table 4: Salary scales of academic staff in universities, 2001 (numbers in fte, monthly gross income in €). Salaries per April 2003

Salary scales	Range Min/max	Prof.	UHD	UD	Other Ac. Staff*	AiO
≤ 9	3,083 (max)			2	149	5,917#
10-12	2,136-4490		9	4,388	5,351	1
13-14	3,998-5352	4	2,166	352	276	
15-16	4,554-6462	1,298	56	6	24	
17+	5,352-7805	1,019	1	1	12	
Other		6			12	8
Total		2,327	2,232	4,749	5,824	5,926

Total general: 21,058

\* This category includes research and teaching associates and postdocs.

# The AiO earn in their four years subsequently: 1477, 1588, 1747 and 2110 (plus some small allowances).

The structure is such that academics who are in different grades may have equivalent salaries, for example increment number 7 of grade 11 equals the first increment of grade 12, but those in higher grades will attain a higher salary in the long run. It should be noted that the salary structure is such that it takes many years before staff ends in the highest scale that can be attained ac-

ording to his or her position. In the HBOs, for example, it may take 24 years before staff reach their highest scale, which from a career perspective is not an attractive situation. Current proposals aim to reduce the time path considerably.

Tables 4 and 5 provide further details on the salary scales for the different ranks of academic staff. In the universities (table 3) there is a broad distribution over the salary scales from 10 to 17. The HBO, however, displays a much narrower range, whereby the teaching functions are concentrated in the 11 and 12 pay scales, constituting more than 80 percent of all academic staff. 15 percent is on the level of instructors, and only 4 percent is in scale 13 or higher.

Table 5: Salary scales of academic staff in HBO, March 2003 (numbers in fte, monthly gross income in €)

	<b>Total 13,670 (fte)</b>	<b>Scales</b>	<b>Salary range (min/max)</b>
Instructor technical skills	268	8	2,031 – 2,724
Instructor practical education	833	9	2,405 – 3,080
Senior instructor practical education	993	10	2,339 – 3,384
College teacher	4,078	11	2,928 – 3,948
Senior college teacher	6,938	12	3,492 – 4,491
Senior lecturer	} 560	13	3,999 – 4,871
Lector		14	4,199 – 5,352
Non-academic staff	9,447	8 – 12	
Non-academic staff	1,007	< 13	

Source: CAO/HBO

If these figures are compared with the non-academic staff it turns out that there are double as many non-academic staff in scale 13 or higher than the academic staff (1007 and 560 fte respectively), indicating that the higher staffing functions are much better rewarded than those involved in the primary process of the institution. For universities this does not apply, simply because of the professorial ranks.

There are two pay scales for professors: professor A and professor B (53 and 47 percent respectively). The distinction between professors A and B is not very pronounced. Originally it was aimed to apply A as the normal scale and B the exception for a candidate with a particular market value. However, no criteria for this distinction have been developed. Sometimes the careers are the starting point, whereby candidates can promote to B when they meet the required qualifications and sometimes it is a formation principle, that is appointment in a higher scale occurs if a B position is included in the budget. Almost all UHD's are in scale 13 or 14. The UD's are for 88.5% in scale 10 – 12. The junior ranks are mostly in scale 10 and 11

The salary of the AiO's is based on a special salary-scale with a built-in reduction for the training and supervision they receive. The deduction decreases from 45 percent in the first year to 15 percent in the fourth year. These cuts reflect the hybrid character of the AiO-position: recipients are neither full-time employees nor full-time students.

In order to attract more candidates, the technical universities have increased the salaries for trainees, or offer allowances and fringe benefits for them, such as computer- and other research facilities, special courses, extended possibilities to attend conferences. The general status and the working conditions of AiO's has been subject to much debate in the last few years.

The salaries of non-academic personnel at universities and HBO's are also determined according to the collective agreement with the exception of the top managers and the board of governors to whom a specific regulation applies. Since last year institutions are obliged to publish the salaries of the top managers. However, as institutions do not calculate their 'administrative costs' in the same way and neither indicate what the components of the remuneration are, the salaries remain rather obscure. Rough data from the Ministry of Internal Affairs indicate that the board of HBO's earn 96,000 per year (plus additional allowances) and their colleagues from universities 113,000. These amounts exceed the mean of top managers in the public sector, a fact that has met much criticism in view of the general financial problems of the sector.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

#### *3.1 Working conditions in higher education comparison with other sectors*

The question whether there exist wage differentials between the public and private sector as well as between segments within the public sector (due to the decentralisation) is subject of much debate. Several studies were devoted to this question. The notion that wages in the public sector as a whole is lower than those in the private sector is not based on empirical facts. For example, the wages for lower qualified employees and part-timers workers are higher in the public sector. For higher qualified employees a varied picture emerges (Opstal & Stegeman 2000).

In a similar vein a recent authoritative working group from the Ministry of Internal Affairs on labour market problems concludes that regarding salaries and conditions of service there are overall no major differences between the public and the market sector (Van Rijn 2001). Most public sectors show positive wage differentials. However, there are also some sectors which display negative differences with corresponding private sectors. Particular references has been made to the health sector, social welfare and education and sciences. In the higher functions the remuneration in education is below the comparable positions in the private sector. The turning point – where the educational sector is changing from a relatively good payer to a poor payer – is around the scales 11 or 12, precisely the scales where as shown in the previous section the majority of academic staff belongs to. In addition the report indicates that higher education is relatively behind other sectors in the non-profit sector. In this respect it seems that the outcome of the decentralisation policy of the last few years has not been favourable for the higher education sector.

Considering the difficulties in the sector education, the Van Rijn report states that the ability to attract and retain qualified people for the educational sector should be improved. The report supports a variety of measures to be taken in higher education and endorse these by making extra financial means available. These measures are not completely new: they are connected with developments which currently are taking place in higher education. and also with proposals earlier advocated by a number of other reports. The most notable reports in this respect are the report of the Committee Van Vucht Tijssen (2000) regarding personnel policy of scientific staff, in particular the position of junior staff and women; the report by the Council for Policy on Science and Technology and the Educational Council (AWT, 2001); and the report by *Sectorbestuur Onderwijsarbeidsmarkt* (SBO, 2001). Rather than discussing each of these reports separately, the more common elements of these reports will be reviewed.

### *3.2 Policies to improve the working situation*

Several policies have been launched to improve the academic labour market in higher education as well as the quality of work. For the HBOs a broadening of the basic mission of institutions is on the agenda: besides initial education there is more demand for other forms of education: contract education, life long learning, applied research and consultancy, and co-operative education. This means new requirements for the staff which is becoming increasingly involved in innovation processes and the demand for flexible patterns of learning. The demand for staff will increase whereby apart from the quantitative aspect the quality of staff will get special attention. Professionalisation of staff and the development of competencies will be a dominant theme in the coming years.

In universities the policies focus on creating the possibilities to enhance the career perspectives of academic staff. The gap between tenured staff and non-tenured (junior researchers and post-docs) is considered too large and HRM-policies are aimed at reducing this distinction.

Within this broad framework several more specific policies are envisaged, the most notable of which are the following.

#### *To keep older staff longer employable*

As the sector is greying enormously attempts are being made to increase the participation of elder staff in working life. Existing regulations regarding elder personnel do no longer meet the current situation as with the resignation of a substantial part of staff not only much experience will be lost, but is also a costly operation. The current debate is about whether the prevailing regulations should be applied in all cases or whether more varied regulations should be adopted applied to individual staff members. Age-focused personnel policy would prevent an abrupt resignation and can keep staff longer. An example is when a professor is enabled to reduce research activities in favour of teaching tasks where work pressure is usually less demanding.

A new phenomenon is the emergence of 'University professors' and 'super professors'. (the last are appointed and paid by the Dutch Academy of Sciences for a five-year period). These older professors are exempted from administrative tasks and are enabled to devote all their time to research and to supervise young researchers in their further academic careers.

#### *The utilisation of ICT in the learning process*

ICT is considered a way to keep elder staff members longer in the labour process. In the last number of years much effort has been put in providing the opportunity for staff to acquire the necessary competencies in ICT which enable them to develop educational modules in a digital environment.

#### *Career development plans*

There is increasingly attention for individual development of staff and policies to extend the possibilities for further schooling. One of the proposals of the committee Van Vucht Tijssen is to abandon the formation system (somebody gets a function when this is vacant) as it impedes normal career advancement. This rigid formation limits the number of professorship positions avail-

able and professional chairs only becomes vacant when professors retire. This system should be replaced by a system that starts from a career principle. In order to attract highly qualified staff and to keep them, it is important to offer clear career perspectives and if possible to shorten career paths which are generally quite long both in universities and HBO. Individual development plans in the context of staff appraisal schemes are considered an instrument of career development and as a guide for further schooling and career support. Such a switch will be facilitated when the current functional structure becomes more differentiated and a flexible ranking order of functions arises (see below).

#### *Individual conditions of terms and service*

The trend towards individual and flexible employment systems will be continued. Schemes à la carte will contribute to make working conditions more attractive as they become more tuned to individual circumstances.

There are some policies that deserve some more attention. These are the developments regarding the position of lector in HBO and the new job profiles in both sector. Thereafter specific situation of junior staff and women will be discussed.

### *3.3 Lectorate and knowledge circles in HBO*

Although the rank of lector as the highest rank existed in the HBOs since the new staff structure of 1993, the HBO did not (or could financially not) utilise this rank for further staff differentiation. This has changed since the government has made funds structurally available (for a four-year period) to appoint more lectors. In 2002 about 60 lectors have been appointed, a number that will increase substantially in the next few years.

It is important to note that a lector should not be associated with the traditional rank of lecturer or reader at universities. Lector in HBO has a highly qualified profile with much expertise in the subject field and in the professional domain. The leading idea is that lectors will not be appointed as isolated staff members, but as leaders of a so-called 'knowledge circle' consisting of a group of 10-15 staff members. The knowledge circle aims to enhance contacts and knowledge exchange with industry (for example in the field of applied and developmental research, and consultancy). Through such a circle the lector plays a crucial role as the 'external face' to strengthen the linkages between HBOs and industry and other organisations in a particular subject field. Lectors are expected to acquire contracts from outside and to develop well-functioning professional networks.

The new position of lector as well as the idea of knowledge circles find a solid basis by all parties in the HBOs. It is expected that through the formation of knowledge circles, the working situation for teaching staff becomes more attractive, more varied and more instructive. The gradual extension of the number of lectors implies that an increased number of staff can become member of a knowledge circle. The professionalisation of the staff can be developed further and generally their career perspectives within the organisation (as well as to the outside labour market) can be broadened. Essential is the orientation towards both the initial education (bachelor phase) and the orientation towards the master phase, applied research and consultancy.

A special foundation has been established which plays a key role in awarding applications by HBO institutions to install a lectorate. The funds allow to appoint a lector plus the funding of a c-

tivities of staff and other members in a knowledge circle. This conditional funding is in a way a governmental intervention in personnel matters of institutions, and is kept outside the negotiating process between the social partners, a point also raised by the trade unions in their evaluation of the decentralisation policy.

### *3.4 New job profiles for academic staff*

In the last labour contract negotiations the employers and trade unions agreed to develop a single common system of job ranking for all academic positions as well as for supportive and administrative staff. It is felt that the old job descriptions are extremely detailed and do not reflect the current diversity of job tasks in higher education. The aim of a new job ranking system is to make explicit the various roles, tasks and responsibilities that must be carried out to achieve specific results. The job profile plays an important role in determining the weight or relative value assigned to a job. In this way it function as a basis for advanced personnel management instruments such as assessments (on the basis of output and on the basis of competencies), personal development plans and career paths.

In 2002 the new description of job profiles and job titles have been drawn up. The universities have developed a specific system based on the so-called Hay method (developed by the Hay-Group) which will be used for all fourteen universities on a national level. The HBO utilises two systems, the Hay method and Fuwasys (FUWA-HBO) and it is up to each institution which of these two methods they choose<sup>1</sup>.

The logic behind the Hay-method is contained in two questions. First, why does a particular job exist, and what does it contribute to the objectives of an organisation? Secondly, where in the organisation and within what framework does a job make a contribution? Job families constitute the basis of the new classification system. In job families jobs are grouped together based on the role they play in the organisation.

Without becoming too technical or too detailed, a few points regarding the academic staff in universities will be illustrative. In the universities all staff will be assigned to a new job profile whereby altogether 28 functions have been distinguished in a certain rank order. Teaching activities are classified in four specified tasks such as teaching, curricular development, participating in project groups, and evaluation. Research activities consist of co-ordination, acquisition of contract research, participating in research working groups and committees. For the university lecturer (UD) and senior lecturer (UHD) there are two levels, a starting and an advanced level with a combination of teaching and research tasks. The traditionally combined teaching and research tasks are assessed in a higher scale than the teaching-only and research-only staff. The documents, however, do not provide an argument for such a distinction. Professors are classified in three functional categories. In the extent to which a professor is more authoritative in the field, more managerial, and leading a larger group, the higher the status and appraisal scheme.

In short, the new classification system boils down to crystallising out the prevailing functional categories (with beginning, medium and end scales) to defined functional levels within research and education. A comparison between job tasks is taking place whereby differences with regard to

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<sup>1</sup> As a consequence of the decentralised policy, institutions can choose the method that suits their organisational structure the best and fits the culture of the institution. However, the agreement has been made that despite the two systems, there should not occur differences between the same function as far as their salary scale is concerned.

the difficulties are mapped. The final step will be the conversion to the salary structure. It is planned that the new system will be implemented in 2003.

There has been much debate within the university sector about the pros and cons of this new system<sup>2</sup>. Critics have argued that in the new system the managerial tasks are recognised as the highest since in the top level functions the impact of managerial tasks are stressed. In the present schemes management roles are not defined within the teaching and research functions. In order to keep the job ranking system transparent, it has been suggested to specify management functions regarding teaching and research, or a distinctive definition of management roles within these functions. Another critique is that the ranking entails a stronger pyramidal or hierarchical structure with new forms of superimposition. Demarcated functional levels within teaching and research lead towards a complex structure which require much interpretation of descriptions and divisions.

Notwithstanding these objections, the advantages of this new system are recognised. The new system offers opportunities for the development of strategic personnel management. If staff are assigned in a particular profile, it becomes clear what the expectations are, what the most important results are to be achieved in a particular position, what responsibilities are involved, and what competencies are to be developed further. Transparency of jobs, staff assessments, and differential salary schemes seem a rather logical consequence. All staff members have to be assigned to this new job profile, and the employers and unions have agreed on a complaint scheme in case there is disagreement about the placement in a particular profile.

For the individual staff members, there can be more clarity about their functioning, what is expected from them, how they can flow through the various profiles (horizontal and vertical mobility), what competencies are required for further mobility in the functional structure of the organisation. If the attention for the individual worker goes along with attention for individual career development plans, this will contribute to the attractiveness of the academic working place.

### *3.5 The position of junior staff*

Since its start in 1987 the AiO system for doctoral trainees has expanded steadily. The enrolment varies considerably by discipline: it is much larger in natural sciences (about one out of three graduates) and medicine (one out of five) than in other subjects. Admission is based on an open selection system. In the last few years, however, the AiO-system has come under attack due to a declining interest of graduates to enrol in this trainee-system. A special Committee was established (Van Vucht Tijssen, 2000) which had to investigate the employment conditions and career prospects of junior researchers in the university system. This Committee summarised the main problems as follows:

- too low remuneration compared to other jobs for young academics;
- uncertain career perspectives (despite the fact that 77 percent of the research trainees aspire to obtain a research job, there are very little possibilities for tenure-track positions);
- the hybrid status of the AiO-appointment due to the double status of student and employee and the obscurities and uncertainties that these entail;
- the negative image of the academic workplace (regarding working sphere; research facilities, salaries) compared to other working environments;

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<sup>2</sup> See for example several contributions in VAWO Visie, October 2002 p.7-11.

- shortcomings regarding the counselling and provisions with negative effects on completion rates;
- less advantages on the external labour market except for non-university research functions;
- growth in the number of research trainees from abroad with the risk of 'brain drain' when these trainees return to their home country.

Low financial rewards and uncertain future prospects for university employment have led to a decline in research trainees, especially in fields with high private sector demand. Institutional leaders and politicians have expressed concern about the declining attractiveness of the research system and the difficulty in retaining young researchers. This dilemma is crucial because a large part of the permanent academic faculty will retire in the next five years. The Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) indicates that the combination of retirements and declining AiO participation will result in a shortfall of 2,886 full-time faculty by 2008, about 12 percent of all faculty. Shortages are forecast for all functional categories especially among UD and UHD (see Van Vucht Tijssen, 2000).

In the last few years several surveys have been conducted among AiOs to investigate their position and their claims (see for example Van Vucht Tijssen, 2000; De Gier et al, 2001). Generally AiO's judge their chances of getting a faculty position as very low because of the few posts available. More than remuneration as such, a much heard complaint is the double status of being a student and employee at the same time. The organised body of AiO's advocate the abolishment of the student status and strive for a complete employment status. They argue that whereas in many other employment sectors further training is generally accepted in modern employment relationships, the universities as modern labour organisations should apply such a view also to their research trainees. In the collective labour agreement of 2003, salaries of all AiOs have increased substantially, whereas all other academic personnel shows a more modest wage development. According to the new salary structure, AiO salaries will climb in three steps towards a normal salary scale, acknowledging their full employee status.

Another complaint concerns the amount and quality of coaching of AiO's. There is much grievance that this is insufficient, although this may vary between faculties and different disciplines. Generally it is acknowledged that much can be improved in this regard.

The position of postdocs is also quite uncertain. Although a postdoc position can be a bridge between the Ph. D. and a permanent position, in practice most postdocs are caught in the squeeze of increased supply amid declining opportunities. Most postdocs have a series of two or three-year contracts, becoming in practice non-tenure track staff (Crum and Ball, 1998).

Several initiatives have been taken to retain young promising academics particularly for the science subjects. Some universities are offering higher salaries for the trainees, particularly in subject areas with projected faculty shortages such as engineering. Other fields have introduced new types of appointments, such as tenure-track appointments and junior professorships. Some institutions have reduced the four-year AiO period to make the Ph. D. more attractive to young people who want to speed up preparation for careers outside academia and have established doctoral programmes in co-operation with industry. Other faculties cater to the international graduate market and attract a growing percentage of their graduate students from Asian and Eastern European countries.

The research council (NWO) and Royal Academy of Sciences (KNAW) encourage potential academics to stay in the university to fill future faculty vacancies by extending temporary research contracts with the condition that the university guarantees a permanent position thereafter. In addition, government, research councils and universities have jointly made funds available to enable a selective group of young researchers to carry out innovative research programs (the so-

called 'innovation impulse' which is currently open for all researchers). Another government initiative funds promising scholars specifically for positions where the sitting professor will retire in a few years. This temporary double staffing is intended to ensure that a replacement is available when the senior professor retires.

A last development that should be mentioned here concerns the establishments of research schools. Under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Sciences, the research schools contribute to a better structuring of the educational part of research training making it more attractive for young graduates interested in pursuing a research career (KNAW 2000).

### *3.6 The position of women*

The situation for women is especially problematic. Women constitute about 50 percent of the student population overall and about 30 to 38 percent of AiO participants depending on the discipline. This percentage dwindles by career stages, particularly in the tenured positions. The Netherlands has one of the lowest proportions of female professors (9 percent in 2002) in Europe. Explanations for gender disparity include the emphasis on full-time appointments, which disadvantages women who want to work part-time and consequently a lower research output, a conscious or unconscious gender bias as expressed in various subtle mechanisms in the science system as well as in staffing review procedures (Portegijs 1998).

To redress the under-representation of women at Dutch universities, the Dutch government has passed the Equal Representation of Women Act in 1997 to require universities to set targets and develop structural plans to promote women faculty members. In addition, the government initiated a program called *Aspasia* to invite women to submit research proposals to research councils that, if accepted, will result in an offer for a permanent position by the university. The number of places is rather limited and it is argued that this programme is merely cosmetic.

One university has introduced a premium scheme according to which departments receive subsidy from the university for each female professor or UHD they appoint. For women in these academic positions who leave the department the same amount has to be refunded. Others argue that more structural measures are necessary to change the organisational culture of universities, such as better selection procedures with transparent criteria and the mentoring of female scientists in their career (Willemsen 2002).

## **4. Internationalisation of higher education**

### *4.1 National tendencies*

The internationalisation of higher education in the Netherlands is mainly focused on the development of student mobility as this has been shaped through European programmes. The government paper from 1997 '*boundless talent*' speaks about the award of scholarships to students, internationally oriented courses and the development of common standards mainly in vocational areas (Ministry 1997). Although the paper advocates the view that international activities should become a structural component of institutional activities and that these should contribute to the realisation of the institutional goals, there is no reference to further specifications on the position

of academic staff. Also on the institutional level the relationship between internationalisation and staff is not very pronounced. There are no explicit policies regarding international faculty mobility at the university, while most universities have developed policies to encourage the international mobility of students.

This, however, does not mean that the relationship between internationalisation and working situation of staff is absent. Most academic work is international by nature and it is very common among Dutch academics to share scientific knowledge with colleagues worldwide. Moreover, international competitiveness of the academic profession is growing and the outcome is increasingly becoming important as criterion for determining research quality and academic standing. The membership in international scientific and professional organisations, the opportunity to meet top researchers, the establishments of international research networks, and international cooperation are all aspects of this trend towards internationalisation. Also the growing importance attached to international publications particularly in English journals are increasingly becoming the norm for academic quality.

Although the involvement of staff in internationalisation is mostly on a purely voluntary basis, and not directly coupled to any form of assessment, professionalisation, recruitment procedures or reward systems, it would be unrealistic to assume that there is no relation at all. A survey among academics revealed that although international experience is not a strong factor for an academic career, its effects should not be underestimated. Particularly young researchers consider international experience as an important factor enhancing their career prospects in academe. It seems that the enthusiasm of faculty members is limited if travelling abroad is planned purely for teaching activities rather than for research. Research leads to clear output in terms of scholarly products and research collaboration. Teaching abroad leads to little or no academic credit to the individual and replacement during their leave is complicated (Stichting Sofokles 2001b).

In order to facilitate the international recruitment of their staff, some faculties have started to equate the Dutch ranking system with the American ranking of (full) professors, associate and assistant professors: this requires an internationally transparent structure of staff which provides career possibilities which are coupled with performances. Some top faculties explicitly state that international experience at a leading research institute is part of the requirements for getting a tenured position.

The last few years show an increasing mobility of staff from abroad. Many of them are research trainees mainly from Eastern European and Asian countries for whom the employment conditions are quite attractive compared to their home country, but also staff members in higher staff ranks. Many of them are confronted with the prevalent work permit and valid residence permit. Apart from the bureaucratic matters, a researcher has to pay a fee for residence permit which has increased considerable in the last few years. University bodies have drawn attention to these practical barriers to mobility (so-called 'mobstacles'), and proposed the authorities to install a 'status aparte' for these 'knowledge migrants', but to date without much success.

#### *4.2 The debate on globalisation*

The topic of internationalisation and the role of GATS has been discussed at several occasions. Some see the GATS agreements as having both its threats and its challenges. There is concern that further developments may constitute a threat for publicly funded higher education (AOb, 2003b; Assink, 2002). In a strict sense public services „supplied in the exercise of governmental

authority“ are excluded from the treaty. However, as referred to in some national reports, much higher education of today constitutes a hybrid system of public and private services and the differences are not clearly demarcated. Emphasis on market orientation, demand-led educational services, commercial activities in the sphere of research and education, make it difficult to exclude higher education from GATS. The definitions are not well-demarcated and there is fear that this may cast doubt on the legitimacy of the public funding of higher education, eroding its public character.

Economically less attractive courses may be more difficult to maintain. Other (foreign) providers will be recognised given they meet the standard national validation criteria. The process of liberalisation can proceed while the educational sector and the social partners are not conscious of its implications. This raises fundamental questions about the value of a national higher education system (AOB 2003b). Should higher education remain within the domain of the public sector? What compelling influence does GATS have on national law and regulations? How is the independence of teaching and research guaranteed? And does this development affect the working conditions of academic staff of institutions that increasingly become more market oriented?

On the other hand, it is pointed out that rather than perceiving GATS as a threat, it is a challenge of the growing internationalisation of education to raise quality standards in European systems of higher education. Universities and several HBO institutions have started to develop branche-organisations in other countries (offshore activities). Also the importance of strategic alliances with partner institutions abroad is increasingly recognised. This tendency can be observed among many universities. Many universities are subject to the process of globalisation, but are also key agents of globalisation. On the basis of the Bologna-declaration, European countries are already involved in a process to arrive at an open higher education area which means that a return to a ‘closed’ public higher education system based on the nation-state is an illusion.

## **5. Conclusion**

One of the continual debates in Dutch higher education concerns the decentralisation of employment relationships linked with the discussion on privatisation of higher education institutions as a logical next step. The Dutch Association of Universities (VSNU) is very insistent to change the public status of universities into a private one, arguing that this would give the universities more scope to act autonomously regarding financial and regulatory matters in order to engage in contract relations with industry and to pursue active personnel policies. Several universities are more reluctant, fearing that this may be a reason for government to reduce the higher education budget and to emphasise the private investment character of higher education (e.g. charging higher tuition fees). Moreover, these universities argue that much has already been achieved as far as personnel matters are concerned and that the present law provides much freedom in developing these policies further.

In this paper a variety of these personnel policies in Dutch higher education passed in review that impart on the attractiveness of the academic workplace. In some key words:

- flexible system of working conditions tuned to individual needs,
- career development plans, shifting the balance from a formation principle towards a career principle, shortening of career paths,
- development of the lector position and knowledge circles in HBO,
- making explicit differential staff roles and tasks.

Institutions may expand further the range of specialised staff positions or by formalising the diversification of roles. Teaching staff can adopt a variety of roles, from the direct contact with students to developing curricula, ICT, student coaching. Several of these roles may change over time. It is likely that a certain shift of tasks between teaching positions and non-teaching (or supporting staff) is taking place and in some cases the classical distinction between these two positions are blurring. Greater flexibility and diversity in the engagement and expectations of academic staff might be expected. Also within the position of professors more task differentiation is envisaged. Some will have a focus on managerial tasks and academic leadership, whereas others have more emphasis on either teaching or research tasks. Salaries of researchers, however, have fallen behind in comparison with those who are engaged in management positions.

Task and role differentiation is an interesting option, but this can also devolve to an extreme:

- to what extent is there a chance that the work becomes so fragmented that it is less attractive for staff or that the work pressure increases disproportionately?
- how is to be prevented that the more attractive parts of a task fall into in other functions?

The current tendency to transform the traditional appointment system towards a contractual system based upon mutual agreement contributes to the clarification of the respective roles in the organisation. Agreements are to be made about the tasks and the expected results for a particular period and at the same time about the conditions under which the appointment can be continued. Human resource management involves a better tuning between autonomous professionals in the light of the goals of the organisation. In its purest form it is likely that this will enhance the attractiveness of the academic profession.

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## **The Academic Workplace Country Report Norway**

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### **1. Introduction**

During the last decade academic staff at Norwegian universities and colleges have been exposed to important changes in structures and processes in the higher education system, the relationship between this system and state authorities, and in the demands from society at large. Some of the most notable changes are as follows:

In the 1990s, enrolment and student numbers increased considerably, leading to a large growth in academic and administrative staff.

In 1994, a large number of small, specialised, regional colleges were merged into fewer state university colleges some of which are very large multidisciplinary institutions. At the same time a binary higher education system was established broadly consisting of a university sector including four universities and six specialised university institutions (about 80,000 students in 2002), and 26 state university colleges (about 75,000 students in 2002). In addition, a small private sector provides higher education for less than 15,000 students.

The higher education institutions came to be regarded as regular state agencies subject to common reforms of the public sector, in particular pertaining to changes in steering ideology. These 'new public management' ideas, developed by the OECD, imply a stronger market orientation, decentralisation of decision-making authority, from the government to the individual institutions, greater accountability and efficiency of these institutions, and a more detailed reporting system to ensure that the expected results are produced with a minimum of resources.

As from 1996 universities and colleges have been regulated by a common Act. In addition to regulating the relationship between the state and public higher education institutions, the Act provides a common framework for the organisation and governance of these institutions.

The career system underwent important changes. As from 1993, associate professors in universities and colleges can apply for promotion to full professorship on the basis of individual research competence irrespective of vacant professorships. In 1995, a common appointment structure for universities and colleges was introduced.

Central authorities, as well as important stakeholders in society at large, demanded higher quality and greater relevance of teaching and research, more emphasis on gender equality, and strengthening of international and global relations.

Some of these reforms and changes have obviously affected working conditions, career opportunities, and academic staff roles, while other changes so far seem to have had rather modest effects, even though at certain times they have added to a general discontent and frustration among staff members (Kyvik et al. 2001).

This reform wave in the higher education sector continued at the turn of the century when in 1998 the government appointed a higher education committee charged with undertaking a comprehensive review and appraisal of universities and colleges as institutions of education and research. This committee was asked to assess the need for change in the higher education sector brought about by new demands from the government, students, industry and commerce as well as by internationalisation and globalisation processes. Two years later, the committee presented a detailed report suggesting major changes in the inner life of universities and colleges, and also in the relationship between central authorities and the higher education institutions. The conclusions of the committee were generally approved by the government and parliament and have led to a major reform in Norwegian higher education, called the 'Quality Reform'. The main elements of this reform can be summarized as follows:

From 2003 the traditional degree structure of German origin has been replaced by the Anglo-American BA, MA and Ph. D. degrees in the majority of teaching programmes. The time-frames of these degrees generally follow the recommendations given in the Bologna declaration of a 3+2+3 year higher education system.

The two teaching semesters during an academic year have been extended in time in order to increase efficiency and quality in university and college education.

Teaching and study shall be intensified through a greater degree of mutual commitment between teachers and students during the learning process.

To stimulate universities and colleges to improve quality and efficiency a new funding model for basic funding of higher education institutions was introduced in 2002. The old model was mainly based on historical traditions and the number of students. The new model is to a greater extent based on performance in teaching and research. It differentiates between a performance-based grant for teaching, a performance and strategic-based grant for research, and a basic grant. The performance-based grant for teaching is first of all allocated on the basis of credit points earned in the respective fields. Among other things the criteria for performance-based research funding is based on the number of associate and full professors and grants from EU and the Research Council of Norway. So far scientific publishing is not included in the formula because of lack of reliable data. Discussions are currently taking place regarding the establishment of a database including numbers and types of publications. The distribution of the basic grant is mainly based on the number of students, infrastructure, and regional and national priorities in research and education. The different elements in the model were constructed in a manner that did not change the allocation of resources between institutions during the first year. Because the model is composed of performance-based, strategic as well as historically-based elements, it is thus far difficult to assess the implications of this reform, although the funding model will obviously have some effect on the internal distribution of resources in the universities and colleges. The institutions have already become much more concerned about the recruitment of students, dropout rates and time required for a degree course as well as research quality and number of publications.

An output-based funding model may in itself improve efficiency in teaching and research, but hardly quality. The institutions are therefore instructed to establish their own quality assurance systems before the end of 2003. A new accreditation body, the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT) has been established to audit these systems. The consequence of not having established quality assurance systems covering a minimum standard is that these insti-

tutions will not be allowed to establish new educational programmes. The Ministry of Education and Research has specified by law that there are formally three types of institutions; universities, specialised university institutions and university colleges. Institutions may opt for the preferred status themselves, but have to be accredited by NOKUT to attain the status according to specific criteria. NOKUT must approve a change of status prior to the Ministry granting approval. However, the approval of NOKUT does not have to be accepted by the Ministry (Stensaker 2003). Academic and institutional drift processes at many colleges will sooner or later probably lead to some state university colleges receiving full university status.

NOKUT is also responsible for accrediting education programmes. Universities and special university institutions that are accredited may establish new programmes at all levels without any further procedure. State university colleges may apply for accreditation of new Master and Ph. D. programmes. So far, private institutions are regulated by a separate Act and have to apply for accreditation of new higher education programmes at all levels (Stensaker 2003).

Parallel to the „Quality Reform“ parliament determined that Norway should increase its investment substantially in R&D in order to attain the mean level of the OECD countries. For the higher education system, this strategy has resulted in increased emphasis on postgraduate research training and recruitment to academic positions. Universities have also received increased research funding which they are supposed to use for strategic purposes. Furthermore, thirteen centres of excellence have been established. These centres receive additional resources from the Research Council for a period of five years.

These reform initiatives are intended to lead to a number of important changes in the working conditions of academic staff:

The two semesters during the academic year will have to be extended.

More emphasis shall be placed on the quality of teaching and the individual student's portfolio will be followed up.

Academic staff shall be given better research conditions in order to enhance the quality and quantity of research.

Because funding of departments will be more dependent on quantifiable results in teaching and research, achievements of the academic staff will affect the distribution of grants.

The extent to which academic staff will be able to follow up these expectations is partly a question of resources. The objectives are demanding, and it is too early to assess the outcome of this reform.

## **2. Employment and working conditions of academic staff**

### *2.1 Academic positions and academic staff*

Since 1995 the higher education sector has essentially experienced a common appointment structure. The permanent academic positions are *professor*, *associate professor*, *senior lecturer* and *lecturer*. State university colleges have two additional positions; *college reader* and *college teacher*. The post of *assistant professor* was removed in 1995 and after this date there have been no new appointments to assistant professorships, but those still having this title are entitled to use it. *Senior lecturer* and *lecturer* are positions that are rarely used in the university sector. Subsequently, in reality universities now have only two kinds of permanent positions – full *professor* and *associate professor*. The re-

quirement for obtaining a tenure at a university is a doctoral degree, which automatically qualifies for an associate professorship for those appointed to a university academic position.

In addition to these permanent positions, four types of temporary positions are found:

*Research scholar:* This is a temporary position for doctoral students, with a normal duration of three, occasionally four years, including 25 percent teaching responsibility during the period. Appointment as a research scholar requires admittance to a doctoral programme. Doctoral students have a legal status as temporary staff.

*Research assistant:* Primarily used for short-term assistants engaged in research projects.

*Post doc:* A temporary position of two to four years duration requiring a doctoral degree.

*Researcher:* This position is externally financed and connected to a specific research project. Researchers have usually temporary employment, but may also have a tenure.

In 2001, the universities, the specialised university institutions, and the state university colleges accounted for more than 14,000 academic staff (Table 1). About 60 percent of these are employed in the university sector, and 40 percent in the college sector. At the universities and the specialised university institutions the distribution of the various academic positions reflects their role as research and research training institutions. More than 90 percent of all full professors work in these institutions. In the college sector, more than 70 percent of academic staff have status as lecturer or teacher compared to less than 5 percent of the staff at the universities and the specialised university institutions.

Table 1: Academic Staff in Norwegian Higher Education, 2001, by type of institution

	Universities	Specialised university institutions	State university colleges	Total
Professor	1,795 (81%)	243 (11%)	174 (8%)	2,212 (100%)
College reader			44 (100%)	44 (100%)
Associate professor	1,335 (52%)	276 (11%)	940 (37%)	2,551 (100%)
Senior lecturer	38 (10%)	3 (1%)	348 (89%)	389 (100%)
Assistant professor	218 (49%)	43 (10%)	186 (42%)	447 (100%)
University/college lecturer	288 (9%)	67 (2%)	2,856 (89%)	3,211 (100%)
College teacher			984 (100%)	984 (100%)
Researcher	631 (79%)	104 (13%)	63 (8%)	798 (100%)
Post doc	441 (95%)	19 (4%)	5 (1%)	465 (100%)
Research scholar	2,437 (85%)	264 (9%)	163 (6%)	2,864 (100%)
Research assistant	321 (92%)	18 (5%)	9 (3%)	348 (100%)
All academic staff	7,504 (52%)	1,037 (7%)	5,772 (40%)	14,313 (100%)

Source: Research Personnel Register, NIFU

First and foremost because most of the positions as research scholar (doctoral student) and post doc are affiliated to the universities, the proportion of tenured staff is only 50 percent in the university sector in contrast to 95 percent in state university colleges. Only small changes in the proportions of tenured versus non-tenured staff occurred between 1991 and 2001.

## *2.2 Recruitment to research – doctoral students*

Doctoral studies are financed in various manners where temporary positions financed by the Research Council of Norway, the universities themselves, or medical funds and associations are the most important. Two-thirds of doctoral students have temporary positions in the higher education sector. In 2001, the Research Council financed 45 percent of these positions; the universities and university colleges 33 percent; and other sources 22 percent.

Doctoral students are appointed as research scholars for three years' full-time doctoral studies, or for four years including 25 percent teaching duties. Mandatory course work varies in extent between six months in the humanities, the social sciences, and medicine, and one year in the natural sciences and technology.

An evaluation of the research training system initiated by the Ministry of Education and Research, the Research Council of Norway, and the Norwegian Council for Higher Education has been recently undertaken. The aim was to assess Norwegian research training in an international perspective with particular attention to the quality and efficiency of the education. The evaluation revealed a number of critical factors (Research Council of Norway 2002).

An essential problem is that students overall are too old when they submit their thesis. This especially applies to the humanities, the social sciences, medicine and odontology, where the mean age is more than 40 years. By contrast, in the natural sciences and technology the mean age is about 33 years. The median age is about 2 years lower in all academic fields. By comparison, Norwegian doctoral students in the natural sciences and technology are similar in age to their American counterparts, but 5–6 years older in the social sciences and the humanities, and 4–5 years older in the health sciences.

There are a number of critical phases in the entire course of training which result in the high age at which the doctorate is conferred. For the first, many students are relatively old when they obtain a higher degree. Secondly, a long period may elapse between the time when a student completes higher degree education before admittance to a doctoral programme. Thirdly, many students use considerably more time than the norm for completing a doctoral degree; and for the fourth, a long period may elapse between submission and defence of the thesis. In total, this results in a high age for completion of the doctorate study.

The evaluation panel considered that Norway should follow the main international norms such that a higher degree course and research training can be completed within a framework of eight years. Within the new degree structure that has recently been adopted, Norway aims at a 3+2+3 years' system for a full university education in the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. On the other hand, this reform shall not change the status of doctoral students, they will still be appointed to temporary positions as research scholars. However, the evaluation panel considered that Norway should develop a system whereby doctoral studies can commence earlier than is the case today. A flexible transition between Master degree studies and doctoral studies within the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences should be developed. The norm should be that research training should commence immediately after the first of the two years of

the Master's degree for those who wish to proceed to a doctorate, while the doctoral programme should be extended to four years (a 3+1+4 years' model). The Dr. Ing. programme in technology is today normalised to a 5+3 years' model. But here it should also be possible to ensure a smooth transition from the first degree in civil engineering to the Dr. Ing. studies where the final 6 or 12 months are undertaken at the doctoral level for those Master students who wish to enter a doctorate programme. Within the field of medicine, measures have already been introduced to make the transition from medical studies to research training more flexible.

Within a 4-year research training period the 'normal' time for work on the thesis should be increased by a half-year compared to the current situation. The present norm is scarcely realistic taking into consideration the work-input that the thesis necessitates. An increase in the norm for time devoted to the thesis combined with improved supervision and a moderation in the extent of the thesis would result in the majority of students being able to complete their doctorate within the course of the 'normal' time requirement.

Opinions on this proposed change are, however, mixed in the university sector. The recommendations by the evaluation panel are currently under consideration by the Ministry of Education and Research.

### *2.3 Recruitment to research – post docs*

The use of post doc positions in higher education institutions has a relatively short history in Norway. The introduction of organised research training in the 1980s and the subsequent increase in the number of doctoral awards led to a need for temporary post doc positions in order to retain talented doctoral candidates in the research system, to further prepare them for an academic career, and to widen the recruitment base for tenured academic positions. In addition, the post doc position has been regarded as an appropriate means to increase the quality and internationalisation of Norwegian research through sojourns at foreign universities during the post-doctoral period, to increase the proportion of female academic staff in tenured positions, and to increase mobility between universities. The research councils (of which there were several discipline-based at that time) introduced stipends for post-doctorate candidates in the late 1980s, while the universities were not allowed to establish post doc positions until 1997. There has been a sharp increase in the number of such positions during the last few years – from 60 in 1991 to 465 in 2001 – indicating that there is a real need for this position in the academic career structure.

The position as a post doc normally has a duration of 2–3 years. However, universities are also entitled to employ post docs on four-year contracts, but 25 percent of the total period then has to be spent on mandatory teaching etc., for the department in question.

The evaluation of Norwegian training of researchers (Research Council of Norway 2002) stated that newly-qualified doctoral candidates cannot be considered as mature researchers within a modern research training system. Internationally, it has been increasingly common that a research career includes a post doc contract. In order to support a successful research career it is therefore necessary to have a well-developed post-doctoral system. The evaluation panel considered that Norway should increase its efforts at the post-doctoral level, among other things as a consequence of the recommended direction for the further development of Norwegian research training. The proposed changes indicate that the doctorate is undertaken at a young age. Thereafter, the best candidates with the highest motivation should have the possibility to further develop their qualifications through a post-doctoral period in an international research community prior to receiving

a permanent academic post in Norway. Furthermore, the panel was of the opinion that in the long term a post-doctoral period should be a requirement prior to being appointed to a permanent position. This latter recommendation has, however, been opposed by the unions as well as by the higher education institutions.

#### *2.4 Appointments to tenured academic positions*

A doctoral degree is a mandatory requirement to obtain tenure as an associate professor at a university, but not at the state university colleges. All applicants for tenured positions as associate and full professor in the university and college sector are assessed by peer review committees and appointed by the institution.

Promotion to the rank of full professor has traditionally been dependent on vacant positions and competition with other applicants. However, as from 1993, associate professors in both the university and the college sectors can apply for promotion to full professorships on the basis of individual research competence. This change in the career structure was first proposed by a government commission set up in 1987 to evaluate all aspects of the higher education system in Norway, including personnel policy. In its report the commission justified the reform proposal through five principal statements:

*Creation of a more just career system:* The main argument for this reform was that many faculty members had a position and salary below their 'true level' of qualification and that this was unreasonable. The committee estimated that 25 percent of the associate professors had previously been determined as competent for full professorships through applications for vacant positions.

