



Teaching specialist positions: creating elite teachers or an academic under-class in Australia's research-intensive universities?

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List of Abbreviations

AAP	Australian Associated Press
AAUP	American Association of University Professors
AAUT	Australian Awards for University Teaching
ABSCQ	ABS Classification of Qualifications
ACICS	Accrediting Commission for Independent Colleges and Schools
ADB	Asia Development Bank
Adelaide	The University of Adelaide
ACDP	Australian Committee of Directors and Principals
ACSI	Advisory Council of Science and Industry
ADC	Australian Dental Council
ADFAT	Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
AHEIA	Australian Higher Education Industrial Association
AHELO	Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes
AIT	Australian Institute of Technology
ALTC	Australian Learning and Teaching Council
AMC	Australian Medical Council
ANU	The Australian National University
AQFC	Australian Qualifications Framework Council
ARC	Australian Research Council
ARPA	Advanced Research Projects Agency
ARWU	Academic Ranking of World Universities
ASCED	Australian Standard Classification of Education
ATN	Australian Technology Network
AUQA	Australian Universities Quality Agency
AUTCSEF	Australian University Teaching Criteria and Standards Framework
AUTC	Australian Universities Teaching Committee
AVCC	Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee
BIR	Belt and Road Initiative
BPR	Business Process Re-engineering
C19 League	Top research universities in China
CAA	Chartered Accountants Australia
CAE	College of Advanced Education
CAP	Changing Academic Profession (Survey)
CASTL	Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning
CATEI	Course and Teaching Evaluation and Improvement
CAUT	Committee for the Advancement of University Teaching
CEQ	Course Experience Questionnaire
CFAS	Commonwealth Financial Assistance Scheme
CFAT	Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
CGS	Commonwealth Grant Scheme
CHE	Centre for Higher Education
CHEA	Council for Higher Education Accreditation
CILTHE	Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education

CPI	Consumer Price Index
CPIS	Coordinated Portfolio Investment Survey
CQAHE	Committee for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
CRN	Collaborative Research Network
CRTS	Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme
CSDF	Commonwealth Staff Development Fund
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
CSP	Commonwealth Supported Place
CTEC	Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission
CUGH	Consortium of Universities for Global Health
DAE	Deloitte Access Economics
DEET	Department of Employment, Education and Training
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
DESSFB	Department of Employment, Skills, Small and Family Business
DESE	Department of Education, Skills and Employment
DEST	Department of Education, Science and Training
DET	Department of Education and Training
DETYA	Department of Education, Training & Youth Affairs
DfES	United Kingdom Department for Education and Skills
DIISRTE	Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education
DSIR	Department of Scientific and Industrial Research
EA	Engineers Australia
EGM	Emerging Global Model
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EIT	European Institute of Technology
ELICOS	English Language Intensive Course for Overseas Students
EME	European Ministers of Education
ENQA	Europe had the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
ERA	Excellence in Research for Australia framework
ERC	European Research Council
ESOS	Education Services for Overseas Students (Registration of Providers and Financial Regulation) Act 1991
EU	European Union
FAC	Federated Council of Academics
FAUSA	Federation of Australian University Staff Associations
FEE-HELP	Tuition fee loan for fee-paying students who are citizens or permanent residents of Australia
FOE	Field of Education
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDS	Graduate Destination Survey
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
Go8	Group of Eight

GRIUN	Global Research Intensive Universities Network
GUS	Global University Systems
HEA	Higher Education Academy
HECE	Higher Education Contract of Employment Award
HECS	Higher Education Contribution Scheme
HEEC	Higher Education Evaluation Centre
HELP	Higher Education Loan Program
HESA	Higher Education Support Act, 2003
HESP	Higher Education Standards Panel
HM Government	Her Majesty's Government
IAF	Institutional Assessment Framework
IASTMP	International Association of Scientific Technical & Medical Publishers
IDA	International Development Association
IDG	Innovation and Development Grant
ILTHE	Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRU	Innovative Research Universities
ISCN	International Sustainable Campus Network
LEC	Lisbon European Council
LERU	League of European Research Universities
LTPF	Learning and Teaching Performance Fund
MCEETYA Melbourne	Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs The University of Melbourne
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India
MOE	Ministry of Education (People's Republic of China)
Monash	Monash University
MOOC	Massive Open Online Course
MYEFO	Mid-Year Economic and Fiscal Outlook
NBEET	National Board of Employment, Education and Training
NCIHE	National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education
NHMRC	National Health and Medical Research Council
NIE	New Institutional Economics
NPM	New Public Management
NPRF	National Priority Reserve Fund
NTEU	National Tertiary Education Union
NUS	National Union of Students
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIDEL	Organisation Internationale pour le Droit à l'Education et la Liberté d'Enseignement (French: International Organization for the Development of Freedom of Education)
OLT	Office of Learning and Teaching
PSF	Professional Standards Framework
QILT	Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching
QS	Quacquarelli Symonds World University Rankings

Oxbridge	The University of Oxford and the University of Cambridge represent England's oldest and most prestigious research universities
PBF	Performance-Based Funding
PCS	Provider Category Standards
PwC	PricewaterhouseCoopers
QAAHE	Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education
Queensland	The University of Queensland
QS	Quacquarelli Symonds World University Rankings
RFM	Relative Funding Model
RGU	Russell Group Universities
RQF	Research Quality Framework
RTO	Registered Training Organisation
RUN	the Innovative Research Universities
SES	Student Experience Survey
SGDE	Small Group Discovery Experience
SGDs	Sustainable Development Goals
SoTL	Scholarship of Teaching and Learning
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
Sydney	The University of Sydney
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TEAS	Tertiary Education Access Scheme
TEF	Teaching Excellence and Student Outcomes Framework
TEQSA	Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency
THE	Times Higher Education (World University Rankings)
TNC	Transnational Corporation
TQM	Total Quality Management
U15	U15 Group of Canadian Research Universities
UA	Universities Australia
UASR	University Alliance of the Silk Road
UN	United Nations
UES	University Experience Survey
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNS	Unified National System
USDA	United States Department of Education
UNSW	The University of New South Wales
UWA	The University of Western Australia
VET	Vocational Education and Training
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Abstract