*Enhancement the research competence of academic staff:* The committee argued that a system allowing promotion to full professor on the basis of achieved research competence would enhance motivation for scholarly work. Increased productivity and better quality of research would most likely be the outcome of such a reform.

*Increasing the attractiveness of an academic career:* The committee furthermore assumed that the reform would make it easier for universities and colleges to recruit and retain academic staff because staff could plan their career without depending on professorships becoming vacant.

*Increasing the number of female professors:* The committee assumed that the reform would make it easier to increase the number of women professors. A career system where promotion to full professorship could be achieved on the basis of personal research competence would enhance women's opportunities compared to the traditional career system based on competition between several applicants.

*Improvement of the scholarly and social climate at departmental level:* This was a final argument put forward by the committee. Because all academic staff found competent by national evaluation committees would be promoted to a full professorship, internal competition for a limited number of vacant positions in respective departments would cease to exist. The reform could therefore lead to closer collaboration between staff members.

Two members of the committee did not, however, support this reform proposal and feared that negative consequences might outweigh the benefits. They claimed that the reform would lead to less mobility between higher education institutions because those who had professorial competence would no longer need to apply for a vacant professorship at another institution so as to achieve this status. Furthermore, the minority feared that the institutions would have fewer opportunities than hitherto to exert influence on the research profile of new professors. It would

not be possible for the department to specify research and teaching specialities of promoted professors in the same way as had been possible when advertising a vacant professorship.

This reform made it possible to become a full professor in three different ways: a) by applying for a vacant professorship in open competition and to be appointed as the best qualified applicant; b) by applying for a vacant professorship in open competition, being found competent but not the best qualified by the evaluation committee and then being promoted to full professor; and c) by applying for promotion to full professor on the basis of individual research and being found competent by a national peer review committee. The latter strategy has now become the most important way of attaining a full professorship while very few are appointed to an ordinary professorship due to few vacant positions.

These changes in the career structure have led to a substantial increase in the number of full professors in the university sector, from 38 percent of the tenured academic staff in 1991 to 47 percent in 2001.

## 2.5 Employment conditions, pay scales and salaries

Academic staff at the level of lecturer and above normally have permanent employment. However, appointments of temporary staff to permanent positions are permissible if no qualified applicants are available during a period of 3.5 years following appointment. The Ministry of Research and Education has suggested greater flexibility with respect to employing academic staff on a temporary basis, but so far without success.

Academic staff in higher education are subject to the same regulations as other state employees. This includes the right to salary during sickness, maternity leave, and occupational injury. The general retirement age is 67, but public employees can retire from the age of 62, and must retire by the age of 70. The official working week for academic staff is 37.5 hours, the same as for all public employees.

Table 2: Academic Salaries in Norwegian Higher Education, 2001. €

	Pay scales	Average salary
Professor	54,100 – 80,300	58,000
College reader	46,900 – 61,600	54,400
Associate professor	46,900 – 61,600	49,000
Senior lecturer	46,900 – 61,600	48,700
Assistant professor	36,300 – 57,300	46,800
University/college lecturer	36,300 – 57,300	45,900
College teacher	32,200 – 49,400	-
Researcher	36,300 – 77,600	49,000
Post doc	40,700 – 52,200	44,600
Research scholar	34,200 – 44,400	35,800
Research assistant	23,700 – 42,200	-

Source: Norwegian Association of Research Workers.  
Exchange rate: 1 € = 7.5 Norwegian crowns

In general, academic staff in higher education have salaries that are comparable to other public employees, but relatively low compared to their counterparts in industry and the business sector. Table 2 gives an account of pay scales and average salaries for the various types of academic positions. Assistant professors, university and college lecturers, and college teachers are paid according to a scale based on seniority, but other criteria may also be applied. For the other positions, individual salaries are negotiated between the unions and institutions within the limits of the pay scale according to a set of different criteria of which the applicant's productivity in research and market value are the most important. Most salaries for these latter positions tend to be at the lowest level or close to this, but during the last few years universities and colleges have increasingly applied the span of the pay scales to reward staff members essentially on the basis of academic competence.

## *2.6 Research conditions for tenured academic staff*

The Universities and Colleges Act of 1996 states that teaching should be research-based, but the research conditions are significantly different in the university and college sectors. In universities and specialised university institutions research is an individual right. In state university colleges research is a responsibility at an institutional level but not for individual staff members. Furthermore, while institutions in the university sector are responsible for the major part of basic research, the state university colleges should mainly undertake research and development work related to practice and problems associated to the region where these are located.

### *Universities*

The number of teaching hours is determined by the institutions within frameworks set by the Ministry of Education and Research. The guidelines of the Ministry indicate that academic staff should divide their time more or less equally between research and teaching. Basic working hours are the same as for the rest of the public sector, 37.5 hours a week.

Surveys have been conducted among all tenured university faculty members in 1982, 1992 and 2001 (Kyvik 1983, Kyvik & Enoksen 1992, Smeby 2003). The latter study shows that in 2000 faculty members used on average a total of 49 hours a week in their university position and for other professional activities. There are, however, significant differences between academic ranks. Professors worked 49.9 hours, associate professors 46.9 hours, while assistant professors worked 43.7 hours a week.

These faculty members use about 10 percent of their time for different kinds of external service and professional activities. If time for these activities is deducted, this leaves 44 working hours per week. Indeed, some external service and professional activities provide extra income. University faculty members are, nevertheless, expected to take part in most of these tasks. Irrespective of whether external service and professional activities are included in the estimate, the results confirm that faculty members work significantly more than normal working hours in the public sector in Norway.

In the surveys faculty members were asked to estimate the proportion of their working hours spent on different tasks. Table 3 indicates that the patterns for most tasks have been remarkably constant over time. The only significant change is that faculty members' use of time for teaching has decreased from 32 to 29 percent during the period, while time spent on supervision has in-

creased from 10 to 13 percent. This implies that time used for teaching and supervision has been constant throughout the whole period. The increase in time used for supervision from 1981 to 1991 largely corresponds to the increase in the number of Master and Ph. D. students. However, the increase in the student–faculty ratio does not seem to have had any impact on time used for teaching. There are only small differences between different ranks in the proportion of working time used for research, but full professors use more time on supervision and less time on teaching than associate and assistant professors.

The main reason why time used for teaching and supervision in total has been constant over time is that there are formal and informal norms regulating faculty members' teaching loads. In several departments there are even formula which give different credits to various kinds of teaching and to number of students supervised. There are multiple reasons why it has been possible for faculty members to safeguard their time for research in this way. First, the teaching load for lectures and seminars is generally unaffected by the number of students in so far as the capacity in lecture and seminar rooms does not imply that teaching has to be duplicated. Second, funding, at least to some extent, has been based on student numbers. It has therefore been possible to engage lecturers and teaching assistants on a part-time basis to avoid an increase of the teaching load among permanent staff. Third, teaching may partly be adjusted to the resources available. Small-group teaching may be replaced by lectures, and the number of courses given each semester may be reduced.

Table 3: Percent of working time spent on different tasks in 1981, 1991 and 2000 by tenured academic staff at the universities

	<b>1981</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2000</b>
Teaching	32	29	29
Supervision	10	13	13
Research	30	31	29
Administration	19*	17	17
Museum activities	-	2	1
External activities	7	6	7
Professional activities	3	3	3
(N)	(1558)	(1714)	(1907)

\* Museum activities were included as administration in 1981

### *State university colleges*

In 1994 the state university colleges were established through the amalgamation of 98 specialised regional colleges. While many of the old colleges were mainly teaching institutions, the state university colleges are also supposed to carry out research. According to the Universities and Colleges Act, the universities shall be responsible for the major part of basic research and be given main responsibility for graduate education and research training. The state university colleges shall be responsible for a wide variety of professional and vocationally-oriented programmes, and in addition take on some of the university programmes for basic and undergraduate education

(Kyvik 2002). Research is, however, not an individual right or duty as in the universities, but an institutional responsibility. It is the college that shall determine the distribution of time resources among the staff according to certain constraints laid down by the Ministry of Education and Research when determining the annual work programme for each individual. The university colleges should undertake research preferably connected to practice within specific fields, or to problems particularly relevant to their regions (Kyvik and Skodvin 2003).

Most state university colleges allocate time for R&D as grants for which faculty members may apply. Sabbatical leave every sixth year is an individual right in universities, but not in the state university colleges. To increase research qualifications among faculty members, those working on a Ph. D. thesis have been given priority. Even though quality of the application is the most important criterion when grants are allocated, priority may also be given to research strategies (Smeby 2002).

The most important time resource for R&D is, however, the proportion of regular working hours that may be used for such activities. Unlike universities there are significant differences between the different academic ranks in time used for R&D. A 1997 survey of all tenured faculty members in state university colleges (not including college teachers) showed that professors (including college readers) used on average about the same proportion of their time for R&D as their colleagues in universities (32 percent), while associate professors (including senior lectures) used 24 percent, and assistant professors (including college lectures) 16 percent (Kyvik 2000). College teachers have no formal research competence and are therefore generally not allocated time for R&D. On average they may, however, use about 15 percent of their working time for scholarly activities and competence development. Further, more than half of the colleges report that time for research should not be allocated equally among academic staff of the same rank, but should be agreed upon annually, based on research output, plans for competence development and strategic objectives. Such individual considerations are time consuming and are generally not conducted for each faculty member, but rather when there are special reasons to do so (Smeby 2002). So far there are significant differences between colleges and departments in the extent to which time for R&D is allocated according to strategic objectives. The introduction of a new funding model implies increased focus on research output. Therefore, a more strategic distribution of R&D resources will probably be developed, also internally in the state university colleges.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

#### *3.1 Recruitment to research*

Doctoral students are appointed to temporary posts for three or four years and salaries commensurate with first appointments in the public sector. In an international perspective, the Norwegian financing system should provide a good basis for attracting talented students into research in those subjects where a position in the public sector would be an alternative. Exceptions to this are subjects such as medicine, dentistry, technology, economics, and law, where the job-alternatives offer notably higher remuneration. Further, in these fields traditional differences in salaries between university positions and employment in the private sector have increased during the last decade. Graduates possessing a higher degree and employed in industry or the business sector for some years after leaving university normally have higher salaries than their former professors! In

some disciplines it is therefore a problem that some of the most talented graduates are not interested in a university career.

There are large differences between fields relating to the proportion of candidates with a higher degree that actually enrol in doctorate programmes. In the humanities, social sciences, engineering, medicine, and dentistry, between 10 and 15 percent of the higher degree candidates continue as Ph. D. students, as compared to about 25 percent in the natural sciences and 5 percent in business administration. For the most part, these differences reflect the number of available positions for doctoral studies in the various fields. However, in medical research a main problem is that few medical graduates apply for a scholarship, and vacant positions are filled with natural science graduates.

The recent evaluation of Norwegian research training revealed that in the humanities and social sciences, the number and quality of applicants for scholarships was satisfactory. However, while this pattern varied in the natural sciences and technology it was regarded as problematic in medicine and dentistry.

Nevertheless, doctoral training is not solely intended for the necessary reproduction of tenured academic staff, but also for the provision of highly skilled labour in public and private research institutes, in industry, and in the public and private sector in general. The recent evaluation of Norwegian research training revealed large differences between fields in respect of career plans of doctoral students at the commencement of their period as research scholar. While 73 percent of scholarship holders in the humanities planned an academic career in a university or college, only 24 percent of their colleagues in medicine, and 11 percent in technology had the same plans.

The proportion of researchers from other countries working in Norway may be an indication of the attractiveness of the academic workplace. Data from 2001 on national origin of academic staff in Norwegian higher education showed that 13 percent had first citizenship from another country. About 4 percent were from another Nordic country, 6 percent from other OECD countries, and 3 percent from elsewhere. The proportion from foreign countries was somewhat higher at universities (16 percent) than in state university colleges (13 percent). In general, the proportion of researchers from abroad was somewhat higher among recruitment personnel (Ph. D.s and post docs) than among tenured academic staff. A survey among academic staff from foreign countries shows that there are several reasons why foreigners come to Norway. The most important reasons reported are working conditions and career opportunities. Working conditions are emphasised to a greater extent than private relationships. The greatest informal obstacles for coming to Norway seem to be the language barrier (Nerdrum et al. 2003). Without comparing these data with similar studies from other countries, it is however difficult to make significant conclusions.

### *3.2 Recruitment and promotion of women*

Close to 40 percent of all academic staff are women, but this proportion varies considerably according to different positions and between types of institution (Table 4). While more than 50 percent of the posts as lecturer, teacher, or researcher are held by women, less than 30 percent of associate professors and only 13 percent of full professors are women. There has been a strong increase in the proportion of female associate professors during the last decade (from 15 percent in 1991 to 30 percent in 2001), but only a small increase in the proportion of full professors (from 9 percent in 1991 to 13 percent in 2001).

About 45 percent of doctoral students (research scholars) and post docs are women in 2001 compared to 38 percent in 1991. Women now account for a half of doctoral students in the humanities, social sciences, medicine and agriculture/veterinary sciences. In technology, where only 19 percent are women, a notable exception in the trend towards a balance between the sexes among doctoral students can be observed. In comparison to the other academic fields, the growth of female doctoral students in technology levelled out in the early 1990s.

Table 4: Proportion of Female Academic Staff in Norwegian Higher Education, 2001, by type of institution. Percentage

	<b>Universities</b>	<b>Specialised university institutions</b>	<b>State university colleges</b>	<b>Total</b>
Professor	14%	9%	10%	13%
College reader	-	-	14%	14%
Associate professor	32%	27%	23%	28%
Senior lecturer	45%	67%	28%	30%
Assistant professor	39%	30%	25%	32%
University/college lecturer	44%	28%	53%	52%
College teacher	-	-	74%	74%
Researcher	36%	41%	52%	38%
Post doc	45%	58%	80%	46%
Research scholar	43%	48%	42%	44%
Research assistant	53%	61%	44%	53%
All academic staff	34%	31%	48%	39%

Source: Research Personnel Register, NIFU

During the last two decades several initiatives have been taken by Parliament, the Ministry of Education and Research, the Research Council of Norway, and the higher education institutions themselves to increase the number of female academic staff. Some of these initiatives are of a more general character while others are directed towards specific fields where the number of female academics is particularly low. One measure made it possible to give women applicants for academic positions preference over male applicants with the same qualifications. Another measure was to earmark research fellowships for women doctoral students and post docs, and tenured academic positions for qualified women in fields where women are clearly under-represented. The latter has been controversial and in August 2000 was brought before the EFTA Surveillance Authority by a male doctoral student. The main argument was that by reserving a number of academic positions for women, Norway was in breach of the principal of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions.

In November 2002, the EFTA Surveillance Authority came to the conclusion that neither the Norwegian government nor the higher education institutions were entitled to earmark positions for women, and Norway was asked to take the necessary measures to comply with this statement. However, the Norwegian government maintained that a need for affirmative action is widely rec-

ognised in international law, particularly in the United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. The government therefore took the view that affirmative action is permissible provided that this is kept in proportion, and since the measures in question are temporary and form part of a special programme favouring women in an attempt to achieve a more balanced representation of the sexes, they had to be considered as proportionate.

Since the Norwegian government did not take any action to comply with the opinion of the EFTA Surveillance Authority, the case was brought before the EFTA Court. In January 2003, the Court concluded that by reserving a number of academic posts exclusively for members of the under-represented gender, Norway violated the agreement between the EFTA states on 'the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training, promotions and working conditions'. This means that earmarking an academic post for a woman is no longer permissible as an affirmative action in Norwegian higher education.

### *3.3 Changes in research conditions?*

Data indicate that faculty members are fairly dissatisfied with their research possibilities. In 2000, 29 percent of Norwegian faculty members reported that the possibility for carrying out research was „very good“ or „good“; 30 percent stated this as „satisfactory“; 42 percent stated the situation as „bad“ or „relatively bad“. However, no important changes in faculty members' satisfaction occurred throughout the period 1981 to 2000.

In 1982 and 2001 faculty members were asked to what extent different considerations caused problems for their research (Table 5). The most important problem in 2001 was lack of uninterrupted time. Lack of available research resources and time-consuming administrative tasks were also reported to cause many problems. Teaching and administration seemed to cause fewer problems in 2001 than in 1982, although none of the presented conditions seemed to cause more problems. Since „lack of uninterrupted time“ was not included in the 1982 questionnaire it is not possible to assess whether this problem has increased over time.

Even though the increased student–faculty ratio had no impact on faculty members' teaching load, it would be reasonable to assume that a greater number of students would have some indirect negative effects. Moreover, there has been an increased focus on teaching quality, and student evaluation of teaching has been introduced. Indeed, faculty members use somewhat less time on teaching than 20 years ago, but this is hardly enough to explain why teaching causes fewer problems for research. One reason may be that because faculty members have put more effort into 'protecting' research from teaching tasks and student demands.

It is also interesting to observe that the increased number of supervised students does not seem to have caused extra problems for their supervisors' research conditions (Table 5). An important reason is that graduate students are often regarded as manpower resources in faculty members' research, especially in the natural sciences, medicine and technology (Kyvik & Smeby 1994). In 2001, 46 percent of the faculty members considered their supervision of Ph. D. students to be an important contribution to their own research, and 18 percent characterised their supervision of Master degree students in the same way.

Table 5: Percent of tenured academic staff at the universities reporting that the following conditions caused many problems for their possibility for undertaking research in 1982 and 2001

	1982	2001
Lack of uninterrupted time	-	57
Academic climate	8	6
Available research resources	27	33
Library conditions	7	6
Possibilities for travels	13	10
Teaching	23	15
Supervision	10	7
Administration	41	26
Technical equipment	10	12
Technical assistance	25	23
Family responsibilities	9	5
(N)	(1047)	(1436)

The reason why administration seems to cause fewer problems for research than two decades ago may be the professionalisation of administrative positions in universities (Table 5). While the proportion of clerical assistants has declined, there has been a significant increase in the number of consultants, advisors and administrative leaders (Gornitzka et al. 1998). Attempts have also been made to moderate the committee structure and to reduce the administrative workload among faculty members (Gornitzka & Larsen 2001).

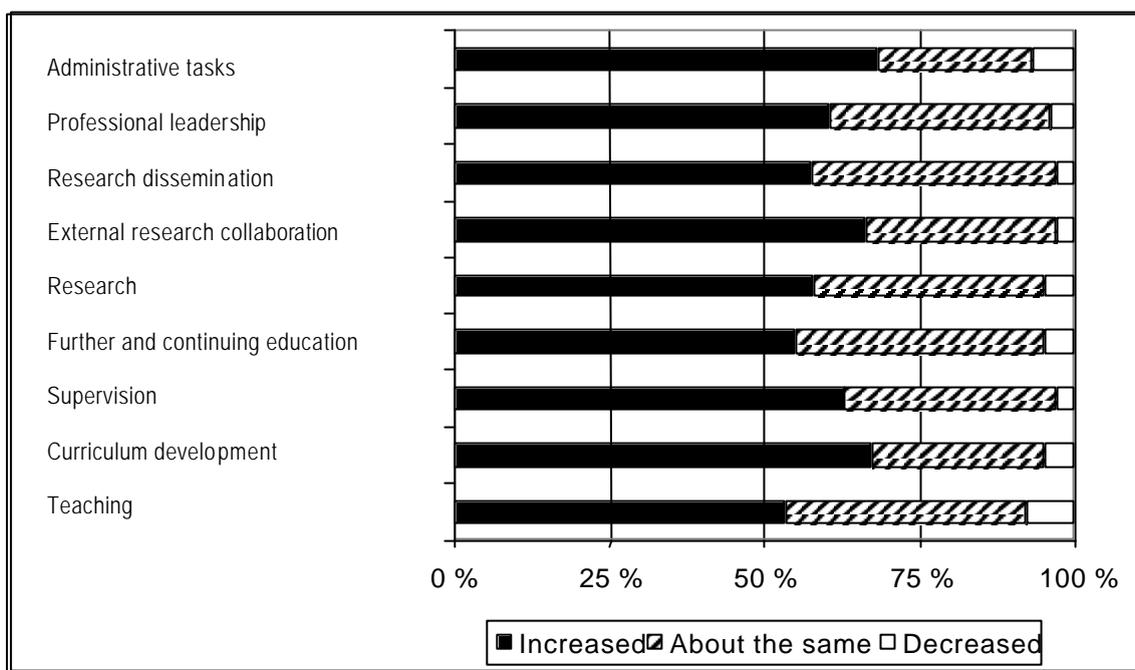
Faculty members' assessment of their possibilities to do research remained generally unchanged during the period although it should be recognised that nearly half of those responding reported that research conditions were „bad“ or „relatively bad“. Data indicate that it may be more important to focus on faculty members' lack of uninterrupted time for research than, for example, on the teaching load.

In the 2001 survey, faculty members who had been employed as a professor, associate professor or assistant professor in a higher education institution during the previous decade were asked to account for their own experience concerning changing demands from other people and society. The general trend is that faculty members assess the demand to be higher for all kinds of tasks (Figure 1).

Methodologically, it is however somewhat difficult to interpret these results because individuals may not be capable of adequately assessing changes in demands over time. It is, for example, reasonable to assume that faculty members become involved in an increasing number of tasks during their career as they become more competent and experienced. Even though demands increase at the individual level this may not be so on a macro level. Furthermore, a large proportion of faculty members are relatively dissatisfied with their research conditions. It may be a tendency that dissatisfied respondents tend to have the impression that the situation has become worse. This may be an explanation of why university staff in the public debate complain that they have less time for research than previously, and that the possibilities for undertaking research have generally declined, even though data presented above indicate stability during the last two decades (Smeby 2001). Increased demands for quality and efficiency are, however, a general trend in

society. It is reasonable to assume that employees in other sectors would also report that their work has become more demanding.

Figure 1: The assessment of tenured academic staff at the universities in 2001 of whether demands to different tasks have been increasing or decreasing since the early 1990s



#### 4. Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education

Similar to other European countries, mobility among researchers has been emphasised in the national research and educational policy. Norway is associate member of the EU through the European Economic Area agreement of 1994 (EEA) and a full member of EU's research and educational programmes. Nordic collaboration is, however, also given significant attention. International contact and mobility is assessed as an important means to stimulate new ideas and to increase the breadth and quality of research. Bibliometric studies show, for example, that small countries are more active internationally than larger nations (Luukkonen et al. 1992; Hakala 1998). This reflects the fact that small countries have modest national research markets, fewer potential partners and facilities, and are thus dependent on a broader international market for publication, conferences, research visits, etc. (European Commission 1997, p. 665).

##### 4.1 Doctoral students

There is a long tradition in Norway that research training should be undertaken in close contact with international research through encouraging postgraduate students to take a doctorate abroad by providing financial support for prolonged visits to foreign universities during their training pe-

riod, or through supporting attendance at international training courses, seminars and conferences.

It is quite common to attend conferences and seminars abroad during the training period and also to present papers; more than 80 percent of doctoral students do so. Furthermore, 85 percent are satisfied with opportunities for attendance at international conferences (Research Council of Norway 2002).

Efforts by the central authorities in Norway to internationalise research training have been particularly directed towards supporting longer stays abroad (6–12 months). The government has stated that the majority of doctoral students should enjoy such a sojourn at a foreign university. A former study indicates that in general both professors and students share the attitude that a stay abroad could be an important part of research training (Kyvik et al. 1999). The general impression is that such visits have been important for those who have experience from stays abroad during their training period, whether they are students or professors who look back on their own sojourns, and irrespective of field of learning. The positive experiences seem to outweigh the negative aspects by far (Research Council of Norway 2002).

However, relatively few postgraduate students have undertaken a sojourn abroad. The evaluation of Norwegian training of researchers (Research Council of Norway 2002) revealed that less than 50 percent of doctoral students have had a sojourn abroad, and that only 15 percent have a stay of at least 6 months' duration. Why is this so? Do the disadvantages of leaving Norway during the training period for most students outweigh the advantages of a stay abroad? Are financial arrangements not good enough, or are other reasons more predominant for not going abroad? A former investigation of international mobility among doctoral students distinguished five problems in this respect (Kyvik et al. 1999):

*Tensions and dilemmas within the research training programme:* What should a visit abroad be used for – work on a thesis or taking doctoral degree courses? A sojourn abroad can interrupt the continuity of research for the dissertation. This is obviously a problem in experimental fields and when the student is taking part in collaborative research.

*Lack of time and funding:* This argument is twofold. Some students do not go abroad because they cannot finance their stay; others stay at home because they fear that a visit abroad will delay their studies and that they will have problems financing the extra time they will need to complete their theses.

*Lack of motivation and internal support:* The motivation to go abroad is connected to the expectations that lie in the university culture, especially at individual departments and with the supervisor.

*Nationally-oriented theses:* For students studying Norwegian conditions and are dependent on national data sources, a sojourn at a foreign university might be of little value.

*Family obligations:* This is the most frequently mentioned reason why doctoral students choose to stay in Norway during the whole training period (Research Council of Norway 2002).

The evaluation of the training system emphasized that it is important for research students to have contact with researchers abroad. However, this does not necessarily imply a long stay abroad. If such a sojourn should clearly not be of relevance for the thesis, or the training programme is no better than corresponding courses at Norwegian universities, it may then be more expedient that the entire studies are undertaken in Norway. In this event, involvement in international research cooperation, participation in summer schools or research programmes, and regular attendance at international conferences and seminars will be good alternatives.

#### *4.2 Post docs*

An evaluation of the biological sciences in Norway concluded that the post-doctoral system needs to be overhauled if doctoral graduates are to develop the competence necessary to lead research groups that can compete at an international level. The evaluation panel stated that funding urgently needs to be allocated so that Norwegian graduates can apply for competitive grants to undertake prolonged (2–4 years) post-doctoral studies abroad. The universities and the research council should actively discourage the current trend for new graduates to stay at the institution where they were awarded their doctoral degree (Research Council of Norway 2000).

The evaluation of Norwegian training of researchers (Research Council of Norway 2002) likewise recommended that a post-doctoral period should be spent abroad to a far greater degree than is the practice today, preferably in the best research environments at foreign universities. The evaluation panel also emphasised that this international experience must clearly be of benefit to one's future career in the Norwegian research system.

#### *4.3 Tenured academic staff*

Data from „The International Fellowship Schemes Survey“ (European Commission 1997) show that Norway sends out about twice as many researchers as it hosts. Restricting the focus to the two mobility schemes of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> European Framework Programmes it appears that the situation in Norway is reversed here and the incoming flow is about twice that of the outgoing flows of researchers. This suggests that Norwegians use the European research collaboration schemes to a relatively limited extent (Nerdrum 2001:27).

Universities and colleges report the number of scholars from abroad visiting their institutions and the number of their own academic staff visiting a foreign institution for at least one week. Data from 2001 confirms that Norway is net importer of visiting researchers. There are, however, significant differences between universities and colleges in this respect. Universities had a higher level of visiting scholars (706) than that of outgoing faculty members (574). In the state university colleges the situation was the opposite. While 505 college faculty members undertook a research visit abroad, only 170 foreign researchers visited a Norwegian state university college (Sundnes, Slipesæter og Wendt 2002). The figures reflect different traditions and networks for international collaboration in the two sectors. The high number of college faculty members travelling abroad may be an effect of an internationalisation strategy which in the years to come may imply a greater balance between outgoing and visiting researchers in these institutions. So far universities seem to be more attractive for foreign scholars than the state university colleges. The number of university staff is slightly higher than the number of college staff. These figures might therefore be taken as an indication that college staff are as active on the international arena than their colleagues in universities. This is probably not so since research visits abroad is only one of several types of international contacts.

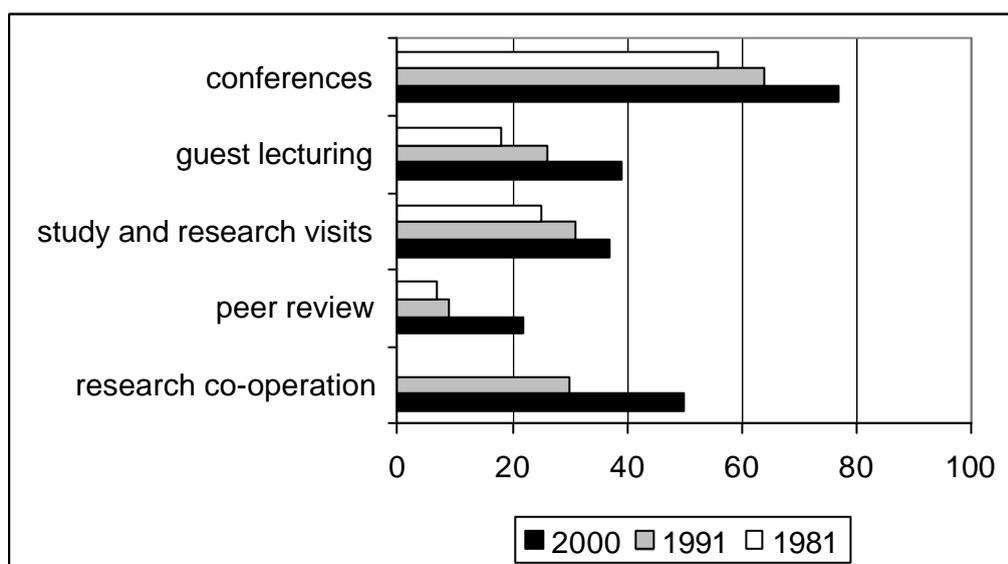
The university surveys from 1982, 1992 and 2001 among tenured faculty members shed light on the different types of international contacts (Bie 1985, Larsen 1992, Trondal & Smeby 2001). Faculty members were asked if they had conducted professional journeys related to participation in international conferences, guest lecturing abroad, international visits for study and research, international peer review work, and finally, research collaboration. Faculty members were also asked if they were involved in research collaboration during the last three years nationally as well as in-

ternationally irrespective of whether the collaboration involved professional journeys. Generally, international research collaboration might be considered the most demanding type of contact, while conference participation is the least demanding.

In 2000 the great majority of faculty members had undertaken professional journeys abroad: 77 percent had undertaken such journeys related to conferences, 39 related to guest lecturing, 36 related to study of research visits, 23 related to international peer review work, and 51 percent related to research collaboration.

Figure 2 shows that there has been a substantial increase in all types of professional journeys from 1981 to 2000. Moreover, the degree of international contact has increased slightly over time; the increase in international journeys is somewhat stronger in the 1990s than in the 1980s (Larsen 1992), and stronger in the 1980s than in the 1970s (Bie 1985). Despite the advent and rapid development of electronic publishing facilities and computer-mediated communication, personal contact seems to have become increasingly important. One reason may be that these types of contact are mutually reinforcing. Existing research does not confirm whether the advent of ICT has had any effect on research mobility (Nordic Council of Ministers 2001).

Figure 2: Percent of faculty members who undertook at least one journey abroad related to conferences, guest lecturing, study and research visits, evaluation work and research Collaboration in 1981, 1991, 2000



International travel among Norwegian researchers is first of all related to conferences and to research collaboration. Moreover, from 1991 to 2000 the degree of international contacts that relates to international research collaboration has increased more than the other forms of international travel. The different types of international travel are, however, interrelated and seem also to be mutually reinforcing (Trondal and Smeby 2001).

There has been a significant increase in international travel among faculty members to all geographic regions. The overall increase in the period 1981 to 2000 is about 20 percent. However, research collaboration is increasingly directed towards regions outside North America. Two-thirds of Norwegian faculty members reported that they collaborate in research with colleagues in Europe including the Nordic countries. Bibliometric data shows that the proportion of articles co-authored by Norwegian and North American researchers has declined, particularly in the

1990s, while the proportion co-authored by Norwegian and European researchers has increased (Research Council of Norway 2001, pp. 145–146)

The Europeanisation of research collaboration and co-authorship may reflect the impact of EU research programmes as well as Norwegian policy to increase this type of research collaboration. From 1994 to 2000 the funding over the Norwegian State Budget and the Research Council of Norway to the EU Framework Programmes almost tripled. Moreover, increased Nordic research collaboration may be a reflection of the EU Framework Programmes as these projects frequently also include Nordic colleagues. Bibliometric data confirm this assumption (Research Council of Norway 2001, pp. 135–146).

The increase in research collaboration directed towards countries outside Europe and North America may be part of the general globalisation process, but it may also be a reflection of policy initiatives and programmes at the national as well as at the EU level towards developing countries. For example, the Norwegian Council of Universities initiated a programme financed by The Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1988. At the university level several bilateral agreements have been established with universities outside Norway.

Formalised programmes and funding schemes seem to have a more significant impact on research collaboration than on travel. Faculty members seem to travel more than ever worldwide to meet colleagues. While contact patterns seem to be increasingly global, North America has become relatively less important in research collaboration due to the regional focus of most national and supranational policy initiatives and research programmes.

## 5. Conclusion

Norwegian higher education has been subject to substantial reforms during the 1990s. The establishment of the state university colleges, a common law for all public higher education institutions and a unified appointment structure have certainly increased the focus on research in these institutions compared to the tradition in the old teaching-oriented professional colleges. In the universities the balance between different academic roles so far seems to have been remarkably stable, even though there has been increased focus on study quality, and the student–staff ratio has become less favourable. Many faculty members are, however, dissatisfied with their research conditions and complain especially about lack of uninterrupted time.

The reform wave in the 1990s is currently followed up by the government initiated *Quality Reform* that may lead to important changes in the working conditions of academic staff. The implications of this reform are not easy to assess and the consequences may not be the same in all institutions since it will give more autonomy to the individual institutions with regard to academic, financial, personnel and organisational issues. The intention of the reform is to improve study quality and the follow-up of students including portfolio evaluation of the progress of students. The Ministry has emphasised that the institutions should give priority to improve research conditions and not increase the number of academic staff until the situation has improved. However, if the institutions are to implement the educational reforms without increasing the number of faculty members, this may affect the balance between teaching and research. Another important characteristic of the Quality Reform is the new funding model. The performance-based model in the long term will probably have implications for how resources are distributed at the departmental level. Furthermore, internationalisation and globalisation of higher education may significantly increase competition in research and teaching.

It may be assumed that individual staff members will be more directly affected by these trends than by former reforms because performance will be rewarded to a greater extent, also at the individual level. There are recent indications that the span of the pay scale is used more frequently to reward staff members on the basis of achievements in research, a trend that has been approved by the Norwegian Association of Research Workers. The Ministry of Education and Research and leaders of the institutions have also argued that there is a need for greater flexibility in employment conditions. This may imply a higher proportion of temporary staff and more frequent use of „teaching only“ and „research only“ positions in the future. Development of the university colleges as research institutions may also imply that some of the public research funding will be reallocated from the university to the college sector. Furthermore, while time for research so far has been distributed more or less equally among individual staff members in universities, a more differentiated system may be introduced in the years to come. Greater differentiation in employment status, working conditions, and salaries might therefore be an outcome of the ongoing reform process in the higher education sector. Such a development in that respect would be a reflection of similar processes taking place in the public sector in general.

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# **The Academic Workplace Country Report Poland**

*Marek Kwiek*

## **1. Introduction**

The changes in recent decade in Poland have been dramatic, for all professions and all workplaces, including those in the academy. Apparently, transformations in the academy have been much less radical and prolonged in time. Higher education systems cannot be changed overnight which became obvious after the new law on higher education was adopted in Poland in 1990: despite numerous attempts, until the present this law has not been followed by further major legal changes.

It is thus important to stress that after the changes following the collapse of communism in Poland in 1989 and the new law on higher education that was adopted in 1990, hardly any new changes regarding employment and working conditions in the academy occurred in strictly legal terms. The law on higher education today is 13 years old, and although a dozen or so attempts to adopt a new law had been taken, by almost all stakeholders, none of the proposals was finally accepted.

Thus in purely legal terms, there were no major changes in academic employment and working conditions in a recent decade, even though the outside world is beyond recognition; in practice, though, the academy operates today in a different surrounding which witnessed the passage from central-command economy to the market economy in general, and from ideological suppression of academic freedom to full academic autonomy, from the absence of the private sector in higher education to a boom of it (with enrolments reaching 30 percent of the whole student body today), and the unprecedented growth of enrolments in both public and private sectors from 400.000 to almost 2.000.000 students between 1990 and 2003.

Although legal provisions have not changed much during that period, the social, political and economic contexts of functioning of higher education have changed beyond recognition. The indirect influence of the real world on the academic world in recent years has been tremendous and cannot be ignored in any analyses of the academic profession (Kwiek, 2001).

The results of avoiding changes in public higher education in recent decade are very mixed indeed. On the one hand, the public sector is accepting more than four times students than in 1990, on the other hand, the number of academics is roughly the same (about 80.000 academics

in both public and private sectors). Two hundred and fifty private institutions operating in 2002 and almost 300 operating or waiting for licensing in 2003, opened due to a huge demand for higher education combined with the inability of meeting it in the public sector, have changed the educational landscape in Poland beyond recognition.

Polish academics would not be the same without the dramatic growth of the private sector accompanied by very liberal regulations (and explicit permissiveness in administrative practice) to open and run private educational institutions. Surprisingly enough, the growth of the private sector showed that Polish academics are very flexible, mobile and ingenuous in the hard times for the public sector. The relatively peaceful coexistence of the two sectors in recent decade had at least several significant effects on the academic profession: it turned the energies of scholars, administrators, and the public away from reforming the collapsing public sector; it made it possible for the (vast part, probably between 30-50 percent of the) profession to survive hard times; surprisingly, it helped to retain the academics in the public sector and even in the academic profession itself by combining their incomes from the two sectors; it showed that education for hundreds of thousands of students may be treated just as private good, a commodity to be paid for, rather than as a traditional public good in the way it has been cultivated in public universities. Finally, the private sector exposed the academic profession to the market and its forces (see Altbach, 1999, Kwiek, 2003d). The growth of the private sector in Poland in a recent decade can be shown by both growing enrolments and increasing number of institutions: the first private institutions were opened in 1990, but already in 1994 their number was 56 to reach finally 221 in 2001; in terms of enrolments, the sector grew from about 50.000 students in 1994 to about 510.000 in 2001 (see table 1). Consequently, the scholarization rate in Poland grew considerably, from 12,9 to 43,6 (gross) and from 9,8 to 32,7 (net), in the period between 1990 and 2001.

Table 1: The growth of private higher education in Poland, 1994-2001

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of institutions</b>	<b>Students</b>	<b>Graduates</b>	<b>Faculty</b>
1994	56	49,578	1,746	1,867
1996	114	142,928	12,867	3,702
1998	158	331,483	31,995	6,467
2000	195	472,340	79,794	9,343
2001	221	509,279	103,712	10,429

The academic profession has been deeply affected by this unprecedented phenomenon of the growth of the private sector and any analysis of it that would ignore the fact would be incomplete: it affected those involved in founding and running its institutions, as well as those not involved, by changing the context of academic work, widening possibilities and reducing time and energy available, revealing new expectations concerning working conditions, remuneration, and teaching (as in most general terms, with notable exceptions, the private sector is the teaching sector rather than the research and teaching one).

## 2. Employment and working conditions

### 2.1 Academic faculty in Poland

There are assistant professors, associate professors, university professors and full professors in Poland (*asystent, adiunkt, profesor nadzwyczajny, profesor zwyczajny* in Polish), with different formal requirements for each position. In European terms, professors are only university and full professors and all university and full professors are habilitated. Junior faculty would be assistant and associate professors, senior faculty would be composed of university and full professors (plus faculty with the scientific degree of habilitation but without the academic rank of university professor). At the moment, there are two scientific degrees (Ph. D. and *Habilitation*) and a scientific title of professor in a given domain of sciences or of the arts.

The number of full-time faculty in public higher education institutions in the academic year 2001/2002 was 70,000, and the number of non-academic staff was 63,000. In private institutions there were 9,000 faculty and 7,000 non-academic staff, giving the general proportion between the public and the private sector of 8 to 1 (all numbers here and below are approximated to the closest thousand). Out of 70,000 faculty in the public sector, 13,000 (19 percent) are full professors and independent academics (those holding the *doctor habilitatus* degree), 43,000 (61 percent) are assistant and associate professors (those holding Ph. D. and MA degrees), 13,000 (18 percent) are senior lecturers and lecturers (some of them holding Ph. D. degrees) and 1,000 are foreign languages instructors and instructors. In these numbers part-time staff and faculty are not included (the details are provided below). In most general terms, it is very rare indeed for anyone involved in higher education teaching and research to be working part-time, for a variety of reasons: it is almost impossible to work part-time as full, university or associate professors as this form of employment does not „count“ for an institution (part-timers do not have equal rights, do not get relatively comparative salaries and do not have voting rights in faculty and department councils); salaries in public higher education are very low indeed by any standards, and the salary for part-time work cannot include any benefits, so the money received by part-timers would be unacceptable; besides, part-time work is temporary and does not count as regular employment for pension schemes and social security/medical treatment. Full time employment guarantees, to an extent, an equivalent to tenure; part time employment, on the other hand, is used widely by the private sector in which, by contrast, full time employment (especially as the sole employment for academics) is very rare. It is very different from recent trends in both the USA and many Western European countries: as John Stevenson put it, „at present, there is every possibility that a majority of those on the faculties of American colleges and universities are part-time employees, subject to very low pay, no job security, no fringe benefits, and no participation in the life of the department or school outside of the classroom“ (Stevenson, 1998: 65; for Europe, see also Enders, 2000). It is interesting to highlight the differences with Poland: even though the overwhelming majority of faculty are employed full time, they are subject to low pay. They have very high job security, relatively good fringe benefits and full participation in the life of departments.

The structure of the academic faculty in Poland in 2001 was the following: in the public sector, full-time 70,000 and part-time 2,000 (total about 72,000); in the private sector, full-time 8,900 and part-time 1,100 (total about 10,000). Thus in both sectors the number of academic faculty in Poland in 2001 was about 79,000 full-time and about 3,200 part-time (see Kwiek, 2003b). The model situation of employment of senior higher education faculty would be the following: full time employment in a public higher education institution plus part time employment in the pri-

vate sector. In the long run this situation will most likely be changed. Top ranking private institutions are trying to produce their own junior faculty but the process is a long one. Finally, as far as gender distribution is concerned, women are 40 percent of the academic faculty in public institutions.

## *2.2 Academic career and academic degrees: doctorates and habitations*

As noted, there are two scientific degrees in Poland: doctorate and habilitation. In short, in the Polish structure, habilitation is a degree that opens the way from junior faculty to senior faculty, although full seniority in rank is achieved only with the scientific title of the professor. The habilitation degree, though, opens the way for the academic to become a university professor (a function, without a scientific title). The background information, numbers, gender and discipline distribution for both doctorates and habitations are provided below.

In the last four years there were significant discussion about the future of the habilitation degree in faculty training and academic career. Although the opinions varied, the status quo of the existence of two scientific degrees is maintained, and seems to be maintained in future legislative projects. The impulse for discussions came from Germany where habilitation was seen as a gate-keeping mechanism for the academic profession making it hard to become a professor (as a result so called „junior professorships“ were created as a fast tract for young scholars, without the need of obtaining the habilitation degree). In Poland, the strongest support for the abolition of the habilitation degree seems to come from the trade union circles, and the strongest opposition from senior faculty afraid of the (apparently unavoidable) lowering of academic standards (at least as long as the standards for doctoral dissertations are not raised). The data concerning the age of academics at which they obtained their habilitation degree in 2001 are the following: out of the total number of habilitation degrees awarded (755), the biggest share went to academics 51 years old and older (36 percent), then to those between 46 and 50 (27 percent) and between 41 and 45 (24 percent). The share of academics in their thirties was only 13 percent. The overwhelming majority of academics obtained their habilitation degree after nine years following their Ph. D. degree (98 percent).

The number of all degrees of doctorates and habitations awarded in Poland in institutions of higher education, institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences and in research and development institutes in 2001 was 4,400 and 755, respectively. Interestingly enough, 60,000 people in Poland are claimed to hold Ph. D. degrees, of which slightly over 41.000 were working in public higher education institutions in 1999. Although people holding Ph. D. degrees are scattered from higher education institutions to research institutions to the industry and administration, the main place for promoting Ph. D.s are public higher education institutions. Only two private higher education institutions have the right to confer Ph. D. degrees today.

The number of doctoral degrees awarded annually in recent quarter of the century varied, from almost 4,000 per year in the second half of the seventies, to about 3,000 in the first half of the eighties, with another decline in the second half of the eighties and first half of the nineties to the average of about 2,000 per year. Interestingly enough, by the end of the nineties the number rose sharply again to the level higher than ever before – exactly 4,000 in 1999 and then 4,400 in 2001 (details provided below). The „safe“ level of doctorates promoted per year merely to continue the biological regeneration of this category of potential academic faculty was established in government and independent policy reports at the level of 3,000, taking into account a relatively

high level of those wishing to leave the country in this category. Obviously, the total number of Ph. D.s in 2001 indicates a trend toward getting higher credentials, but it does not show the general inflow of new Ph. D.s into higher education system. To put it shortly, the number of Ph. D.s increases, but the number of Ph. D.s wishing and being able to begin their academic careers decreases.

The age structure of recipients of doctoral degrees awarded in Poland in 2001 is the following: the majority of them were either between 31 and 35 years old (37 percent) or between 27 and 30 years old (28 percent). The group of recipients aged 36 to 40 was 15 percent. Those aged 41 and more constituted 19 percent of Ph. D. recipients, and there were also 30 youngest recipients (0,006 percent), those 26 years old and below.

The gender distribution of doctorates and habilitation clearly favours men, with women being awarded 41 percent of the former (out of 4,400 in 2001), but only 29 percent of the latter (out of 755 in 2001). While in case of doctorates, the number of degrees awarded in the university system more or less equals the number of degrees awarded in institutions controlled by other ministries, in the case of habilitation it is the university system that is in the lead, providing as much as one third of all habilitation degrees. Speaking of disciplines in which the two degrees are awarded: the single most significant domain for doctorates are medical sciences in which over a quarter of all doctorates were awarded in 2001 (26 %), followed by the humanities (19%) and technical sciences (19 %). In the case of habilitation degree which opens the way for the academic positions of university professors and full professors, the most dynamic disciplines are the humanities (22%), followed by medical and technical sciences (16% both).

What are the requirements for being awarded doctorate and habilitation, who may get them, for what, and where? The rules are very clear in this respect. Starting with doctorates: they may be awarded by those higher education units that employ full-time at least eight academics with the scientific title of professor or the scientific degree of habilitation. Ph. D. degree may be granted to a person who holds the MA degree, who has passed all required doctoral examinations, presented and defended a thesis. The thesis should contain „author's original solution of a scientific problem, demonstrate general knowledge of a given field of science and show the author's ability to carry out independent research“. The degree is granted by the eligible institution but is valid only after the confirmation by the Central Committee on the Scientific Title and Scientific Degrees. Currently, Ph. D. holders may start academic careers at the position of *adiunkt*, i.e. associate professors.

The requirements to start the procedure of granting the degree of habilitation are the following: a given person must hold Ph. D. degree, must have a considerable scientific or artistic output and must have presented the habilitation dissertation. The habilitation dissertation must be „author's considerable contribution to the development of a particular scientific discipline“. The most general requirement of publication of a work in total or in its substantial parts is intended to let the academic community of a given discipline get acquainted with it. The procedure of habilitation consists of the reviewing process, acceptance of the habilitation colloquium, the acceptance of habilitation lecture, and granting the degree. This decision must be confirmed by the Central Commission as well. The habilitation degree forms a caesura between junior (or auxiliary) faculty and senior (or independent) faculty, no matter how long it takes for those habilitated to become university professors. In the nineties there were several attempts in projects of the law of higher education to abolish the habilitation degree but the attempts were very unfavourably received by the (especially senior) academic community. In most probability the degree will not be abolished in the future, at least according to the newest law proposals.

In very broad terms and before a new law on higher education is introduced, junior faculty do not have tenure while senior faculty have it. From a legal perspective, junior faculty may be removed from the public higher education system following the failure to write and defend their habilitation dissertations within nine to twelve years after the completion of their Ph. D. theses. Senior faculty, on the other hand, in practical terms right now is guaranteed the equivalent of academic tenure. Professors from the public sector are not state employees as is common in Western Europe. There is no automatic progression up the ranks in public higher education: still the most important factor is research rather than teaching, and the passage from the junior to the senior rank is guaranteed by the scientific degree of habilitation. Habilitation until fairly recently guaranteed, with the passage of time, the post of the university professor granted at first for five years, and then renewable for life. But as the number of habilitations is growing, and the number of university professors within the same department may not, according to internal regulations accepted in the public sector, exceed the number of full professors by more than 20 percent, in practice the number of habilitated faculty without the position of the university professor may certainly be growing (Kwiek, 2003c).

### 2.3 Doctoral students

In a Polish system, doctoral students are somewhere between students and junior academic faculty: they have faculty's privileges, including social security, four weeks of summer holidays, reduced transportation fares etc, but do not receive regular salaries. Some of them receive doctoral stipends, on a competitive basis, generally equal to assistant's salary (but without taxation). At the same time doctoral students have low chances of being employed in the public academic sector as the number of positions available is very low in the vast majority of disciplines. The system of public higher education is relatively closed for new entrants to the profession. Regular Ph. D. studies last 4 years, with the option of one more year available. The most recent data for Polish higher education available (for 2001) indicate that the overall number of doctoral students is 28.000, including 13.000 women. Over 90 percent of doctoral students attend public institutions (26.000, with 2.200 attending the private sector). Less than 50 percent of doctoral students receive doctoral stipends (13.000), with as low as 165 in the private sector. Almost half doctoral students attend universities (13.000), with technical universities in the second place (7.000). In terms of fields of doctoral studies, the most popular are humanities (24 percent) and technical sciences (23 percent), followed by economics (12 percent) and agriculture (8 percent); less popular are medicine and law (6 percent) and chemistry (4 percent).

Current research on junior faculty and doctoral students indicates that only 20 percent of them are interested in pursuing an academic career. The remaining 80 percent wants higher credentials in the labour market or, more often, do not have ideas what to do in professional life and selects more time to choose (there is a widespread feeling of „negative selection“ for Ph. D. studies in some disciplines; in others, more marketable, there are paid doctoral studies in which the expected level of doctoral students is very low and no exceptional abilities are required). Very few doctoral students are interested in academic teaching. Traditionally, doctoral education has been oriented toward educating higher education professors: university teaching and scientific research. As Roger Geiger put it with respect to the USA, „the Ph. D. as it stands today represents *too much* training for many potential consumers of graduate education; yet it is *too little* training for its traditional role of preparing future faculty“ (Geiger, 1997, 248; see also Pavel, 2000). Both in the

States and in Poland the sharp rise in the number of doctoral students took place in the 1990s – in Poland the increase was ten times (from 2.700 in 1990 to 28.000 in 2001). But while the balance between the supply and demand of Ph. D.s raised some concerns in the USA, in Poland it was generally neglected as an issue. If we compare the relatively closed public higher education system and small opportunities provided to recent Ph. D.s in the private higher education (and 80.000 of faculty in both sectors in 2001), the current number of doctoral students – 28.000 – looks like overproduction from a traditional perspective. From a new perspective, though, doctoral education is viewed by both universities and doctoral students alike as a way of increasing chances of finding employment outside of the academy on the highly demanding labour market. Four years of studies is along time in many professions, but let us also remember that the vast majority of doctoral studies are free, and 13.000 Ph. D. candidates (slightly less than 50 percent) receive government-funded doctoral stipends. In the long run, the present situation is bound to be changed, probably with reducing the status of Ph. D. candidates to the level of students (following the recommendations of the Bologna Declaration about a three-tier system of higher education in Europe) and introducing some sort of fees. Current system leaves the burden of doctoral education with universities as no special funding is made available to universities: Ph. D. candidates are treated as students and they are funded accordingly.

#### *2.4 Gender distribution: women in the academy*

The gender distribution of the academic faculty varies by discipline and changes with seniority. Generally speaking, the higher the academic rank, the more it is dominated by men. In public education, women are 40 percent (27.000 out of 67.000) of the academic faculty. The percentage of women increases with lowering of the academic seniority: they are 19.5 percent of full professors and 41 percent of associate and assistant professors in all disciplines. The total number of women conferred a Ph. D. degree in 2001 is 2.000 (out of 4,400), and the total number of habilitation degree in 2001 is 220 (out of 755), which amounts to 41 percent for Ph. D.s and 29.5 percent for habilitation degree. From a global perspective, the proportion of women in higher education in Poland is relatively high. As Welch states, „it is widely recognized that the international professoriate is both male and ageing. Although national profiles differ, the highest proportion of women academics in the 14 nations surveyed was around 40 percent (Brazil, Mexico, Australia), and the figure dropped to 10 to 20 percent in at least three of the countries (Japan, Germany, Korea)“ (Welch, 1998: 8). Poland in a gender structure of its academic faculty is certainly much closer to the former than to the latter countries.

In universities, women are 22 percent (1,065 out of 4,653) of professors; the greatest percentage of female professors is in academies of economics and medical schools – 30 percent, while the lowest, as could be expected, in technical universities where women comprise 9 percent of full and university professors. In the rank of associate professors (junior faculty, without habilitation degree), women are almost 50 percent in the university system, in academies of economics and in pedagogical institutions of higher education, 26 percent in the technical universities, as well as 52 percent in medical schools and 35 percent in academies of arts.

As the average age of senior faculty in general is between 50 and 60, it would take a long time for the gender distribution among senior faculty to be more equal. On the one hand, there are limited human resources to become full professors today (namely current university professors, who are still male in the vast majority), but on the other the number of women with Ph. D.s is

constantly growing. Unfortunately, the predictions for the coming years for junior faculty generally are higher workloads, renewable, periodic, performance-based contracts which may force some most mobile junior faculty to leave the public system altogether, and either move to the private sector of higher education or change the profession altogether. In the light of changes in the coming years, and taking into account the international pattern of transformations, the number of part time faculty is expected to grow from an insignificant to considerable percentage in the public system, many of them being current junior faculty or new Ph. D.s. With still strong attachment to traditional distribution of social roles in families and the strong position of the father as the main supporter of the family, I would expect part of male junior faculty leaving and female junior faculty staying or even entering the system in their place. Especially if the current pattern of university salaries is maintained in the future and if the rising trend of female graduates and Ph. D.s is still maintained.

At the same time the percentage of female Ph. D. students is growing constantly, especially in the arts and the humanities, which is due to at least two factors: the percentage of women entering higher education system is bigger – 57 percent (1999), as is also the percentage of women at Ph. D. studies and women entering annually the academic profession. And in private higher education women are also in the majority, comprising 62 percent of students. Female graduates from both the private and the public sector in 1999 were 63 percent (107.000 out of 171.000). Thus, both in terms of students entering the system and those graduating from it, the domination of women is very strong indeed.

It can be said generally that in recent years academic faculty tended to complete Ph. D. dissertations within 6-8 years and habilitation degrees within next 8-12 years (see above for details by age). Although a small fraction of the academic body left the public higher education system in the last ten years, generally there is small social mobility to other professions. Surprisingly enough, the single most important fact that allowed academics to stay within the public system despite steadily decreasing financial situation was the parallel participation in the creation of the new private sector. Higher up the ranks, the progression is much less certain: to become full professor the academic faculty member needs the scientific title of professor which may be unavailable to the majority of current university professors. Still, it is perfectly possible to continue working in the system at the level of university professor.

### *2.5 Working conditions: private and public sectors*

Although professors in the public sector are not civil servants, they are guaranteed raises in salaries each year as others from the public sector slightly (usually one percent) above the expected level of inflation. In terms of working conditions, they have prolonged holidays as compared to other professions (generally six weeks in summer and a week in winter), one additional salary each year and some support for summer holidays. Academic faculty in the public sector are so-called employees of the budgetary (public) sphere which means they are financed by the central budget; in this case, these are the Ministry of Education and Sports and the Ministry of Science. Civil servants in Poland are employees of the public administration, from local to government levels. For employees of the budgetary sphere, including academic faculty, salaries and working conditions are determined centrally, by the ministry of education. Specific working conditions are determined in the law on higher education and subsequent amendments, as well as in the law on scientific title and scientific degrees. They concern hiring and firing, periods of time granted to

obtain subsequent academic degrees, conditions for obtaining the title of the professor etc. Generally speaking, in terms of remuneration, the ministry provides basic salary brackets for each academic position and the details are determined by each academic institution. There are no major differences in salaries and no differences in benefits for the faculty in all Polish academic institutions. The public higher education is a still relatively non-competitive environment for the vast majority of the academic faculty. The part timers form a negligible margin of the academic body in the public sector (less than 3 percent in 2001). From a both global and Western European perspective, this is a very unique structure of employment. As Altbach (2000) remarked in connection with the Western world, „the traditional full-time, permanent academic professor, the ‘gold standard’ of academe, is increasingly rare“. In the private sector, though, working conditions are very different. They are not centrally-determined as in the public sector. Terms and conditions in the private sector are terms and conditions of a given institution, with the exception of some nominal state requirements (e.g. salary cannot be lower than the lowest national salary agreed on between government and trade unions etc). The majority of academic faculty is employed part-time, with the exception of the minimum required to run an institution by the current law on higher education, which is eight professors per institution. Generally, the environment is very competitive and scholars are pretty mobile; academics are travelling to other institutions where they usually hold renewable yearly work contracts. In such fields as economics, business, management, marketing or law, the working environment is very competitive and salaries vary according to seniority and the scope of involvement. There are no promotions in this sector, generally, as the main place of work for the vast majority of academics, especially senior, is the public sector anyway. While lectures are given by professors, classes are most typically given by recent Ph. D.s or even graduates who may not necessarily hold academic posts anywhere else, may be employed full-time and may work long hours. Although in the public sector the weekly average teaching is 6-8 hours, for junior faculty in the private sector it could be as much as in secondary schools, that is to say even as much as 20 hours of teaching.

Since the very beginning of the private sector in higher education in Poland right after 1989, rules and regulations concerning private institutions have been very relaxed. Explicit permissiveness of each successive governments allowed the booming private sector to be built almost out of nowhere (Wimberley, 1999: 490; Kwiek, 2003d), with the number of institutions going up from zero to 221 in 2001, and the number of students reaching over half a million (and almost 30 percent of enrolments). The permissiveness in question concerned the practice of who was allowed to found an institution (basically anyone), who was employed as „core“ – required by the law – faculty (basically, with notable exceptions confirming the rule, retired or almost retiring professors) and who was teaching (basically part-timers from the public sector). The permissiveness of the Polish law on higher education (of 1990) and of Polish educational practice allowed academics to hold several, most often two, positions in both sectors. It is only very recently (since 2001) that the discussion about the so-called „basic academic workplace“ has been widespread, following governmental proposals to let academics to choose which is their main institution, and which is additional, if finally allowed by the future law on higher education (by way of comparison, let us say that in the US in 2001 the average income from another academic institution was 9,500 USD, with the average basic salary for academic year being 51,400 USD (Clery and Lee, 2002: 17). The permissiveness in question had two major advantages: the creation of the private sector and the way to keep academics in relatively badly paid public higher education institutions. On the other hand, the major disadvantage was a severely and steadily declining level of teaching and research in the public sector. That epoch for both the private sector and for the academic community of the public sector is certainly coming to an end, though; employment conditions will

have finally be determined in a new law on higher education, possibly introduced in the 2003/2004 academic year.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

The current attractiveness of the academic profession compared to other sectors of highly qualified work in Polish economy has to be divided into two parallel questions: the attractiveness for present senior academic faculty and the attractiveness for present junior faculty, new entrants to the profession and recent doctoral students and Ph. D.s. The situation and the perspectives for the two groups of faculty are radically different, although it is important not to overgeneralise and oversimplify. There are wide variations between various types of institutions, various parts of Poland (main academic centers and peripheries), and different disciplines of teaching and research (more and less „marketable“, more and less dependent on external grants etc). Generally, though, it is important to stress that the status quo of unreformed higher education system may be good for the first group (senior academics) and is certainly discouraging for the second group (junior staff and Ph. D.s). Certainly, it is very bad for Polish higher education in all three main aspects: teaching, research, and service. No matter how we treat the social and cultural role of the university today, academics apart from their cognitive curiosity, creativity, strong will to be inventive and to focus on their research activities, are also citizens of a country in transition, with specific opportunities and peculiar challenges. No matter how much analysts want to forget about the financial aspect of functioning in the academic profession, it will not be forgotten by the academic community except for some (always and everywhere present) enthusiasts of science. The issue of academic salaries is especially important in post-communist transition countries where generally academic salaries are very low compared with other professions. It is interesting to note that the Carnegie report on the Academic Profession, now almost ten years old, has already indicated that the level of satisfaction of academics with their salaries in the majority of countries studied (except for Hong Kong, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States) is between 5 and 30 percent (Boyer et al 1994: 50). In Poland, in the times of vast economic and social transformations, the main difference in the situation of junior and senior faculty is not basic salary received from home university, which is very low in both cases; the main difference is access to relatively well-paid positions in the private sector in which the demand for senior academics is very high and the demand for junior staff is much lower, and in many disciplines merely negligible. Geographically speaking, private institutions are booming in biggest academic centres (Warsaw, Poznan, Krakow, Lodz, Wroclaw) or in the proximity to them. Academics from the public sector are rectors, vice-rectors, deans, vice-deans and professors in the private sector as the number of (especially senior) faculty who would be willing to choose the private sector alone is very limited, statistically negligible.

Thus the current situation and future prospects for senior faculty and for junior faculty is structurally very similar in their home public institutions (decreasing research funds, relatively small salaries compared with other professionals) but radically different in private institutions where both groups potentially seek additional employment. What does it mean for junior faculty and recent Ph. D.s? It means very difficult financial situation, lack of financial stability in the medium run, and growing frustration (as Nicholas Farnes described his perceptions of academic profession in Central and Eastern Europe: „widespread pessimism, disillusionment, frustration, slow progress and funding shortages ... Western experts mainly come into contact with individuals

who are energetic and innovative but are unrepresentative of the sector as a whole“ (Farnes, 1997: 380; see also Marga, 1997). The pre-selection for the academic profession is radically different today than a decade ago: as new entrants to the profession (most often) have to already hold a doctoral degree, the first mechanism of selection of future candidates for the profession is the choice or rejection of doctoral studies. For many people, especially in disciplines in which there is high demand from the labour market, already at this point the decision is either not to apply at all, or to engage in doctoral studies but with the explicit intention of never entering the academic profession after graduating with Ph. D. The second selection is after obtaining Ph. D.: in many disciplines, it is both discouraging to enter the relatively low paid academic profession and impossible to enter it in practical terms, as the system has been mostly closed for new entrants in recent decade (it is interesting to note the stable number of academics in the public sector in recent decade, despite 300 percent growth in student enrolments during that period).

Consequently, the average age of the university professor is increasing and reaches now 55 and the generation gap between junior and senior faculty is growing due to the combination of at least two factors: low attractiveness of the profession and mostly closed system of public higher education with a very limited number of new positions. It means in practice that the choice of the academic career very often is a result of a mixture of good luck and willingness to enter lower quality institutions outside of main academic centres in the public sector where the opportunities to enter the profession are bigger.

It is interesting to note that the majority of draft laws on higher education in recent years had new (higher) salary scales as their components but none of them was actually implemented. The general feeling of the academic profession is that the chance for radical increases in salaries, compensating for the steady decline in recent decade, is very small. The decline in academic salaries has been especially striking in recent years: between 1997 and 2001 the average monthly salary in public higher education institutions fell, in relation to the average monthly salary in the national economy, from 109,2 percent to 95,5 percent (and is 430 EUR gross today). This downward trend in academic salaries threatens the very foundations of public higher education, especially in terms of the competitiveness of the academic workplace for the junior faculty. And as Altbach recently observed in an edited volume about the academic profession in developing and middle-income countries, „undeniably, remuneration is a central factor in the life of academics. Without adequate salaries, professionals would be hard pressed to do their best-quality work. The gulf between industrialized nations and the developing countries with regard to salaries is immense“ (Altbach 2002: 18).

It is important to note that there is a number of significant differences between the attractiveness of the academic workplace in Poland (as well as in selected other countries of Central and Eastern Europe) and in the countries of current European Union. After the European Enlargement expected for May 2004, these differences will be already within the European Union. In this context, it is useful to say that general conclusions about the academic career in Western Europe today do not hold in Poland (or in some other countries of the Region). In a report on academic careers in the UK, Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands, Flanders, and Germany the authors state that „despite extensive preparations, young academics confront restricted opportunities to become regular members of the academic community. Many of them are on a temporary contract, often with poor working conditions and uncertainties about reappointments. A long academic career seems unobtainable, which can lead to a negative image for academic employment. Those who opt for an academic career run the risk of moving from one contract to another without the opportunity to establish a particular research program... There is increasing awareness, however, that the problem cannot be fixed simply by creating more positions and increasing salaries. The

fundamental problem in Europe is the loss of appeal of the faculty job“ (Huisman et al, 2002: 141, 156). In a nutshell, in Poland we are facing the combination of the loss of appeal of the job and a serious situation of underpayment and underfunding of both faculty members and faculty research. At the same time the issue of the long ladder of academic career, compared with the other two aspects, seems marginal. In Poland, the dominating model is still the „linear, male model of career“, increasingly rare and outmoded in the West: „the linear, male model of career, where men entered an organization or occupation on leaving education, with the expectations of a job for life and occasional promotions, is now considered outmoded. ... While some academics may still take that route ... the opportunities for those entering academic employment today tend to be less linear, secure and straightforward. A large proportion of the workforce, in higher education as elsewhere, is now employed on part-time and/or short-term contracts“ (Blaxter et al, 1998, 282). For public higher education sector in Poland, this is certainly not the case today.

The problem of (both junior and senior) academics working from contracts to contracts, or from grants to grants, or part-time, is virtually unknown in Poland (as mentioned, 97 percent of academics employed in the public sector held full-time positions in 2001). Once in the higher education system, the faculty has had full-time employment more or less guaranteed so far. Reappointments are not an issue and termination of employment is very rare for junior faculty and unheard of for senior faculty (who has the equivalent of tenure privileges). The details are provided further on. What is a serious problem both in the US and in Western Europe – the growing number of „temporary“ positions – is not a problem at all in Poland; what is a problem, though, is that „full time“ positions, with all benefits included, carry very low salaries, especially for junior faculty who do not have much chances for research grants or additional positions in other higher education institutions (which is still allowed by the law on higher education). Generally speaking, with small exceptions, faculty positions are tenured and permanent unless subsequent steps in the ladder of the academic career are not made and requirements for them (described in more detail below) are not met within a timeframe given. As opposed to EU countries and OECD Anglophone countries (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand), the situation of junior faculty is not so much structurally different from that of senior faculty. So far, no non-tenure tracks, no fixed-time appointments with conditional reappointments, and no part-time academic faculty tracks have been introduced for junior academics. Research grants are not used for keeping academics without positions in the higher education system (as generally the access to grants is very limited), and there are no teaching contracts or their equivalence (teaching assistants in the US etc).

It is interesting to note that the overall number of academics has been relatively stable in recent decade (details for recent 5 years are provided above), despite an immense growth of the private sector and the enrolments going up to 1.800.000 in 2001 and almost 2.000.000 in 2003 (from 400.000 in 1990). Even though the number of doctoral students is constantly growing (doubling between 1996 and 2001, and reaching over 28.000 in 2001), their chances for employment in the academic sector are very limited. The majority finds employment in other sectors, both public and private. Private higher education generally prefers to employ (on a parallel employment basis) academics already working in public higher education institutions rather than recent Ph. D.s.

Although recent decade has witnessed huge changes in the outside world and in the practices of the academy, no major changes in the legal context governing its functioning. So estimated 30-50 percent of academics each year found parallel employment in the private sector without leaving the public system (it is interesting to refer here to the Carnegie Foundation report on the academic profession in which only in three countries studies the percentage of those holding other paid academic position outside of home institution was higher than 30 percent: Israel, Chile and Japan; as far as other paid non-academic positions are concerned, the percentage over 30 was only

in Chile, Mexico, and Brazil (Boyer et al, 1994, 37); the salaries of both junior and senior faculty in the public sector have been steadily declining compared with other professions and with the industry average, with the average for the profession (430 EUR gross) slightly below the industrial average (in 2001). The major plan of increasing salaries from 2001 (and confirmed by the law passed in Parliament in summer 2001) was stopped at the very beginning. Although there were periodic layoffs in almost all sectors of the Polish economy in the 1990s, the higher education sector was generally spared. The academy in general was trying to compensate for budget cuts in opening new subsidiaries in smaller towns and enrolling fee-paying weekend students and particular academics were seeking additional sources of employment, including teaching in the booming private sector. Although Altbach's observation directly referred to the Third World, few scholars are able to devote their full attention to their academic work because of the need to supplement their incomes: „an academic career in the Third World is less than a full-time occupation, even for academics who hold regular full-time positions. This has negative consequences for research and academic productivity. ... Salary structures also negatively affect morale“ (Altbach 2002: 19).

The academic profession has not lost its traditional respect and social status but at the same time lost its relative attractiveness for the young generation compared with other professions. Most young, dynamic, and well educated graduates (and majority of recent Ph. D.s) do not consider the option of starting an academic career in Poland. The long-term (relative) decline in academic salaries accompanied by predictions of limited chances to change the status quo in this respect keep effectively the young generation away from the academic profession. The attractiveness of the academic workplace is declining – except for those looking for some specific job features unheard of anywhere else, like flexible hours, relatively high autonomy in (research and teaching) interests, full benefits and relatively long summer vacations, generally predictable (so far) and stress-less work surrounding, international collaboration, relatively high social respect etc.

Generally speaking, nothing changed in recent decade in academic recruitment processes and promotion procedures; the same requirements must be met for two subsequent academic degrees (Ph. D. and Habilitation) and for the academic title of the professor. As the academic surrounding has not been organised on a competitive basis so far, both promotions and competitions for particular posts are local in nature (mostly within a given department). Because of the principle of full employment for both junior and senior faculty, the academic workplace is relatively free from rivalry for posts or for participation in larger research grants. Despite the apparent unattractiveness of the academic profession with other options open for professionals, very few academics leave the system (both junior and senior; see above). Relatively liberal regulations allow them to work for several institutions, teach long hours in fee-paying courses, run their own firms, and seek additional employment and income from other sources like consulting etc. The workload has not changed in recent decade and is comparable with Western standards for tenured faculty (approx. 6-8 hours per week; 210 contact hours per year for junior faculty and 180-210 contact hours per year for senior faculty); the emphasis on research rather than teaching and linking promotions to research record have been maintained, and the accountability and evaluation mechanisms have not been introduced on the level known in EU countries or in the USA (see Scott 2000). Sabbaticals every seventh year have been maintained, as have been special regulations for the academic community to pay lower income taxes on their salaries (like writers, actors, journalists and other „creative“, by legal definition, professions).

The attractiveness of the academic workplace should be seen from the perspective of both retaining the academic faculty currently employed and recruiting new entrants to the profession. While in some Western countries apparently the fundamental issue does not look to be increasing salaries, in Poland (and in other countries of the region) the level of the academic salary is cer-

tainly crucial today. As long as the salary of a Ph. D. at the prestigious research university is slightly lower than the salary in the secondary school system, and 2-3 times lower than the salary for highly qualified professionals in other sectors of the economy, the attractiveness of the profession will be very low, no matter what other immaterial benefits mentioned above could be available. The level of salaries in the higher education system today does not guarantee the lower-middle class standard of living for the new entrants and for the vast majority of junior and majority of senior faculty; hence the issue for new entrants is different in CEEs than in current EU countries where what counts equally strong are chances for promotions, loosening of rigid academic ladders, contractual, time-fixed employment and lower benefits compared with tenured faculty.

At the same the fundamental issue is what keeps academics in the system, what is it in that they still find attractive? The answer is multi-layered as it is about faculty of relatively stable state-funded institutions in the world of huge social transitions, with huge sector layoffs in a recent decade and unemployment reaching almost 20 percent (in a country of almost 40 million). Compared with other professions, the academic profession and the academic workplace are non-competitive and its benefits are guaranteed by the state. The professional stability in an unstable outside world may be part of an answer. The permissive character of the state regulations and practices has so far allowed parallel employment in the private sector in many disciplines and additional sources of revenue for many academics. Working hours in Poland are still relatively short, and other, especially research and service, obligations are still limited. Thus, so far, the gloomy prospects for the future (testified by trends in the number of students, number of academics, salaries paid, research funds available etc) may have been compensated by other opportunities and benefits not available to any other profession. Unfortunately, the academic profession in Poland is ageing rapidly, and an older generation of academics will have to be replaced with new generations. One side of the question is thus how to retain academic faculty – and the answer is that Polish public institutions, for a combination of reasons, including legal permissiveness about keeping parallel employment, have been very successful. The other side of the question is how to recruit new entrants to the profession and how to retain them in the system in the long run. So far, it is very difficult to predict the success of public academic institutions in that respect.

#### **4. Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education**

Between the world wars, the international co-operation of Polish universities with Western Europe was very well developed. For political reasons, though, between the end of the second world war and 1989 the international co-operation between Poland and Western academic world was very limited. After 1989 small-scale exchange programs with the USA, Germany, Great Britain and France continued (via Fulbright Foundation, Kosciuszko Foundation, Humboldt Stiftung, DAAD etc), but generally they never engaged more than several hundreds scholars a year at the most, at all levels and both for short and for long-term; fortunately they were very soon supplemented by programs available from the European Union, reaching the peak with the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme, both within mobility schemes and research and training co-operation grants.

The chance of developing international co-operation for Polish academic faculty is its further participation in EU programs. So far, the experiences are very good. Poland has been very active

in all recent competitions and expressions of interest: to give an example, Poland already has 2/3rds of all centres of excellence in EU-accession countries (call for proposals NAS-2, 2001). Similarly, in the 5<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme, out of the total number of 13.935 thematic and horizontal programs and 73.456 partners, Poland participated in 1.016 projects and co-ordinated 192 of them, while the number of Polish partners totalled 1.295. In the 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme, the percentage of „Expressions of Interest“ in 2002 from Poland was 6 percent, which put it in the 6<sup>th</sup> position in Europe, after Great Britain (15), Germany (15), Italy (10), France (9), and Spain (8 percent). The Sixth Framework Programme is certainly a big chance for further internationalisation of academic work in Poland.

Currently, international mobility of Polish academics is increasing rapidly, both with the aid of EU funds and other international sources of funding. In terms of the traditional distinction between brain drain, brain gain, and brain exchange, the most adequate model of mobility today would be brain exchange: the vast majority of Polish academics going abroad return to their home institutions. Very few senior academics leave the country to begin international careers except for short-term contracts or fellowships lasting up to one year. Brain drain is very limited and concerns almost exclusively very selected disciplines (e.g. natural sciences: biology, chemistry, physics, astronomy); in general, brain drain, as rare as it is, can be found among junior faculty rather than senior faculty, as well as among doctoral students and recent Ph. D.s. While in the eighties of the twentieth century a large number of academics left to the West due to political reasons, already in the nineties the process was stopped. Today beginning of an academic career in Western countries is very rare indeed (which might change, but mainly for junior staff, when Poland enters the European Union in 2004). One of the main reasons why senior Polish academics are not seeking international academic careers even though the general situation of the academy is very difficult is the existence of the booming private sector and the legal possibility of holding several positions in several institutions. The fact on the one hand contributed to the emergence and fast development of private higher education institutions (almost 300 in 2003), on the other was instrumental in helping to keep the majority of senior academics within higher education system and some of them in the country. Although research opportunities in the private sector are very limited, teaching there allows the academic profession to survive in difficult times. A by-product of the prolonged status quo is decreasing focus on research in many disciplines and decreasing interest in international mobility. To put things in the nutshell: for many academics, it is too difficult to combine internal mobility (connected with parallel positions held in several institutions) with international mobility.

The discussions on how the situation of academic staff may be affected by the Europeanisation of higher education, the Bologna process, the introduction of the European Research Area or GATS of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) are very limited. The most widely discussed issue is the introduction of the European Research Area and the participation of Polish academics in EU-funded programs and projects. The participation of Polish academics and teams in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programmes is strongly supported by universities and the State Committee for Scientific Research. At the same time, Polish academics make wide use of the mobility opportunities provided by the Erasmus component of the EU Socrates programme: the number of contracts with Polish institutions grew from 46 (1998/1999) to 74 (1999/2000) and to 100 in 2000/2001. In 1998/1999 700 academics and 1.500 students participated in this mobility scheme, while in 2000/2001 the numbers reached almost twice as many academics and 4.700 students.

Generally speaking, though, the international mobility of the academic faculty is restricted to main research universities and to a relatively small percentage of academics. A trend is towards greater mobility for more or less the same group of internationalising faculty rather than greater

mobility for a greater number of academics (although exact data are not available, the author's experience from social sciences and the humanities suggests that in the last decade the number of internationally mobile senior faculty is the same, while the scope of mobility for junior academics, including doctoral students, is growing rapidly).

Discussions about the international aspect of the performance and international competitiveness of the Polish academic profession are very rare. European or international level in Polish research is restricted to several disciplines, and a relatively small (compared with a huge system of higher education institutions) number of places. As the fact of low international competitiveness is well documented, and the public research funds have been decreasing every year in a recent decade, any engaged discussion about the international competitiveness in research is difficult to be widely held. Under the circumstances, it looks – academic. Discussions about the challenges of globalisation to higher education and the academic community are virtually non-existent. The most internationalised sector of higher education teaching is that of MBA courses, currently taught in collaboration with Western European, Canadian and American partners in dozens of institutions. The challenge of new technologies in teaching, especially the use of ICT, is not a matter of wider discussions, as is not the matter of virtual and corporate universities.

## **5. Concluding remarks**

The academic profession in Poland faces many structurally similar problems to those faced by their Western European colleagues. But it also faces many other problems which seem to be marginal in the West but which are common to several other post-communist transition countries, severe underfunding of both faculty and their research being at the forefront (as Jacques Rupnik rightly observed already a decade ago, „throughout Central Europe ... higher education has passed from total dependency on the State to a very large measure of autonomy. But its financing still comes from the State. If political and ideological interference has disappeared, new material constraints are quickly encountered – some inherited from the past, other linked to the introduction of the market economy“ (Rupnik 1992: 149)). In the context of the European Enlargement in 2004 and a wider trend of internationalisation and globalisation of higher education, problems faced in Poland will be increasingly multiplied by problems similar to those faced in the West, though. The attractiveness of the academic profession seems to be low today compared with other highly qualified professions. The academic workplace is bound to be changing, though, and its current appeal may be even smaller in the future, especially if globalisation processes will be transforming higher education systems as a part of transforming welfare states in Europe towards more Anglo-Saxon variations of them and if necessary reforms of the system are not introduced soon (Kwiek, 2003a, 2001). One of options open to Polish academy is open further to the European Union in search of teaching and research opportunities, especially within EU funded programs and projects of co-operation. A deep structural reform in Poland is needed, though, if the attractiveness of the academic profession is to be maintained even at its current relatively low level.

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# **The Attractiveness of the Academic Career Country Report Portugal**

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## **1. Introduction**

### *1.1 Evolution of the Portuguese higher education system*

From the creation of the first Portuguese University in the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the present day, three main periods of time should be considered: the classical phase, the modern period and the contemporary phase, as described in detail in a previous work (Meira Soares 1999). The first period includes the long time span from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, at the end of which four universities already existed: two in Lisbon, one in Coimbra, one in Porto. The second period, mostly concentrated around the 1970's, saw the foundation of a network of seven new public university institutions, in the main cities of the country, and a confessional one. The third phase, covering the two last decades of the century, produced four new public universities, a large network of public polytechnic institutes and a very significant number of private higher education institutions, from universities to polytechnic institutes and independent polytechnic schools.

The current system counts 14 public universities plus the Catholic University, all represented in the Portuguese Rectors' Conference (CRUP), and a non-integrated public University Institute (institutions awarding university degrees but not having the necessary conditions to be universities); 15 public polytechnic institutes, represented in the Council of Portuguese Polytechnic Institutes (CCISP), and some non-integrated Polytechnic Schools (institutions awarding polytechnic degrees but not having the necessary conditions to be polytechnic institutes); and more than three dozens public Higher Education Schools, depending both on the Ministry for Science and Higher Education and another Ministry (Military Schools, Police Academy and Health Schools). The private sector is represented by nine universities (some of them with various campuses, in different geographical areas), some university institutes and close to one hundred Polytechnic Schools.

The total student population was 384322 students in 2000/2001 (Source: Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior, 2003). The teaching staff should reach about 20,000<sup>1</sup>. Although there is a pre-

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<sup>1</sup> While numbers in the public HE sub-system are fairly well known, there is some uncertainty concerning teaching staff numbers in the private sector.

sent trend for stagnation, if not for a slight reduction of these figures, the future medium- and long-term tendency remains an open question, for it depends mostly on Governments' future strategic policy on this subject.

### *1.2 Organisational structure of the Portuguese higher education system*

To better understand, from a macroscopic point of view, the present structure of the Portuguese Higher Education system, it is to be noted that University-type institutions and Polytechnic ones are totally separated sub-systems, each with its own staff careers, positions and remuneration. Until some years ago, Polytechnic Institutions were only allowed to deliver short-duration (3 year) programmes, leading to a *bacharelato* degree, while universities awarded mostly *licenciatura* degrees, corresponding generally to 4/5 years of study. Post-graduate degrees like *Mestrado* (MSc, MA) and *Doutoramento* (Ph. D.) were restricted (and still are) to Universities.

The culture and objectives of both sub-systems were designed to be different, just from the inception of the Short-Duration Higher Education concept, created in the late 70's, which was the precursor of the polytechnic sub-system. The main idea was to expand higher education in the country by locating new polytechnic institutes and schools mainly in cities where no Universities existed, with some exceptions in the cases of institutions of former post-secondary education (*ensino médio*) like teacher-training schools and technical and commercial high-schools that had been operating for a long time and have thus been brought within the Polytechnic structure. Programmes to be taught would last three years, to have a distinctly applied nature and would be aimed at filling job needs in the regions where they were implanted.

No provision for research activities was designed for the Polytechnic sub-system, this being judged to be the proper province of Universities. The fact that they were not allowed being responsible for *Mestrado* (MSc/MA) or *Doutoramento* (Ph. D.) programmes made them also very dependent on universities for the qualification and promotion of their staff. Although universities and polytechnics have now converged due to the fact that the latter were allowed to teach at *licenciatura* level and to deliver the corresponding degree, there is still not enough interaction between the two parts of the Higher Education system, being unusual that teaching staff changes from one to the other.

Another main split in the Portuguese Higher Education system is shown by the existence of a powerful private sector operating in this field. This being a very recent phenomenon that was initiated about twenty years ago (with the exception of the Portuguese Catholic University, founded in 1971 and which has a very special statute) it was unexpected that in the following few years private institutions would play such an important role in expanding HE student populations<sup>2</sup>.

### *1.3 Creation and recognition of HE institutions*

Public HE institutions are created by a Government Decree-Law, establishing the guidelines for their operation, their preliminary budget and size of the teaching and non-teaching staff. After

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2 Statistics of the academic year 2000/2001 show that close to 30% of the total of 387 703 students are in private HE institutions (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Estatísticas da Educação, 2002).

they have attained a minimum critical size, the institutions propose and vote their statutes that are approved by the Government and thus gain their academic autonomy.

While teaching programmes require to be registered at the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the corresponding degrees are automatically recognised as official ones and do not in general require further accreditation. However professional accreditation is, in several cases, necessary, according to the law. Someone may have an academic degree but is only allowed to perform professional activities if the programme is accredited by the corresponding Professional Association (*Ordem Profissional*).

Private HE institutions are created through the proposal of the instituting entity to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, stating their objectives, target student population, nature of programmes, available human and material resources. It is in general a lengthy process that may take some years to accomplish. Once permission to operate has been granted, the corresponding degrees are recognised by the Ministry.