Teaching specialist positions differ from casual teaching positions and teaching-only positions in Australian universities. Teaching specialist academics have a workload that is comprised of 60+% teaching, with any research time usually assigned to the scholarship of teaching, rather than to discipline-specific research. These positions purportedly access the same opportunities for promotion and staff development as those offered to research-only or research-teaching academics. Whether this is the reality, is an issue that this thesis explores.

Teaching and scholarship were always the mainstays of academic work, but since the Second World War, advances in technology and its consequences for economic development, have elevated research above teaching in prestige and status. In this thesis, narrative and thematic history approaches based purely on publicly available documentary sources are employed to examine trends and policy that influenced university teaching at both the international and national levels. Critical analysis of the impact of globalisation, neo-liberalism, New Public Management and Commonwealth Government policy inform understanding of the issues that led to the adoption of teaching specialist positions by nearly every Australian university over the past decade.

The emergence of teaching specialist positions in the Group of Eight (Go8) universities is the focus of this thesis. These universities built their reputations and leadership on research, but all have adopted teaching specialist positions in one form or another. Why they have done this and what they have gained from it are key issues addressed in this research.

This thesis argues that the level of support for teaching specialist positions amongst the Go8s is varied. Some appear to hold a genuine belief that these positions will contribute to an improvement in teaching quality, whilst others seem to have implemented them because it is now standard practice across the sector. What the Go8s do have in common with each other, is their almost unquestioning compliance with government policy and their responsiveness to competition within national and international higher education arenas.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Signed:

Date: 29 July 2020

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Background

Since World War II, higher education witnessed major expansions in participation in the western world and more recently in the developing world with East Asia committing substantial resources to its universities (Shin & Harman, 2009; Marginson, 2011, 2014; Australian Government, 2012; Shin, 2012, 2015; den Hollander, 2015).

Global competition exerted considerable pressure on nations to grow and restructure their education systems to produce knowledge and skills that secured economic prosperity (Czinkota, 2005; Hanushek & WoBmann, 2007; European Commission, 2010). Knowledge became a valuable commodity. Communication technologies and student mobility created opportunities for higher education to be a significant export earner for countries (ADFAT¹, 2005; Shah & Nair, 2011; Group of Eight, 2015). Australia is a major provider of higher education programs and services in the world market. In 2017, education became Australia's third largest export and its largest services export, with earnings rising a further 16% to \$35.2 billion in 2018 (DET², 2019a, p 37). This led to the development of a quality assurance industry in higher education both globally and nationally, as the market required proof of quality in education (Vidovich, 2002; Shah, et al., 2011).

A further pressure on universities was the need to improve their research output, which in turn boosted their position in world ranking university league tables, produced by the Shanghai Jiaotong Ranking of World Universities, the Times Higher Education Supplement and the QS World University (Stocum, 2013; Stack, 2016). This created intense competition within the

¹ Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

² Department of Education and Training.

global higher education market, as many international students chose to study at universities based on their international rankings (Soutar & Turner, 2002; Marginson, 2007; Government UK, 2013; DET, 2015; Norton, 2015; Marginson, 2016).

This study focuses on Australia's research-intensive universities, also known as the Group of Eight (Go8) universities, and the challenge in allocating sufficient resources to improve both research and teaching. The Go8 comprise Australia's earliest universities: The University of Sydney (1850), the University of Melbourne (1853) and the University of Adelaide (1874); the post-Federation universities: The University of Queensland (1909) and the University of Western Australia (1911); and the post-World War II universities: The Australian National University (1946), the University of New South Wales (1949) and Monash University (1958). Together, they represent Australia's most prestigious universities in terms of research grants gained, their performance in international league ranking tables, and in domestic and international student demand for their courses. They formed a consortium in 1999, to provide a strong and united political voice. This is used to influence government higher education policy to protect their interests and ultimately to ensure their reputational standing in a competitive environment.

Whilst the Go8s' reputations were initially built upon and continue to rely on their research outputs, teaching quality increasingly demanded attention. With the expansion and diversity of Australia's population due to high birth rates and migration following World War II, and the aspirations of migrants for improved standards of living, higher education needed to respond to demands for skills. Universities were required to provide increased opportunities for study leading to employment for greater numbers of students, and to build a stronger national economy. In response to accelerated expansion, diversification and competition, public spending on higher education declined in real terms. An ageing population and the shift from a primarily

agricultural to a manufacturing economy demanded new infrastructure and technologies, which required universities to update their facilities, research, curricula and teaching.

To fund their operations, governments encouraged universities to seek alternative revenue through industry collaboration, donor support and international student tuition fees. Reliance on the latter from the mid-1980s was used by Australian universities, and particularly the Go8s, to fund their research to augment their competitiveness within the system. Local economies also profited from international students through additional demand for accommodation, goods and services.

To encourage students to study in Australia, a high standard of education was required. This consolidated the notion of students as customers. Expanding domestic student participation in higher education highlighted the need for education to address varying interests and abilities, thus reinforcing higher education as a service and universities as businesses. Due to their reliance on international student revenue to fund research (Go8, 2015; Norton, 2015a), and the reputational advantage gained in winning teaching grants, the Go8s had little option but to focus on teaching improvement.

Staffing in universities came under increasing scrutiny and pressure to adapt to the rapidly changing economic environment. The creation of a new academic staffing category, teaching specialists, if properly supported, has the potential to improve teaching quality, enhance the student experience, and create rewarding career pathways for teaching staff.

1.2 Research questions and aims

The questions for this thesis ask what are teaching specialist positions, why are they employed in Go8 universities and how do their working conditions and professional status compare with teaching-research positions? The aims of this study are to provide new

information and insights into whether teaching specialists represent a commitment to improve teaching, and if so, whether they are equipped to deliver on that commitment. The questions and aims have bearing on the concept of the academic professional and whether teaching specialists share the same status, recognition and rewards as their teaching-research counterparts. It is argued that research has dominated teaching in terms of status since the rebuilding of economies following WWII.

The teaching-research academic emerged after the war and was the mainstay of academic work in the following decades. Prior to that time, academic roles were predominantly teaching roles with the expectation that academics would be widely read and abreast of developments within their disciplines. When the value of research's contribution to the weaponry of war and the aftermath of nation building were acknowledged by governments worldwide, research was specifically included in the academic workload. The 40% teaching, 40% research and 20% service, which accommodated leadership, administrative and community responsibilities, became the standard work model for the latter part of the twentieth century. Academic staff increasingly were expected to demonstrate proficiency in both teaching and research. In Australia, academic roles were further consolidated through the Australian Government's definition of a university in *Section B1: Criteria for Classification of Higher Education Provider Categories* (Australian Government, 2015a). However, increasing differentiation of academic roles requiring changes in the academic service model, is already appearing in universities' human resources policies and enterprise agreements. This prompted the Government in December 2019, to propose a more robust definition of research and create a new provider category, *National Institute of Higher Education*, to be added to the *Provider Category Standards* (DET, 2019a). This has the potential to reduce the number of institutions qualifying

as “Australian Universities”, with implications for the future funding of higher education providers.

Most teaching specialist roles emerged within Australian universities during the past decade and a half, in response to growth and diversification within the higher education sector. This research focuses on teaching specialist positions rather than teaching only positions, which refer primarily to casual and sessional academic staff undertaking undergraduate teaching with little or no research. Teaching specialists share many similarities with teaching focused positions, the name which Probert (2013a) used to describe the new teaching categories introduced in many tertiary institutions, from 2007. Her terminology was considered too broad for use in this study because it also included Technical and Further Education (TAFE), private providers and casual and sessional staff. What sets teaching specialists apart from other teaching only categories, is the expectation that they are engaged in scholarship, with many also required to demonstrate leadership. Appendix 1 provides some examples from Go8 universities of the expectations concerning teaching specialists at varying classification levels.

Comparisons in relation to working conditions in this thesis mostly occur between teaching specialist and teaching-research staff. Both groups tend to occupy continuing or long-term contract positions, which allows for the assessment of workload, professional development, and opportunities, for leadership. Both groups purportedly have access to professional development via training, membership of national and international staff networks, and workload allocated to scholarship or research. Teaching-research staff remain the dominant academic staff category in the Go8s, although that is changing with the increased segmentation and specialisation of academic work. Much of this is due to the expansion of Australia’s higher

education sector and declining public funding for universities, resulting in a large casual cohort of teaching-only academics.

Comparisons between teaching specialists and teaching-only staff are only made when their working conditions reveal a close correlation. Most teaching-only staff tend to be casual or sessional staff employed on an hourly basis or on short-term contracts. These positions are dependent on student numbers/demand for teaching and therefore do not provide stable employment. The casual workforce comprises, PhD students, recent graduates/early career academics, and according to Strachan et al.'s (2012) *Work & Careers in Australian Universities: Report on Employee Survey*, female academics with a median age of 36 who represent 57% of casual academics (p59). Studies indicate that casual and sessional staff often lack access to basic office requirements such as a desk and computer, staff development/training (although Chapter 8 indicates that this is changing), have no access to leave entitlements, and are excluded from internal promotion and membership on decision-making committees (Bentley, et al, 2014; May et.al, 2016) . May et al. (2016) refer to the latter as a critical factor linked to casual staff and their disconnect with the disciplines in which they are employed. In effect, they are on the periphery of their academic communities and unable to influence the direction of academic work.

Comparisons between teaching specialists and research-only staff are only made when reporting data on staffing categories, to provide some measure of the proportion of predominantly teaching staff working in Go8 universities. Research-only staff, as their title suggests usually do not have teaching included in their workload. Many are assigned to specific research projects, with some being funded or partially funded by industry. Therefore, their significance to teaching specialist and this research is minimal.

This thesis examines why teaching specialist positions are part of the Australian academic workforce in an environment where teaching and research “compete for limited academic time, attention and resources” and “Australian academics generally have a low preference for teaching compared to research” (Norton et al., 2016, p 15). Research dominates rewards and status in academic work, and this is particularly evident in Australia’s research intensive Go8 universities.

Initially, issues and trends at the global and national levels are analysed in order to understand the influences that have changed university teaching. These include:

- globalisation and the global governance of higher education;
- neoliberalism, academic capitalism and the knowledge economy;
- the corporatisation of universities through New Public Management;
- rapid advances in information and communication technologies;
- international ranking of universities and competition for international students;
- the teaching-research nexus and the stratification of academic work;

Attention then focuses on:

- the integration of teaching specialist positions in Go8 staffing structures;
- their effectiveness in delivering anticipated benefits for Go8s;
- their impact on academic work in Go8s; and
- the recognition and rewards teaching specialists receive in Go8s.