It is very unusual that an institution loses its statute of official recognition or that a programme ceases to be recognised: this can only happen after very serious and notorious deviations from the proposed activity have been identified. However, there is a current of opinion among some academics and educational authorities that foresee the possibility for this to occur in case of consistently negative evaluations of the institution performance, carried out by the National Council for the Evaluation of Higher Education Institutions, *CNAVES* (see below).

## **2. Employment and working conditions of academic staff**

### *2.1 A critical approach to the university staff career*

Since with regard to the access mechanisms of academic staff positions no substantial changes have occurred in the last few years (see for an overview: Meira Soares, 1999, 2001), some main points will suffice. Getting a first contract after graduation (*licenciatura*) corresponds to the position of *Assistente Estagiário* which is only valid for a nominal maximum of 2+2 years; this person is supposed to get a *Mestre* degree during this period or to be dismissed. This hurdle passed over, a new contract takes place, corresponding to the category of *Assistente*. Its nominal duration is six years: once again, either the candidate gets a doctoral degree within this period or becomes unemployed. There is, however, a possible two-year period postponement of this deadline, subject to a decision by the Scientific Council, based on a judgement about the progress of the work developed by the *Assistente* to prepare for the doctoral exam.

With a contract as *Professor Auxiliar* and still without any assurance of a permanent position in a career, this individual has five more years of work to do at the end of which he or she has to submit a very detailed curriculum vitae to the Scientific Council, who will decide to grant (or not, depending on the evaluation of the postulant's academic performance) permission to change the former temporary contract into a permanent one. An alternative path, which may happen meanwhile, is the opening of a position of Associate Professor in a suitable scientific area and the possibility of the *Professor Auxiliar* to win this position, if the candidate has accomplished at least three years of effective service as *Professor Auxiliar*, through a documental contest against other possible candidates. Should this be the case, before the five-year period has lapsed, another five-year period awaits the new *Professor Associado* before he or she can be confirmed in this position, again by a judgement upon curricular data presented to the Council.

Summing up: in general, a university graduate only wins a permanent position in the teaching career 13 years after having begun it. The intrinsic instability of this long road, with its many hurdles and periodic performance appraisal by the various academic authorities, is the real driving force for university staff development.

The access to the category of *Professor Catedrático* depends on three cumulative conditions: to be a *Professor Associado*; to have already submitted to and succeeded in a complex and high-level public examination, at the candidate's initiative, to acquire the academic title of *Agregado* (this title may somehow be compared with the German notion of *Habilitation*); and to compete against other similarly qualified candidates to win a vacant position of *Catedrático* in a suitable speciality area.

## 2.2 Progression in the polytechnic staff career

It seems that the fewer number of categories and the relative youth of the Polytechnic teaching career, as compared with universities', have laid the foundation for a more sensible set of arrangements.

Access to the lower level in the career (*Assistente*) requires having a higher education degree (*bacharel* or *licenciado*). To progress in the career, the main hurdles to overcome concern the possession of a *Mestre* degree, which opens the door to a position of *Professor Adjunto*; and a Ph. D., giving access to the category of *Professor Coordenador*. Nevertheless, having a valuable professional experience in the specific field of recruitment may lead to accessing a category without having the above-mentioned qualifications (Meira Soares, 1999, 2001).

## 2.3 Academic staff mobility

Having described the main characteristics of vertical staff mobility we address now its horizontal counterpart, that is to say, opportunities for a change of institution, for getting a new job in a different kind of organisation and for a geographical migration to another part of the country. As a matter of fact, once a graduate begins a career in a Higher Education institution (with a strong probability that it would be the same one that awarded his or her degree) there is a general tendency to remain in the same organisation, if at all possible, trying to climb therein all steps of the teaching career. The fact that under the present University Teaching Staff Statute an *Assistente* has the legal right to become a *Professor Auxiliar* in the same institution, as soon as a Doctoral Degree is acquired, tends to stimulate this absence of mobility.

Changing institution while keeping the same professional position may be the result of a failure to obtain a permanent status in the former institution; of failing to get promoted for a sustained lack of vacant positions in the immediate category; or to personal or family reasons that impose a change of region of residence. In any case, there is no instituted mechanism to encourage staff rotation, which may be considered as a vulnerability of the academic system. The possibility of the academic court of giving a positive edge to the local candidate against outsiders in a public competition for a vacant post should not be ignored. If the situation is clearly unfair, the biased decision might be subject to legal prosecution. To obviate possible deviations, appointed

juries for these contests must include a minimum of members from other institutions and the decision by each member must be justified in writing.

Another possibility of horizontal mobility is between the University and the Polytechnic sub-systems. This, however, is currently very limited, in part due to the intrinsic mental (or cultural) separation between one and the other and also to the fact that staff admissions have been strongly reduced in both types of organisations, due to budgetary restrictions.

The transfer from a public HE institution to a private one is not popular in Portugal, due to the anchored and ancient belief that the State offers security for life and the private sector does not. This is the reason why most HE private sector teachers have a primary link to Public Administration (which they will preserve at all costs) the major exceptions being retired public university professors and also new Ph. D.s that have not yet found a job in the public sector. One of the liabilities of the employability of *Mestres* and *Doutores* outside the Higher Education system, in the entrepreneurial field of activity, is the fact that very few Portuguese enterprises have the adequate dimension and the know-how for developing autonomous scientific and technical research activities; thus only the Public Sector (including State Laboratories and Research Institutes, besides Universities) offer suitable jobs for high-level specialists.

In short, job rotation has a very low level in the Higher Education system and appropriate steps should be taken to stimulate it, as a proper way to fight conservatism and ankylose.

### **3. The debates on the attractiveness of the academic workplace**

#### *3.1 Image and employability of university graduates*

Given the long tradition of university studies in Portugal, on the one hand and, on the other hand, the prestige associated, since very ancient times, to possessing a University degree, it is only natural that these rare individuals were considered highly privileged. Such persons received public recognition through the social and professional use of an academic title (*doutor*), together with their name, Dr. So-and-So<sup>3</sup> being the correct formula of courtesy. Variations to this rule were the cases of Engineering and Architecture, the corresponding titles being *Engenheiro* (*Eng.*) and *Arquitecto* (*Arq.*). University Professors tend to use currently this designation (*Prof.*) together with their name.

This ancient habit survived until today: this shows how much academic degrees were (and still are) appreciated in Portugal and how much of an *elite* higher education graduates was considered. Until, at least, the end of the first half of the 20th century, possessing a university degree was a must for the descendents of rich or bourgeois families; and it can be said that unemployment of graduates was almost unheard of. As a consequence, a university career was a highly regarded one and its top categories were extremely well paid: full professors earned the highest possible salary in public administration, being at exactly the same level as Supreme Court Justices. This situation changed, nevertheless, in the last ten years, the relative weight of a professor's salary being now much lower than magistrates'.

On the other hand, gaining access to university studies is no longer a characteristic of higher or even middle-class young people: it can be said that the process is very much democratised

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3 One can only distinguish between a university graduate and a person holding a Doctoral degree when in writing: the former uses just the contracted form (*Dr.*), while the latter title is fully spelt (*Doutor*). The same situation occurs in Brazil, due to the Portuguese cultural heritage.

nowadays. As a consequence of the massification of Higher Education, getting a suitable job becomes more and more difficult and sometimes they must accept employment at a wages level lower than their qualifications would justify. Exceptions to this situation are university programmes leading to generally well-paid liberal professions: medical doctors, lawyers, economists, computer scientists and architects.

Civil service has always been a preferred employment for young graduates, be it in education, in health services, in law and any governmental organisation, wherein a *licenciatura* diploma gives access to the general category of *técnico superior*, a comfortable enough position that could assure promotion and progress in the career just by gaining seniority. This situation may change soon quite sharply, due to the announced purpose of the government to reduce civil servants' numbers. Even if the employment situation for university graduates is clearly worse than it was some twenty years ago, there is a general recognition that it still is worthwhile seeking access to higher education.

Looking at the other side of the HE panorama, it must be noticed that, the long tradition of university studies in Portugal led to an underestimation of the real value of polytechnic institutions and programmes. Even if statistics show clearly that polytechnics' graduates take a shorter time to get their degrees and are more readily employed than their university counterparts, public opinion still frowns upon this kind of HE institution that is „not exactly a university“.

### 3.2 Reforms and Debates on the Structure of the Academic Staff

The present structure of academic staff is based on two laws (Decree-law 448/79, published in November 13<sup>th</sup>, amended by Law 19/80, published in July 16<sup>th</sup>, and Decree-law 185/81, published in July 1<sup>st</sup>) defining, respectively, the careers of university teaching staff (including *Assistentes Estagiários*, *Assistentes*, *Professores Auxiliares*, *Professores Associados* and *Professores Catedráticos*) and of the polytechnic one (with just the three categories of *Assistente*, *Professor Adjunto* and *Professor Coordenador*). For more details one should see Meira Soares, 1999, 2001.

Both careers include individuals having a *licenciatura* or a higher qualification, as *Mestres* or Ph. D.s. About 46% of the teaching staff in public Universities has just the lower level of qualification, while in public Polytechnics this climbs up to more than 58% and in private Universities the figure is about 49%.<sup>4</sup> Also according to those statistics 45% of the teaching staff in public Universities has a Ph. D. whereas in public Polytechnics that figure goes down to 6% and in private Universities is about 20%.

However these figures are clearly not correct. They may give an idea of the qualifications of the academic staff but it is obvious that some teachers are counted two or three times either because some of them teach in two or three, or sometimes even more, institutions, one public and one or several private ones, or because they are even counted twice in the same institution when they work simultaneously in different departments. Veiga Simão et al (2003) show the inconsistency of some of those numbers in Law programmes, where teaching in different institutions is frequent, and conclude that the number of Ph. D.'s in Law appears undoubtedly very much larger than the real number.

The features of the university teaching career as briefly described above have not changed much during the last 30 years, despite the fact that, at different times, many educational authori-

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4 Estatísticas, Pessoal docente, Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior, 2002.

ties recognised that it may have become slightly obsolete. In fact, it is obvious that the many existing categories and the too large spectrum of qualifications of the teaching staff were adequate to the times when there were very few persons having a Ph. D., so that teachers were mostly non-doctors.

The natural solution of reducing the career to the three categories of staff having at least a Ph. D. (*Professor Auxiliar*, *Associado* and *Catedrático*) has been proposed several times but found two different kinds of opposition: from the teacher's trade unions, opposing the extinction of the categories of *Assistente Estagiário* and *Assistente*, due to the pressure of the very substantial numbers of people having just the corresponding levels of qualification (this position of the unions is now changing); and from many Faculty Deans who fear there will not be enough Ph. D.'s, both in the short and the medium term, to fulfil all teaching needs of their institutions. A recent government proposal sidesteps this difficulty, stipulating that whenever a vacant post of *Professor Auxiliar* does not find any interested candidate possessing a Ph. D., the corresponding teaching work may be assigned, exceptionally, to a person who has just a *Mestre* degree.

Other proposed changes do not seem so realistic, like stipulating that all vacant positions *in all categories* should be subject to a lengthy process of public (and thorough) examination of the proposed candidates. The workload for the corresponding academic courts would increase manifold as compared to the present situation.

### 3.3 Working regimes

In public higher education, the full-time regime amounts to 35 hours per week, divided among contact hours (from 6 to 9 hours per week for university teachers and 6 to 12 hours for polytechnic ones), research, administration and services rendered to external organisations. For a full-time teacher, a formal statement waiving any paid occupation outside the institution defines the „exclusive dedication“ regime, corresponding to a salary 50% higher than the equivalent category of teacher who is free to work for other organisations. There are some exceptions to this rule, the exclusive dedication regime not being violated by receiving royalties from copyrights, for teaching in another institution a limited number of hours (subject to their own institution's permission), by receiving compensation for teaching non-regular short courses, seminars, conferences, participation in special projects and in working groups appointed by the government.

Part-time working regimes are measured in terms of the fraction of full-time dedication effectively performed and are paid in exactly the same proportion. Some special situations (for instance in post-graduate teaching, for specialists recruited outside the institution permanent staff) may correspond to monthly payments for the duration of an ad hoc contract or be determined just by the number of hours effectively occupied in teaching. In public HE the permanent teaching staff (and, for that matter, all kinds of permanent staff) benefit from the Public Social Security and Public Administration Health systems.

As there is not a teaching career legally established for private HE institutions, the terms of individual contracts are freely established between the institution and each teacher, it being frequent that they are paid by the number of hours of classes effectively taught. It must be added that teachers „exclusively dedicated“ to a public institution can teach in a private if there is an institutional agreement between the two institutions or if they meet the exceptions regulated by law as mentioned above.

### 3.4 Salaries and bargaining mechanisms

There is no tradition in Portugal of differentiation in remuneration of the teaching staff (such as merit-pay), other than what concerns the different categories of teachers, salaries being rigidly fixed according to these categories and to the number of years of work in each one of these.

As there are no formal mechanisms to appraise teachers' work and the evaluation by students of the staff performance is mostly non-existent, there are not ways to justify salary differences between the best ones and the non-productive ones. No salary incentive is given to the best except when they are able to bring private money to the institutions. In this case they are allowed to receive part of that money according to the rules defined by the institution.

Salary bargaining for the teaching staff is included in the yearly negotiation, within the scope of all public administration, for the updating of salaries according to the loss of buying power associated with the yearly inflation rate. Teachers are currently represented by their trade unions (*Sindicatos dos Professores*) as well as by the general Public Administration unions. Only when some modifications are proposed or actually introduced in the structure of academic careers in Universities and Polytechnics do these negotiations become a separate issue, and CRUP and CCISP usually become effectively involved in these debates and negotiations.

### 3.5 Research

Academics are organised for research purposes in „Centres“ whose objective is to carry out research work within the Higher Education Institutions' premises. Some of these Centres are included within the institutions' structures and depend on the corresponding staff and budget. Some others, that may or may not be formally included in the institutions' structures, are recognised as eligible to be funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), a governmental agency of the Ministry for Science and Higher Education designed to foster scientific research and development. In this case, the university acts just as a „host institution“ in most cases, providing support infrastructures and a contribution of its permanent staff, the operating budget for the Centre being provided by the Foundation. The Foundation acts as an autonomous entity and does not, usually, consult with the host institution leadership, which is a cause for some tension in mutual relations and certainly a lack of coordination in designing the corresponding policies. However it must be stressed that FCT will not fund any Centre before having it recognised as eligible by the host institution.

Nevertheless international peers evaluate the Centres' activities every three years following an initiative of the Foundation and the results are made public. The continuation of any funded project and the increase or the decrease of that funding is conditioned by the results of such evaluations. Despite the lack of cooperation between the Foundation and the Institutions this has been seen as a positive step to improve the level of the research in the country and also to increase its degree of internationalisation.

In these Centres academic staff develop their research work and receive post-graduate students, some of them already holding a loose position in any Higher Education Institution (they may be assistants or junior assistants). This is a way of having a non-institutionalised form of staff development. This is also a way of having a non-institutionalised way of staff evaluation!

However, staff development is not among the main strategic concerns of the institutions. The research work in the Centres is expected to lead students to obtain their MSc's, MA's or Ph. D.'s

allowing them to be promoted in due time according to the legal rules. Thus one may say that the initiative is mainly left to the Centres or to the Departments according to their own capabilities in terms of research. A poor external evaluation result of the research work may be seen as a weak point of the institution but is not usually a preoccupation for the leadership of institution: it is left to the Centre or to the Department. Strategic decisions on which research fields should deserve more attention are more often left to the FCT than taken by the institutions themselves. Despite all the deficiencies of this „organised disorganisation“ it must be said that the main objectives of developing and internationalising research have been successfully achieved during the last years. Moreover, during the last decade research infrastructures were significantly developed and the majority of the scientific community is happy with this situation.

### *3.6 Research in private institutions*

Special attention must be given in what regards private institutions. Although there is some research going on in these institutions, the amount of their research is much less than in the public ones. It is not possible to predict how this will be affected by the changes that inevitably are going to take place. Additionally it is known<sup>5</sup> that staff development programmes in some private institutions (and also in some public polytechnics) are not using enough the possibilities offered by the public universities and are instead being carried out in cooperation with foreign universities! We will refer to this later in this work but one can simply guess that such behaviour is mainly due to the existing mistrust among the different sub-sectors of Higher Education.

### *3.7 Recruitment of younger graduates for an academic career*

Under the present regulations of the universities' teaching staff career, the minimum access requirement is the degree of *licenciado*. The institution takes the initiative, by making a public announcement for a given junior position. It is however taken for granted that candidates know that they are expected to progress in academic terms, this meaning that successive higher degrees (*Mestrado* and *Doutoramento*) are expected to be obtained, under rather rigid time conditions. Details about recruitment and progression in the career are presented by Meira Soares, 1999, 2001.

### *3.8 Staff appraisal and staff development*

Portuguese public higher education Institutions do not have an organised mechanism to evaluate teachers or institutional staff development programmes, although we can now hear some voices asking for a systematic evaluation of teachers' performances. Actually, an assessment situation occurs only at particular moments centred at a process of promotion, of public competition for a vacant position or at the end of a temporary contract, to be changed into a permanent one. In all these cases, the concerned individual produces a curriculum vitae or an activity report for a given

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5 This information may be obtained from leaders, WebPages and even public advertisements.

period, and submits it to the scrutiny of the Scientific Council or an *ad hoc* academic court at the appropriate time.

In this context only a few institutions, departments or individuals have created formal conditions for the permanent evaluation of quality of their work: by submitting themselves to expert, to peer or to student evaluation concerning their day-to-day teaching activities. Neither kind of evaluation is very popular among the academic staff, due to some cultural traditions in Portuguese universities, the main one being the almost sacrosanct „academic autonomy“ of the teacher. Experts are suspected not to be acquainted enough with the teacher pedagogic and scientific qualities in his or her speciality field; peers should rather mind their own performances, not their colleagues'; and students, of course, are supposed not to be competent to assess a teacher's work.

All these negative attitudes about evaluation stem from a lack of tradition and habits related to quality assurance. In fact, the national system of HE institutions evaluation is only a few years old and has faced, since its inception, some resistance from the academic staff. Designed, at a first step, to assess the quality of programmes, it is expected it will cover in the future the overall institutional evaluation and will become, in due time, a complete and permanent mechanism of quality.

### 3.9 Women in Higher Education

The gender issue is not a problem in Portugal as far as student populations are concerned. Actually, there are already more women than men students (the former being 64% of the total number in 2000/2001<sup>6</sup>) and this is a situation that seems to be stable enough since 1995 (see figure 1). On the other hand, it is observed that the success rate in reaching graduation is slightly higher for women than for men. Figure 2 shows that the number of yearly graduations tends to increase regularly, but women graduates are 67% of the total, a higher proportion than the respective number of students in HE institutions.

In what concerns the teaching staff, while in general there is still a dominant number of masculine teachers (there are no available or reliable figures regarding percentages of women in the different ranks of the academic careers), it can be seen in figure 3 that women Ph. D.s were, in 2001, 47% of the total number; and that their yearly output is growing faster than men's, thus being not far from a balanced situation (*Ciência & Tecnologia – Principais Indicadores Estatísticos, Observatório das Ciências e Tecnologias, Ministério da Ciência e Tecnologia, 2002* and Meira Soares and Campos, 1999).

It is expected that the sustained surplus of women students and of women graduates will contribute, in the near future, to correct progressively the existing small imbalance in Ph. D. numbers. Consequently, there are not special programs or regulations in Portugal designed for the promotion of women in HE, either as students or as teachers, for there seems not to exist a real gender issue.

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6 Estatísticas, Alunos, Ensino Superior, DAPP, Ministério da Educação, 2002.

Figure 1: Total and Women Graduates, from 1993-1994 to 2000-2001

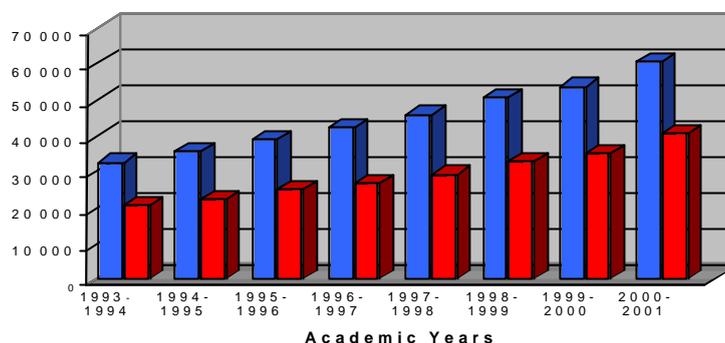
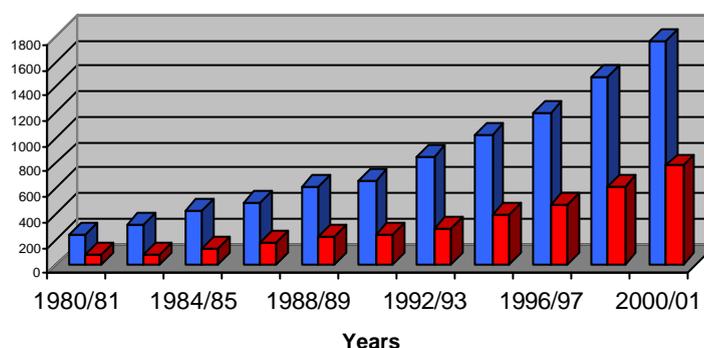


Figure 2: Total and Women Ph. D.s, from 1980 to 2001



### 3.10 Pay scales, social benefits and workloads

The situation nowadays is not different from the one described in the previous work (Meira Soares, 1999, 2001). The only difference is the basic monthly salary for index 100 which has the value, in 2003, of €1479.73. It should be added as a very negative feature that non-tenured positions in the academic career do not benefit from any unemployment subsidy if they lose the job, which seems not only unfair but also very probably against the Portuguese Constitution.

## 4. Current higher education policies and new challenges

### 4.1 Ongoing discussions

Higher Education legislation in Portugal is now being questioned in many aspects. Besides the usual discussions in different *fora* and newspapers, the Minister for Science and Higher Education

asked one of our leading researchers to elaborate a document where the different components of the existing policies should be analysed and serve as starting point for a national discussion (Amaral, 2003). The document was published in January 2003, and introduces a long list of questions that will be considered by the different players.

Among many other points, each one inducing several questions, we will mention broadly the main ones: (1) the adequacy of the existing binary system and the advantages of associations between different Higher Education institutions; (2) the role of the different types of Higher Education institutions in the teaching of professional short-cycle programmes; (3) the consequences of the Bologna process in the structure of the degrees; (4) the type of governance of the Higher Education institutions and the role of society in that governance; (5) the rules for access to Higher Education; (6) the type of autonomy Higher Education institutions should have and the type of regulating mechanisms; (7) funding of Higher Education institutions (how to finance and the contribution of the society and the families); (8) research – the interconnection between Higher Education institutions and research, the role of the state and of the society, quality of post-graduation, institutional partnerships, flexibility to hire researchers; (9) evaluation and accreditation of graduation and post-graduation.

Almost at the same time a former Minister of Education, a former President of the Rectors' Conference and a former President of the Council of the Portuguese Polytechnic Institutes published a book (Veiga Simão et al, 2003) in which they show the results of a study they were invited to carry out in 1999 by the Minister of Education, about the Higher Education system. They analyse the present situation and propose different solutions. Somehow this book seems to be (but it is not) an answer to the questions raised in the document referred to earlier. Since the public discussions about these several items will now begin it is not yet possible to indicate the emerging trends.

#### *4.2 Funding and the decreasing number of students*

In 1993 public universities, through CRUP, negotiated a funding formula (Meira Soares, 2001). However, this funding formula was mainly based in the number of attending students, taking also into account staff/student ratios according to the scientific disciplines. When negotiations started the number of incoming students was expanding and therefore the existence of an algorithm based on the number of students attending the different programmes was very favourable to the Universities and it was even applied to the polytechnic institutes. This, however, raised an additional problem: if the number of students was to continue increasing at the same pace, the public system would face the serious problem of not being able to convince the governments to continue to increase the funds, as a consequence of the higher education students' expansion. CRUP asked for a study to predict the future funding needs. Amaral and Teixeira (1999) analyse the impacts of some of the recent measures taken by the governments and also the effects of the decreasing number of students at the secondary level. They report that after 1996 the participation rate in Portuguese Higher Education had approached European levels and the struggle for quantity was replaced by a struggle for quality. Since 1993 the governments introduced more demanding conditions to students finishing the secondary school and to access to higher education. As a result, already in 1997 the number of candidates to Higher Education institutions was higher than the number of places offered by the public and the private sector. The tendency for the future was also studied and the results were discouraging for Higher Education institutions, mainly for

the private ones and also the public Polytechnic Institutes (students prefer public Universities according to the available data on access to Higher Education as is explained below). Among other findings the authors of the study predict that the number of students finishing the secondary level will decrease 26.6% between 1995/96 and 2005/2006.

This will perhaps be one of the many reasons invoked to change the funding formula in the near future. The decrease in the number of students, together with the foreseeable State budget difficulties will, very likely, contribute to a profound change in the country's Higher Education system. As a matter of fact during the last four years (1999-2002) the number of places not filled by candidates to public higher education institutions has increased and will continue to increase, not only due to the demographics but also to the new policies introduced by the government, in particular those imposing tougher access conditions to the candidates, unless appropriate correcting measures are introduced in the whole educational system to, at least, try to decrease the extent of the problem. Access to Higher Education is going to be more difficult to poorly performing candidates. The rules are going to be much tougher within the next two to three years (Decree-law 26/2003, published on February 7<sup>th</sup>).

In the absence of the measures mentioned above, this will necessarily decrease the number of candidates and will bring to the discussion the need to rationalise the system. On one hand it is expected that the private sub-sector will have more difficulties in surviving. But even the public sub-sector may face a lack of students and will have to restructure. In any case, the state will not keep the level of funding so high as it has been until now, not only due to budget reasons but also with the argument that that level of funding is no more justified given the decrease in the number of students.

This will certainly have an impact on the working conditions of the academic staff. The existing staff will face the challenge of changing their behaviours regarding State funding (in public Higher Education Institutions) and one may foresee additional difficulties for younger generations who wish to follow an academic career with an uncertain future. As far as the private sub-sector is concerned a more profound change is to be expected. Until recently they used to receive many students who could not be accepted in the public higher education institutions due to the higher-level criteria used by the public universities and polytechnic institutes to accept new candidates. The new legislation states that the main access conditions will be the same for all institutions, be they public or private. A smaller number of candidates will certainly mean fewer students in the private sector. Thus, it is expected that some private institutions will be forced to merge, whereas many others will not survive.

#### 4.3 Quality

Quality of education and research has been one of the main concerns both for politicians and academics. The law of evaluation (Law 37/94, published in November 11<sup>th</sup>) was induced by the Rectors' Conference and is applicable to all the different sub-sectors of the Higher Education system and has been widely applied to all of them since 2001. The evaluation of the study programmes started in 1994 in all public universities and was extended to the whole system of Higher Education through a legislation published in 1998 (Decree-law 205/98, published in July 11<sup>th</sup>). A new Council (National Council for the Evaluation of Higher Education Institutions, CNAVES) was then created with the objective of establishing the main guidelines for the evaluation procedures and to be responsible for the meta-evaluation. Now, public and private universi-

ties (and non-integrated university schools) have a common set of guidelines and public and private polytechnics (and non-integrated polytechnic schools) have also their set of common guidelines. The study programmes are evaluated every five years and the process is based on a self-evaluation assessment (where students' opinions are included) followed by an external assessment performed by peers (national and foreign academics and external experts).

In the very beginning of this process there was not an immediate direct link between the results of the evaluations and funding, recognition of study programmes or other consequences. Only after several consecutive evaluations consequences could be considered and implemented. However, many voices started to call for action against bad results of the evaluation obtained by a given institution and, as a result, the government presented to the Parliament a new legislation (Law 1/2003, published in January 6<sup>th</sup>) in which serious consequences to poor evaluations are established. Additionally, the evaluation must be concluded by the attribution of a grade to each programme, its accreditation being also conditioned by an evaluation procedure.

For the first time the term academic „accreditation“ is introduced in the Portuguese legislation. So far the programmes and the institutions were not „accredited“: they were either recognised or licensed. Special regulations to this law are expected and in the meantime discussions about the concept of accreditation and how it is going to be applied will indeed take place.

It is to be expected that the balance (or imbalance) brought about by the decreasing number of students, the increasing budgetary difficulties and the struggle for quality will be the main players that will shape the policies of the governments and also of the institutions. These policies will have important effects on the working conditions of academic staff. We have already mentioned some of them.

#### 4.4 Lay-offs?

Within the next few years, public institutions are faced with fewer numbers of students every year and the decrease in those numbers is not evenly distributed among the different scientific disciplines. As a result, in some areas, there will be teachers in excess whereas, in other areas, there will be a need to increase the number of teachers, although not many. Lay-offs of civil servants (teachers in public institutions are considered civil servants) are not common in Portugal and there is not clear legislation about it. Additionally, until recently any civil servant who had served for 36 years could ask for retirement even if he/she was not 60 years old (the normal age of retirement for civil servants); the Parliament approved recently legislation (Law 32-B/2002, published in December 30<sup>th</sup>) where it is defined that a civil servant who asks for retirement before reaching the age of 60 will be penalised. As was pointed out before, budget cuts are also to be expected. All these „ingredients“ together will introduce a lot of pressure on public institutions.

If lay-offs are not allowed, any measure to rationalise the institutions will be an almost impossible task. The Minister fixes the number of teachers of any public institution yearly (Decree-law 252/97, published in September 26<sup>th</sup>). In many institutions, due to the uneven distribution of students, there would be a need to recruit new staff in new areas and, according to the existing legislation, to keep, at least, the tenured staff. Additionally the discouraging of earlier retirement of civil servants may make it even more difficult to decrease the number of academic staff, especially the older ones. On the other hand, since tenured professors are only forced to retire when they reach the age of seventy, many staff may choose to continue working until that age, a fact that does not favour the filling of new places by younger people. As a result, if measures are not

taken very soon, younger generations will not have easy access to the academic career and the average age of the staff will become unbearably high.

Even if solutions are created to overcome these problems, there are still the budgetary constraints. One institution may be free to hire young academic staff, if the Minister increases the numbers of possible new recruitments. But it is not to be expected that the budgets will increase accordingly (a possible alternative solution is the use of temporary contracts). This means that institutions will have to look for additional income somewhere else. Private funding is always difficult to obtain, in particular in times of recession and, usually, it has to be used for definite purposes. The necessary flexibility to use private funds is not as high as could be expected. There remains the usual recipe: to increase the fees. The Prime Minister has already announced that intention in January 2003. This is a hot issue in the country. During the 90's there were huge demonstrations of students when the fees were fixed just below €500/year! The wound is not yet healed and any new increase will certainly bring the problem back.

In short, one must recognise that the room of manoeuvre of the institutions is strongly reduced. It is still not clear how they will cope with this new challenge. Some people argue, correctly, that there are too many study programmes in the country that have different names but are very similar in content. Some of them are offered in institutions that are so close geographically that cooperation among them is desirable in order to reduce costs. This is a correct argument, and this particular situation is clearly considered in the new legislation (Law 1/2003, published in January 6<sup>th</sup>); however, the implementation of this solution may be insufficient, given the fact that the teachers are already in the institutions and the savings will not be felt in the short- or mid-term.

#### *4.5 Private institutions and the new situation*

The problems of the private institutions are indeed more difficult to deal with. They have invested along the years in study programs that are the less expensive such as law, management, informatics, teacher training, etc. Some of these programs are still the ones that most candidates to Higher Education prefer. The demographic recession is however bringing problems. Fees are much higher than in public institutions and students prefer the latter, if not for other reasons, because they have to pay less. In addition to this it is known that their access conditions are less demanding than those of public institutions. The introduction of a provision in the law stating that the access conditions should be the same regardless the type of Higher Education institution (Decree-law 26/2003, published in February 7<sup>th</sup>) will certainly affect the private sub-sector. Therefore it is to be expected that financial problems will deeply affect these institutions. Probably, merging processes will have to take place and some of them may decide to close down. This will undoubtedly bring additional problems to the academic communities of those institutions. Many of them have worked so far, partly with the use of part-time teachers coming from the public sector. The new legislation (Law 1/2003, published in January 6<sup>th</sup>) makes it easier for them to use those part-time teachers, but there are minimum conditions in terms of number of full-time academics that they must follow to be licensed or „accredited“. Unemployment among academic staff is one likely threat that the country is facing as a result of this situation.

#### 4.6 Higher Education student population: an expansive or a contractive Trend?

Looking at the recorded medium-term evolution of HE yearly intake and global population, two clear time periods are immediately obvious. From 1985 to 1996, both variables show a sharp increase, leading to a multiplying factor of about 3.5 at the end of the period, in respect to the chosen initial point. However, the year 2000 initiates an embryonic trend for reduction both of student demand and total effectiveness.

The two tendencies are rather straightforward to explain. The foundation of new universities in the 70's caused a stimulation effect in the demand; meanwhile, the increase of the duration of the compulsory basic education, from 6 to 9 years, increased visibly the number of students reaching secondary education and, consequently, also those reaching the level of qualification necessary to access HE. (12 years of schooling).

The second, decreasing trend, is explained by the conjugation of three factors: demographic, through the reduction of the younger age levels population; the recorded reduction of secondary-level student population; and, very recently, a more demanding set of entrance requirements for candidates to HE.

Even if all these factors are unquestionable, they do not lead necessarily to a sustained situation of contraction of HE effectiveness. As a matter of fact, extrapolations of trends are only valid when border conditions remain unchanged. Or, if demographic changes are long-term phenomena and so will not reverse tendency in the next years; also, an increase of selectivity in HE entrance requirements is a mostly desirable policy – contrariwise, the reduction of secondary students population is by no means unavoidable nor desirable.

Portugal has the lowest relative number of secondary education students in all E.U. (about 42% of the corresponding age cohort) and this, by itself, is a situation that claims for energetic correcting measures. One of these is the increase of duration of compulsory schooling, from 9 to 12 years. This being requested, for a number of years, by Portuguese educational planners, it was only now given some attention by governmental authorities, even if without a fixed date for its implementation. It is clear that, in a nearly-recessive economic situation, Finance Ministers would veto such a proposal, for it would increase drastically educational expenses, both in terms of initial investment in material infrastructures and in operating costs.

There are other, less stringent solutions that, until now, have failed to be applied. There is a need for stimulating the continuation of studies beyond the 9 years of compulsory school. Only the moral authority of the State is suitable to convince parents that the best investment they can make for their children's future is to keep them learning for as long as they endure – and not to be happy when they study just until they are 15 or 16 old. Education authorities must say clearly that just having finished basic school will not provide, in the near future, a decent qualification for anything. Employers, professional persons, educators and communicators must insist on the same note, again and again, until this message begins to produce effects.

Through this mechanism the population of secondary education will increase and it is hoped that it will reach, in the long run, at least 70% of the age cohort. Then, the few percent lost to the demographic trend and the increasing number of those rejected at university doors by reason of poor qualification, may not matter at all. It must also be taken into account that a very recent trend of massive immigration to Portugal from Central and Eastern European countries, increasing the foreign residents population from about 200 000 in 2000 to more than 400 000 in 2002 (see, for instance, the 2002 statistics of *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*) will also produce demographic compensatory consequences, when family regrouping will bring, in a few years, many tens of thousands of children into the country.

As a conclusion, the reduction, stagnation or growth of HE student population depends much on the Government's initiative regarding secondary education.

## 5. Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education

### 5.1 The European research area and the 6<sup>th</sup> framework programme

Portuguese higher education institutions have a long tradition of collaboration with foreign institutions. Nevertheless it was only in the mid 60's that Portuguese teachers started to have real strong links with foreign universities, especially in United Kingdom, France and the US. It was a decision of the government, at the time, to increase the number of Ph. D.'s in Portuguese universities in order to modernise the country's research performance. Many assistants were sent abroad (mainly to the countries mentioned above) and studied therein for several years coming back later with a Ph. D. and starting to develop research groups in the universities. They were mainly connected to exact and life sciences.

This new policy started to produce its first results in the second half of the 70's when the number of Ph. D.'s obtained in Portugal began to increase sharply. This evolution is easily understood when we mention that between 1970 and 1980 the number of Ph. D.'s obtained in the country per year only increased by a factor less than 2, whereas between 1980/81 and 2000/2001 that number increased by a factor of about 13 (*Ciência & Tecnologia – Principais Indicadores Estatísticos*, Observatório das Ciências e Tecnologias, Ministério da Ciência e Tecnologia, 2002 and Meira Soares and Campos, 1999), as can be seen in Figure 3.

This progress in the country's scientific research was very much helped by the international contacts that those who had been sent abroad were able to maintain and expand. Those contacts were not institutional at the beginning and continued like that for more than a decade. Additionally a new policy was informally introduced and preference in awarding grants was given to those who had obtained their doctoral degree in the country to go abroad for post-doctoral work.

These measures were a fundamental step to the internationalisation of the Portuguese research and became the seed to what was about to come after Portugal joined the European Community in 1986. The tradition of being in contact, collaborating and publishing with foreign partners became an important factor to make it easy to introduce institutional partnerships and to take part in international networks without special difficulties to adapt to the new situation.

In 1993 the Secretary of State for Science and Technology decided to carry out an evaluation, exclusively performed by foreign peers, of all the Centres that had been funded by the EU programme *Ciência*. It was the first time that such a comprehensive evaluation was made. Later, in 1996, this decision was transformed into law and a new funding system and a new method of evaluation of research were formally introduced<sup>7</sup> and now the evaluations are mainly a responsibility of foreign peers and applied to all Centres funded by FCT. Among the main objectives of this change we should mention the following: to increase the number of international publications and to improve the degree of internationalisation (joint publications with foreign researchers, scientific and technological projects with foreign researchers or foreign research institutions). Simultaneously the level of funding increased by factor of 7 between 1994 and 2001 and show a

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7 <http://www.fct.mces.pt/pt/apoios/unidades/politica/politicareforco/>

very positive trend during the last decade<sup>8</sup>. Between 1990 and 1999 the number of joint publications of Portuguese and foreign researchers was multiplied by a factor of 4; the percentage of publications with Portuguese authors referred in the Science Citation Index was multiplied by a factor of about 2.5; between 1995 and 1999 the number of scientific publications increased by 15.93%, by far the highest in Europe. At the same time the Portuguese higher education institutions were able to obtain important funding from the European Union in partnership with foreign institutions.

Despite this very positive trend the country is still very much behind the European average in terms of number of researchers per thousand of active population and of percentage of the GDP for the R&D budget. This obviously limits the capability to lead international networks. In most cases Portuguese institutions participate as partners in networks, but not as leaders.

This tendency has even become more obvious with the launching of the 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (FP6): the number of Expressions of Interest presented by Portuguese Higher Education institutions, together with State Laboratories, was too low (90 among 8670 presented by EU countries), despite the efforts to stimulate them to present more proposals<sup>9</sup>. There may be different reasons to explain these results. The strategic areas defined in FP6 are not the ones that fit best the strongest areas of research in the country's Higher Education institutions (Deliberação 2002/836/CE, published in October 29<sup>th</sup>). In many fields institutions lack critical mass to lead networks of excellence, although some very productive groups may easily be found. Internal information about FP6 was not spread in the best ways. Basic research in areas that are not strategic in FP6 can only be included in networks as „subsidiary“.

All this may mean that, although internationalisation has been strongly increased during the last years, there is still a long way to go to reach the desirable degree of internationalisation. However one may guess that it will not be an easy task due to the small size of the county's scientific community, still far from the EU average. A strong effort has to be made to increase the number of researchers, an objective that is not going to be helped (on the contrary) by the need to reach within the next four or five years the targets of the EU Stability Pact. Nevertheless it is highly probable that the creation of the European Research Area and the approval of FP6 may help to keep some *momentum* that may positively influence governments and many researchers who did not realise the importance of these new developments at the EU level, despite the aforementioned unfavourable conditions created by the definition of the strategic areas of FP6.

## 5.2 The Bologna process

The creation of a European Higher Education Area, created by the Bologna Declaration, is another challenge Higher Education institutions in Portugal are facing. The main goals, international competitiveness, employability and mobility, have the consensus among the academic community. Fewer consensus is however obtained when one comes to the instrumental objectives of that European Higher Education Area (Lourtie, 2001) – (1) adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees, (2) adoption of a system based on two main study cycles, (3) estab-

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8 <http://www.fct.mces.pt/pt/apoios/unidades/politica/politicareforco/> and <http://www.fct.mces.pt/pt/estatisticas/publicacoes/>. As it is not clear whether the methodologies used have changed along the mentioned periods of time, some care must be taken to draw conclusions. The results of these policies are published (<http://www.fct.mces.pt/pt/estatisticas/publicacoes/>).

9 [http://eoi.cordis.lu/search\\_form.cfm](http://eoi.cordis.lu/search_form.cfm)

lishment of a system of credits, (4) promotion of mobility of students, academic staff and non-academic staff, (5) promotion of European cooperation in quality assurance and (6) promotion of the European dimensions in Higher Education. Instrumental objectives (1) and (2) are not well accepted by the whole academic community. Recognition issues have always been a matter of discussion in the country. Many people are against the recognition of degrees that is implicit in (1) although their number is decreasing. Instrumental objective (2) is however the main source of disagreement.

The CRUP issued a document, in 2001, which shows the commitment of the rectors to the Bologna Declaration, adapting the actual situation to the requirements of the Declaration<sup>10</sup>. They propose a nationwide debate based on some particular issues. Among some other statements, they warn that convergence does not mean uniformity and homogeneity, propose a first cycle of four years and also recognise the need to reformulate the existing academic degrees in the country; but simultaneously propose some allowance to the structure of some degrees such as medicine and architecture and even mention the possible existence of a special post-graduation of one year for engineering. In the same document the rectors call for a better definition of policies from the government: (a) a clear definition of the missions of the universities and polytechnics (the differences are not clearly defined by the legislation) and their roles on lifelong learning; (b) definition of the quality of the programmes' and degrees' requirements according to their objectives and the demanded skills and levels of knowledge; (c) the definition of a new funding model and the existence of systematic support to the second cycle of studies; (d) the definition of framework guidelines or legislation that include new target populations, in particular those who seek lifelong learning programmes.