This thesis analyses the impact of these factors on institutional autonomy and academic freedom, and their capacity to transform academic work.

1.3 Research methodology

An historical methods approach is used to examine the events and policies leading to the introduction of teaching specialist positions within the Go8s.

“The narrative tradition has long been the dominant form of research and exposition, and this is true in the history of education” (Rury, 2006, p 327). Narrative history analysis (Stone, 1979; Roberts, 2001; McDowell, 2013) is employed in this thesis to address trends in global and Australian higher education that explain the changes to teaching roles. Gallie (1968) argued that historical narrative was “logically prior” to all other questions that are required to be asked (p 66). Consequently, the facts and scope of an issue or problem first need to be established, in order for critical analysis to proceed.

A thematic approach (McDowell, 2013) is used in addition to the narrative approach in this thesis. It is used to define the macro-level issues of globalisation, neoliberalism, and managerialism (Saarinen & Ursin, 2012), and their effect on Australian Government higher education policy and university managements.

Globalisation represents the increasing connectivity between nations through developments in communications technology, manufacturing, transport and trade. This elevates knowledge to a highly valued commodity. It requires universities “to meet the human capital needs of a changing labor market and economy, provide infrastructure and services to business, and transfer knowledge so that it contributes to capital accumulation” (Jessop, 2017, p 104). Globalisation creates a competitive environment where universities strive to strengthen their commercial ties with industry, compete for research, and more recently, teaching grants, and improve their rankings in international league tables. Academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Munch, 2014) and the entrepreneurial university (Clark, 1998;

Marginson and Considine, 2000; Etzkowitz, 2003; Audretsch, 2012) are concepts developed by writers to explain the scale, nature and impact of changes experienced in higher education. The benefits of globalisation for universities are numerous and include facilitating collaborations in research, creating markets for interdisciplinary knowledge and skills, and enabling online courses that offer flexibility to those who cannot undertake study on campus. However, the focus of governments and institutions on purely economic benefits rather than social benefits, has the potential to limit diversity and contribute to inequality in academic work, both between disciplines and between research and teaching.

Neoliberalism gained momentum during the 1980s, when Milton Friedman, an economist from the Chicago School of Business, advised the Reagan and Thatcher administrations to replace Keynesian economic theory of government macro-economic management of the economy, in favour of an aggressive free market ideology requiring minimalist government intervention. The aim was to facilitate competition between industries and nations, with profit, privatisation and deregulation being the main drivers. Australia adapted neoliberal policies to the restructure and expansion of its higher education sector in the late 1980s/early 1990s. The benefits derived from neoliberalism tend to reward first world nations who already have the requisite infrastructures in place and the support of supranational organisations such as the World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to maintain their advantage in a developing global economy (Altbach, 2001; Giroux, 2002; Olssen & Peters, 2005). This same principle applies to Go8 universities, who through their years of establishment have led Australia in research, having accrued substantial facilities and resources, some of which were donated by alumni, other private benefactors and industry (Marginson, 1997; Vidovich 2002).

Both globalisation and neoliberalism influence the administrations of universities which replaced the former collegial governance structure with top-down management representative of corporate organisations in the business sector, albeit largely driven by government policy. This undermined the autonomy of disciplines, with the transfer of power in decision-making on academic matters now residing in committees comprising senior and middle-management administrators. Whilst the purpose of universities still maintains the principle of service to their communities, the adoption of New Public Management (initially implemented by the Hawke Labor Government in the late 1980's and further entrenched by the Howard Liberal Coalition Government in the 1990s), redefines academic work and academics as agents for economic development. There is much debate on whether universities are businesses and students should be regarded as customers (Clayson & Haley, 2005; White 2006). Eagle & Brennan (2007) maintain that "there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the notion that students are in some sense customers" (p 45). However, this applies more to their experience of education in terms of fair and equitable treatment and quality teaching. There is also robust debate regarding education as a common good, and the responsibilities of academics in setting standards and reconceptualising their professional identities in response to increasing requirements for accountability and performativity (Henkel, 2000; Clayson & Haley, 2005; Harris, 2006; Winter 2009).

It is acknowledged that the issues of globalisation, neoliberalism and managerialism, are complex and contested and that this study cannot hope to reflect their full scope and impact, particularly as they are interpreted and applied differently in other countries (Vaira, 2004; Marginson & van der Wende, 2007a; Deem & Mok, 2008). The themes were chosen because they dominate much on the literature describing change at both the global and national levels. Most importantly, they provide some understanding of the external forces which have influenced

Australian higher education policy and academic work since the creation of the UNS. Australia has tended to follow Anglo/American trends in relation to higher education policy, and its membership of the OECD³ has highlighted its performance against member countries, thus increasing competition within the global sector. This is manifested in new specialisations emerging in academic work, which for some universities appears to be a knee jerk response to address the expansion of and the shortfall in funding higher education. Indications are that teaching specialisations require further definition and support to ensure that they enjoy equivalence in esteem and rewards compared with teaching-research academics.

This thesis then focuses on the segmentation and specialisation of labour at the institutional level (Roberts & Peters, 2008; Connell & Dados, 2013; Mangeol 2014; Fitzsimons, 2015; Ingleby, 2015). Teaching specialist positions are examined in relation to academic workloads, scholarship, leadership, and reward and recognition. These collectively shape the professionalisation and status of teaching.

A profession is identified by the following characteristics:

- a. It has exclusive powers to recruit and train new members as it sees fit.
- b. It has exclusive powers to judge who is qualified.
- c. It is responsible for regulating the quality of professional work.
- d. It has high social prestige.
- e. It is grounded in an esoteric and complex body of knowledge (Dill, 1982, p 256).

What this definition fails to include is service to their communities. This was increasingly defined by Australian governments for the higher education sector from the late 1980's, following the substantial restructure of the sector known as the Unified National System (UNS). A neoliberal agenda was adopted in deciding what knowledge was important and how it should be applied to the needs of the nation. Marginson (1997) observed that:

the modern university is a product of government and serves the purposes of government, though it also has other constituencies and purposes. Conventional academic freedom is

³ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

a state of regulated autonomy in which the freedom of academics in teaching and research is necessary to the discharge of their normal functions, but these functions are exercised within boundaries controlled by government and management (p 359).

In addition to membership of their profession, academics are also defined by the benefits of tenure and academic freedom (i.e. “the freedom of individuals to study, teach, research and publish without being subject to, or causing undue interference” (Kayrooz, et al., 2001, p 4)).

From the 1980s, universities in Australia were required by governments to implement neoliberal policies and NPM to manage significant increases in student enrolments, staffing structures and research and graduate outputs. This eroded tenure and increased casualisation within the sector. It also compelled universities to focus their postgraduate training and research on areas such as biotechnology and communications and information technology (Kemp, 1999a)) through grant funding schemes to develop areas aligned with national priorities (DEST, 2004a, DIISRTE, 2010; DET, 2015). This affected the autonomy and style of management in universities and placed demands on curricula and teaching through the *Higher Education Provider Category Standards Frameworks* monitored by the Australian Government regulator, the Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency. Teaching academics are now subject to assessments of their course design by alleged external experts, and learning resources must demonstrate their appropriateness, quality and support for students in their chosen course of study (TEQSA, 2020).

Whilst it is not unusual for governments and their communities to expect universities to produce knowledge and graduates to develop stronger economies, reducing the proportion of tenured staff also reduces the ability of academics to manage knowledge and influence the quality of work within their professions. The plural is used here in acknowledgement that fragmentation based on disciplines already exists within universities (Becker, 1989; Enders, 2007). These differences are further extended though a growing focus on inter-disciplinary

study, specialisations in teaching and research in academic work, and new roles emerging for academics in administration, industry collaboration and community liaison (Coaldrake and Stedman; 1999; Whitchurch, 2007; Macfarlane, 2011a).

These divisions, and particularly newly created roles, have consequences for how academic work and the status of academic professionals are perceived in the wider community. This thesis argues that by further segmenting the academic workforce through the introduction of teaching specialist roles, and failing to adequately define and support these roles, their status as academic professionals is jeopardised.

Both narrative and thematic approaches in this thesis rely on a range of critical processes, which underly historical studies. These include identifying the issue or problem for investigation, designing research questions, selecting, collecting and analysing data, synthesising and conveying findings (Good, 1930; Garraghan, 1946; Ary et al., 1985; Gay & Airasian, 2012).

In adopting an historical methods approach, as with any methodology, there are limitations in terms of providing an holistic and definitive assessment of the research problem (Yin, 1994; Denzin, 2017). “Every method of inquiry has its weak and strong points. This applies no less to documentary research than to other research methods. There is no one research method and there is no research method that is superior to others” (Mogalakwe, 2009, p 56). These limitations are not regarded as an impediment, but rather as factors to be considered in adding to the existing body of knowledge on the matter under investigation. An approach based entirely on document analysis raises issues concerning context. Consequently, the interests, motives and beliefs of authors of documents, and events occurring at the time, need to be assessed (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Bowen (2009a) noted that document analysis was required to be especially rigorous and extensive. It was important to consider “the quality of the documents and the evidence they contain, given the purpose and design of the study” (p 33). The documentation informing the research question comprises mainly primary sources, particularly in relation to government policy regarding the definition, numbers, and funding of universities and their workforces in Australia. This includes reviews, culminating in reports and legislation, which necessitated responses from universities. The authenticity of these documents is not in question as they are on the public record (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Bell, et al., 2018), and are therefore considered to be “trustworthy” documents (Mackieson, et al., 2019, p 966).

Ary et al., (2014) highlighted issues concerning the selectivity and interpretation of documents, given that:

The researcher must make theoretically informed decisions about the selection of appropriate documents. Documents are not “objective” in the positive sense for while they are independent of the researcher, they are not independent of those who created them. Documents are written by people, for people, and some may be written explicitly to change behaviour (p 471).

As all documents used in this thesis are in the public domain, the issue of selectivity is deemed to be less problematic and value-laden than document analysis and interpretation of higher education public policy. Providing both a comprehensive and a balanced view of the research problem, are important issues for the methodology supporting this thesis. The author is also mindful of the potential for researcher bias (Patton, 2001; Bowen, 2009b, Denzin, 2017). This is addressed through the volume and diversity of documents sourced, the thematic organisation of causal effects concerning university teaching, and the analysis of responses to government-initiated changes to higher education and academic work through the triangulation of resources.

Triangulation in qualitative studies refers to the assessment of the validity of sources through comparison and cross-checking (Denzin, 1978; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In this study, it is not so much the validity of the sources that is in question, but rather their impact and consequences. Narrative and thematic history provides both a sequential record of events and multiple perspectives, on what has occurred. Whilst they cannot entirely remove “the researcher’s personal biases, attitudes, emotional reactions, and motivations” (Probst & Berenson, 2014, p 816), they can inform, challenge and potentially even change them.