It may be seen that a four-year first cycle may bring some problems if similar programmes with a three-year first cycle are adopted in many other EU countries. Some resistance from different sectors of the academic community are to be expected if a three-year first cycle is generally adopted; and even in some programmes it will not be easy to convince some of them to accept a first cycle of just four years! A revolution in mentalities has to take place. The rectors were wise in their formulation in order to bring to the discussion as many people as possible. However some Faculties and Departments are already working on the basis of a three-year cycle whereas others do not even think of discussing the question so soon. Diversity is to be expected and perhaps it is desirable and needed.

Among the issues raised by the rectors it is worth noting that they are worried with the financial support to the second cycle. There may be some reasons for that concern. Budget cuts are to be expected in the near future, as we have already mentioned. Decreasing the number of years to obtain the degrees may mean less money and, once again, excess of staff. If any government wishes to have the academic community on its side to apply the Bologna Declaration, it must assure the Higher Education institutions that any excess of staff will not mean lay-offs or „freezing“ of new admissions to the academic careers. This issue will have to be carefully tackled.

### *5.3 Credits in courses and programmes*

In Portugal the programmes may be organised in credits since 1980 but it has not been compulsory until now and many institutions have not used this possibility so far. On the one hand, the

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10 [http://www.crup.pt/crup\\_pareceres.html](http://www.crup.pt/crup_pareceres.html)

assignment of a given number of credits to a course is based on a purely bureaucratic way of counting the number of classroom hours of teaching<sup>11</sup>, without any consideration for the student's actual workload. On the other hand, a year-by-year syllabus of courses is more often than not established rigidly for each HE programme, so that students are not allowed to stray away from this fixed curriculum, even if they would feel capable or increasing the number of courses they are enrolled in. Finally, the number of optional credits is very small and closely related to the programme main theme and their choice may take place just in the last year of the programme.

So, the use of ECTS is not widespread. It has only been extensively used by the Portuguese *Universidade Aberta*, a distance education public university, and apart from that, when institutions wish to be partners in the Erasmus/Socrates programme. As a result of the Bologna Declaration the government proposed a new legislation in 2001<sup>12</sup> but due to the political changes that took place recently it was never published. The proposal intended to introduce a system of credits compatible with ECTS. The legislation recently approved by the Parliament (Law 1/2003, published in January 6<sup>th</sup>) mentions clearly the Higher Education Area and makes the organisation of programmes in credit units compulsory. The regulation of the law will clarify if the government wishes to use the main concepts of previous proposal or wishes to introduce important changes, which is not likely due to the need of having compatibility with the other countries.

The compulsory introduction of ECTS, or alike, will indeed affect the academic staff by disrupting the present hyper-regulated situation of the programmes' curricula.

#### 5.4 Quality assurance and evaluation

Quality assurance and quality evaluation are now widely disseminated in the country. The Prague Communiqué (*Towards the European Higher Education Area*, Communiqué of the meeting of European Ministers in charge of Higher Education in Prague on May 19th 2001) gives a special importance to quality assurance issues. Quality of teaching is one of the many different aspects of any programme evaluation. This is now accepted within the framework of the Portuguese quality evaluation system. However a systematic comparison and cooperation with other countries' quality agencies will put more pressure on the Portuguese Higher Education staff.

From another perspective, we have reasons to suspect that not enough attention was given by many Higher Education institutions to questions related to pedagogy (or andragogy) and didactics. The most common teaching/learning methods are still the traditional ones in the great majority of the Higher Education institutions. They are more teaching-oriented, based on traditional lectures, and there are not many places where learning-oriented methods are in place, although we can already spot some institutions where there is a tendency to change. Student-oriented methods are more demanding and teachers will have to adapt to these new conditions, not without some efforts that can disrupt some of the usual way of looking at their duties.

A very detailed analysis on the results obtained by students in the various courses of each programme may help in pointing anomalies such as too high a rejection rate in final examinations; and this may be due to very different causes: for instance, the excessive extension of the course contents, the quality of testing, the availability of learning materials and even the suitability of

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11 This obviously creates a major (administrative) difficulty for courses taught at a distance.

12 [http://www.crup.pt/crup\\_documentos.html](http://www.crup.pt/crup_documentos.html)

teaching methods. These are very delicate problems to solve because they may conflict with the so-called „Professors’ scientific autonomy“ that in Portugal is almost a sacred terrain to invade.

In short it seems legitimate to say that the introduction of the European Higher Education Area will indeed affect the working conditions and practices of the staff. The new conditions will be more demanding and new methodologies will be introduced if the Portuguese higher education institutions wish to become an integral part of this European Area. Unfortunately one may say that, despite the warnings to face this new situation, Higher Education institutions and the Government are already late in the implementation of the Bologna process.

### 5.5 Transnational Education and GATS

Transnational education is a matter hardly discussed in Portugal. This fact does not mean that some cases are not known. However the high number of Higher Education institutions, either private or public, may be an explanation for the few numbers of foreign institutions operating in the country, both in the face-to-face and in the distance education mode, and most of the existing ones are dedicated to post-graduation. It is known that there are a few franchising agreements with Polytechnic Institutes concerning MSc degrees (Machado dos Santos, 2000, 2002). „Navigation“ through the web pages of some Portuguese private institutions also provides some insight of the involvement of foreign institutions in awarding Ph. D. degrees. It is interesting to notice that not all of them fall in the institutional arrangements described by Machado dos Santos. In some cases we can find Institutions offering MSc and Ph. D. degrees on behalf of foreign institutions, the students being members of one of these foreign institutions and using the national one only to register and perhaps to study there under the supervision of the former. This has not deserved so far the attention of the national authorities even when there is a suspicion that the degree obtained is of doubtful quality. However, it must be said here that the Parliament has already given a first step regarding this issue: franchising in Higher Education is forbidden in Portugal (Law 6/2003, published in January, 6<sup>th</sup>).

Transparent systems of information (including the compulsory use of the diploma supplement), of recognition of degrees and of quality assurance seem to be the right answer to the problems posed by transnational education. Very recently *CNAVES* approved a Recommendation (Parecer 11/2002, approved in October 1<sup>st</sup>) to the Government, based on the work of Machado dos Santos, 2000, 2002, in order to call its attention to this issue and also to the importance of taking position on GATS.

The recommendation shares the same viewpoint as the Council of Europe (*Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education*, adopted by the Lisbon Recognition Convention Committee, 2001) and goes beyond its position. It is not a rejection or a condemnation of transnational Education but points out to the requirements it must fulfil to be accepted. The position of *CNAVES* could not be against transnational education. As a matter of fact Portuguese Higher Education institutions cooperate quite extensively with Brazil and with the former Portuguese colonies, sometimes through a system similar to one of the institutional agreements mentioned by Machado dos Santos and it is felt that this cooperation should continue with the consent of the national authorities of those countries. On the other hand, new forms of education, based on distance education methods and even totally supported on electronic communications are emerging and networks are being formed among prestigious universities of the whole world to provide this type of education. Portuguese Higher Education institutions cannot be out of these emerging

methods of education. And, although without noticing, the Portuguese academics are already involved in this discussion even without acknowledging its consequences.

Taking into account what we have just mentioned, it is not unfair to say that transnational education is still far from being a concern for most academic staff and therefore it is still early to draw conclusions on the impact that GATS may have in the staff careers and in the system as a whole.

## **6. Conclusions**

Academic careers in Portugal are regulated for public Higher Education Institutions, teachers being considered as civil servants. The legislation regulating academic careers date back to the 80's, although some changes have been introduced since then. However the structure remains almost untouched. Although teachers in Higher Education are among the best paid civil servants it should be stressed that the hurdles they have to overcome to be admitted and promoted are very tough and therefore justify the salary differences. Research performance has been the main criterion for promotion, until recently and, therefore, good research conditions are of the utmost importance for them, not forgetting its importance to the development of the country. Those conditions have improved during the last decade, but reduced budgets, the reforms expected to be introduced and the requirements imposed in the 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme of EU may worsen the situation.

No regulation is known for staff careers in private higher education Institutions. Thus one can only guess based on some general statements of some laws and on the national labour laws for the private sector.

We have mentioned the discussions going on in the country regarding foreseeable reforms during the next years and the predictable budget difficulties that Higher Education Institutions are going to face. They will certainly affect the academic careers and we will briefly mention some of the possible consequences.

The decreasing number of students entering higher education institutions is going to put more pressure on the institutions to improve their quality assurance mechanisms in order to be able to compete for the new candidates. At the same time the government is introducing measures to guarantee that quality is at the top of the political agenda of Higher Education. These two factors together may lead to the closing down of several institutions or study programmes, a threat that may affect the attractiveness of the academic career.

The development of more sophisticated and systematic methods to evaluate teachers' pedagogic and scientific performances is indeed welcome. However, under the actual circumstances this may also mean the existence of a more competitive environment due to the predictable decrease in the available places for younger generations. This shortness of is not only a result of the decreasing number of students but was somehow made more difficult by the general laws published affecting the requirements for retirement of civil servants.

A feature that is worth mentioning is the actual trend to attain a more even gender distribution in higher ranks of the academic career. In fact, the percentage of women obtaining a Ph. D. is increasing and the percentage of graduating women is significantly higher than their corresponding representation in the composition of the national population. These facts will certainly have an effect in the gender distribution of the academic careers.

Research in Portugal is mainly developed in higher education institutions research centres that are predominately funded by a governmental agency. They are the places where real staff development programmes are developed, although higher education institutions have little control over them. In those centres, or alike, the pace of scientific publications with international partners has increased significantly, during the recent years, due to the growing internationalisation induced by old links and by the EU programmes. Networking is perhaps one of the main responsible for this fact, but the investment made in R&D and the introduction of international evaluations must be given some credit. Nevertheless, it will possibly be a matter of concern that higher education institutions are not using fully the possibilities of the 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme. Some effort has been (and is being) made to change this attitude but one of the problems is the non-existence of many groups with the necessary critical mass to lead the networks created in the defined priority areas. If these efforts do not succeed and if, as a result, a strong decrease in funding happens the effect in the academic careers may be too negative since promotions and access to those careers are mainly driven by the research results.

The Bologna process is another face of internationalisation. Its effects are not yet very much felt by the teachers and the discussions are still not reaching the whole academic community. The main topic for discussion has been, so far, the number of years of teaching programmes. Some people are willing to cooperate but there are many who will oppose the change as long as they can, mainly for corporative reasons. This was to be expected. But it is a shame that the effects of introducing ECTS compatible credit systems are not discussed and that a significant number of teachers are not aware of the consequences. It is not clear to many of them that the acceptance of the Bologna principles will force them to change their attitudes towards teaching and learning, as they also do not really know about many other consequences that will affect their working conditions.

It is impossible to predict the effect of all these developments in the academic careers. The government is still introducing the reforms, the budget cuts are being felt more and more, internationalisation is in the agenda but is being dealt with slowly. It is our belief that important changes in the structure and attractiveness of the academic careers will take place. If they are going to be positive or are going to affect negatively the academic community is hard to predict. However, it is not wise to take an optimistic attitude if one wishes to be realistic.

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# **The International Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace Country Report Slovakia**

*Maria Hrabinska*

## **1. Introduction**

The changes which occurred in higher education area twelve years ago in Slovakia, in that time a part of former Czechoslovakia, were among the most rapid that ever occurred in the economy and society in the history. The fact that the new Higher Education Law which started a really profound reform of the higher education, including the structure of educational programmes and academic degrees, was adopted in 1990, within less than six months after November 1989 when the political situation dramatically changed, is hardly to believe from the present perspective. The new Law created basic conditions for the further democratisation, humanisation and decentralisation of higher education in the country for a relatively long period.

The Higher Education Law No.172/1990 of the Law Code brought, *inter alia*, the provisions on basic academic freedoms and rights, namely the freedom of teaching and scientific research, including publicity of its results, freedom of artistic creation, right to elect self-governing bodies as well as the right to express diverse philosophical views and creeds. The Law provided a legislative basis for higher education institutions to elect their management, including representatives of academic community and choose a system of internal management, which corresponds to their conditions within the newly created autonomy. It also introduced the protection of the academic ground and the prohibition of operation of political parties in higher education institutions. The law did not contain any provisions on responsibilities for the further development of the society. The role of the State represented by the Ministry of Education was limited mainly to strategic planning, development of appropriate conditions, registration of statutes, allocation of finances, acknowledgement of various rights to conduct education and examinations as well as to control if the higher education institutions behave according to valid laws and regulations. Also the control was partially decentralised. Academic freedoms allowed to higher education institutions to feel as real universities again. The scope and deepness of academic freedoms also surprised to some degree European countries, which have traditionally enjoyed the basic academic freedoms in universities for a longer time.

In order to maintain or even extend already obtained academic freedoms and rights connected with self-administration, certain long-lasting, unsolved discrepancies were maintained, e.g. the le-

gal status of faculties as independent legal entities operating in the framework of higher education institutions. This situation changed as late 2002. As regards the academics, in contrast to the past, as a matter of the principle, the vacancies for academic teachers became to be filled by a selection procedure based on the publicly advertised competition. After the period of political nominations and access to academic profession only the professional qualification and experience of the applicant were taken into the consideration in the recruitment process of the new staff. The academic freedoms started influencing the whole life of the academic community.

In spite of all the positive changes, after ten years of development, the situation in higher education was indicated as a deep crisis. Besides the crisis of basic values in the society, first of all the missing strategy for the further development of higher education, long-lasting critical situation in financing, undervalued and unsupported development of scientific research at higher education institutions, insufficient attractiveness of academic environment, first of all for young people, high age of remaining academic teachers, the internal debts and in many cases also decreasing quality of teaching, were severely criticised (*Navrh, 2000*).

The proposal of the Strategy for Further Development of Higher Education in Slovakia for 21<sup>st</sup> Century elaborated by the Ministry of Education and submitted for public discussion in 2000 suggested changes in higher education based on analysis of its present strengths and weaknesses.

The following features were identified as strengths of higher education:

- real autonomy of higher education institutions,
- high number of good, sometimes very gifted potential students interested in higher education studies,
- high number of enthusiastic academic teachers who are able and willing to support further development of higher education even under difficult conditions,
- low unemployment rate of university graduates,
- ability to participate in international co-operation,
- large scientific potential and potential in other areas offered to society by higher education institutions.

Simultaneously, the analyse showed that the higher education was marked by these weaknesses:

- insufficient orientation on student needs,
- insufficient institutional as well as programme diversification of higher education,
- internal closeness of individual higher education institutions with tendency to disintegrate, with non clear competencies and responsibilities,
- decrease of competitiveness in relation to foreign countries,
- too long first degree studies,
- non-efficient atomisation of education- high number of study branches, high degree of duplicity subjects.

Except of the amendment of the Higher Education Law in 1996, when the possibility for operation of private higher education was opened, the most crucial changes in higher education were introduced as late as in 2002 when the first Higher Education Law was passed through the Parliament in the independent Slovak Republic. The most significant changes, which the Law brought, are connected with the system of financing and management – the law strengthened the managerial autonomy of higher education institutions. The properties, formerly owned by State, were transferred to individual higher education institutions and, simultaneously; the new system of financing from multiple sources was introduced. The academic freedom of higher education institutions achieved in 1990 was further extended by a deeper economic and financial freedom. The higher education institutions became the public institutions, which is a fully new form of or-

ganisation in the Slovak economy. Until 2002, there were only three types of organisations: industrial, fully financed from the State budget as well as partially financed from the State budget as well as funds earned by entrepreneurial activities.

### *1.1 On the way from an elite university education to a mass higher education*

The first university on the territory of Slovakia, Academia Istropolitana, was established in Bratislava in 1467. It was followed by other institutions of higher learning, but they were functional only for a short period. The newer dynamic development of higher education started after 1919, within former Czechoslovak Republic when – based on previous academic traditions in the city – Comenius University was established in Bratislava. In 2003, there are 24 higher education institutions in Slovakia of which 19 are public, 4 state and 1 private.

Despite of the fact that the number of students in tertiary education doubled in the last decade, Slovakia ranks, also besides other candidate countries, among the countries with lowest participation rate in tertiary education. This backwardness was also caused by the fact that the sector of professional higher education was not developed even if the starting position was quite positive. The draft law, which planned to introduce the binary system of higher education, was namely submitted to the Parliament already in 1994, but in very short period before Parliamentary elections the Parliament decided not to deal with it. The attempt of universities to develop so called „faculties of professional higher education“, like German Fachhochschulen, 3 in total, was not successful, either. Finally under a strong political pressure, they were abolished by decision taken by their own academic senates. Similarly, also the second stream could not reach the expected goals in that period: the few experiments with establishment of professional higher education institutions (like UK polytechnics or Dutch „hogesholen“ (Dutch – Slovak project, later Phare project) did not lead to the significant quantitative development of this sector, on the contrary, the institutions included in the project remained secondary professional schools offering experimental forms of post-secondary study until present.

Finally, the Law of 2002 introduced a binary system, but strongly influenced by Bologna Declaration about development of an European area of higher education. The Law defines the university as an institution, which provides education at all three levels with a significant portion of study programs of the second level (Master) and third level (Ph. D.). The study programs at these institutions shall be carried out in connection with activities in the field of science, technology or art. The law introduces the protection of the term „university“. After 2002 the term of „university“ or the derived forms hereof may be used only in the name of a university type of higher education institution. The non-university type higher education institutions shall be named professional higher education institutions; they shall provide higher education mostly in the study programmes of the first level (Bachelor). The university type of higher education institution achieving outstanding results in the field of research as well as teaching in the study programmes of the third level may use the name „Research University“. At the beginning of year 2003 it seems so that legislation on binary system is present, but institutions are missing.

Also the private sector of higher education is underdeveloped in Slovakia. There is only one private higher education institution-Vysoka škola manazmentu vTrencine (College of Management in Trencin|, based on a branch campus of U.S. City University, Bellevue-, which represents both sectors, private as well as professional higher education in Slovakia.

The increase of number of students – transfer from the elite university type of higher education to a mass higher education- was achieved, starting in early 90ties, by increase of intake in old universities but also by establishment of new institutions „on the green meadow“, mostly based on the branch campuses located outside the seat of mother institutions. This institutional development was accompanied by many problems and in certain phases also strongly politicised, but in the end, all new higher education institutions have survived. Tables 1 and 2 provide some basic data on students.

Table 1: Slovak full-time students by fields of study (%)

Year	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Natural Sciences	4.3	4	4.1	4.2	4.8	5.5	5.8	6.1	6.3
Technology	36.7	36.1	35.7	35.4	35.3	34.7	33.9	33.3	32.8
Medicine/Pharmacy	8.5	7.6	7	6.1	5.8	5.5	5.3	5.2	5.1
Agriculture/Veterinary Medicine	7.1	7.7	8	8.4	7	7.4	7.8	8.3	8.3
Social Sciences/Services	41.5	42.4	43.2	43.8	44.9	44.6	44.6	44.5	44.5
Arts	1.9	2	2	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.5	3
Total	58.843	66.900	72.525	78.045	82.432	85.742	88.192	90.446	92.140

x) except Ph. D. students

Table 2: Students by level of educational programme

Educational programme	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
First level – Bachelor	6,662	6,950	9,505	12,887	13,624	13,897	15,233	21,372	26,069
Second level – Master	62,846	70,251	75,154	80,096	88,238	96,690	103,615	103,682	106,528
Third level – Ph. D.	2,428	3,213	3,849	4,627	5,487	6,572	6,925	7,504	7,964
Total	71,916	80,417	88,508	97,600	107,349	117,159	125,773	132,558	140,561

The academic traditions in the form of branch campuses came into the cities in which they never existed before. The regionalisation may be considered as one of main features of development of higher education in Slovakia but still the concentration of academic activities in capital prevails.

The increase of number of students achieved also by remarkable increase of part/time studies and institutions was not accompanied by corresponding increase of number of academic teachers. In total, the number of academic teachers was increased from 1999 to 2002 by 24 %. The highest increase-92 %- we observed in the category of professors. Because of lack of places, Slovak higher education institutions are very selective – as a rule, they use entrance examinations as a selection mechanism. There are plans to introduce national examinations of secondary school-leavers based on which the students could be admitted to higher education studies in the future (open access to higher education).

The academic self-administration is built on the concept of academic community, which elects the academic senates. The academic community is understood as a community of academic teachers and research workers, who work as full-timers, the other employees of the higher education institution if stipulated by the Statute of a higher education institution (employee part of the academic community of the higher education institution), as well as of students (student part of the academic community of the higher education institution). Students have the right to be represented in the academic senate of a university by at least one quarter. Part – time teachers do not have the right to vote and to be elected in the academic senates. Academic senates are established at the level of the university as well as at the level of individual faculties.

From the point of view of academic teachers, also the role of Scientific Council is important. Scientific Council is also established at both levels, of higher education institution as well as of the faculty. It is the body with the highest academic and scientific capacity which fulfils first of all the tasks in the field of development of strategies, giving proposals of various initiatives as well as in the field of assessment and evaluation. The Scientific Council, inter alia, approves criteria and makes decisions on the habilitation as well as approves proposals for appointments of „profesors“ and general criteria for filling posts of professors and associate professors. It also awards scientific degree „doctor scientiarum“ (abbr. „DrSc.“) and the degree of „doctor honoris causa“. In order to establish the contact with the industry, the Law allows to nominate in this body maximum one third of its members from experts outside university.

There are also three representative bodies of higher education institutions. The Higher Education Council is the supreme body of higher education institution self-government. The Council exists since 1990 and consists of representatives of higher education institutions and faculties elected by the Academic Senates of higher education institutions and Academic Senates of faculties. One of the main functions of the Council is to give proposals and comments on the criteria for allocation of financial resources to individual higher education institutions. The Student Higher Education Council is the supreme representative body of students that represents students' interests outwardly. The Slovak Rectors' Conference exists since 1990, but the provisions on this body were incorporated in the Higher Education Law only in 2002.

The Minister of Education has the duty to submit to the above mentioned bodies for approval or comments the proposals of most important documents that are significantly related to the higher education institutions. The representative bodies played a crucial role in the process of preparation of new higher education legislation and strategies.

The system of quality assurance is after 1990 based on the activity of the Accreditation Commission, an advisory body of the Slovak Government. A new body introduced by the new Higher Education Law of 2002 in connection with the transformation of the State property to public higher education institutions is the Board of Trustees. Its task is to implement and promote the public interest in activities of a public higher education institution, particularly in connection with the use of its assets and funds.

Higher education is free of charge for the majority of students but it is anticipated that the situation will change very soon. The conservative government nominated after the Parliamentary elections in autumn 2002, plans to introduce the fees also for programmes that are free of charge at the moment, starting from 2004. As in other countries, the considerations about general introduction of fees in Slovak higher education institutions are accompanied by many discussions and high degree of criticism addressed to government.

## 2. Employment and working conditions of academic teachers

### 2.1 Ranks and working positions of academic staff

In Slovakia, a slightly modified older German system of teaching posts is applied for a quite long period (the functions of visiting academic teachers were introduced in 1996); still these five functions are distinguished:

1. professor, visiting professor,
2. associate professor, visiting associate professor,
3. lecturer,
4. assistant lecturer,
5. lector.

The Higher Education Law of 2002 introduced the distinction between requirements set on the academic teachers at universities and at professional higher education institutions. The academic teachers at universities, except lectors, have the duty to take active part in R&D or artistic activities. As regards the teachers of professional higher education institutions in lower positions than „professor“, the active participation in R&D or artistic activities is not required and it may be substituted by studying latest developments in the field of science, technology and arts. The requirements for professors at both types of higher education institutions are the same.

The functions of professor and of associate professor are linked to the fields of study in which the scientific-pedagogical degrees of „*profesor*“ and „*docent*“ are awarded (The terms „*docent*“ and „*profesor*“ written in Slovak refer only to Slovak degrees, not to working positions/functions). The number of functions of professors is not limited to the number of chairs as it is in Germany, it fully depends on the autonomous decision of the university.

*Professors:* An academic teacher working in the function of professor is responsible for research and teaching in his/her field of study within the framework of the higher education institution or faculty, simultaneously he/she has to guarantee or participate in guaranteeing the quality and development of the study program that the higher education institution or faculty implements.

Among the teaching duties of professor is, particularly, giving lectures and seminars, and subsequent evaluation of students including examinations at State examinations, supervision of Ph. D. students, activity as an opponent of final theses and dissertations as well as development of teaching materials. In the field of science and technology or art professor's duties include the formation of trends and concepts, R & D or artistic activities, including publishing their results, as well as participation at scientific, professional or artistic events of international significance, leading research or art teams and organisation of international scientific or artistic events.

*Associate professors:* The function of an associate professor is a lower position than position of a professor. He/she shall also contribute to the development of science and research by his/her research, development or artistic, educational and organisation activities, but in co-operation with professor. He/she has to guarantee or participate in guaranteeing the quality and development of the Bachelor study program, if professor does not perform the activity. The teaching duties of associate professor are similar to the duties of professor.

*Lecturers:* Lecturer has the duty to fulfil the tasks in the field of teaching in co-operation with professors and associate professors. In the case, the lecturer has not the academic degree of Ph. D. or scientific-pedagogical degree, he/she should achieve it. Among the working duties of a lecturer is especially giving lectures, but only in the selected areas, supervising seminars and practical training, and subsequent assessment of students, making an opponent to final theses in the two

initial levels of higher education (Bachelor and Master programmes), development of teaching materials, consultations given to students, and organisation of field trips and practical training of students. Also, the lecturer has the duty to participate in R & D or artistic activities and publicising their results in journals and at scientific, professional or artistic events.

*Assistant lecturers:* An assistant lecturer fulfils the teaching tasks under the supervision of a professor or associate professor. The higher education institution shall create for him the space for his/her self-learning leading to attainment of the academic degree of Ph. D. Among the working duties of an assistant lecturer in the field of teaching is, particularly, giving practical classes, assessment of students, involvement in the provision of the other educational activities and participation in development of teaching materials. He has also the duty to participate in R & D or artistic activities and publicising their results.

*Lectors:* A lector is the lowest function in which an academic teacher may work. The main task of a lector is teaching – active participation in R&D is not required. Teaching is concentrated on practical classes, including subsequent assessment of students. He/she can be also involved in the other educational activities, including participation in development of teaching materials. Other working duties of lectors may be determined by internal regulations of the higher education institution. As lectors are usually employed, for example, native teachers of foreign languages.

## 2.2 Qualification requirements and appointment conditions

*Professor and associate professor:* A qualification requirement for performing the function of professor is the degree „*profesor*“, for the function of associate professor the degree of „*docent*“, both in the field of study to which the post is linked or in a related field of study.

Ordinary and extraordinary professoriate is distinguished after 2002. The academic teacher who is the holder of degree of „*profesor*“ and performs the function of professor, during his/her activity in such function he/she is an ordinary professor, academic teacher who is the holder of degree of „*docent*“ and performs the function of professor, is during its performance an extraordinary professor.

*Lecturer and assistant lecturer:* As qualification requirement for performing the working position of a lecturer is- depending on concrete content of working tasks- Master or Ph. D. degree, for performing the working position of an assistant lecturer Master degree.

*Lector:* Lectors make up a specific group. A qualification requirement for performing the working position of a lector is, depending on concrete content of working tasks, Bachelor or Master degree.

### *Conditions for the obtaining scientific-pedagogical degrees of „docent“ and „profesor“*

The scientific-pedagogical degree or artistic-pedagogical degree of „*docent*“ or „*profesor*“ may be awarded in the given field of study only by the higher education institutions having the recognised rights to award them. These degrees are awarded only in the fields of study that may be pursued in the second level (Master) or in the third level (Ph. D.) of higher education study. A prerequisite for the acquisition of the scientific-pedagogical degree of „*docent*“ is Ph. D. degree and the habilitation based on habilitation thesis and successful completion of habilitation procedure. A prerequisite for the acquisition of degree of „*profesor*“ is preceding acquisition of degree of „*docent*“ (habilitation) and successful completion of appointment procedure.

### *Habilitation*

Based on the Higher Education Law, the detailed criteria applied to applicants for habilitation are elaborated by higher institutions themselves. They have to be agreed by Scientific Councils of individual higher education institutions. The Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava applies, e. g., these criteria:

1. at least 3 years of full-time teaching experience at higher education institution in the field of education, in which the habilitation is held, exceptionally – in the case of an experienced expert- 8 years of professional experience and part-time teaching experience in appropriate scope and field of study in which habilitation is held and executed at higher education institution,
2. academic degree of Ph. D. or ArtD.,
3. education of 3 Ph. D. students,
4. authorship of one publication (monograph) or one university text book,
5. authorship of 15 original scientific papers published in journals, of which 2 were abroad,
6. authorship of 10 professional papers,
7. at least 20 quotations or book reviews.

### *Appointment of „profesors“*

The applicants have to fulfil these criteria:

1. at least 6 years of full time teaching experience at higher education institution in field of education, in which the appointment is held, exceptionally – in the case of an experienced expert – 12 years of professional experience and part-time teaching experience in appropriate scope and field of study in which habilitation is held and executed at higher education institution,
2. habilitation,
3. 3-year break after the habilitation was held,
4. authorship of 2 publications (monographs) or university textbooks,
5. authorship of 35 original scientific papers published in journals, of which 5 has to be from abroad,
6. authorship of 20 professional papers,
7. at least 45 quotations or book reviews, of which 5 abroad.

The criteria are very rigid and are understood as one of the reasons, which cause the problem, that fully qualified academic teachers according to national laws are too old. The lack of academic teachers with required qualification represents in some cases the barrier for further development of individual higher education institutions to which Ministry of Education, after statement of the Accreditation Commission, does not acknowledge the right to execute certain type of final examinations and procedures because of lack of so called guarantors of educational programmes.

From time to time, there is a discussion about abolishment of such long lasting, rigid and complicated procedure aimed at research assessment system. Some representatives of academic community already expressed the opinion that the criteria of assessment based on the number of publications and quotations are not appropriate and do not monitor real achievements in an appropriate way, e.g. papers presented or published in the Czech Republic considered as foreign publications, questionable quality of papers of non-invited speakers at international conferences during the period of preparation of the new Strategy of Development of Higher Education as well

as Higher Education Law, but the proposal to abolish the habilitation was finally not accepted. Formally, the Council of Higher Education Institutions also rejected it. In its statement of 2000 (Vozar, 2000) the Council expressed the view, that the abolishment of degrees of „*docent*“ and „*profesor*“ does not solve any problem, on the contrary, the motivation of teachers for further professional and scientific development could be weakened.

Recently, the abolition of the degree „*docent*“ as a redundant degree requiring inappropriate effort from an academic teacher for its obtaining was proposed by Sawicki and Holkovic (2003). They see the analogy between previous degrees „candidate of sciences“ and „doctor of sciences“ where the degree „candidate of sciences“ was already abolished and replaced by Ph. D. They propose to rename all habilitated „*docents*“ to „*profesors*“ as one act by law.

The proposal to change the name of the degree „*docent*“ to Ph. D. hab. or ArtD. hab. it means similar to German Dr. hab. or Polish „doktor habilitowany“ was strongly rejected during comments period to the proposal of the new higher education law, also. The representatives of academy gave the priority to tradition instead of more international transparency and „readability“.

### 2.3 Recruitment of academic teachers

Recruitment, changes and abolition of contracts of teaching staff is in the competence of individual faculties. Faculties also decide on the number and structure of teaching staff. Details on conditions are determined in the statutes of the higher education institutions registered by the Ministry of Education.

For a long time, a tenure appointment of academic teachers was a significant feature of the employment policy. The academic profession was deeply protected. In principle, only political reasons (before 1989) or hard abridges of law could interrupt an academic carrier of a teacher employed in higher education institutions. The radical change occurred in 2002, when the tenure or permanent appointment of academics was abolished and replaced by reappointment procedures. The main reason why the new system was developed is to introduce the external accountability into teaching and research and to encourage competition among individual academic teachers and higher education institutions with impact on the amounts of allocated financial resources, too.

After 2002, all academic teachers had to go through the new selection procedure first time and they were appointed according to new rules. An academic teacher with degree of „*profesor*“ or „*docent*“ may now fill the function of associate professor or professor based on one selection procedure for a time period not longer than five years, but he/she may be re-appointed. The tenure until 65 years will be given to professors and associate professors after three positive evaluations and at least 9 years of successful activity in appropriate functions.

An academic teacher without degree of „*profesor*“ or „*docent*“ may be employed based on one competition for not longer than five years, only teachers, employed in the faculties of Medicine, Pharmacy and Veterinary Medicine and at workplaces of public higher education institutions where for the execution of profession specialised training is required, may be concluded on the basis of one competition for a period longer than five years. The Dean or Rector can prolong the period for ten years at most. It means that periodical assessment of academic teachers has been introduced. Academic teachers in the lower positions will be as a rule assessed every 5 years; the tenure will be given after three positive evaluations only to academic teachers in the functions of associate professors and professors.

Employment of higher education teachers terminates at the end of the academic year, in which they complete 65 years of age, unless their employment has terminated earlier by special regulations. The Rector or the Dean, if this is an employee assigned to the faculty, may conclude an employment contract for the position of an academic teacher with a person older than 65 years if the employee has been engaged at the faculty for not longer than one year, with agreement of the Academic Senate of a higher education institution or faculty; such employment contract may be also concluded repeatedly. The Rector or the Dean may accept an employee to a part-time employment for a post of an academic teacher without the selection procedure for one year at most. The new Higher Education Law introduced also the opportunity for academic teachers to take a sabbatical for a reasonable time period in order to pursue only scientific or artistic work. The provisions of special regulations on remuneration of employees are not referred to hereof.

#### *Professor Emeritus*

At a proposal of the Scientific Council, the Rector may confer upon professor older than 65 years of age, the honorary degree of „profesor emeritus „having terminated employment with the higher education institution as its regular professor and continuing in his/her research and teaching activities. The higher education institution shall enable emeriti to participate in research and in other activities in accordance with internal regulations.

#### *Visiting Associate Professor and Visiting Professor*

The Dean may, with the approval of the Scientific Council of a faculty, conclude an employment contract with a distinguished expert, for a time period not exceeding two years, for the function of visiting associate professor. The visiting associate professor is a subject of provisions on associate professors, except of conditions related to the degree of „docent“. Also the limitations concerning age do not apply to filling functions of visiting associate professors. Similarly, the Rector or the Dean may conclude an employment contract with a distinguished expert for a time not exceeding two years, for the function of visiting professor. It is not required that the visiting professors are the holders of a degree of „profesor“. Also the age is not a limiting factor.

The phenomenon of visiting associate professors and professors is not very widespread. In academic year 2001/2002 there were only 14 full – time and 65 part – time visiting professors and 12 full time and 77 part time visiting associate professors at higher education institutions in Slovakia on the whole.

Some academic teachers are not satisfied with the new recruitment policy. They are convinced that such attitude gives the advantages to lower qualified teachers instead to support high performances in the academic work, and that in principle, the average is supported. They criticise the fact that very high qualified teachers with degrees of „docent“ and „profesor“ will have the duty to prove stabile high performances for very long period in order to receive the tenure while the low qualified teachers with scientific-pedagogic qualification with an employment contract concluded 15 years ago will only further „wait“ at lowest positions for the retirement age, because there is no limit for re-appointments.

### *Research workers and art workers*

To fulfil its tasks in Science, Technology or Art, a higher education institution may employ research workers and art workers. Research workers and art workers may also take part in teaching activities of the higher education institution. Research and art workers are as a rule employed for the work on concrete research or artistic projects and are financed from resources allocated for these projects, but the higher education institution may employ certain workers of this type also permanently and finance their salaries from regular budget.

### *2.4 Academic teachers and R&D activities*

Despite of the fact that the process of approaching between the Slovak Academy of Sciences and higher education institutions started, still the largest amount of scientific and research capacities is concentrated in Slovak Academy of Sciences. Besides the historical background of this situation, there are also other reasons, which influence the low performances of higher education institutions in this area. Research about optimisation of the model of higher education in Slovakia organised by Chair for Human Sciences at Faculty of Materials and Technology of the Slovak Technical University in Trnava (Sawicki, 2003) also showed that the missing resources are not only important factor influencing it, namely that higher education institutions are not able to adequately cope with the requirements of Science and Technology also because of too high amount of teaching duties. The present academic teacher is overloaded by teaching and does not have the adequate financial conditions and equipment for the top scientific activities. He/she is permanently in a time pressure and frustrating situation in which his/her quantitative, but first of all qualitative achievements are decreasing. The difficulties are also caused by the fact that the leader of the research team does not have the competence to manage, control, assess and pay the members of his/her team. According to the report (Sawicki and Holkovic, 2003) it seems so that at Slovak higher education institutions it is impossible to do simultaneously both, teaching and research activity in appropriately high quality. The authors of the report first of all strongly criticise the fact that the highly qualified teachers lost too much time with so called indirect teaching activities (e.g. oral assessment of students, correcting of tests).

### *2.5 Ph. D. study*

Ph. D. study in its present form as third level of higher education was introduced in 1990 replacing the old soviet system of scientific education producing „candidates of sciences“. The present system is an expression of a consensus between universities and the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Now, the Ph. D. students are registered at higher education institutions but the Ph. D. study may be also organised by so called external institutions, as a rule Academy of Sciences and other research institutes, after the approval of Accreditation Commission.

The standard length of the Ph. D. study in the full time form is at least three and at most four years, in the part time form and at the faculties of Medicine five years at most. Ph. D. study is carried out on the basis of individual study plan of the student supervised by a supervisor. The study consists of a study part and the research part. The study plan is developed by supervisor and pre-

sented to the Board of Specialist to approval and consists of lectures, seminars and individual study of professional literature. A part of the Ph. D. study of a full time Ph. D. student is a teaching activity or other professional activity related to the teaching to the extent no more four hours per week. The study is completed by examination that belongs among the State examinations and the defence of a dissertation. The students are admitted based on entrance examinations. If the applicant chooses for his topic of the dissertation a topic offered by external teaching institution, this shall also agree with the applicant's admission to Ph. D. Study. Also, the examination and defence of dissertation shall be made in this case before the examination board composed based on parity of its members, including the experts from external institution. The name of the external teaching institution is also shown on the diploma.

The full-time student has the status of employee for the purposes of health and social insurance. Full time students received scholarships, which are deemed a salary.

### 3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace

#### 3.1 Working conditions and teacher's salaries

Until April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2002 academic teachers had the status of employees and were paid according to the Regulation No. 249/1992 of the Government of the SR on the Salary Conditions of Employees in Budgetary Organisations as well as Some Further Organisations and bodies. Salary scale was composed of 12 salary classes and 10 grades. 10 grades were desegregated according to professional experience in duration from 0 to 27 and more years. Academic teachers were included in salary classes 9 to 12 and 10 grades according to working experience.

Table 3: Salary Scales Valid for Academic Teachers after January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003

Salary grades	Years of experience	Salary classes					
		9	10	11	12	13	14
1	> 2	274,00	322,00	346,00	371,00	395,00	431,00
2	> 4	285,00	335,00	360,00	386,00	415,00	448,00
3	> 6	297,00	349,00	374,00	401,00	431,00	466,00
4	>9	309,00	362,00	388,00	416,00	448,00	483,00
5	>12	320,00	375,00	402,00	431,00	464,00	501,00
6	>15	331,00	388,00	416,00	447,00	480,00	519,00
7	>18	342,00	401,00	431,00	462,00	496,00	537,00
8	>21	354,00	414,00	445,00	477,00	513,00	554,00
9	>24	365,00	428,00	459,00	492,00	529,00	572,00
10	>28	376,00	441,00	473,00	507,00	545,00	589,00
11	>32	387,00	454,00	487,00	522,00	562,00	607,00
12	<32	399,00	467,00	501,00	537,00	578,00	625,00

The situation changed significantly after April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2002 when the Law No.313/2002 of the Law Code on Public Service came into force and academic teachers became public employees. Academic teachers are now employed under conditions given by general Law Code if the Law on Public Service does not determine special regulations. Each teacher has to take an oath. The Law introduced three different salary scales for public employees: basic scale, scale for employees in health care sector and scale for pedagogical employees. The lowest scale is basic scale; the highest salaries of public employees are introduced in the scale for employees in health care sector. At the beginning, the academic teachers were paid according to the salary scale for pedagogical employees, after January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003, according to the salary scale for employees in health care sector. Salary scale distinguishes 14 salary classes and 12 salary grades according to the number of years of professional experience. The academic teachers were included in salary classes 9-14 according to the level of achieved academic qualification and the really executed activity at individual working posts and five above mentioned functions (see tables 3 and 4).

Table 4: Actual average teacher salaries according to the function in 2002 (€, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter)

<b>Function</b>	<b>Average month salary</b>
Lector	279,00
Assistant Lecturer	246,00
Lecturer	350,00
Associate professors	503,00
Professors	608,00
Academic teachers in average	411,00

Starting on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2002 the higher education institutions could not pay the so-called personal bonuses to the academic teachers, as it was case before. Bonuses are given now through the increased basic (tariff) salaries, increased basic salary according to the level of academic degree obtained (Doctor of Sciences- Dr.Sc. and Doctor of Philosophie – Ph. D.) as well as through increased salaries of „*docents*“ and „*profesors*“. The various additional bonuses remained untouched.

The application of the Law on Public Service and the new type of financing according the new performance indicators caused considerable differences between individual higher education institutions in 2002. In the case of certain groups of employees of higher education institutions the increase of salaries after April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2002 was crucial, for certain group there was no increase. In general, the average real monthly salary increased from 2001 to 2002 by 12 %.