Because teaching specialists in Go8s are a relatively new staffing category in Australian higher education, their origins and implementation firstly need to be understood. Therefore, the scope of this research relies on a wide range of documentary sources to explore the history of teaching and specifically teaching specialist positions at the global, national and institutional levels.

A substantial portion of primary sources are public policies produced by governments, and by the Go8 universities. Tight (2012) noted that “with government remaining the major funder of higher education in most countries, system [government] policy remains the crucial determinant of higher education practice” (p 117). Published research on methodological approaches to policy analysis, was useful in informing this research in relation to the data and questions required for critical analysis (Taylor, 1997; Bacchi, 2009). The historiographic approach is used to link international, national and local influences in contextualising higher education policy at the macro and micro levels (Gale 2001; McCulloch, 2004; Vidovich 2007; Saarinen, 2008). Another important issue for this study was the need to focus specifically on the rationales underpinning policies that influenced the development of teaching specialist positions, so that they are depicted as accurately as possible (Ashwin & Smith, 2014).

The range of documents used in this research entails reports from supra-national organisations, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IFM,) and the World Bank (WB). Higher education policy in other countries, and particularly the UK and the USA, are also examined in relation of their influence on policy in Australia. Documentation at the national level includes: Australian Government legislation and policy statements, data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Commonwealth Department of Education, Skills and Employment and its predecessors, reports from the Group of Eight Ltd., Universities Australia, the Grattan Institute, National Tertiary Education Union, and the Australian Committee for Economic Development. Additionally, there are reports on issues within higher education which the Commonwealth Government outsourced to private accounting firms including Ernst & Young, PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), and Deloitte Access Economics (DAE), journal articles from leading higher education journals, and media articles which also inform this study. At the institutional level, information is obtained from strategic plans, annual reports, policies, enterprise agreements, media releases, job advertisements, and teaching and learning websites, which (to varying degrees) provide information on universities' rationales for introducing teaching specialist positions, and their support, reward and recognition.

Triangulation in qualitative research usually refers to a mixed methods approach where documents are often used to test the validity of responses to interviews and questionnaires. Data source triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Patton, 2001) using only documents is employed to provide both verification of and understanding of issues and influences affecting government and institutional policy in relation to academic work, and specifically to teaching and teaching

specialists. This includes an examination of parliamentary debates, both in the new South Wales Legislative Council and in the Australian Federal Parliament. These provide context in relation to decisions based on higher education policy and practices from other countries and to the agendas of parliamentarians and their constituents in meeting Australia's needs for skilled workforces and nation building. Autobiographies of politicians and vice-chancellors provide additional insights into why and how changes were implemented in universities. Journal articles add further analysis, often with the benefit of hindsight, into the changes that occurred within the sector. Newspaper reports and social media commentary include personal insights into the effect of higher education policy on universities and the wider community. Most significantly, it was necessary to compare the Go8 universities' stated support and anticipated benefits for teaching specialist positions against statistical data, institutional policies, and the work undertaken by other researchers in the field relating to these positions (Bexley, et al., 2011; Norton, et al., 2013; Probert, 2013a, 2014a, 2014b; Probert & Sachs, 2015; Broadbent et al., 2018; Goodman, 2018).

The major policy documents in this research are relatively recent and are publicly available on the internet. They all represent someone's interests (Forsyth, 2014), and are "overtly political" (Henry et al., p 2019). To understand policies and related documents in the context of their time, which led to the creation of teaching specialist positions in Go8 universities, this study took account of "broad educational, social, political, economic and other relationships" (Cohen, et al., 2011, p 254).

Fundamentally, this thesis asks: How did teaching specialists originate in the Go8s and what has happened to them since? (Good, 1930, p 12). In determining the latter, it is necessary to compare the claims that Go8 universities make about the teaching specialists in their workforces. Because they are publicly funded, not-for-profit organisations, and therefore

accountable to the Australian public, their rhetoric should match the reality of the working conditions for this new specialisation. The research suggests otherwise for some universities.

This thesis represents a preliminary study to gain understanding of teaching specialists as a recently introduced category of academic work. The study undertaken is viewed as a precursor for future qualitative studies to provide insights into the experiences of staff in these roles.

1.4 Significance and contribution of the study

There is relatively little known about teaching specialist positions in Australian Go8s. Bexley, et al. (2011) undertook a study on the re-conceptualisation of academic work and identified a new category, which they named “teaching intensive”, in contrast to teaching only staff who tend to be casual teachers. This new category of staff, apart from being employed in continuing or fixed-term roles, also presented their scholarly work at conferences and published in journals dedicated to teaching and learning.

Professor Belinda Probert was commissioned by the Australian Government Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIISRTE) in 2012 to produce a discussion paper on *Teaching-focused academic appointments in Australian universities: recognition, specialisation or stratification?* Probert (2013) noted that in 2012, 19 public universities in Australia reported a total of 3,489 teaching-only staff to DIISRTE. She later reported to *The Australian* that: “I would be prepared to wager the numbers (of teaching-focused staff) will go up significantly in the next few years” (Lane, 2013).

At the time of Probert’s report, only three Go8 universities offered teaching specialist positions. By 2017, every Go8 had made provision for these teaching categories within their workforces. In addition to Probert’s report and her follow-up articles on teaching focused roles, three other significant publications have focused on specialisations within university teaching.

Norton, et al. (2013) argued that: “Quality teaching is one of the factors needed to make mass higher education a good investment, for students and taxpayers” (p 6). They advocated that to satisfy the demand for a highly skilled workforce, the recruitment, training and rewarding of academic staff, needed to change. They proposed the injection of a further 2,500 equivalent full-time teaching focused staff to bring the numbers in Australian universities to approximately 10% of the academic workforce, in order to provide “a circuit-breaker to the institutional culture of focusing on research” (Norton et al., 2013, p 50).

In 2018, an academic team published their findings in a preliminary report for discussion on a project sponsored by the former Office of Learning and Teaching entitled: *Scholarly Teaching Fellows as a New Category of Employment in Australian Universities* (Broadbent, et al (2018). Goodman (2018) also published a *Summary of the Research Findings* of the report with the understanding that the full report would be available from early 2019. The final report has not been published. However sufficient information is available to indicate that the new Scholarly Teaching Fellow (STF) roles initiated by the National Tertiary Education Union in an effort to reduce casualisation in universities’ academic workforces, experienced differing responses. While some staff reported greater job security, others highlighted adverse health issues due to teaching-intensive work loads, lack of career pathways, a need for scholarship and research to be defined, and scepticism expressed over minimal impact on teaching quality and student experience. Most telling was the statement that “STFs can be understood as part of a larger tendency across the sector toward academic role specialization and the separation of teaching and research” (Goodman, 2018, p 1). Issues highlighted in the Summary are discussed in this research.

Bennett, et al. (2018) produced research which discussed one Australian university's experience of "teaching academic" roles 12 months after they were implemented at Curtin University. They noted that "the experiences of teaching academics are not well documented in the literature (Bennett, et al., 2018, p 271), and this was especially true for the Go8s.

This study examines teaching specialist roles, derived from publicly available sources. The Group of Eight universities were chosen, because, despite being acknowledged as leading research-intensive institutions, they all decided to adopt some form of teaching specialist position. This study addresses fundamental questions concerning why Go8s have teaching specialists positions, what purposes they serve, how they have they changed academic work, how equitable and flexible they are, and ultimately how they contribute to quality outcomes in teaching within the Australian higher education sector. To date, no other study regarding this topic involving this group has been undertaken.

1.5 Limitations

A limitation of this research concerned the difficulty in obtaining information on teaching specialists. Ideally, it would have been helpful to know their exact numbers in terms of age, sex, academic area and level of classification. The latter was of particular interest, as a comparison of the distribution of academic classifications between teaching specialists and teaching- research academics, would have provided useful data on the status and recognition of teaching in relation to research. Emails requesting this data were sent to every Go8 institution. Nearly all the Go8s contacted either responded in the negative, or not at all, despite assurances that only raw data was required, and no individuals would be identified.

An alternative to the data sought for teaching specialists was, firstly to approach every Go8 again and ask only for numbers of teaching specialists, and secondly to use the data in the

Staff Time Series produced by the Department of Education and Training⁴. This provided information on classifications for all academic staff, including Teaching Only staff, which incorporates teaching specialists. Monash was the only exception, as it has never used this category when reporting its staff data to the Commonwealth Government⁵. Data is included in Chapter 8 on levels of classification within all publicly recorded staffing categories, minus casual and sessional staff, so that some comparison regarding promotional reward can be made.

Another limitation in this research concerned the currency and accuracy of the information on some universities' websites. The University of Western Australia's website for its Professorial Fellows (Teaching and Learning) has not been updated since 2017, and repeated requests for information regarding the number of these positions and their leadership role have produced no further details, leaving the question as to whether such positions are still offered. Regardless of this, it should have been possible to report on staff currently holding these positions. Similarly, ANU's Distinguished Educators are supposed to receive automatic membership of the new ANU Institute of Innovation in Higher Education with the requirement that they devote at least one half-day to the Institute's activities (ANU, 2016a, 2016b). A search of ANU's website could find no further reference to the Institute.

1.6 Thesis structure

The structure of this thesis adopts primarily a chronological narrative history approach spanning a period of nearly 170 years from the establishment of Australia's first university, the University of Sydney, in 1850, to the present day. This is interspersed with thematic history

⁴ On 1 February 2020, the Department of Employment, Skills, Small and Family Business merged with the Department of Education and Training, to form the new Department of Education, Skills and Employment (DESE, 2020)

⁵ An email response to my inquiry regarding this issue indicated that staff with a high teaching load are included in the data for Teaching and Research staff, because they are still expected to undertake some degree of research (C. Wilson, personal communication, 7 February 2020).

which analyses events and issues at the global and national levels that have influenced teaching quality and its status in Go8 universities. Considerable emphasis is given to the changes that occurred in higher education since the introduction of the Unified National System (UNS), by John Dawkins, Minister for Employment, Education and Training (Dawkins, 1987a, 1988), as these provided the main catalyst for the development of teaching specialist positions in most Australian universities, including the Go8s.

These changes included a focus on equity and diversity by both Labor and Liberal Coalition governments from 1990⁶ to increase the participation of students from low socio-economic, regional and Indigenous backgrounds, as well as the numbers of women in traditionally male dominated courses such as engineering. The Australian Universities Quality Agency established in 1999, and legislation introduced from 2007 required universities to support Australia's education export industry, by ensuring that international students received a quality education (see Table 4.1). Major reviews of higher education commissioned by the Australian Government from 1998, were undertaken to ensure that higher education addressed industry and community needs (see Chapter 4). Committees were established by governments to advise and oversee teaching quality, and national grants and awards were introduced as incentives for improvement in teaching (see Table 5.1). This was reinforced through the introduction of the Commonwealth Government's *Performance-Based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme* in 2020 (DET, 2019a), thus further linking funding to teaching performance. A number of student surveys instituted nationally from 1991, culminating in the University Experience Survey (2012), provided feedback on their learning experience. The

⁶ The *A Fair Chance For All* (DEET, 1990) Discussion Paper provided the impetus for universities to diversify and expand their student enrolments.

results published by both the Australian Government and The Good Universities Guide⁷, place further pressure on universities to treat their students as customers and the Australian taxpayer as shareholders.