The change after January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003, when the academic teachers started to be paid according to the salary scales for employees in the health care sector shall lead to the further increase of basic salaries of academic teachers. Certain problems caused the fact that the 2003 budget for higher education was indeed increased significantly but did not include resources needed for this change from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003 but only from September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003. The Government expected that the Parliament will adopt the amendment to the Law on Public Service, which will postpone the date of remuneration according to the salary tables valid for health care workers to September 1st, 2003, but the Parliament did not adopt this proposal.

The Minister of Education recommends covering these costs from the increased resources allocated for developmental activities of higher education institutions in 2003. Some higher education

tion institutions will receive a higher amount than others will. This is connected with the new model of distribution of funds according to the performances of individual institutions, it means according to the number of students, level of educational programmes offered and the level of qualification of teachers. Only the institutions which according to the above mentioned criteria will not reach the needed finances will receive the additional amount which will represent the guaranteed minimum. On average, the increase of the monthly salaries shall be about 160 €, which means a significant increase (see table 5). In order to cover this change, the budget of higher education institutions for 2003 is higher than in 2002 by 1 milliard Slovak crowns (23.700 €). On the other side, the higher education institutions will not receive such a high contribution for their developmental activities, but the Minister of Education expects that based on the new situation when the higher education institutions may earn money outside, from contract research activities, they will be able to cover certain activities from these resources.

Table 5: Increase of basic (tariff) month salaries of academic teachers January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003 (€)

<b>Teacher according to the level of qualification/degree</b>	<b>Until 31.12.2002</b>	<b>After 1.1.2003</b>
Lecturer –starting salary	231,00 €	322,00 €
Lecturer (less than 15 years of experience)	272,00 €	388,00 €
Lecturer, Ph. D. holder (less than 15 years of experience)	290,00 €	416,00 €
„docent“ (less than 15 years of experience)	334,00 €	480,00 €
„docent“ (less than 23 years of experience)	402,00 €	578,00 €

Source: Narodna obroda, February 10th, 2003, p. 3

The change in attitudes was really very needed because the prevailing low salaries of teachers already surely negatively influenced the quality of higher education and efficiency of the teacher's work and the work moral of certain teachers. There was e.g., a group of academic teachers who were paid as full timers, but without ambitions, with nearly nil research activity, who were present at the university only for a small number of hours in the morning because they had a teaching duties and during remaining time doing other, better paid activities. Low salaries usually explained the low work moral.

But not all teachers consider the simultaneous doing of other part-time jobs as a negative feature. They are convinced that in the case, it did not negatively influence the quality of their teaching and research work, this can be also understood as contribution to the increase of the quality of their work. The teaching is in this case more closely connected with the external conditions and the higher education institution could thus better fulfil the expectations of future employers of their graduates and adapt their curricula in a more appropriate way to the needs of industry. The total number of part-time teachers increased in the last time significantly – at the moment they represent about 23 % of all employed academic teachers – but the ratio of full-time and part-time teachers did not reach the scope which could negatively influence the quality of research and teaching at universities.

The phenomenon of accountability is a new element in the concept of higher education policy. The Higher Education Law of 2002 further strengthened the autonomy of higher education

institutions but simultaneously introduced the mechanisms, which allow better than before to evaluate the fulfilment of the mission of individual higher education institutions and their task for the benefit of the society. The institutions have now the duty to prepare the yearly reports on their activities as well as yearly reports on financing which have to be submitted to the Ministry of Education for approval and to be open to public. The institutions have also the duty to prepare perspective plans of their development, which shall be negotiated with the Ministry of Education and be also open to public. New compulsory service of higher education institutions is counselling to the students in issues of their education.

The employment conditions of academic teachers are subject of the collective bargaining also in Slovakia. In the tripartite negotiations the interests of academic teachers are represented by Trade Union of Workers in Education and Science, which is the umbrella trade organisation associating all workers in education and science, including academic teachers. It is divided into three autonomous associations: Association for Basic Schools, Association for Secondary Education and Association of Higher Education Institutions and Directly Managed Organisations. The Association of Higher Education Institutions and Directly Managed Organisations is composed of 15 chairmen of Councils of basic organisations in individual higher education institutions and 1 representative of directly managed organisations.

The collective bargaining is realised at two levels: national level as well as level of individual institutions (higher education institutions). The collective agreement, valid at present, was after many meetings signed on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2002. The agreement came into force on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003, the same date as the State budget. It was agreed that

1. the lowest limit for the duration of weekly working time will be lower by 2,5 hours in 2003; the last change in the duration of working time was done in 1968, it means before 34 years;
2. the highest limit for the duration of working time will be 58 hours weekly at most even when employed with several employers until 2007;
3. the paid leave will be prolonged from 8 to 9 weeks;
4. the teachers at higher education institutions will be paid according to the salary tables valid for workers in the health sector;
5. half of a basic/tariff salary will be paid to public employees as part of the November salary;
6. the departure compensation will be increased to the amount of three to eight functional salaries, in the case of first departure for retirement the increase will be by one functional salary.

For the first time in history, also the public employees received the right for supplementary pension insurance paid by the employer.

Simultaneously with these positive changes, the Trade Union of Workers in Education and Science is in the present alarmed first of all by the changes planned by the Amendment of the Labour Code adopted after many years of negotiations in tripartite in 2001. The Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family prepared proposals, which meet with resistance of representatives of trades. Trades strongly criticise the fact that the proposed changes – about 180 – will significantly decrease the defence of employees for dismissal from work and will worsen the social conditions in work as well as at the moment of dismissal from work.

Despite the fact that certain academics (*Sawicki and Holkovic, 2003*) do not consider the system of remuneration of teachers based on years of professional experience as appropriate for academy, met the proposal of the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs to replace the remuneration of academic teachers according to stable salary tables by contract salaries with incomprehension. In the situation when the higher education budget is so maladjusted the majority of academic teachers fears that they will lose the guarantee of the minimum salary and the amounts

paid to the teachers will be too depending from the assessment of the management which could be without clearly defined criteria subjective. Trades and Rector's Conference expressed the unambiguous negative opinion about this proposal, also. Generally, this proposal is not understood as an opportunity and chance to attract excellent teachers from industry and the young ambitious university graduates as well as nor to better pay the excellency already present at universities.

Unsatisfied with the present situation is the Slovak Rector's Conference. This body, based on the older decision of the previous government, is asking to increase the budget of higher education institutions from present 0.72 % of the GDP to 1.0 %. The Slovak Rectors Conference unceasingly points out this non-filled promise in each occasion.

### *3.2 Findings and debates on the attractiveness of the academic workplace*

The education, including higher education is as a rule officially declared as a task of the highest priority in all major policy documents. The social status, the prestige of the profession of an academic teacher in the society is quite high and the academic teachers are recognised as the elite of nation, but the teachers themselves do not feel it so, they are convinced that the status of the teacher does not correspond to the importance of the work they are doing, because these general declarations are as a rule not connected with substantial increase of financial resources allocated to education sector. But on the other side, compared to other sectors of economy, the actual average month salary of an academic teacher – 342,00 € in 2001 – ranking as 4th among all sectors, which was about 15 % above actual average monthly salary in the country, is not so bad. The real problem is that the salaries represent nearly overall budget of higher education institutions. It means that the higher education institutions try to survive with existing staff but do not invest in the developmental activities or capital investment, including equipment of laboratories.

The academic community is deeply dissatisfied with the situation in higher education. First of all because of the fact that for young people it is not attractive to be an employee of an university, it is nearly impossible for them. Only few will sacrifice financial standard for the opportunity to do scientific work, especially if, of historical reasons, the financial parent's hinterland is missing. The best students leave the country in order to study outside Slovakia and it is not very probable that they will return back to Slovakia before long. Worrying is also the age structure of the teaching staff. The flow of young workers during the last decade is minimal.

On the other hand, the research about the optimisation of the model of higher education in Slovakia organised by the Chair for Human Sciences of the Slovak Technical University (*Sawicki, 2003*) in 2000-2002 has shown that only a small part of this state of art is caused by lack of financial means. The teachers at Slovak higher education institutions are very low motivated for increase of their performances as regards the quality and intensity of their work also for other reasons. They are unsatisfied with the insufficient organisation and management of their work and they think that the service departments of the university support the teaching and scientific activities of teachers only in an insufficient degree. According to the research,

„The academic teacher is overburdened by administrative bureaucratic work, that brings him in the time pressure, demotivates him and does not allow him to use effectively his high professional potential;

The use of financial resources is very complicated, inefficiently and non-flexibly administered by various regulations of Ministry of Education, but also by regulations of individual university or faculty. Each financial operation has to be documented by evidence of too many documents.

The teacher is so indirectly seen as a potential abuser of finances without trust to him. This decreases his moral credit in the society and his work motivation ;

The university services are in an inadequate relation to the teachers. The teacher has to do certain support activities alone, e.g. copying, filling of various forms, ensuring the teaching materials, teaching aids etc.;

Teacher has to do these activities not only alone, but furthermore, he has to use very complicated and non- – rational administrative procedure. Such situations decrease the dignity of the teacher, his social status and the assessment of this very highly qualified work force.“(Sawicki, 2002).

There is an opinion that the interest in the academic teaching profession decreased in the last period, but there are no valid data, which could really confirm it. Only research connected with these issues was oriented on various professions, including profession of a teacher – but not dealing only with the profession of an academic teacher – was organised in 2002 in the connection of expected staff mobility from Slovakia to Member States after the date of EU accession. The results of this survey (Daníhel, 2002) showed that the decrease of the interest in the teaching profession generally is caused first of all by these factors:

1. low salaries of teachers;
2. high pretensions and requirements upon teachers in the context of worsened conditions for the execution of the teaching profession;
3. insufficient equipment of institutions by high technology and teaching aids;
4. bad situation in accommodation;
5. low interest in the teaching work caused by above-mentioned factors, but also by low motivation of young people for this activity during their formal and non-formal education and training.

Also the conditions for R&D activities at universities worsened in the last decade. In comparison to other countries in Slovakia only 0.86 % of the GDP is devoted to development of R&D activities. As a negative consequence of this development not only young people do lost the interest in working in the research, but the interest decreased also in the whole academic community.

After 1989, the rules and relations valid before political change in the country were refused, but in many areas others did not substitute them. According to *J.Golian (1999)*, first of all the lack of certain principles of responsibility influenced the teaching process at higher education institutions during the period of transformation. The transformation in many cases was not successful also because of lack of concrete and clear procedures and goals, individual steps and clearly determined responsibility of individual actors.

The missing national strategy led to a massive development of new educational programmes with lack of teachers and personal guaranties and insufficient technical equipment. In many cases, the introduction of a new educational programme was connected only with one concrete academic teacher without taking into account the consequences of such attitude. In this connection, also many new subjects were developed without any type of co-ordination of this work and comparison with other subjects taught. As a consequence, the large portion of subjects is now dependent only on one person not allowing the replacement by an another teacher. In this situation, also the development in the appropriate disciplines is not adequately guarantied. For many subjects, the lack of teaching literature is typical and the content of the subject often undergoes many changes. The personal and collective responsibility at various levels is missing. This makes also the process of objective assessment of teachers impossible.

The high expectations concerning this problem are connected with the new structure of educational programmes, which was prepared by the Ministry of Education based on new Higher Education Law at the beginning of 2003. The transformation of existing educational programmes to this new structure is considered as one of the most important challenges for academic community in the next period.

Relative low percentage of female teachers within the group of teachers with highest academic and scientific qualification and in leading functions is only presumption, exact data are missing. At the moment, there are no special governmental programmes, which were aimed at the higher recruitment of women in the academic profession – the participation of women in these activities is not considered as a specific problem at present. In academic year 2001/2002, female teachers represented about 40 % of the total number of academic teachers. The number of female Ph. D. students increased dramatically in the last period, also.

#### **4. Academic staff and the internationalisation of higher education system**

After the period of total isolation from the democratic world and limited opportunities of co-operation between countries belonging to the sphere of former Soviet Union, the higher education institutions tried to enter into relation with higher education institutions of most developed countries, first of all with Member States as well as international organisations dealing with issues of higher education (e.g. Council of Education, OECD, IAU).

For the development of a new international dimension the higher education institutions used the opportunities offered by individual countries (e.g. Action Austria – Slovak Republic: co-operation in the field of higher education, Dutch-Slovak project of development of professional higher education in Slovakia), but first of all the programme TEMPUS, later SOCRATES (ERASMUS). The Slovak higher education institutions are also active in the co-operation with higher education institutions in Central and Eastern Europe organised in the framework of programme CEEPUS. The substantial part of the activities supported by this programme is devoted to teacher mobility, too, but as in another countries, the scope of student mobility organised within certain schemes or private arrangements is much higher than the mobility of teaching staff.

From the mostly private arrangements we could mention first of all the mutual mobility of academic teachers between neighbouring countries – Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland – where the language barriers do not exist or are very low which allow to keep lectures in the mother tongue of teachers. The mobility with these countries can be indicated as a working mobility in most cases, but in some cases it is connected with further professional/scientific development of teachers, also, first of all with habilitations. The academic teachers from above mentioned countries also „habilitate“ in Slovakia. The bilateral agreements about mutual recognition of such qualifications with the Czech Republic and Poland allow recognising these academic and scientific qualifications automatically. Table 6 provides an overview of teacher mobility.

The reasons why the mobility of teachers did not achieved the expected scope are similar as in another countries, besides the language knowledge namely the fact that the academic teachers have certain teaching duties and it is difficult to replace the absent teachers during the academic year for a longer period.

Table 6: Teacher mobility by fields of study (ERASMUS)

	<b>Fields of Study</b>	<b>Teachers</b>	<b>Number of weeks</b>
0 1	Agriculture	3	3,3
0 2	Architecture, Urban Design, Regional Planning	7	13,7
0 3	Arts	5	9,9
0 4	Economy	14	16,3
0 5	Teacher training	4	5,1
0 6	Engineering	33	47,7
0 7	Geography, Geology	1	1,9
0 8	Humanities	8	11,6
0 9	Foreign languages/Philology	15	20,3
1 0	Law	1	1
1 1	Mathematics and Informatics	4	7,1
1 2	Medicine	6	5,6
1 3	Science	10	17,9
1 4	Social Sciences	0	0
1 5	Communication and Infor- mation Technology	2	2,3
1 6	Others	3	5,3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>169</b>

Source: ERASMUS Slovakia, 2003

In the last decade the effort of academic teachers connected with the goal to increase the internationalisation of national higher education was aimed on the development of curricula and teaching aids in close co-operation with academic staff of foreign universities as well the participation in bilateral or multilateral research projects. Academic teachers of Slovak higher education institutions appreciated very much the fact that they got the opportunity to work in modern laboratories equipped with high technologies enabling them to continue in the research work started in the home country.

As regards the Bologna process of establishment of European area of higher education Slovakia does not have crucial problems with the implementation of goals formulated Bologna Declaration of 1998 and documents of follow up meetings. The Bachelor/Master/Ph. D. structure was introduced already in 1990, the new Higher Education Law of 2002 precise it more. The Law first of all clearly defined the duty of higher education institutions to offer the educational pro-

grammes of three levels (Bachelor, Master and Ph. D.). A long Master programme can be offered only in exceptional cases, e.g. in Medicine. The law introduced also the duty to issue Diploma Supplement to all graduates as well as the credit system based on ECTS. Simultaneously a new structure of educational programmes was introduced by a regulation of Ministry of Education.

The Higher Education Law already allows organising double/joint degree programmes at the level of Ph. D. studies. The special provisions about double/joint degrees were incorporated into the law following the intention to create appropriate conditions for the preparation and defence of dissertation in co-operation with French universities. The Slovak students received the opportunity to participate in the programme of scholarships given for this purpose by French government. On the other hand, the number of foreign students studying in Slovakia is extremely low. As a rule, the individual higher education institutions do not pay sufficient attention to the problem how to attract more foreign students to the individual universities. They do not use GATS and the potential of academic markets in Asia and Pacific or Africa at all. There are only two universities in Slovakia which offer a transnational programme in another country, of which one – Master study in Nursing organised in Nairobi, Kenya, in total 18 students, can be seen as a humanitarian action. But based on the new system of financing, the situation may change very soon. The case study on transnational education in Slovakia (Hrabinská, 2002) prepared in the framework of the project „Transnational Education in Central and Eastern Europe“ in 2002 has shown that the ability to offer or „sale“ the educational programme to other countries is seen by certain academic teachers as a sign of top achievements and could represent an important challenge also for Slovak higher education institutions. The teachers already involved in a programme expressed the opinion that the teaching experience in these conditions changed significantly their attitudes.

As a whole, the phenomenon „transnational education“ is present only to a very limited extent in Slovakia. There are various reasons, but the most important is that serious legislative barriers were introduced for imported TNE by the 1996 amendment of the Higher Education Law of 1990. Also the relatively small educational market is not so interesting for the most important TNE providers or countries worldwide. From the applications of foreign providers according to the 1996 amendment of Higher Education Law, only one application was successful until 2002. The only institution, which fulfilled the requirements, was City University, Bellevue, and USA. The institution received the right to operate as *Vysoka skola manazmentu* (College of Management) in Slovakia with the right to offer Bachelor degree programmes. The other submitted applications (first of all from Hungary) were rejected due the negative opinion issued by the Accreditation Commission.

Transnational education is accepted as a trend with both, positive and negative impact on the traditional Slovak higher education. From the positive features, it seems to be useful to mention first of all the broadened student choice and increased competitiveness in higher education press on opening of domestic educational system as well as press on quality and flexibility of delivered programmes. In some cases, also the positive impact on the educational standards and teaching methods was mentioned. The ability to export educational programme is seen as a strength of the HE institution, as sign of the ability to compete on international labour market but the teachers think that not all programmes taught at Slovak HE institutions in a very good quality (e.g. Natural Sciences) are „marketable“. Also the expectation was articulated that exported TNE could improve the budget of individual HE institutions. This factor could be more important in the future, after the student fees were abolished for part – time study for domestic students. The higher activity of Slovak HE institutions in the field of provision of international educational services could improve also the image of the country which at the moment is quite unknown worldwide.

From the negative factors, there is a feeling that cultural autonomy could be threatened through more extensive TNE development and that in certain cases, not so „good“ education as education provided by Slovak higher education institutions could be imported into the country. These considerations are sometimes connected with certain stereotypes in thinking of people. On the other hand, certain part of public and employers shows the trend to overestimate the value of foreign diplomas, first of all issued in Western Europe and overseas.

There is an expectation that after receiving a very high degree of economic freedom given to higher education institutions by the new Higher Education Law in 2002 the behaviour of individual institutions will change and the individual institutions will try to obtain additional resources also from these activities. In order to attract more foreign students the higher

education institutions already now offer certain studies in foreign languages, first of all in English and German. The largest group of foreign students studying in English, mostly Medicine comes from Greece and Cyprus, but there are also some mature students who participate in Ph. D. studies in Slovakia. Offering a study in a foreign language is even in the case of tutoring of Ph. D. students a pretentious challenge for academic teachers.

## **5. Concluding statements**

The transformation from an elite university education to a mass higher education has an ineligi- ble impact on the main functions, tasks and structure of academic staff. The difficulties and chal- lenges connected with this process as well as impact of increasing globalisation cannot be mas- tered with old concept of an academic teacher. It can be supposed that the traditional concept of an academic professor represented a serious barrier in the past, which did not allow the deeper di- versification of higher education in the country.

The abolition of tenure means a principal hit into the life of the Slovak academic community. The future will show if it will lead to an efficient competition between teachers and to a signifi- cant increase of their motivation for stabile improvement of their academic competence or it will have only a symbolic value. The cohesion of the small community and the sense of belonging to the certain elite club can play in this connection a specific role.

It cannot be expected that the present problems of Slovak higher education can be solved from one day to an another one only through increase of financial resources allocated to higher education institutions, but better paid academic teachers working under improved conditions could play in the process of improvement of Slovak higher education a crucial role. Higher sala- ries of academic teachers can attract to universities more young gifted people and will allow keep- ing highly qualified experts at universities. The positive changes done in 2002 and 2002 represent only one step in the right direction, but they can influence „a bad mood „ – as it was charac- terised by Vaclav Havel for the state of the Czech society as a whole during the difficult period of transformation – ruling often at academic workplaces in Slovakia.

As regards the international attractiveness of the academic profession, and not only from this point of view, the Slovak higher education stand in front of a difficult task how to open them- selves world-wide. Appropriate legislative conditions, ensuring for example full accordance with requirements given by Bologna Declaration, already were established but still certain barriers ex- ist. As serious limits can be seen under others the facts, that the level of teacher salaries even from afar does not correspond to the average teacher salaries in Member States and other developed countries, that the highly educated and skilled academic teachers try to find better paid jobs

abroad (brain drain) or outside the sector of higher education, that Slovak language does not belong among to the most spoken languages in Europe and world-wide, etc.

On the other hand, also the Slovak higher education institutions can offer co-operation with very well educated academics and researchers working under modest conditions very enthusiastic and flexible with achievements, which can also bear comparison worldwide. There are already present many examples of good practice achieved for example in the framework of SOCRATES/ERASMUS programmes or other international projects, which can be used also in a broader international context.

Many Slovak students are at the moment studying abroad – in certain European countries they belong to the largest groups of foreign students according to citizenship. There are two basic opinions about this fact in Slovakia: pessimists express the concerns about a massive brain drain of the elite and that the country will „pay „ for this mistake of strategic importance for a long time, optimists are convinced, that young people will after certain time come back with high-level of education, international experience – may be with some finances- and will significantly contribute to the general development of the country. The future will show which group had better prognostic skills.

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# **Academic Staff in Spanish Universities**

## **Country Report Spain**

*José-Ginés Mora*

### **1. Introduction**

The Spanish higher education system has changed radically over the last twenty years. Decision-making on how to satisfy increasing demand and to solve problems created by growth has monopolised work in the system during this period. Moreover, a profound transformation of the legal framework of the higher education system was also implemented. Both factors, fast growth and legal changes, have marked the higher education system during the last two decades and, consequently, the situation of academic staff and the perception of the academic profession.

In recent years, the situation seems to have stabilised as a result of the falling birth-rate which has led to a slight drop in student numbers. The need for greater investment in buildings and academic staff has also begun to stabilise. However, two factors have led to a new situation in Spanish universities: a new legal framework which was drawn up by the government towards the end of 2001: the new University Act (*Ley Orgánica de Universidades*, hereafter referred to as *LOU*), and the Bologna Declaration, which affects all European higher education systems. Important curricular and organisational changes are required in order to adapt to the new situation that affect academic staff. Once again, after a long period of flux, Spanish universities are now facing the need for radical change once again.

This paper intends to provide a detailed analysis of changes carried out in the recent past as well as those which can be expected in the near future affecting the situation of academic staff.

#### *1.1 A short historical review: from LRU to LOU*

In the 19th century Spanish universities adopted the Napoleonic model of higher education with a strong State role in the regulation of higher education. After the restoration of democracy and the promulgation of the new Constitution in 1978, the transformation of the universities was one of the main political objectives of both academics and political parties. Thus, the first major change in the educational system was the reform of higher education. In 1983 the *University Reform Act* (*Ley de Reforma Universitaria*, hereafter referred to as *LRU*) was passed which resulted in a

profound transformation in the Spanish higher education system (Garcia-Garrido 1992; Mora 1997).

The main changes introduced by the LRU were the following: a) Universities became autonomous entities; b) direct responsibility for universities was transferred from the central government to the seventeen autonomous regions; and c) the establishment of private universities was permitted. Under the new legal structure, power over the universities was shared by: a) *Central government*, which is responsible for general and legal issues concerning universities and staff, most of whom are tenured civil servants. b) *Regional governments*, which are responsible for financing public universities and planning higher education in the region. c) *Universities*, which make decisions on internal organisation, degree program curricula and syllabi, staff recruitment (restricted by the general rules for civil servants), the organisation of teaching and research and internal budgeting.

After the LRU, universities were no longer dependent on the State and became collegial structures as described by Clark (1983). Decision-making power was transferred to collegiate bodies in which non-academic staff and students make up a considerable percentage (roughly, one third). The University Senate also has considerable power, including the election of the rector. Boards with large numbers of members make decisions on faculties and departments, and elect deans and heads of departments. The Social Council (based on the pattern of boards of trustees in other university systems) was established as an external body to represent the wider interests of society in the University. Nevertheless, the real influence of this body is quite limited, due to a lack of tradition and to an unclear legal definition of its role. According to the criteria used by McDaniel (1996), Spanish universities have a similar level of autonomy to those of the Netherlands and Sweden, less than Anglo-Saxon countries but higher than most of the European continental countries.

Despite a thorough process of decentralisation and autonomy, problems have not been fully resolved and conflicts among the four levels of decision-making are relatively frequent. Personnel matters are a perfect example of these conflicts. On one hand, central government decides on general personnel policies (basic structure, workload and salaries) whilst regional governments are responsible for financing universities and indirectly for paying the payroll in public universities. Yet the employees in universities are mostly civil servants with salaries and working conditions defined by the central government. In addition, universities can establish their own personnel policies, such as the number of staff in each category or the actual workload of personnel. In fact, decisions taken by universities are made by the staff through their collegiate boards. Eventually, decisions on staff numbers made by universities and decisions on salaries made by the central government have direct implications on the costs that regional governments have to meet. It is obvious that such a complex, four-level structure of decision-making on university personnel issues is inevitably a permanent source of conflict and discord. Fortunately, though these conflicts are permanent, they are less virulent than one may expect of such a potentially conflictive structure.

The Spanish Constitution of 1978 recognises the autonomy of universities and so was implemented by the LRU. A later sentence of the Constitutional Court interpreted that autonomy was a prerogative of the „university community“ (that is, teachers and students) instead of a privilege of the „institution“ itself. This interpretation of the Constitutional Court (incidentally, mostly composed of university professors at that time) has had at least two perverse effects. On one hand, it has not allowed the influence of external bodies such as the Social Council to represent the interests of the community because external influence goes against this peculiar idea of autonomy. On the other hand, it has given excessive power to academics to fully control institu-

tions. Consequently, the autonomy of academics is very high but accountability is lower than is desirable.

By the end of the 1990s, all academic analysts and political parties were aware of the need for changes in the legal structure of higher education. After two decades of change, the situation was analysed in numerous seminars all over the country and in a wide variety of publications, and proposals were put forward to reform the legal structure of Spanish universities. The Conference of Spanish University Rectors (CRUE), commissioned a study on the situation and the need for reforms, which resulted in the *Bricall Report* (Bricall, 2001). The report gathered the opinions of administration, management, funding, quality and teaching experts. The report was highly acclaimed by experts, but it was subtly rejected by university heads, who considered its proposals too revolutionary. They were particularly against the report's proposal to set up a governing body for universities with a considerable proportion (49%) of lay persons. Before its publication (when the content of the report was known only to those who commissioned it, i.e. the rectors), there were already student demonstrations protesting against the report. The reasons for such a reaction were clear to see: the leaders of some universities regarded this report as a danger to their university status quo.

On the other hand, all the political parties running for election in 2000 had a political program which included the reform of the LRU. All parties considered it to be a politically essential requirement. The Socialist Party candidate even stated that the *Bricall Report* would form the basis of his higher education policy. However, the victory of the conservative party meant that the government was able to put forward proposals for a new law.

The new law made certain changes to the legal structure of higher education. Among the most noteworthy features of the law were: a) the incorporation of some lay persons in the Governing Board of the university (always a minority group); b) election of the rector by direct vote (as opposed to being voted indirectly by the senate); c) an increase in academic staff representation, which created a slight reduction in student representation; d) the requirement that academic staff have to gain national habilitation before being named by universities; and e) the obligatory accreditation of degree programs by the new National Agency for Quality Assessment and Accreditation (ANECA). Although these were not major changes, they were not at all well received by most university and student leaders, who considered these measures to be an attack on university autonomy and university democracy. However, the law altered such minor aspects and its reforms were so unambitious that it did not attract the support of those most interested in change. The debate was reduced to markedly political, simplistic wrangling in the press along with some street demonstrations. The law was eventually passed but all the experts consider that the law does not reach far enough. They believe that it will only bring about a few major improvements and that there may be some negative effects. However, the overall impression is that it will make very little difference to the Spanish higher education system.

In general, the law gives universities and autonomous regions more independence to organise themselves as they wish. This is a positive feature because it allows both universities and regions to rethink their own legal regulations and adapt them to the new situation. This could have been done without the LOU, but it has created the need to introduce changes. Many university statutes may improve because they are better adapted to a situation which is very different from that of 20 years ago, at the end of the Franco dictatorship. Moreover, the autonomous regions are starting to draw up their own university laws with their own regulations, in addition to setting up their own agencies to assess the quality of teaching and institutions. This new situation is interesting insofar as it will allow the differentiation and improvement of those universities which fulfil two conditions: their heads must be interested in promoting change and they must be located in

an autonomous region where the governors are also concerned about the competitiveness of its universities. It is still too soon to see the initial results, but we can already see that some regions are doing more than others on this front.

## *1.2 From fast growth to important decline*

The Spanish higher education system has become a mass system, with increasing proportions of people enrolling in higher education institutions. The gross enrolment quota for the 18-23 year-old population is 41%, and the percentage of new entrants in higher education among the 18 year-old cohort is around 55 percent (Mora *et al.*, 2000). The increase in the number of students in higher education in recent decades has been dramatic. Numbers have almost doubled each decade since 1960. However, the figure reached a maximum in 1998-99 (1,583,000 students) and started to decrease slowly (Consejo de Universidades, several years) due to the remarkable reduction in the number of young people reaching higher education age (in a few years, the number of young people entering higher education will be half the number of the early nineties).

The current decline in student numbers is extremely important. For the first time in the recent history of Spanish higher education, there is no guarantee that there will be a demand for the university places available. The question is whether institutions and staff that have always known periods of growth will find it easy to adapt to a new era in which the efficient use of available resources will become the main objective. The new situation has a relevant effect on academic staff perspectives. There is not likely to be a reduction in the number of teachers (the system had a high student-teacher ratio and there is room for improvement) and researchers (the research system also needs serious improvement).

In 1982, there were 41,600 academic staff in Spanish universities. In 2003, this number had risen to 83,064 (heads, though mostly in full time positions). This means that since the LRU was promulgated, the number of academic positions has almost doubled but the pace of increase in the number of tenured positions has been even faster. This rapid growth has generated much tension in universities over the last few years and at least two negative consequences. Firstly, the recruitment process has not been always as rigorous as desired in order to maintain the required level of quality of academic staff. Although quality standards in the selection process were always formally kept, there is a general feeling that some individuals would not have passed the selection process in a more stable period with lower demand for academic staff. It is likely that this case only affects a small percentage of tenured staff but it has a negative effect on opinions about the whole group. The second negative effect is the homogeneity in the age of academic staff. At present, opportunities for promotion for the youngest academic staff are reduced, due to the bottleneck caused by the scarce number of retirements and new positions.

## **2. Employment and working conditions of academic staff**

### *2.1 The legal status of academic staff*

Spanish universities were a typical case of the Napoleonic model, where universities were a part of the State and academics were civil servants belonging to national bodies. Before the LRU, the in-

ternal organisation of universities was extremely hierarchical. Departments did not exist and the basic unit was the Chair. The LRU deeply changed the former situation of academic staff. The main structural changes were as follows:

- departments, with several professors working together and sharing teaching and research activities, substituted the former individual chairs,
- professors became members of a university instead of members of national bodies, and could only move to other institutions by open competition,
- a reasonable increase in academic staff salaries, making an academic career more competitive from an economic point of view.

The legal changes implemented during the 1980's have deeply shaped the current structure of academic staff in Spain. Their effects were similar to that of an earthquake in the traditional structure of Spanish universities. The hierarchical system based on the individual power of the chairholder, and the excessive influence of the national guild of chairs-holders collapsed. Old academics claim that the profession has lost prestige and social recognition. This is probably true but it is mostly due to the simple fact that the number of professors has grown enormously as a result of the move towards a mass higher education system.

The LRU changed the model transforming universities into autonomous institutions but it did not change the status of the academics. Academics, at least those in stable positions, are still civil servants and members of national bodies. There is a deep contradiction between the status of academics and the university autonomy. For instance, candidates for tenured positions in one university were selected by a committee consisting of members of the national body of professors, that is, members of other (perhaps competing) universities. In brief, the selection of personnel in one autonomous and independent university depended on decisions undertaken by members of other universities.

There is also another relevant consequence of keeping civil servant status for academics. Salaries and working conditions of academics are fixed at national level for all the members of the national body of professors (with differences by categories). Commitment to work, higher productivity or better results cannot be negotiated and rewarded at individual level because the membership to a national body means the same rules for all members. How to reward the different levels of performance? In Spain, the solution adopted by the LRU was to allow academics to carry out „external“ activities in addition to their „civil servant“ activities. Academics are allowed to have extra activities such as continuing education courses (sometimes in another university), contracting for applied research activities or consultancy, and organising any other activity more or less related to the profession. There are rules establishing some limits for these activities but they are not too restrictive. This mix between „civil servant activities“ and „market activities“ of Spanish academics has contradictory consequences. On one hand, it has been a stimulus for most active academics to promote many and diverse entrepreneurial activities that are satisfying social demands that institutions by themselves are not able to provide, at least with enough flexibility. Besides, as we will discuss later, these activities may represent a substantial increase in the salaries of those academics. On the other hand, the system has several shortcomings. Firstly, institutions do not get (at least, as much as it would be desirable) the benefits of academics' activities. Although there is a small overhead, such activities may be carried out even in other institutions competing with the own institutions. Secondly, in many cases this system compels academics to look for extra earnings outside of the strict academic life. There is a potential danger of having academics too involved in extra-paid „market“ activities, leaving in a second place their „civil servant“ activities, which are their main research and teaching duties.

Probably the most relevant trait of the academic profession in Spain is this combination of statuses in each individual, the civil servant working for one university and the professional working in the free market. The first status is dominant in most cases, the second only in the case of more active individuals. Whether this mechanism to reward academics eventually benefits universities and the higher education system needs further analysis. In spite of that, this author believes that a reform to abandon the civil servant status of academics would be more logical based on the autonomy of universities and would allow institutions to negotiate salaries and working conditions individually with their employees in order to develop both institutional identity and individual initiative. However, this opinion is only shared by a few experts and most academics and governmental officials would be against this change because the civil servant culture is extremely rooted in the Spanish society in general and in the academia in particular.

As expected, the LOU has maintained the same civil servant structure, although it allows regional governments to create new positions for professors without civil servant status. However, the regional governments that have already introduced these positions have only created middle ranking posts with the exception of the Catalanian government's that has created a contracted position with level of full professor. This limitation inevitably makes this new avenue a second-class, less desirable option for academics.

## 2.2 The Structure of Academic Staff

As mentioned before, there are two main types of academic staff: tenured and non-tenured staff. Tenured staff have traditionally had the legal status of civil servants, and non-tenured staff had an *administrative contract* with each university. This administrative contract establishes a special type of working relationship between employees and public institutions that is less restrictive for the employer (that is, fewer rights for the worker) than the standard labour contract (for instance, is always non permanent). The situation has changed since the LOU and a permanent status is not exclusive to a civil servant position any more. The LOU states that the governments of the autonomous regions can establish rules and conditions for contracting academic staff (with non civil-servant status) based on standard labour contract. In brief, tenured positions have been equivalent to civil servant positions until now, but the possibility of tenured positions with non-civil servant status is open. Nevertheless, we do not believe this track will be too relevant in the next future.

The distinction between civil servant and non civil servant staff was (and probably it still will be) the most relevant in Spanish universities, affecting not only tenured positions but also academic and social status, salaries, additional benefits and so on. With the exception of a few professionals who have part-time positions as teachers in specific fields in universities, a non-tenured staff position was considered as a provisional situation for people starting out on their academic career. Obviously, the objective of the majority of non-tenured academic staff was to eventually obtain a civil servant position. It is unclear whether the new non civil-servant career will change this situation or not.

There are three scales of staff with civil servant status. There are both full and part-time positions. However, regulations discourage people from holding part-time positions and less than 5 percent of tenured academic staff works part-time. The three categories are as follows:

C-Professor (*Profesor Titular de Escuela Universitaria*) would be comparable to teachers with a tenured position in an American college. Only a four plus year degree (*Licenciado* or Engineer) is

required for this position. Consequently, they can only teach in three-year degree courses traditionally taught in „Escuelas Universitarias“ instead of Universities, which explains this job title. They have full autonomy in organising their teaching duties, establishing the content of courses and giving them. No previous experience is required for this category, though most of these staff have previously held non-tenured positions. In theory, they do not have research duties.

B-Professor (*Profesor Titular de Universidad* or *Catedrático de Escuela Universitaria*) could be considered equivalent to an Associate Professor in American universities, though in Spain this is the most standard professorship for tenured academic staff. A doctorate is required but no previous working experience in universities, though it is rare to find a B-Professor without previous experience in a university or, at least, in a research institute. They have full autonomy in teaching or developing research programs.

A-Professor (*Catedrático*) may be considered equivalent to a Full Professor in American universities, though only a small proportion of tenured staff reach this level. This group is the most prestigious from an academic and social point of view. A-Professors have to have been a B-Professor for at least three years. Their rights and duties are similar to B-Professors, though only they are eligible to be rectors.

Although C-Professors do not necessarily have a doctorate, many of them are preparing their doctoral thesis or doing research in order to be promoted to B-Professor. This happens frequently when they fulfil this requirement. It is rather more difficult to be promoted from B-Professor to A-Professor. Promotion is basically a question of available positions at the top level. There is a rule of thumb (in some universities it is even included in the internal regulations) that the B-Professor/A-Professor ratio should be three to one.

There is no formal hierarchical structure in departments, so all professors with civil-servant status are free to develop their teaching duties. In spite of this, informal hierarchical relationships are frequently present among different ranks of professors. Internal ranks are even more relevant for the non-academic world and students who think more highly of A-Professors.

Before the LOU there were two main positions for non-tenured academic staff: assistant teacher (*profesor ayudante*) and associate teacher (*profesor asociado*). The LOU has created three new positions Assistant-Doctor Teacher (*profesor ayudante doctor*) Collaborating Teacher (*profesor colaborador*) and Contracted Professor (*profesor contratado doctor*). The newest development is that the last two positions can be permanent posts. It is the first time that non civil-servant positions have this character. Another recent change is that candidates for some contracted academic positions must be previously accredited by the new ANECA or an equivalent regional agency. Starting in September 2003, an Assistant-Doctor, Collaborating Teacher or Contracted Professor will have to obtain the „accreditation“ that independent committees of experts are currently doing for thousand of candidates from Spanish and foreign institutions. Another condition regulated by the LOU is that the number of contracted academic staff cannot exceed 49 percent of the total academic staff in each institution.

An Assistant Teacher was (and still is) a position for recent graduates starting their academic career. They have some teaching responsibilities, for example, giving a few practical lectures or helping in laboratories. This category was designed by the LRU (and the same is stated in the LOU) for training future professors or researchers. Consequently, this is a full-time position and the main goal is to collaborate in research projects. However, as they are „non-efficient-teaching personnel“ (taking into consideration their reduced teaching duties), universities considered Assistants to be „too expensive“, and are reluctant to use this type of position. The number of Assistants has decreased dramatically, and in some universities they have completely disappeared.

The LOU have created a new position of Assistant-Doctor for people that have spent more than two years in another university. This position can only be maintained for four years. The objective is to attract young researchers from other places offering them a provisional position. They must be accredited by the national or a regional accrediting agency.

Associate Teacher was established by the LRU as a way of incorporating experts and specialists from the non-academic world into teaching at universities. Obviously, the doctorate, a typical academic degree, is not required for this position. The post was basically designed to be a part-time position compatible with another job outside university, though the possibility of a full-time post was also considered by the LRU. Associate teachers only have teaching duties, giving from 3 to 8 hours per week of lectures depending on the contract. Because they do not have any other extra duties in addition to their teaching hours, their salaries are relatively low. Regrettably, this fact has denaturalised the laudable goals of this type of staff. Several years ago, universities started a policy of hiring young people with no expertise at all as Associates. This was a way of having „cheap and flexible labour“ to cope with the increasing number of students. Since many of the „false Associates“ (that is, not the experienced professionals that they are supposed to be) are interested in an academic career, they are doing research and working on their doctoral thesis. In fact, they are acting as Assistants with a lower cost for the institutions and increased teaching duties. The number of full-time Associates (a status that should be exceptional) has increased remarkably. They cannot legally have another job, this being contradictory to the objective of this type of position. It is impossible to know the exact proportion of „real Associates“ (actually not interested in an academic career) and „false Associates“ (people preparing or having finished their doctorate). Nevertheless, of the roughly 29,000 associates, approximately 8,000 hold full-time positions. At least those in full time positions must be „false associates“.

The solution adopted by the LOU has been very pragmatic: it has kept the position of Associate Teacher with its original meaning (experts from the outside world) and has created a new position of Collaborating Teacher for the former „false associates“. These teachers with no research duties and no need for a doctorate will help with teaching duties in some fields more teaching-intensive. The first (Associates) will have a temporary contract, but Collaborating Teachers may have a permanent status.

The most relevant innovation of the LOU regarding academic staff has been the establishment of a new position of permanent contracted professor with teaching and/or research duties. Traditionally, non-tenured positions were just a mere provisional situation on the ladder to civil-servant positions and they did not have a permanent labour status. The goal of the new position is to offer a desirable permanent status apart of the civil-servant ladder. To reach this position, candidates must hold a doctorate and will have to pass the accreditation of the national or some regional accrediting agencies. Working conditions and salaries must be established by autonomous regions, but it can be supposed that they will reach a reasonable level. At this moment, these new positions have to been developed in each region. Nevertheless, in principle, the attractiveness of these new positions for academic staff is rather dubious, though is interesting for institutions which will have a more flexible staff.

In addition to these main categories, typical positions, such as Visiting and Emeritus Professor are also available. Another non-tenured category is the Interim Professor. People that fulfil the legal requirements for the position of professors (A, B and C) but do not have the tenure can provisionally occupy these positions. Interim positions last from the moment the professorship is endowed until the vacancy is eventually occupied by a tenured professor. The number of these positions is dropping, as the system becomes more stable. Nevertheless, this category has some relevance in the promotion process because when departments appoint somebody as an Interim Pro-

fessor they are indicating who their favourite candidate for the tenured position is to the external selection panel.

Table 1 presents academic staff data in the Spanish higher education system in 2003. Data has been broken down into the categories mentioned above (though new categories have not been included because they have not developed yet). As we can observe, more than half of the academic staff are in tenured positions. Associates, the most heterogeneous and conflictive group account for 37 percent of academic staff.

*Table 1: Distribution of academic staff by categories. 2003*

<b>Type</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Civil-servant	A-Professor	7,932	9.5
Academic	B-Professor	27,904	33.6
Staff	C-Professor	11,114	13.4
Total tenured		46,940	56.5
Non-civil-servant	Associate	31,013	37.3
Academic	Assistant	4, 228	5.1
Staff	Other	883	1.1
Total non-tenured		36,124	43.5
Total		83,064	100.0

Source: Consejo de Coordinación Universitaria (2003)

### *2.3 Promotion*

The way in which teaching staff are promoted has been one of the biggest changes brought in under the LOU. As yet there have been no promotions under the new system and at present, teaching staff are still being promoted under the old system. It is therefore worth examining both systems in order to analyse the differences between them. The basic system for promotion to a civil-servant position was (and still is) similar for the three categories of professors. When there is a vacancy in a tenured position, or the university decides to create a new position, a public call for candidates is made. The call is open to everybody who satisfies the academic requirements for the position. A Selection Committee composed of five members was appointed to select the best candidate. The university appointed two members in this Committee, following the recommendation of the corresponding department. The other three professors were appointed in a random process in which only professors of the same field from other public universities were eligible to be selected. The Committee held a public session where candidates presented their merits. After secret discussions, the Board recommended the appointment of one or none of the candidates.

In a period of very rapid growth, competition for professorships (especially in the case of B and C-Professors) has not been strongly disputed. Few candidates from other universities participated in these competitions due to the mentioned disadvantage of the external candidates. However, the proverbial reluctance of Spaniards to move to other cities is a factor that should be considered as well. Nevertheless, this situation was rapidly changing and stiff competition for these

positions became normal and the number of candidates for each vacancy increased, especially in the case of A-Professor.

Universities created new positions following departmental requests. In many cases, departments only made this request when they had a „suitable internal candidate“ who fulfilled the academic requirements and who had a reasonable chance of obtaining the position. Secondly, departments appointed two out of five members of the Selection Committee. If there were no internal disputes, the local candidate (that is the favourite of the department) had a better chance (around 95 percent of the positions are obtained by the „favourite and local“ candidate). It is obvious that this selection procedure concealed a dangerous leaning to endogamy. One of the most perverse consequences of this endogamy is the lack of mobility in Spanish universities. Generally speaking, Spaniards are not too keen of mobility: to live in the same place that one was born seems to be an ideal for most of them. In the academic life is even worse: you need to keep very stable relations with your nearest academic environment in order to have the opportunity of being promoted.

What is the reason for this trend towards endogamy in Spanish universities? Departments are run by their staff who decide when and how to promote members. If no external control is exerted and/or there are no incentives to maintain the high standard of the department, there is a logical trend towards promoting close colleagues instead of bringing new people that may destabilize the internal *status quo*. The quality of academic staff has suffered as a result of this system since good internal relations have been the main criteria for promotion, above professional values relating to teaching and research abilities. Such endogamy has not been the only factor which has lowered the quality of academic staff. In the Spanish system, which has grown tenfold in two decades, the demand for teaching staff has increased at a pace that quality levels have been unable to match. Logically, the need to fill teaching posts has often forced universities to take on academic staff of dubious professional competence. Given the endogamic promotion system, many of these people have managed to reach high-ranking positions without too much difficulty. The promotion process for academic staff and its frequent malfunctions has been a burning issue and everybody was conscious that the system had to be revised. There were two basic opinions on this issue: a) those who believed the solution was to make the process fairer by reducing the influence of the internal members. b) Others defend a more radical change (Mora, 2000; Mora, 2001). They think that the way of running universities, and not just the promotion process, must change by introducing external control and incentives to promote competition for the best staff. In a more competitive context, universities with panels composed only of internal members will look for the best candidates, with the advice of external and anonymous referees.

The most significant change in the situation of academic staff, and that which has caused the greatest uproar under the new law, is the national habilitation of academic staff (to some extent, the system is similar to the model used in France). Applicants for professorships must undergo a test carried out by a seven-member national committee. Only those who pass the test (and numbers are limited to the amount of vacant positions in universities) can be chosen by the respective universities which have announced that a post is vacant. This new system has caused two immediate effects which highlight the corrupt nature of the previous system. Before the law came into effect (December 2001), universities announced around 10,000 vacant posts for new professors (out of a total of the 50,000 current professors). The speed with which this endogamic mechanism was set in motion to guarantee that the „candidates with contacts“ managed to pull strings and get a job before the new law came into effect is a clear sign of just how corrupt the old system was. On the other hand, universities have now begun to announce a few vacancies under the new system. The fact that only 200 new positions have been announced since the law came in effect

(over one year ago) ratifies the „fear“ to the new system. Although the first tests have not yet taken place, in some cases, more than 100 people have applied for a vacant post. This may be because all the applicants who were sufficiently well qualified but who were rejected by the previous system because they lacked the internal, extra-professional support required to be considered for the post, have now begun to apply. Finally, universities will fill their vacant teaching posts by choosing what they consider to be the most suitable candidate for the post from those applicants that are „habilitated“ (it should be pointed out that all those with a teaching post under the old system are habilitated).

The new selection system may avoid some of the problems outlined above, but it will cause others. One negative effect is that it will do away with multidisciplinary and the option of picking professors that are experts in very specific subjects. The new national habilitation committees are made up of professors from each area of knowledge. It is unlikely that these committees will select people from outside the core subject field. On the other hand, there may be just as much pressure on these national committees as there has been on local committees until now. Although it is still too soon to judge, the new system does not appear to have any advantage over other selection systems successfully used in other places, such as in Anglo-Saxon countries.

### **3. The attractiveness of the academic workplace**

#### *3.1 Working conditions*

Working conditions in Spanish universities depend on many factors. This is probably the main problem that academics have to face when defining their working conditions. Firstly, the Central Government establishes salaries, status, general duties and rights of academic staff (although, the LOU leaves the rules for contracted academic staff in the hands of regional governments). Secondly, universities define the number and type of positions in each department, specific rules for the access of new staff and for their promotion limited by general rules established by the governments (central and regional). Thirdly, regional governments are in fact extremely important in defining staff policy in universities because they finance universities and university staff policy is strongly dependent on financial deals with regional governments that eventually (though indirectly) have to cover the pay roll.

Civil servants (like the rest of employees in public institutions) have to work 37.5 hours per week, but this rule is in fact a formality for academics because there is no control on working hours, which may allow some academics a relatively relaxed life. Nevertheless, surveys show that the commitment of most academics to work is on average very high, and real working hours exceed what is established by far.

New rules for defining the working conditions of academic staff are expected to accomplish the development of both the LOU and the new teaching scheme resulting from adapting the system to the Bologna Declaration. As these new rules have not been defined yet, the current ones will be discussed here. Weekly teaching hours are explicit in norms promulgated by the Central Government. The amount of weekly teaching hours per teacher is extremely important for the whole higher education system. The number of positions available in each department depends on the total number of teaching hours that a department has to give. These hours are firstly covered by tenured staff (in some departments even this may exceed needs) and the rest by non-tenured staff. Thus, the yearly contracts of non-tenured staff depend closely on the teaching

hours available. The close link between teaching hours and the number of academic positions was justified during a period of fast expansion where the main concern was to cater for the increasing number of students. Nevertheless, it is time to think about more flexible alternatives without the negative effects of the current system. Ironically, students are the group most damaged by this close link. Spanish students have too many hours of lectures. Programs where students have to attend 30 lectures per week are relatively frequent. Academic programs (designed by academics themselves) have been widened irrespective of real student needs since this has been the best way to increase and guarantee jobs. Therefore, breaking the rigid link between teaching hours and positions is urgent not only to ensure greater flexibility in staff issues but also to improve the learning process. We expect that from the new regulations.

In principle, A and B-Professors have to teach 240 hours per year. C-Professors with no formal research duties have 360 hours of teaching duties. Nevertheless, most universities require C-Professors to teach the same hours as the rest of professors. Associates and Assistants teach between three and eight hours a week depending on their type of contract. These figures only include lectures given in the classroom. Tutorials or other teaching activities are not taking in account in these figures. Departments check that teaching duties including tutorials are carried out. The commitment of academic staff to basic teaching duties may be considered good, though their interest in improving teaching skills or in introducing innovative ways of giving courses is more questionable.

Standard courses include between 30 and 90 hours of teaching per year and so academic staff have to give at least three different courses to complete their teaching duties. Nevertheless, in fields with lower demand, or in universities with a higher number of academic staff, the teaching load is in fact lower than formally regulated. In a few universities the number of teaching hours can be reduced depending on individual research performance.

A and B-Professors have to dedicate part of their working time to research, but there are no clear rules on research duties for academic staff. Assistants, a category defined by its training nature, must help in research activities while they are preparing their own thesis. The other categories (C-Professors and Associates) do not have research duties but because research is the main criteria for promotion, a high proportion do research activities. Whereas teaching activities are strictly controlled, research is a more independent activity and no explicit control is exerted. In the case of the lower categories, research is the mechanism for promotion and many people try to be active researchers in order to be promoted. In the case of A and B-Professors, commitment to research may vary from very high dedication to nothing at all. Although some surveys show reasonable research productivity among tenured academic staff, it is likely that these surveys are biased because the more productive academics are the ones that are most inclined to answer the surveys.

A defining trait of the academic profession in Spain is that academics are highly involved in managerial issues. After the LRU, universities became extremely representative. There is a myriad of managerial positions at all levels of the university structure occupied by academic staff: from coordinator of a Teaching Unit (a group of similar courses) to Rector. Most individuals in these positions have reduced teaching hours and a slight salary increase. Besides, management of Spanish universities is so „democratic“ that managerial duties are spread out among all academics. An excessive proportion of working time spent on activities such as meetings and bureaucratic affairs is unavoidable.

In Spanish universities, other activities such as the organization and giving of special courses, consultancy, participation in community service activities and so on, are considered apart from regular academic activities and normally include a bonus for people involved. These activities can

be very important for many academics. For instance, continuing education (which is becoming an important activity in universities) is organised according to market criteria. This means that students pay the full cost of the programs and teachers involved in these courses receive extra fees (Mora and Vidal, 2000). The participation of academics in these activities is obviously very irregular and depends on individual initiative.

Generally speaking, the commitment of most academics to work is high. On one hand, the teaching load is relatively high and teaching activities are controlled. Secondly, managerial activities are unavoidable in a collegial system. Commitment to research is more erratic. It is possible to find people with a very high dedication to research (in addition to the obligatory teaching and management) and people with no activity at all in this field. In order to avoid inefficiencies a more flexible workload would be a possible solution, allowing different patterns of work depending on the interests of both institutions and individuals. Nevertheless, the civil servant status that means common rules for everybody does not facilitate flexibility in the workload. This is why the LOU has tried to develop the new positions of Contacted Professors.

### 3.2 Earnings

Academic staff earnings combine five elements: basic salary, seniority bonuses, productivity bonuses (with two components, national and regional), reward for university office (for individuals with an executive position) and participation in contracts (for individuals that have research or consultancy contracts).

Basic salary depends exclusively on rank (figures are presented in table 2). Civil servants receive a Seniority Bonus ( *trienios*) for each three years of service, whether in different positions or departments. The increases are not considerable (€ 550 per year), but do reach a significant amount for the oldest staff.

The most innovative part of salaries is the Productivity Bonuses. At the beginning of the 1990's, the Central Government established a system of rewarding productivity in order to promote the commitment of tenured academic staff to teaching and research. Additionally, regional governments are currently establishing additional incentives based on similar concepts. In the case of the national Productivity Bonuses there are two types of incentives:

*Teaching productivity bonus.* Tenured professors receive a Productivity Bonus for each teaching period of five years that receives a positive assessment. These bonuses become a permanent increase in their salaries. In fact, the system has become an additional way of rewarding seniority because all professors are positively assessed (exceptions are anecdotic and connected with cases of extreme misbehaviour). The number of positive assessments is limited to six. The value of each bonus depends on rank: € 1,660 per year for A-Professors, € 1,350 for B-Professors, and € 1,140 for C-Professors.

*Research Productivity:* Professors receive a permanent bonus after six years of research activity with a positive assessment. This is also limited to a total of six positive assessments. The economic value of these bonuses is the same as bonuses for teaching activities. However, as assessment criteria are more rigorous, they are considerably less frequent. Using data from a group of universities, we have estimated that on average, A-Professors have less than two research bonuses, B-Professors less than one, and very few C-Professors have even one bonus. As mentioned above, the scarce number of research bonuses has converted them into a significant sign of internal prestige and a key to promotion.

Regional governments are also currently setting up systems to reward the productivity of their academic staff. Each regional government is adopting different criteria to assess productivity and setting different salary increases for each bonus. There is, therefore, a great deal of variety, but the various regional systems can be grouped into two basic categories:

Regional governments which have opted to increase the amounts awarded to academics under the national bonus system (for example by doubling the amount received for these bonuses), in some cases adding extra criteria to reward managerial work. The advantage of such criteria is that it avoids having to carry out additional, costly assessment of academic staff. The disadvantage lies in the fact that it does not make use of a more detailed and more effective system of incentives in order to improve the system.

Other regional governments have opted to assess the individual performance of academic staff. For instance, the system set up by the Government of the Canary Islands assesses three aspects: research, teaching and management. Each aspect is assessed by taking into account all the activities undertaken over a certain period of time. The result of this assessment is graded on a three-level scale. As a result, a member of staff can earn up to 9 bonuses (the maximum level in each of the three aspects), which would mean a salary increase of approximately € 9,000 per year). These bonuses are not permanent and are periodically reviewed.

Academics elected and/or appointed to managerial or academic office in universities receive an extra amount of money along with a reduction in their teaching duties. The monetary compensations for these positions are not high but, bearing in mind the high participation of academics in the management of universities, these rewards affect a considerable proportion of academics (mostly A and B-Professors). The rector, acting as the full president of the university, receives a yearly increase of €16,000 and a Dean €5,600 while the Director of a department receives an extra €4,000 increase. Considering that these positions require high commitment and slow down professional careers, rewards are very low. This fact has negative consequences on the system because these incentives do not encourage the best people to be involved in university management. Regional productivity bonuses for compensating management duties are trying to correct this situation.

The LRU established (and the LOU have ratified) that academic staff can deal with public or private institutions for special services such as giving special courses; consultancy; applied research contracts, and so on. The university itself signs these contracts, receives the funds, retains a part for overheads, pays for the costs, and pays the academics involved in the contracts as agreed. These extra earnings mainly affect academics working in market-oriented fields, where more dynamic individuals can double their earnings. But even fields like humanities may be relevant due to participation in special courses or continuing education that in Spanish universities are very frequent. In any case, there is no data for evaluating the real incidence of these activities in the earnings of academics.

Table 2 presents a summary of academic staff earnings. We have not included earnings from the university office, and participation in contracts because they only affect a part of academic staff and are very irregular. We have not included regional productivity bonuses because they are very different and they are still in a period of implementation in most regions. Figures are based on gross salaries. Net salaries, obviously depend on taxes and eventually on personal and family situations, but a standard professor may have an income tax rate of around 25 percent, a low rate by European standards.

So, what is the total salary of academic staff in Spain? Due to the increasing relevance of the salary based on individual performance (contracts, university office and productivity bonuses), it is almost impossible to answer this question. Only an analysis based on a representative sample of

individual may give such an answer. Such studies have not been carried out. Nevertheless, we have made a very rough estimation of the average salary of professors taking into account average figures of seniority and national productivity bonuses. We have estimated that average salaries of A-Professor are around €43,000. B-Professors earn around €33,000 and C-Professors make around €27,000. This average could be a reasonable approximation of the average earnings of Spanish professors, if earnings from other activities are not taken into account. Nevertheless, an active professor with a high performance in contracts and many bonuses can even duplicate these figures.

*Table 2: Yearly Gross Earnings of Academic Staff by Categories\*. 2003 (in €)*

<b>Position</b>	<b>Salary</b>	<b>Each Seniority Bonus</b>	<b>Each National Productivity Bonus</b>
A-Professor	35,390	550	1,660
B-Professor	28,700	550	1,350
C-Professor	25,600	550	1,140
Associate	26,300 – 3,170		
Assistant	19,500 – 13,800		

Source: Data from Official State Gazette (BOE, 2003)

\* Earnings from research contracts, regional productivity bonuses and university office are not included in this estimated total

In table 2, earnings of traditional positions of non-tenured staff are shown. Salaries for the new position are currently being established by regional governments. Salaries for Associates and Assistants depend on the type of contract. They do not have productivity or seniority bonuses, but if they eventually become civil servants the years spent in these positions are taken into account when granting them the bonuses that civil servants receive. As we can see, salary differences between tenured and non-tenured staff are significant. The hypothesis that the traditional non-tenured positions are provisional and will not last for long has justified these differences between tenured and non-tenured staff. Differences have been easily accepted while the fast growth in the number of students also allowed an increase in the number of available tenured positions. Nevertheless, in the current stable situation, the status of non-tenured staff with scarce opportunities for promotion is becoming a serious problem for the system.

It is difficult to draw conclusions as to whether academic staff salaries in Spain are adequate or not, because we do not know the real salaries due to the fact that extra academic activities in the same institution are paid on top of basic salaries and, in some cases, academic staff have paid activities in other institutions. Although basic salaries are the same in all universities and fields, real earnings (including extra activities) may be very different depending on the competence and dynamism of the individuals. In this sense, the system works properly and the most active individuals may receive substantial economic compensation. This mechanism is stimulating dynamism and the introduction of market forces in higher education. On the other hand, there are also differences by fields. In fields which are only linked to basic research, extra activities are logically less frequent. In this case, the market-oriented incentives do not work as well and many hard workers in basic fields receive inadequate salaries. Despite the fact that we do not have a consistent source for knowing the level of satisfaction of academics on their earnings, we observe that claims about

salaries are not a frequent theme of discussion among academics, perhaps for one reason: those who are more active make money from other activities (even in the same institution), and those who are less active feel that their basic salaries reflect properly their commitment to work.

The main problem with the Spanish system is not that salaries are too high or too low. The problem lies in the salary structure model used for university professors. The Spanish salary structure model implies a relatively low basic salary combined with the freedom (if not plain permissiveness) for academic staff to look for other sources of income outside the institution. In other words, salaries are low and there is little control, a model which we could define as „permissive insufficiency“. In Spain, this „freedom“ for professors to act is regulated by the LRU and now by the LOU, which has certain advantages for the institution. However, in other southern European countries the system is not even regulated and is based on levels of permissiveness of dubious legality. The reasons for this payment system lie in the fact that academic staff are civil servants belonging to a national body. On one hand, there are general regulations for all members of the body and these restrict differentiation. On the other hand, the system is not able to control the work of individual professors. Finally, it can be assumed that the real productivity of different individuals varies greatly. The way to bring together these three factors is by setting a low salary (which covers the salary requirements of the „least productive“ civil servants) and allowing the „most productive“ ones to increase their salaries by other means, be they related to university work or not. There is no doubt that the thinking behind such a mechanism is based on the civil service system which is characteristic of southern European countries.

The question that needs to be asked is whether the system of „permissive insufficiency“ is the most suitable one in terms of the effectiveness and efficiency of the university system. We believe that this is not so for a number of reasons. On one hand, the lack of control over professors allows a few of them to do as little work as possible. This is the least important problem in the sense that it could easily be solved by setting up productivity checks. The major problems involve other issues. On one hand, the current system fosters initiative at a personal level, but not necessarily at institutional level. The means by which a professor can increase his or her salary do not necessarily benefit the institution he or she works for and they may even go against its interests. From the point of view of the university system, it would be more efficient if the interests of the professor and the institution were combined by means of a system in which individual initiative benefited the institution and in which the professor, in turn, was economically rewarded by the institution. On the other hand, the fact that professors need to increase their salaries by other means, forces them to do too many „little things“ to the detriment of the scientific and professional objectives on which they should concentrate. The current system is also unfair to academic staff in those fields in which it is more difficult to get extra salary increases. This means that certain highly committed professors end up losing out.

### *3.3 The initial academic career*

In a period of fast growth and changes across the whole university system, access to an academic career has changed, and continues to change considerably. On one hand, current access conditions are extremely different to how they were some years ago. On the other hand, there are enormous differences depending on the field or the university. The procedures for entry and promotion in the academic ladder depend too much on time and place. Consequently, the fol-

lowing paragraphs can only be considered as a general picture about the main traits and most common norms and practices for training and promotion in Spanish universities.

There are in fact three standard ways to start an academic career. *Interns* are hired by professors as auxiliary personnel for research projects (paid by the funds available during the duration of the project) or they can receive a public grant (for a limited period of time). They do not have teaching duties and the monetary amount of their grants (they are not salaries, *strictu sensu*) are relatively low (about 8,000 € yearly). This position is becoming the most common way for people wishing to start an academic career while they try to obtain better positions as an Assistant or Associate. *Assistant* is the most desirable path for starting an academic career. People using this way have a small teaching load with practical lectures or laboratory work with students, and a reasonable salary. The main goal of Assistants is to work in research projects and complete their doctoral thesis. After finishing their dissertation, normally after at least 5 years as Assistants, and one year in another university, they are eligible for a tenured position if there are vacancies. Nevertheless, in the currently saturated situation, many young people remain as Assistants several years after finishing their doctorate. Nowadays, it is becoming common to find Assistants with an excellent curriculum which only a few years previously had assured fast promotion to a tenured position. The third most typical starting path is composed of Associates. As we have mentioned before, this position was established as a way to attract experienced professionals to teaching in universities. Nevertheless, economic reasons have perverted the aims of this type of positions and Associates are becoming a cheaper alternative to Assistants, with the same objectives pointed out in the paragraph above but with greater teaching duties.

When a Department has a vacancy for an Assistant or Associate it is announced publicly and published in national newspapers. People interested in the position present their C.V. to the Department. A commission composed of academic staff ranks the proposals according to the rules established by the university. The Council of Department makes the proposal to the Governing Board of the University for the definitive appointment. As experience is an important merit in the rules set out by universities, being an intern or having been selected before for a temporary post, such as covering the temporary illness of another teacher, is the standard way in to an academic career. After being taken on in a Department as an Assistant or Associate, there is no formal process for reviewing the performance or real capacities of the people accepted.

Obtaining the doctorate is the main objective of people starting an academic career. This degree enables people to be eligible for the highest ranks of academia. Only graduates from long cycle programs are eligible to enrol in a Third Cycle (doctoral) program. Each department can offer a doctoral program, though a shared doctoral program can be offered through an agreement with other departments or research institutes from Spanish or foreign universities. Depending on the demand, programs can be very selective, but Interns, Assistants and Associates of the department are always accepted.

Doctorate students must enrol and pass a number of courses among the list offered by the department under the guide of a tutor. At the end of the courses they must present a dissertation (not the doctorate dissertation yet) that must be approved by a committee of three doctors. After receiving the so-called *research sufficiency*, they can start an original research work, under the direction of a doctor. This research should lead to the presentation of a doctorate thesis. The duration of this period can vary tremendously depending on the commitment of both the candidate and the director.

The thesis is presented to a committee composed of five doctors who must be experts on the subject of the thesis, and, at least two, must come from other universities. Although it is unusual to reject a thesis in its presentation, this is not just a formal act. On one hand, thesis are some-

times informally rejected in previous discussions, and candidates are asked to make improvements. On the other hand, the presentation of the thesis is followed by a public discussion that is considered as the first relevant scientific act of the candidate that, in some way, marks their academic life during the following years, including the possibilities of promotion.

### 3.4 Academic Staff Assessment

The individual activity of academics is evaluated through several mechanisms with differences for teaching or research activities, for tenured or non-tenured staff, with repercussions or with no repercussions on earning, and with direct or indirect effects on promotion (Mora and Vidal, 1998). These are the different assessment processes that influence on promotion:

a) *Assessment for teaching productivity bonus (tenured staff)*. The teaching activities of tenured professors are evaluated by their universities every five years. Because of the lack of reliable standards in the assessment of teaching, all professors (with extremely rare exceptions) are positively assessed. Only in cases of clear misbehaviour is evaluation negative. This mechanism has become an additional method for rewarding seniority since, professors receive a permanent increase in their salaries for each positive assessment.

b) *Teaching activity assessment (all academic staff)*. In most universities, students carry out a yearly survey on each teacher and each course. Overall results of the survey are published, but only the assessed teacher and the university itself have access to individual data. This survey has two positive effects: a) universities detect problematic cases motivated by teachers' lack of pedagogical abilities or by some type of conflict between students and teachers; b) this survey affects teachers' attitudes, and at least stimulates the fulfilment of basic teaching duties, and in many cases, how teachers handle these duties. Apart from these positive effects, whether the results of these assessments should influence promotion or working conditions of academic staff is an issue largely debated that has not yet reached a consensus, though some universities take these results into account in promotion procedures.

c) *Assessment for research productivity bonus (tenured staff)*. National panels composed of experts for each group of disciplines are in charge of the assessment of individual research activity. For each period of six years, professors can present their most relevant publications to the corresponding panel in the hope of receiving positive assessment. On the contrary to the evaluation of teaching activities, this evaluation is relatively strict, and „research periods“ are frequently evaluated negatively. Consequently, positive assessment has become an internal symbol of prestige among academics, even over formal categories of professorships. Nevertheless, the most important effect is that many universities have established a certain number of positive assessments as a pre-requisite for promotion to higher positions among tenured professors.

d) *Accreditation of contracted staff*. The LOU has established a formal system of „accreditation“ for those who are applying for some contractual position in any university. The ANECA and other regional agencies are carrying out this procedure at this moment based on panels of experts that are reviewing CV's of the candidates. The first results have not been made public yet.

e) *Assessment of teaching, research and managerial activities for regional productivity bonuses*. Some regional governments have established systems of global assessments of activities of academic staff for granting their specific productivity bonuses. These procedures are too recent (or are in process of implementation) to be analysed in detail.

As we can observe, academic staff in Spain are frequently assessed through several diverse mechanisms. Problems do not come from lack of assessment. The problem is what to do with the results of the assessment in a system where most staff are civil servants, tenure is strong and market incentives still incipient. Negative assessments of tenured staff reduce the chances of further promotion and do not allow increases in salaries for productivity but do not affect negatively their current positions. Incentives are so scarce that, from an economic point of view, a relaxed academic life probably has the best cost-benefit ratio.

#### **4. Internationalisation of academic life**

In terms of research, Spanish academics currently enjoy strong international relations, especially in the fields of natural science, engineering and medical science. There is perhaps less cooperation in the fields of social science and humanities, whose relations are still limited to their own country or focused on Latin America.

On the other hand, the number of young Spanish graduates leaving to undertake doctoral or post doctoral studies abroad has increased a great deal over the last two decades. However, when those who left during the 1980s returned, they found that the university system was still expanding and eventually this allowed them to find a place in the system, although they did face difficulties. However, when those who left more recently returned, they found that there was absolutely no way in because of the stagnant nature of the system and the relatively low age of those occupying academic posts.

The fact that these young researchers cannot be recruited by traditional means has meant that specific recruitment programs have had to be created. Thus, for example, the Ministry of Science and Technology created the Ramón y Cajal Programme which offers research posts to young doctors. There have been three rounds (in 2001, 2002 and 2003) and a large number of young people (it is estimated that a total of 700 have been recruited) have started to work in research posts in Spanish universities. Most of them were Spaniards (only around 1 percent only came from other countries) and many were living abroad. Their contracts last five years and after that time they will presumably go on to become contracted professors. Along the same lines, the Regional Government of Catalonia has created the ICREA program to recruit young researchers to go to Catalan universities. Although there are not a great deal of places available (around 20 per year), a considerable proportion of them are foreigners due to the explicit interest of this programme for attracting academics from other countries. This program is a clear commitment to the internationalisation of academic staff in universities.

Apart from these programs and other much less important ones, the internationalisation of academic staff in Spanish universities is extremely limited. The main reason is clear to see: in the last twenty years, the endogamic promotion system has not allowed members of universities access to other universities. This has nothing to do with nationality, but it is logically even more complicated for people from other countries to try to overcome the obstacles that universities set up for „outsiders“. In most cases, universities not only have no foreign members of staff, but the majority of their academic staff come from the region where the university is situated. Parochialism is rampant in Spanish universities.

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## **Many Challenges Ahead for Sweden**

### **Country Report Sweden**

*Ann Fritzell*

#### **1. Introduction**

##### *1.1 Most Swedish higher education institutions are state run*

There are 48 higher education institutions – universities and university colleges („högskolor“) – in Sweden, 36 of which are run by the state. Practically all tertiary education is included in one system. Postgraduate education is offered at 21 universities or university colleges, two of those are run by foundations and one is private. There are 8 special colleges of fine arts and 17 university colleges, all offering undergraduate programmes including master programmes<sup>1</sup>. Finally, there are 2 special colleges of caring science, both private. One specific circumstance of Swedish Higher Education should be pointed out. The universities are the prime actors in research as regards publicly funded research; there are practically no independent research institutes. There is a relatively solid consensus in Sweden that this is a good model. The total economic turnover of the institutions was € 4,500 million<sup>2</sup> in the fiscal year 2002, € 2,070 million for undergraduate education and € 2,430 million for research and postgraduate education.

##### *1.2 Major Changes in Swedish Higher Education during the 1990s*

###### *Growing interest in higher education toward the end of the 1980s*

In the late 1980s, political interest in higher education increased as a result of its central importance in regional development. This interest resulted from successful investments in universities in Umeå in northern Sweden and Linköping in south-central Sweden. These towns, together with

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1 So far the master degrees have been defined as part of undergraduate education. The on-going Bologna process will most likely change that.

2 One € = SEK 9.22 (2003-02-05 exchange rate)

the traditional university towns, had come to be seen as Sweden's growth nodes. It was therefore only natural for members of parliament from various regions to demand the expansion of their own university colleges.

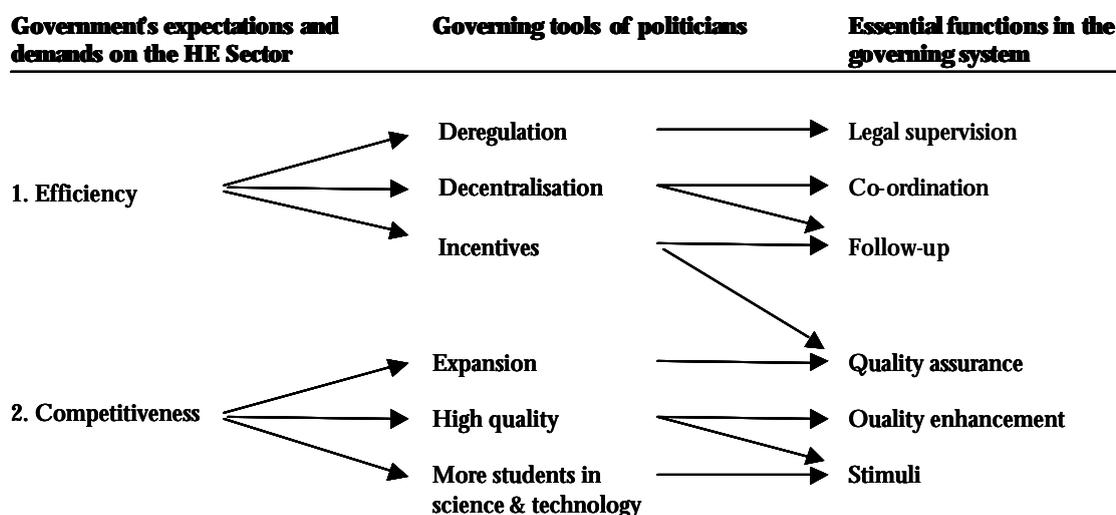
Simultaneously, a report published by the National Board of Universities and Colleges (UHÄ) had attracted considerable attention since it concluded that, unless undergraduate education was expanded, there would be a shortage of university graduates in most professions by the end of the 1990s as a result of increasing retirement rates. News that other European countries had stepped up their undergraduate education more than Sweden led to ever greater demands for expansion.

Criticism of the quality of higher education, primarily from the Swedish Federation of Student Unions (SFS), had moved the then Social-Democratic government to appoint a task force on teaching in higher education in 1989. It consisted exclusively of people from higher education and was headed by a university vice-chancellor. Their assignment, among others, was to enhance the status of teaching in relation to research and to judge whether teaching efforts in various types of education were suitably balanced and structured. This task force, dubbed the Task Force on Higher Education, had a major impact as it was carrying out its commission, and even now – more than ten years later – reference is often made to its various reports.

*The principles of state governance were changed in 1993*

Sweden's growing economic problems prompted the government in the autumn of 1990 to launch a crisis package containing a series of measures. One type of measure was intended to rationalise the use of resources in government administration, while the other type of measure involved offensive commitments to spur the growth of the Swedish economy. The latter type of measure included the surprising news that Sweden would be applying for membership in the then EC. Swedish higher education was affected by both types of measures. On the one hand, demands were raised that resources be used more efficiently and, on the other hand, education and research were singled out as powerful driving forces behind economic growth. To achieve both of these goals became the objective of the reform of higher education that began to be implemented on July 1, 1993. Figure 1 represents a summary of the driving forces, governing tools, and corrective mechanisms in the reform (Fritzell 1998).

Figure 1: Driving forces in higher education



### *The volume of undergraduate education has doubled*

The volume of undergraduate education was largely unchanged in Sweden during the 1970s and 1980s. The only increase occurred when shorter programs in engineering were transferred to universities and colleges in the late 1980s. The much-discussed UHÅ report had clearly shown the effects of retirement rates among academics, and despite the government's references to the difficult budgetary situation, public opinion grew in favour of expansion. Government resistance notwithstanding, following a series of lobbying sessions with the parliamentary standing committee for education, general political agreement was reached regarding expansion, starting in the 1991/92 academic year.

The expansion of the volume of undergraduate education continued throughout the rest of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s. The 2000 budget bill expressed an explicit goal of expansion: at least 50 percent of every cohort must have entered higher education before the age of 25. Throughout this period there have also been explicit demands from the government that at least half of this increase must occur in the field of science and technology.

The volume of undergraduate education doubled during the period 1990 – 2002 to a total of 287 000 FTE students. Moreover, both the number and the share of students in science and technology have increased. In these respects, then, the policies pursued have proven successful. However, many institutions have found it increasingly difficult to recruit students to science and technology. A large share of the increased volume has been channelled into extending the length of programs. This was also one of the objectives of the 1993 reform. A Swedish master's degree<sup>3</sup> was introduced. But the number of *new* students has also increased – from just over 50,000 the academic year 1990/91 to more than 78,400 in 2001/02. Last year the proportion of younger cohorts who entered higher education before the age of 25 was 47 percent, compared with about 25 percent in the beginning of the 1990s. So, we are not far from the government's target of 50 percent. If consideration is given to the fact that the Swedish system of higher education has a *total* capacity to receive new students amounting to more than 75 percent of the cohorts in question (now about 100,000 individuals), this capacity greatly exceeds the government's goal of 50 percent.

The expansion of undergraduate education in Sweden – at least from a quantitative point of view – must be seen as having been successful. I will return the qualitative aspects later.

### *Expansion in some parts of the system shifted the balance*

As mentioned, the purging of government finances also affected allocations to the faculties and research councils, albeit less seriously than undergraduate education. These cutbacks were to some extent compensated for by new research foundations, established using moneys from defunct wage-earner funds, a great windfall for higher education. The powerful bull market of the late 1990s multiplied their economic importance. During 2002 institutions could share a total of € 125 million, which is a sum almost as large as that received from government research councils that year. At the same time, research funding from EU framework programs came to play an ever greater role. In 2002 this amounted to a total of € 70 million.

The balance between resources for research (and postgraduate education) that institutions receive directly from the government and other funding obtained after application to external research financiers changed dramatically in the 1990s. In the early 1980s direct allocations accounted for two thirds of institutions' financing for research and postgraduate education, and

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3 This degree is granted after at least four years of full-time study (160 credits) with at least two years of study (80 credits) of in-depth study in one subject, including at least a half year (20 credits) of independent work.

only one third came from external sources. In 2002, external funding constituted 55 percent of the research resources of institutions. This figure is the mean for all institutions. At individual institutions and departments the proportion can be substantially higher: 80 percent or more is not unusual for departments in medicine and engineering.

In another respect as well the balance has shifted. According to the Higher Education Act a basic foundation of Swedish universities and colleges is to have close ties between teaching and research. The law states further that all teaching shall rest on scientific foundations or on well-attested experience. The research connection is normally accounted for, on the one hand, by the fact that most of the teachers have doctoral degrees and, on the other, by teachers having reasonable scope to pursue active research on the job. The latter condition assumes that teachers can be offered research tasks to a reasonable extent. The expansion of undergraduate education in the 1990s did not lead to any corresponding growth of resources for research. Rises in research funding came solely from external financiers, and they seldom fund anything connected with areas in which education is expanding. According to a study from the spring of 2002 for the Association of Swedish Higher Education (SUHF), faculty-financed research declined by 30 percent per student during the 1990s expansion. The Swedish Association of University Teachers (SULF) has also drawn attention to this problem (SULF 2001 and 2002).

#### *1.4 Recent Reforms in Sweden*

##### *„Open Higher Education“ for more diverse recruitment and lifelong learning*

In spite of the expansion of undergraduate education, the traditional skewed social recruitment to higher education persists (SCB 2002). In the bill titled *Open Higher Education*, the government therefore suggested in the autumn of 2001 a series of measures with the purpose of broadening recruitment to higher education to reduce the lopsided social balance and also to increase the diversity of ethnic groups.

On characteristic of „open higher education“ is the fact that the boundary between upper-secondary school and tertiary education is becoming more and more indistinct. Using the model of the long successful base-year program, which provides eligibility for engineering and science programs, the bill proposed broadening base-year programs. Moreover it was suggested, in an attempt to promote recruitment, that institutions be given the possibility of cooperating with municipal adult education on introductory education, so-called community college education. Various measures were proposed to back up and promote institutions' efforts to provide distance education with IT support. The teaching competence of teachers has long been a vital issue. The bill pointed to the needs of new groups of students and the challenges posed by IT-supported teaching.

##### *Shift in focus for quality evaluations and greater emphasis on student participation*

Assessing quality in higher education is one of the chief missions of the National Agency for Higher Education. Initially the emphasis lay on quality audits and accreditation of institutions. The bill titled *Student Influence and Quality Enhancement in Higher Education*, however, the focus shifted to national assessment of undergraduate and postgraduate education in all subjects

and all programs of study leading to professional degrees. Every subject and program will be assessed every six years.

At the same time, student influence was brought to the fore. Students must always be represented by at least three individuals in decision-making bodies dealing with educational matters and – to guarantee influence at an early stage – be members in all preparatory bodies. Course evaluations are now obligatory, as are summaries of their results and information for students about any changes instituted. The results must be available to students.

The agency's new focus, which, according to its program declaration, is to concentrate „more on quality rather than quantity work,“ has had a mixed reception. As might be expected, those who have been criticised reacted negatively, but principles have also been questioned. On the one hand, it has been asserted that the agency should remain focused on quality auditing as a part of the internal quality work of institutions and drop the idea of national assessment of higher education outcomes at the subject and program level. Instead, efforts should be devoted to a national assessment of the preconditions for quality in the system of higher education as a whole (Kim 2001). Other observers have maintained that agency assessments have largely neglected the measuring of results. For example, a publication of the Unit for Evaluation at Lund University showed that the peers concentrated on assessing the preconditions for education and paid little attention to outcomes. The norms that were applied in these assessments run the risk of constituting an obstacle to quality enhancement. The trials carried out at Lund University to have peers assess the independent project work done by students were put forward as a possible avenue for the agency (Nilsson 2002). Such trials have also been run by the agency (1996) and in a study financed by an expert group at the Ministry of Finance (Härnquist 1999).

#### *Certain institutional matters have been altered*

Through 1997, the vice-chancellor chaired the board of the university or college. Since 1988 the majority of board members have consisted of external individuals appointed by the government. One reason for this being that more and more decisions were being decentralised to the institutions themselves and insight into their activities was therefore deemed justified. The minority consists of – besides the vice-chancellor – elected representatives of faculty members (with doctorates) and student representatives. Union representatives have the right to attend and express themselves but cannot vote. This is true of all bodies that make decisions about education and research. In 1993 voting rights were excluded with reference to the fact that union influence has been regulated since the 1970s by special legislation, the Co-determination Act.

As of 1998 the government appoints external individuals to chair all university and college boards – prominent figures from the business community, public service, the political sphere, or the world of culture. The process of electing the vice-chancellor is no longer regulated centrally. The Higher Education Ordinance merely states that the board must submit its proposal to the government after hearing the opinion of those involved – teachers, students, and other employees. The procedures for this are to be established by each board. The boards are charged with guaranteeing that gender equality aspects be honoured.

## 2. Employment and working conditions for Swedish university teachers

### 2.1 *The situation for doctoral students has improved, but there are fewer starters*

The starting point of a university teacher career is normally the Ph. D. in Sweden. Therefore, the postgraduate education and the conditions offered to the doctoral students are essential when discussing the attractiveness of the academic career.

With the reform of postgraduate education in 1998 new regulations were instituted to guarantee financing of all doctoral students in the form of grants<sup>4</sup> or salaried employment from the time of their admission through four years of full-time study. In combination with teaching assignments and the like, a study rate of 80 percent is permitted. After certain criticism, the rules were recently changed to allow doctoral students to study part-time if *they* wish, although never less than 50 percent of full-time. The improved conditions have largely been favourably received by most players, even though lack of resources entails a decline in the number of students admitted, especially dramatic in the humanities. In 2001/02 some 3,600 new doctoral students were accepted, while some 3,450 postgraduate degrees (doctorates and licentiate<sup>5</sup>) were earned. To keep up that number in the future more students have to be admitted, which requires more resources.

The 2000 research bill proposed the creation of sixteen research schools. These schools are grounded in the idea of networking, that is, for at least two institutions accredited to grant doctorates and at least one university college without such accreditation. The specialisations of these research schools were decided by the government on the basis of proposals submitted by a special commissioner, and then institutions were asked to apply to the government regarding the right to participate. This provoked criticism on two counts: on the one hand the application period was too short and, on the other hand and above all, the government had once again disinvested the faculties of the right to determine the content of their activities. However, no institutions let reasons of principle hinder their applying, especially because these schools were allocated generous financing. The schools have recently started, but so far the reported experiences seem promising.

In late 2002 the government appointed a special commissioner to follow up the reform of postgraduate education and the period after the completion of degrees. Various ways of circumventing the financing regulations, deficient construction and follow-up of individual curricula, insufficient supervision, and the lack of opportunities for newly graduated doctors to add to their qualifications are all issues that will be looked into. After circulation for criticism, the commissioner's report will provide the basis for the next bill on research policy.

### 2.2 *What are the rungs of the career ladder?*

According to the special legislation there are five types of positions for university teachers:

1. *Professor*, tenured employment,<sup>6</sup> since 1999 without the lifetime guarantee in the Higher Education Act (3 503, 14% women)

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4 When two years of the postgraduate studies remain, those who have grants are guaranteed salaried employment as doctoral students.

5 A postgraduate degree requiring 2 years of full-time study (80 credits).

6 No professorial posts may be limited in time – not even for substitutes – except in the fine arts, where professors, like other teachers, may be employed for a limited period of five years at most. Such a contract may be renewed once only.

2. *Senior lecturer*, if teacher training credentials, then tenured employment (5 863, 31 % women)
3. *Assistant senior lecturer*, new position designed for relatively new Ph. D.s for enhancing scientific qualifications during four years at most, right to be promoted to senior lecturer with tenure if eligible (no numbers registered)
4. *Post-doctoral fellow*, designed for relatively new Ph. D.s for enhancing scientific qualifications during four years at most (993, 38 % women)
5. *Junior lecturer*, if teacher training credentials, then tenured employment (6 668, 53 % women)

For the first four categories there are scientific eligibility requirements. Thus, in inverse order, they constitute a career ladder for university teachers, with the Ph. D. as its starting point.

The ordinance also provides for the possibility of certain time limits, including for adjunct<sup>7</sup> teachers – professors, senior lecturers, and junior lecturers – as well as visiting teachers.

The number of teachers (FTE positions) and the share of women in each category in 2002 are shown above given in parentheses. It should be noted that the number of post-doctoral fellows was only just under 1,000. Since these positions are held for four years, while at the same time the number of new doctorates amounted to nearly 2,450 in 2002, it can be seen that the probability of a new doctor attaining such a post is extremely low, roughly 10 percent. The reason the number of post-docs is so low can primarily be attributed to the erosion of direct faculty allocations, but also to caution on the part of institutions to use teacher positions for externally financed research. Instead, they make use of unregulated employment forms, such as researcher and research assistant.

The great volume of externally financed research projects has led to the fact that both general rules about short-term employment and special university regulations for limiting employment periods have been invoked to limit the terms for researchers and for senior and junior lecturers. According to a study performed at Lund University, 37 percent of all positions as teachers and researchers were limited in time. The study showed that it took a newly graduated doctor an average of seven years to attain a tenured post (Osbeck and Warfvinge 2002). SULF has asserted that the practice that has developed at institutions must be seen as an abuse of the regulations. Besides being an unacceptable insecure situation for young people at the age when they are starting families, limited-term posts entail huge amounts of administrative work at institutions.

### 2.3 How appointments are made

#### *The appointment procedure is specially regulated for higher education*

The appointment of teachers is regulated by the Higher Education Ordinance and therefore differs from regulations for other government employment in Sweden. There are two reasons for this special regulation: on the one hand, to allow exceptions from general legislation and, on the other and above all, reasons of quality. The system guarantees an open process with distinct rules and predictable procedures.

As of 1999 it is possible to become a professor or senior lecturer in *two* ways, specifically by:

1. Applying for an advertised position as professor or senior lecturer respectively

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<sup>7</sup> An adjunct teacher is primarily employed outside the university or college, most often in businesses.

2. By requesting to be promoted from a tenured position as senior or junior lecturer to a position as professor or senior lecturer respectively

An assistant senior lecturer have the right to be promoted to senior lecturer if eligible.

According to the ordinance, decisions to employ a professor must be made by the vice-chancellor, whereas decisions to employ a senior lecturer can be delegated to a faculty board.

Both appointment and promotion procedures are regulated in relatively great detail by the ordinance. Further regulation takes place locally, in the employment ordinance that each institution is mandated to establish. The prescribed steps, including assessment by experts, mean that employment procedures take time, normally at least a year, often even longer. The two procedures are described below, mainly on the basis of the central rules.

### *Appointing a university teacher usually is time-consuming*

Decisions to announce the vacancy of a professorship or a senior lectureship – whether it be a new chair or one to be filled again, as a result of retirement, for instance – are local decisions, most often taken by a faculty board, against the background of its needs and the resources available. The name of the professorship or senior lectureship and an employment profile – a description of the duties, eligibility requirements, and criteria for evaluation – are also determined by the board. Eligibility requirements cover both academic (or artistic) credentials and teaching competence.

At the end of the application period, the faculty board is responsible for preparing the matter and submitting a proposal for employment by the vice-chancellor. Teaching competence must be given the same amount of attention as academic credentials. The board must solicit statements from at least two (often three) experts, only one of whom may be recruited from the local faculty in question. Both sexes must be represented among the experts unless particular circumstances make this unfeasible.

- Each of the experts is to submit a written expert statement accounting for the
- academic and teaching competence as well as administrative or other skills of importance according to the employment profile for each of the most suitable candidates,
- ranking order of the most suitable candidates,
- justification of the choices.

On the basis of the expert statements the faculty board is to propose someone to be appointed. Many faculty boards have set up a special preparatory body, often called a teacher-proposal board, to put forward a suggestion. The preparatory work of the board also includes sending information pursuant to the Co-determination Act to (and often having negotiations with) the local union organisations. In the proposal submitted to the vice-chancellor the board must account for its evaluation of each proposed applicant's competence in relation to the given criteria. Proposals concerning professorships must also reflect how the government's recruitment targets for the proportion of women professors have been considered. If there have been male and female applicants, it must always be stated how gender equality aspects have been treated. An institution may in fact decide to apply affirmative action in order to promote equality. A person of the under-represented gender with sufficient qualifications may in such cases be employed instead of a person of the opposite sex who otherwise would have been taken on. However, affirmative action may not be applied if the differences in credentials are too great. In practice, appeals of this type of appointment have shown that the differences that are permissible are not especially great, which is why institutions have availed themselves of this rule less and less. The vice-chancellor decides about appointments as professor or senior lecturer.

The appointment of assistant senior lecturers and post-doctoral fellows is done in the same way as for senior lecturers, except that only one expert is needed for post-doctoral fellows posts. Positions as junior lecturer are the only teaching posts that do not require a doctoral degree, only completed undergraduate education. The appointment procedure is carried out without experts, and the decision is taken by the faculty board. These appointments are therefore less time-consuming than those of other teachers. In all appointments of teachers, salary and other terms of employment are stated in the employment decision. All applicants must be informed of the decision in writing. Decision may be appealed to a special national appeals board for higher education.

*Promotion to a higher position is a new feature of the Swedish teaching career*

As of 1999 a senior or junior lecturer with a tenured position can personally apply for a promotion to a post as professor or senior lecturer, respectively, with an unchanged specification of the subject area. In a similar manner, an assistant senior lecturer can apply for a promotion to senior lecturer. So, teachers no longer have to wait for a vacancy to appear and then apply for the job in competition with others. This was deemed by many, not least by SULF, to be a more reasonable manner in which to evaluate the actual competence of a well-qualified associate than to leave it up to the chance of a position falling vacant.

For promotion to professor, the decision must be made by the vice-chancellor. Ahead of this, the matter is prepared by the faculty board involved, which is charged with investigating whether the applicant is eligible for appointment as professor. This preparatory work includes evaluation of the applicant by at least two, often three, experts. Expert evaluation in cases of promotion involves only an assessment of eligibility. Thus, every expert statement must declare whether the applicant fulfils the requirements for eligibility. To see that the „bar“ for eligibility is set at the same level, most of the country's faculties coordinated – voluntarily – their expert statements for the first round of applications, when many promotions would be considered. The collaborating faculties recruited national experts, having previously agreed on some common criteria for both academic and teaching competence. One example of such a criterion is: „Regarding teaching competence, it is normally required that the applicant has supervised at least one successful doctoral student.“

On the basis of the expert statements – and possibly a preparatory board's declaration – the faculty board proposes whether the applicant should be promoted or not. In the proposal to the vice-chancellor the board must account for its evaluation of how the applicant fulfils the two eligibility requirements, academic and teaching competence. The vice-chancellor decides whether the applicant shall be promoted or not to the position of professor. If salary and other terms of employment are changed, then this is indicated in the appointment decision. Applicants whose cases have been rejected may appeal the decision to the special appeals board for higher education.

Applications for promotion from junior to senior lecturer are often prepared in a simpler manner. Here there are now central rules requiring evaluation by experts. The way institutions approach this has thus developed in different directions. However, one thing that is common is that promoting a junior lecturer who has completed a doctorate is relatively uncontroversial, under the condition that teaching skills can be documented.

The position of assistant senior lecturer was recently introduced on a trial basis, and thus far it has been used very sparingly. This is a result of lack of resources, but also of the fact that the regulations are such that the holder can apply for and in principle be granted a promotion directly af-

ter being employed. Academic eligibility for a senior lecturer is in fact the same as for an assistant senior lecturer (doctorate) and *not* the associate professorship<sup>8</sup> that four years of research is expected to lead to. The special commissioner who is charged with evaluating the period after completion of a doctorate will no doubt be considering this circumstance.

*The effects of the promotion reform have been largely favourable*

The promotion reform has been evaluated by the National Agency for Higher Education. The reports published indicate that the government's goal of doubling the number of professors has nearly been achieved and that the proportion of women is higher than before, as a result of the reform. It is true that women have applied for promotions to a lesser extent than men, but their promotion rate has been higher. In other words, it seems as if women have had more realistic view of their own competence. The evaluation also reports great disappointment among those whose applications were granted. They have rarely experienced any change in their terms of employment. Salary raises have often been small, but above all their duties have remained unchanged. They have not been given the opportunity to pursue more research than previously, but instead have the same teaching load as before. This is largely due to the fact that no new resources were supplied by the government, a fact that has severely circumscribed the scope of universities and colleges to act in this matter. This effect could have been predicted when the central working-hours agreement was signed. This agreement in fact contains a note in the minutes that those being promoted cannot automatically expect any change in their teaching load. However, there are examples of institutions that have nonetheless done their best to change both working conditions and salaries (Högskoleverket 2001 and 2002).

One danger that was pointed out ahead of the reform was that the already low degree of mobility among teachers would be even lower if it was no longer necessary to apply for a higher position at some other institution in order to be promoted. The evaluation has not been able to carry out any studies of this effect, but one of the reports presents a new way of measuring mobility. This study, comprising teachers in social sciences, exposes the myth of low mobility, by showing that most professors and senior lecturers have had relatively long periods of employment at one or more other institutions between receiving their doctorate and assuming their present post (Högskoleverket 2001).

Finally I would like to make two personal remarks regarding the effects of the reform. First of all, it can be determined that extremely few people have maintained that the requirements set up for promotion are too low, that is, that the reform might have devalued the title of professor in Sweden. On the contrary, discussions have rather claimed that the demands are too high, or at least higher than for the appointment of professors following application under competition. These claims have had to do with teaching competence, which is fully in line with the intentions of the government to place it on a par with academic competence. There is still a considerable degree of uncertainty among both experts and applicants, among faculty boards (or their preparatory boards), and among vice-chancellors regarding the question of how teaching credentials should be documents and assessed. The promotion reform has certainly helped to arouse interest in this urgent matter.

Secondly, over the long term the promotion reform may well prove to have a beneficial impact on the consistency of the corps of teachers. In recent times, in fact, many sources have

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8 An internal academic recognition of competence showing that the holder is an independent researcher. Nowadays such recognition does *not* automatically entail *employment* at the institution that has granted it.

pointed out the danger of the corps running the risk of becoming too homogeneous and too conveniently adapted as employment profiles and other management-like ideas gain prominence in recruitment. The fact that these forces can be offset by a less predictable process based on the will and driving forces of the individual teacher will in all probability prove to be crucial to the vitality of the future academic environment in Sweden.

#### *2.4 Salaries and Other Terms of Employment*

##### *Nowadays everyone's salary is negotiated locally*

As of 1965 employee organisations in the state sector have the right to negotiate and conclude collective agreements with their state employers' organisation regarding salaries and terms of employment. Local salary negotiations for university teachers started in 1985. Nowadays performance related salaries are set locally at each institution. In principle, salaries are determined in local collective agreements with the union organisations, and in the case of university teachers, SULF is the largest organisation.

The Swedish Agency for Government Employers acts on behalf of state employers, such as the universities. The agency concludes collective agreements with the national unions regarding the terms of employment, and the scope for negotiation in absolute SEK or percentage terms that the local employer and unions distribute in local collective agreements. For the last two negotiations, the umbrella organisation for academics, the Swedish Confederation of Professional Organisations (SACO) has taken the position in central negotiations that no figure, either in SEK or percentage terms, should be specified in the central collective agreement. The scope for negotiation should instead be determined by the local parties.

There are no set governmental norms for determining salaries, but norms have developed locally. These norms are very different from one faculty to another, as well as from one institution to another. There is no ceiling for professors' salaries, but in practice the vice-chancellor's own salary constitutes the upper limit – and that salary is set by the government. Criteria are mainly decided on locally. The vice-chancellor and the faculty deans are normally involved in determining the salaries of professors. Heads of departments are asked to make proposals for all other categories of personnel. The union organisations normally send out to all their members in the form of a written questionnaire. The aim is to obtain information relevant to the negotiations. It goes without saying that salaries are constrained by the availability of resources; resources mainly granted by government. I will come back to this problem later.

##### *Rights and responsibilities are given by legislation and by negotiations*

Overarching principles regarding the rights and responsibilities of university teachers are laid down in the Higher Education Act and the Higher Education Ordinance. Rights and obligations tied to a position – such as vacation, pension, various types of leaves of absence, and sickness compensation – are regulated by central collective agreements between the parties. Detailed duties and benefits are determined locally under the guidance of a local collective agreement, e.g. regarding workloads. As a result of such local agreements normally professors have roughly 50 per cent of the time earmarked for research, senior lecturers have 20-30 per cent for research, post-

doctoral fellows have 80-85 per cent etc. At each department it is the head of department who ultimately determines how work is to be allocated among individuals on an annual basis.

*Individual salaries lead to differentials between individuals and between institutions*

The teaching career starts in principle with postgraduate education. Figure 2 below shows the salary spread in December 2001 (in €) before tax<sup>9</sup> for the different categories of teachers and for salaried doctoral students, i.e. those who were employed. Their salaries can be compared with the taxable postgraduate grant that doctoral students can receive during the first two years of study.

In spring of 2002 about half of all the doctoral students had a doctoral employment, whereas 10 per cent had grants. The rest had other types of employment inside or outside universities, scholarships or other types of financing.

Since local salary negotiations for 2002 have still not been finalised at all institutions, available salary statistics are for 2001. The median ages are presented in the right-most column in the figure.

Figure 2: Salaries of staff

Type of position	10 <sup>th</sup> percentile	Bottom quartile	Median salary	Top quartile	90 <sup>th</sup> percentile	Median age
Professor	3,720	4,067	4,501	4,989	5,531	54 years
Senior lecturer	2,874	3,065	3,275	3,573	3,905	50 years
Post-doctoral fellow	2,603	2,711	2,874	3,048	3,254	39 years
Junior lecturer	2,354	2,538	2,701	2,896	3,145	48 years
Salaried doctoral student	1,844	1,941	2,050	2,180	2,337	33 years
Postgraduate grant			1,410 <sup>10</sup>			

The monthly salaries for teachers presented above are mean salaries for the entire country. Differentials are great between institutions that top salary lists for each category and those that are at the bottom. This is primarily a function of what profile the institution has. Institutes of technology are at the top of the list, which can be ascribed to their market situation and higher resource allocations, for undergraduate education as well as for research. At the bottom we find the larger, older universities, which often lack engineering and medical faculties and that claim that they do not need to compete with salaries, at least not in competition with the new universities and colleges.

Figure 3 below shows the difference in monthly salaries for teachers among the institutions that are at the top and bottom of the salary list, respectively. The greatest differences are found in the upper rungs of the career ladder and the least among post-doctoral fellows.

9 It should be noted that the employer is obliged to pay retirement fees and fees for social insurance for all employees. Such fees are thus not included in the monthly salaries presented. Monthly salaries are paid 12 times per year.

10 Figure for 2001. As of 2002 the government decided that the amount was raised to € 1,480 per month.

Figure 3: Difference in monthly salaries for teachers

Type of position	Institution with highest median salary (A)	Institution with lowest median salary (B)	Percent higher median salary (A/B)
Professor	€ 5,268/month (54 years)	€ 3,839/month (58 years)	137 %
Senior lecturer	€ 3,735/month (51 years)	€ 2,752/month (49 years)	136 %
Post-doctoral fellow	€ 3,310/month (38 years)	€ 2,646/month (38 years)	125 %
Junior lecturer	€ 3,057/month (53 years)	€ 2,128/month (50 years)	128 %

*University teachers have lower salaries than other comparable groups of academics*

Even though salary levels are not the decisive argument for those choosing a career as an academic teacher, comparisons with other sectors are of interest. Figure 4 shows, on the one hand, salaries (in €) in December 2001 for three groups of academics in private employment and the salary of an average industrial worker and, on the other, comparisons between median salaries for these and three categories of higher education employees. The respective median salaries and median ages of the latter are given in parentheses.

Figure 4: Salaries for three groups of academics in private employment compared

Academic degree (etc.)	No. of years after degree	Bottom quartile	Median salary	Top quartile	Relevant Median Doctoral student (2,050/33)	coefficient salary: Senior lecturer (3,275/50)	For Professor (4,501/54)
Master of economics	2	2,278	2,663	3,129	77 %	87 %	102 %
	10	3,129	3,758	4,485			
	20	3,590	4,398	5,412			
Master of engineering	2	2,619	2,847	3,129	72 %	83 %	101 %
	10	3,427	3,959	4,544			
	20	3,839	4,458	5,076			
Law degree	2	2,294	2,603	2,983	79 %	95 %	99 %
	10	3,037	3,444	4,121			
	(20-24)	3,525	4,555	5,965			
Industrial worker			1,963		104 %	167 %	229 %

The average doctoral student thus had 72-79 percent of the salary of an academic in the private sector after 2 years. The average senior lecturer, at 50 years of age, had 83-95 percent of the salary of a private sector counterpart after 10 years and 72-74 percent after 20 years. Bearing in mind the age of senior lecturers, the latter comparison is the most relevant one. The average professor, 54 years old, had about the same median salary as comparable private-sector academics. However, it should be borne in mind that professors should rank among the elite within their respective fields. It should be noted, moreover, that the salary spread was considerably greater for all privately employed academics. Considering the increasing importance of total lifetime income in the new pension system that has recently been introduced in Sweden, a career as a university teacher stands out as less and less attractive.

Comparisons with the average industrial worker clearly illustrate the relatively low income differentials in Sweden. In 2001 the best-paid professors and other well-paid academics had two and a half to three times the salary of the average industrial worker. The premium on education is thus relatively low.

*Future salaries also have a bearing on the attractiveness of the academic career*

How might teacher salaries develop in the relation to those of other groups in Swedish society? During the period from 1994/95 through 2001, the salary increment in higher education was 24 percent, which can be compared with 31 percent in the competitive sector, that is, export industries. Salary developments in the latter sector are the point of departure for the calculations of a salary index carried out by the Ministry of Finance ahead of the annual adjustment of allocations to government activities, including universities and colleges. However, deductions are made for increases in productivity documented in the private service sector. Such rises in productivity are difficult to achieve, however, in higher education, which is so highly dependent on the input of human capital of a certain quality and scope (called Baumol's principle in the economic literature). For white-collar workers in the private sector – the most relevant group to compare – salary increases amounted to 37 percent during the same period. If academic teachers are to avoid considerably lower salary developments than their privately employed counterparts, then the government's principles for adjusting allocations to higher education to compensate for salary increases must immediately be changed.

*2.5 How do doctoral students and university teachers perceive their situation?*

*The parties of the labour market commissioned Statistics Sweden to carry out a study*

Testimony as to an ever more stressful work situation for university teachers had begun to appear more and more intensively. At the same time it was found that studies of working conditions in higher education have been rare. A special working committee with representatives of the parties of the labour market for higher education therefore commissioned Statistics Sweden to perform a questionnaire study on a sample (more than 7,000) of all types of staff at Swedish universities and colleges. The results of the study were published in a report, and the conclusions can be summarised as follows (SCB 2002).

In general employees have a heavy workload. More than three quarters (77 percent) work 40 hours<sup>11</sup> or more per week, and nearly 40 percent work 45 hours or more. The most work is done by those who teach, both formally and in real terms. Among professors 80 percent work 45 hours or more, and half work 50 hours or more. Nearly every third senior lecturer works 50 hours or more per week. Personnel in higher education have a unique position on the Swedish labour market when it comes to the possibility of determining themselves when various duties should be carried out. This is especially true of those who teach. Over 85 percent of all personnel feel that they have an influence on conditions at work, either to a high degree or to some extent. Men feel this way to a greater extent than women and older employees to a greater extent than younger.

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11 The full workload per week is 39 hours 45 minutes according to the present collective agreement.

A majority perceive their work as meaningful, more so among those who teach. Eight out of ten experience joy in their work to a high or relatively high degree, with professors, researchers, and post-doctoral fellows at the top (86%). Seventy-five percent say that they have fun, and roughly as many report that communication among colleagues is good or fairly good. Half say that territorial thinking occurs to a great or fairly great extent, and one third experience loneliness. The proportion is higher among those who teach.

Two thirds report that once or twice a week they have so much to do that they have to encroach upon their lunchtime, work late, or take work home. This is more common among men (70%) than women (57%). It is most common among those who teach (77%). Senior lecturers and professors say that during the last few months they have had difficulty sleeping because thoughts about work kept them awake. Every week as many as every fifth individual experiences unpleasant feelings involving work. Two thirds report that they altogether have too much to do, and roughly half feel that they have a mentally stressful job. Half report that more than once in the last year have gone to work even though they should have called in sick (so-called sick attendance).

To a greater extent than women, men say that they find it difficult to find the time for private life and hobbies owing to their work demanding too much of their time. The balance between work and family or one's own time is perceived as better among non-teaching staff. Everyone, however, experiences the balance between work and their own time as worse than that with their family.

In answer to the question of what they would like to be doing in five years, more than one fourth (28%) stated that they would like to be working outside higher education. One fourth also believe that they will have left higher education in five years. Professors and librarians are those who are most likely both to want to and believe that they will remain, whereas doctoral students and researchers are the most „unfaithful“.

#### *The National Agency for Higher Education is also concerned, as are the institutions*

One of the conclusions drawn by the National Agency for Higher Education in its quality assessments of subjects and programs is that the pressing work situation of teachers must be taken seriously. According to the agency, the situation must also be seen against the background of the objectives of „open higher education,“ that is, broadened recruitment and diversity. Demands to provide students with sufficient support in their learning are increasing, as are demands regarding the teaching competence of teachers. Against this background, among other things, the agency has carried out a questionnaire in order to elucidate the situation of teaching and research personnel and the changes that have taken place during the 1990s. The questionnaire was designed to allow comparisons with a study initiated by the earlier Task Force on Higher Education (UHÄ 1991). The questionnaire was distributed in the spring of 2002 to a sample of teachers. A report *The Teacher Study 2003* was presented at a seminar in March 2003. The results confirmed those of the study of Statistics Sweden.

In January 2003 the agency distributed a questionnaire titled *Doctoral Student Mirror* to 10,000 of Sweden's 18,000 postgraduate students. Questions touch upon, for instance, how much time is devoted to studying, how their studies have influenced the values of postgraduate students, and how their studies are being financed. The views of doctoral students regarding their courses, supervision, and working environment will also be studied, as will the question of whether they have felt discriminated against or treated differently from others.

Finally, it should be mentioned that several institutions have recently done their own investigations of their employees' work situation. Thus, the work situation in higher education is receiv-

ing a great deal of attention just now. While it is worrisome that all of these should have to be carried out, awareness and knowledge of the problems are preconditions for change.

### **3. The Attractiveness of the Academic Workplace in Sweden**

To answer the overall question of the attractiveness of the academic workplace in Sweden one has to take into consideration the following future challenges for Swedish universities.

#### *3.1 To recruit many good teachers to Higher Education*

##### *Large numbers of teachers retiring in the next few years*

It is well known that the next few years will bring with them huge numbers of retirements among academics, both in Sweden and the rest of the western world. Large groups of teachers in higher education – primarily professors and senior lecturers – will be retiring within ten to fifteen years. With the aim of analysing recruitment needs for various research subjects<sup>12</sup> and judging the possibilities of recruiting new employees in each respective subject – including the supply of post-doctoral fellows, of other employees with doctorates, and of doctoral students – I did a study whose results are presented below (Fritzell 2002).

The new right of employees (as of 2003) to retain their positions up to the age of 67 will influence the timing of retirements. It is probable that professors will make use of this possibility to a greater extent than senior lecturers, who in turn will probably take advantage of it more than junior lecturers. On the other hand, the new possibility of enter partial retirement from the age of 61 will bring with it a certain degree of early retirement. The combined effect is judged to be that the study overestimates the volume of retirements for professors for the coming few years, whereas this overestimate is smaller for senior lecturers.

##### *No problems with retirements when looking at the picture as a whole*

More than half (52%) of the 3,561 professors who were employed in 2001 will be retiring within ten years, whereas a further 816 (44%) will retire within 15 years. The recruitment base – consisting of senior lecturers, post-doctoral fellows, and other teachers and researchers with doctorates and teaching credentials who were younger than 55 last year – is roughly three and a half times as large. In other words, there should be between three and four applicants for every vacant professorial chair in the next ten years. In this connection it should be mentioned that the corps of professors includes a large number of internally promoted professors who will probably not be replaced by active recruitment. However, the latter will largely be replaced by senior lecturers being promoted to professors.

Among senior lecturers, 2,156 individuals, that is, more than a third (35%) will retire within ten years. On top of this, those senior lecturers that become professors will have to be replaced by

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<sup>12</sup> Information about the age structure of various categories of teachers has been taken from Statistics Sweden's compilations of teachers and researcher and their distribution across national research subjects.

new senior lecturers, that is, a total of roughly 4,000. Here the recruitment base is mainly constituted by today's doctoral students. The study calculates that half of those doctoral students completing their degrees will be interested in a career as an academic teacher. Thus, during the ten-year period, the number of doctoral students wishing to stay in higher education will amount to some 12,000, which means that the recruitment base is nearly three times as large as the need. In other words, the competition for senior lectureships will be somewhat less than for professorships. A further 1,123 senior lecturers will retire within 15 years.

At the aggregate level the problems do not seem to be insurmountable. However, it is not sufficient only to look at the total figures, since individual teachers or doctoral students possess limited eligibility, normally within their own subjects. An analysis must therefore be carried out for one subject at a time.

#### *Problems replacing professors in some subjects, but even worse for senior lecturers*

This subject-wise analysis indicates that some ten subjects will experience major problems (fewer than two applicants) in replacing professors retiring in the ten-year period. A further 13 subjects are deemed to have certain problems (fewer than three applicants) in replacing retiring professors during this period. Certain languages, certain fields of law, and odontological subjects are judged to face the greatest problems.

However, the analysis indicates that even more subjects may encounter major problems (less than one applicant) in replacing senior lecturers either retiring during the ten-year period or replacing professors who retire during the period. Once again, this is the case for certain languages and several fields of law. A further score of subjects are estimated to face some problems (fewer than 2 applicants) in replacing senior lecturers that either retire or replace retiring professors during the period. These include some subjects in the social sciences and odontological subjects. The situation for social science subjects is especially worrisome considering the fact that they can be seen as needing to expand further, since they generally boast excellent student application figures. The presentation of the study was concluded with the following comment:

„When it comes to recruiting senior lecturers, however, it should be observed that calculations of the recruitment base for senior lecturers is based upon the condition that new Ph. D.s who are interested in a career in teaching in higher education will be offered opportunities to establish credentials – a position as a post-doctoral fellow or an assistant senior lecturer – to a sufficient degree. This is the true challenge for faculties and departments.“

#### *There are other reasons why new teachers need to be recruited*

Retirements are not the only reason for new recruitment of teachers. Three other reasons are:

1. *Today's teachers leaving for other employment.* During the 1995–2000 period, more than one quarter of teachers left higher education for other forms of employment either in Sweden or abroad. The Statistics Sweden study shows even higher figures (28%) reflecting the *wish* of teachers to find employment outside higher education.
2. *Higher education is expanding.* During the 1990s undergraduate education expanded dramatically, and the government has signaled continued growth. Research did not actually grow on the whole during the 1990s, but certain fields have expanded. In recent years the government has allocated and promised new resources for research.

3. *Quality boosts in education.* A minor increase of some of the unit revenues for undergraduate education has been effected for the fiscal years 2002 and 2003. Major further quality reinforcements have been demanded by those involved.

What staffing needs these three factors may entail are difficult to calculate, since all three are subject to future government decisions regarding resources. However, it seems quite apparent that higher education will need to recruit a large number of new teachers in the next ten to fifteen years, and that competent applicants will be lacking in many subjects. To increase the number of positions that allow new Ph. D.s to enhance their credentials is therefore one of the most important strategic commitments for institutions at this time. This is an insight that is shared by many of those involved in the current debate on higher education – the minister of education, the National Agency for Higher Education, and representatives of university faculties. Nevertheless, in reality, very little has been done, owing to lack of resources and, occasionally, short-term thinking.

### *3.2 The resource situation for higher education must be improved*

#### *Assuring quality in higher education*

During the latter half of the 1990s, the discussion about the resource situation in undergraduate education has become more and more animated. The players in higher education – management, represented by the Association of Swedish Higher Education (SUHF), teachers, represented by SULF, and students, represented by the Swedish Federation of Student Unions (SFS) – have in different ways drawn attention to the ever more precarious situation, which has led to serious deficiencies in education. Most of the lobbying has been addressed to the parliamentary standing committee on education and not to the minister of education, who is responsible. At the latest audience with the standing committee in November 2002 – with both SFS and SULF – the following description of the consequences for higher education was put forward:

„We students must say that the quality of our education today is often alarmingly low, with ever larger class sizes, ever fewer hours of instruction, and one-sided and deficient teaching methods and examination. These deficits are confirmed by the National Agency for Higher Education’s assessments of subjects and programs. Today’s higher education cannot live up to the obligations laid down in the Higher Education Act, such as promoting critical thinking, equality between the sexes, and understanding other countries and international conditions. Teaching geared to stimulating independent and critical thinking, independent formulation and solution of problems, and seeking and evaluation of knowledge at an academic level all too often must give way to „rote-learning“ and regurgitation of facts.<sup>13</sup>

We teachers must say that the time per student and course has decreased in an unacceptable manner. It is virtually impossible – with the few hours of work time allocated to each course – to find the time to plan a course with good pedagogical structure, to develop meaningful and fair forms of examination, to be available to help and supervise, and finally to assess each student’s achievement. In order to be able to do a good job despite all this and not let our students down, many teachers in higher education put in a great deal of unpaid overtime (about 20%) and neglect their own research and other competence-enhancing activities. The heavy workload, combined with a sense of insufficiency, has led to a poor work environment and ill health; burnout is

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13 According to *Studentspegeln 2002* (Student mirror 2002), published by the National Agency for Higher Education.

becoming a more and more common cause of sick leaves for a professional corps that previously hardly figured in sick-leave statistics.“

This description of students' and teachers' situation has not been questioned. These conditions have been verified by the National Agency of Higher Education's subject and program assessments, among others.

*To ensure recruitment, working conditions must be bearable*

The unsatisfactory work situation for teachers stands out as all the more unfortunate considering the large-scale retirement that is imminent, at the same as more and more students are expected to enter higher education. University management, students, and teachers have all pointed out that it is of utmost urgency that the profession of academic teacher in Sweden be made attractive as a career for today's students and doctoral students – a career that comprises reasonable workloads, competitive salaries, and otherwise favourable and secure terms of employment.

*Major financial commitments are therefore required of the government*

To safeguard the quality of undergraduate education for an ever greater proportion of the population and to make the academic career attractive, according to unanimous analyses on the part of students, teachers, and university management, requires major new funding. The increases asked for – which together amount to several hundred million euros – are the following:

- Increased unit revenues for all undergraduate education
- Resources to tie all undergraduate education to research
- Resources to provide all doctoral students with salaried employment
- Resources for institutions to provide positions for young Ph. D.s to enhance their credentials
- Furthermore, a review of the magnitude of postgraduate education has been requested in order to judge future needs of academic teachers and Ph. D.s in the surrounding society.

Finally – and not least important – an immediate change has been demanded in the government's principles for adjusting allocations to compensate for salary increases among teachers and researchers. Otherwise the erosion of public allocations for education and research will continue, which – as a result of the structure of the resource allocation system – stands out as a disaster for undergraduate education and all the teachers who thus far have loyally attempted to protect students from the consequences of government austerities (Fritzell and Birath 2002).

*All players agree that the balance must shift in higher education*

In the introduction I pointed out the shifted balances that have arisen during the 1990s in higher education, on the one hand, that between undergraduate education and research and, on the other, between research that is directly financed by the government and research funded by various financiers after competitive application.

With the dramatic expansion of undergraduate education, the balance between undergraduate education and research has been upset. It stands out as a paradox that at the same time as universities and colleges are singled out as society's foremost research institutes, they are gradually being transformed into establishments for undergraduate education and possibly postgraduate educa-

tion, which moreover means that the responsibility for education will be more and more thinly extended and diluted (Brändström 2001).

This imbalance has been pointed out by all players, SUHF, SULF, and SFS. The proposed „teaching voucher“ – a research resource added to unit revenues for FTE students – would guarantee that all undergraduate education is tied to research (SULF 2001 and 2002). As undergraduate education expands, resources would thereby automatically be supplied for the growth and maintenance of the competence of teachers, primarily their possibility to do research. Such resources for research would be of great importance to university colleges that lack permanent research funding today. Their teachers would no longer be relegated to their own ability to apply for short-term project financing from external sources. The issue of university status and accreditation for postgraduate education would thereby be de-dramatised. Today there is a catch 22: only those institutions that can demonstrate strong and stable research environments can be granted long-term research resources.

The dramatic rise in the share of external sources of research funding (55%) has affected the possibility of both faculties and individual researchers or research teams of determining the content of their research. Moreover, more and more of a teacher's time is devoted to formulating applications and reporting on research outcomes. At the same time, researchers are devoting more and more of their time to evaluating and vetting the applications of others. There is good reason to question whether competing for external research funding is truly conducive to the efficient use of resources.

The Swedish debate about the distribution of research funding encompasses many matters of principle. One aspect involves quality – by having researchers or research teams compete for grants within a broadly defined field can give those researchers who have the best approaches funding (the research council model). Another aspect involves utility – by formulating urgent problems that need to be solved, politicians channel resources into certain chosen fields (the sector research model). The latest research policy bill advocates in principle the research council model. The new Swedish Research Council, which is made up of most of the previously separate research councils, was given the majority of the government's research resources that were not directly allocated to institutions. However, critics pointed out, the council's new resources were earmarked to a great extent, which means that political steering increased anyway.

It has also been claimed in the debate that academic freedom and institutional autonomy are predicated upon more resources to institutions to supply the needs of curiosity-driven, pure research (Brändström 2001). Advocates of this model (the faculty model) refer to the difficulty of predicting what research will prove to be useful over the long term. The best way of attaining „useful“ research is to identify those individuals who have the greatest interest in and the greatest talent for research. The Swedish application procedures for both postgraduate education and teaching positions, with conscientious evaluations of each individual's qualifications, have been constructed with the aim of identifying the most talented people in every faculty. Those individuals who are thus winnowed through the teaching career should be provided with the opportunity to devote themselves to research and teaching, without further vetting. Therefore, as many people see it, the majority of research resources should be directly placed at the disposal of the respective faculties.

### 3.3 *Developing and nurturing academic leadership*

One of the idiosyncrasies of higher education – both in Sweden and in other parts of Europe – has been collegial decision-making, that is, that both the top management, such as the vice-chancellor and deans, and department heads are selected by those involved. In recent years – apace with demands for increased efficiency – a new type of management-oriented philosophy of leadership has started to be applied, often brought in from the world of business. These developments have been driven by the government but also from forces within institutions. Examples of the former can easily be found in the 1993 Higher Education Ordinance but also in later emendations, such as the vice-chancellor no longer chairing the board and elections of vice-chancellors no longer being centrally regulated. These latter two changes have meant a major – and symbolically significant – transformation of the terms for the *highest* academic leadership in Sweden.

At first the old electoral system was used to nominate candidates, but in appointments of vice-chancellors in the last year, the boards of three of the largest universities have made use of recruitment forms inspired by the business community. Sometimes representatives of the universities have countered with certain tactically motivated moves. The combined effect has been that earlier open and predictable processes have been replaced by discussions in small closed circles. This has led to severe criticism from students and teachers, but also from the Ministry of Education, not least because the gender equality issue has been put on the sidelines.

Collegial decision-making with its related elections has, to be sure, not always worked well, but the question that needs to be posed is whether the models that are now often being applied in higher education have the wherewithal to become successful. One important recruitment factor for the academy may have been that activities here are not run as they are in business. Here everyone has many possibilities of directing their own work, whether it be research or teaching. Common decisions are treated in a spirit of collegiality in special bodies. Leaders have mandates limited in time, which means that they revert to being „equals among equals.“ Such decision-making and leadership show consideration and – like the activities – have a long-term perspective. As I see it, higher education should safeguard and develop this unique feature.

### 3.4 *How can the professional role of the teacher be made more distinct?*

In the same way that the structure of academic leadership is in principle and should be an internal issue, there are a series of professional matters that the corps of teachers must and should take the responsibility for. Examples of such topical questions are:

- The structure and implementation of pedagogical training for teachers,
- Ethical questions, such as ethics for teachers, research, and researchers,
- New and transformed forms of examination and teaching.

Taken together, these questions constitute the basis of the professional role of the teacher. Such questions belong primarily in each respective department and institution, but it is also important that teachers be offered national arenas for inspiration and the exchange of experience. Some such national arenas have emerged as a result of the increased focus on undergraduate education throughout the 1990s. The National Agency of Higher Education's quality conferences started in 1997 and have been held every other year since then in collaboration with a different institution each time. In 2001 SULF arranged the first teacher moot under the rubric of *The Uni-*

versity Teachers – Pedagogue, Administrator, Entertainer. The working name for the 2003 teacher moot is *The Situation for University Teachers– The Ideal and the Reality*.

#### **4. Internationalisation of Higher Education**

The discussion about the effects of the growing international market for higher education as regards Swedish university teachers is still in its cradle. We are aware that the discussion is – and has been so for a long time – considerably more animated in other countries, such as the U.S., Canada, the U.K., Australia, and New Zealand. In recent times a serious debate has started to be heard in several European countries, and therefore these issues are beginning to feel more and more relevant to Sweden as well.

SULF, SFS, and the government are opposed to the idea that education should be seen as a commodity of trade. Higher education is free of charge to students, including foreign students, and at present there are no signs that this will change. However, the ability of Swedish institutions of higher learning to sell commissioned education to employers abroad has recently been expanded.

Organised exchange of teachers and students under the auspices of the EU's Erasmus Program has recently been evaluated by the International Program Office with the aim of analysing the reasons for the diminishing number of Swedish students and the relatively low numbers of Swedish teachers participating in exchange activities. The following reasons have been given:

- Lack of knowledge about the Erasmus Program among both students and teachers,
- Uncertainty among students as to where to find information and receive guidance about studying abroad,
- Students and teachers wishing to study and teach, respectively, mainly in English,
- Lack of time among teachers to participate,
- Lack of follow-up of student and teacher experience from abroad when they return.

Most teacher exchanges are short, one week or less. As far as teachers are concerned, lack of language skills in combination with lack of time seem to be the greatest obstacles to the mobility that is so highly encouraged by the government. Both of these factors are ascribable to the huge workload that virtually every teacher has today. Obviously this situation also influences the interest in and possibility of hosting foreign colleagues.

#### **5. Conclusions**

From the Swedish perspective the underlying question in this European research project – how to ensure that the academic teaching career will appear attractive to the best of today's female and male doctoral students – can be answered in the following points:

Create good possibilities for establishing further academic credentials after undergraduate education – that is, salaried employment of *all* doctoral students and post docs (preferably abroad, entirely or partially) with economic conditions that permit having a family, that is, reasonable terms of social insurance. Short-term contracts must be radically reduced, both in number and in length.

Reasonable workloads for *all* university teachers, with time for research and other development of competence (including language studies to facilitate teacher exchange) immediately – otherwise young people will be frightened away from the academic career.

Competitive salaries must be made available to all teachers – not necessarily top of the line, but high enough to maintain the status of the university teacher.

Safeguard the attractive aspects of the role of the university teacher: the freedom to choose your subject, methods, and working hours, as well as the possibility of influencing your work environment – that is, see to it that the role of the academic teacher does not suffer from the loss of status that has affected schoolteachers in Sweden over the last few decades.

All of these points, apart from the last one, require more resources from the government, assuming that volumes remain unchanged. The final point requires less steering from the government. In a word: political confidence in an activity that can prove itself worthy of trust only over the long term.

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