The expansion and complexity of the sector required skilled academic staff who could adapt their curricula and teaching to reflect the latest developments in scholarship and information technology to address economic demand and students' abilities and expectations. These developments placed even greater impetus on the Go8s than other Australian universities, given their reliance on international students to fund research to maintain and enhance their international league table rankings and reputations.

This thesis is divided into nine chapters, with Chapters 2-8 each focusing on a key theme. Throughout these chapters there is also an examination of the underlying issue concerning the effect that changes to teaching and academic work have on the purpose of universities and the role that they perform in addressing Australia's social and economic needs.

Chapter 2 discusses the formation of Australia's research-intensive universities and the factors which drove education policy between World War II and the inception of the UNS. It examines the secular and utilitarian roles and models that universities adopted within the developing nation and the increasing value of research following its contributions to both World Wars and the economic reconstructions that followed.

Chapter 3 contextualises developments in Australian higher education through thematic history by exploring the macro narratives of globalisation, neoliberalism, New Public Management and the digital revolution. These continue to shape global trends in higher education.

⁷ The Good Universities Guide is produced by The Good Education Group, an independent company, that publishes statistics on a range of criteria to allow comparisons to be made regarding universities' performances.

Chapter 4 analyses Commonwealth Government higher education policy and examines the major reviews that occurred since the introduction of the UNS. These include the West Review (1998), the Nelson Review (2002), the Bradley Review (2008), the Lomax-Smith Review (2011), the Kemp-Norton Review (2014) and the aborted Birmingham Review (2016). Other issues covered in this chapter include the public funding of universities, and the dominant theme of quality assurance with its increased emphasis on management and accountability. This led to the creation of the *Australian Qualifications Framework* (DEET, 1995) and the *Australian Quality Assurance Framework* (Department of Education, 1985).

Chapter 5 focuses on the changes that occurred in Australian university teaching over the past three decades in relation to the expansion and diversification of Australia's higher education sector. Issues discussed include funding, measuring, supporting and rewarding teaching quality, and the segmentation of academic work leading to the rise of 'third-space professionals'⁸ (Whitchurch, 2008), and teaching only staff, including teaching specialists.

Chapter 6 examines The Group of Eight Ltd., which was established to protect the interests of its network of eight research-intensive universities by developing partnerships with international leading education networks and by influencing national higher education policy. Of special interest is the level of its commitment and leadership in relation to teaching.

Chapter 7 discusses the purpose of teaching in each Go8, the support that teaching receives, the contribution that the teaching-research nexus makes to student learning and academic work, and the recognition and rewards for teaching.

Chapter 8 concentrates on teaching specialists within each Go8 to determine whether the rhetoric concerning their contribution to teaching quality is supported by access to scholarship, leadership and promotion. The issue of the professionalisation of teaching is examined to gauge

⁸ These represent a hybrid of academic and administrative staff

whether teaching specialists experience similar professional development and status within their field compared to other categories of academic staff.

Chapter 9 provides the conclusion to this study through its synthesis of the information presented throughout the thesis. It begins with a summary of the factors and the rationales leading to the adoption of teaching specialist positions by Go8 universities, in order to understand why they have been adopted and whether the expectations for these roles have been or are likely to be fulfilled. The findings are based predominantly on the levels of support that are available to teaching specialists, from The Group of Eight Ltd, as an incorporated body representing the interests of its members, from other networks dedicated to teaching quality such as Advance HE⁹, from other universities (e.g. Monash's relationship with Warwick University), and from the Go8 institutions themselves. The support teaching specialists receive informs the value each Go8 institution places on teaching. This ultimately has implications for the status of teaching specialists. It informs whether they represent a growing community of elite teachers, or whether they comprise another underclass of teaching only staff, whose continuing or fixed work contracts represent their only real advantage over casual staff.

⁹ This is an international organisation, formerly known as the Higher Education Academy, that provides fellowship programs to academics who wish to improve and achieve recognition for their teaching skills.

Chapter 2 – Developing a utilitarian system of Australian higher education

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of Australian higher education history from the establishment of its eight research-intensive universities in five states and the Australian Capital Territory, to the introduction of the Unified National System (UNS) in the late 1980s. During this period, four significant phases in Australian higher education are observed. Each phase depicts a change in Australia's economic development. This is in response to the increasing expansion and diversity of Australia's population, which represented a growing demand for knowledge and skills in order to prosper and compete effectively in the global marketplace.

The first period examines the emergence of Australia as a nation from the period 1850, when its first universities were established in the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania, to the end of the Great Depression in 1938. During that time, Australia's population increased and spread across the continent creating further demand for new industries and more efficient and productive agriculture. Australia achieved nationhood in 1901 through the federation of its colonies into a Commonwealth of Australian states. Queensland and Western Australia responded by creating their own universities in 1909 and 1911 respectively. The experiences of World War I and the Great Depression encouraged Australia to further strengthen its economy by seeking new opportunities for education, research and alliances/markets with countries in addition to Great Britain.

The next major change in higher education occurred from the beginning of World War II to the end of the reconstruction phase in the mid-1960s. During this period, research gained in

strength and reputation. It became better resourced than teaching, which experienced overcrowded classes and increasingly out-dated teaching facilities.

The third phase in Australian higher education deals with the response to inadequate teaching and infrastructure. This led to the establishment of the binary system in the mid-1960s with the creation of the new Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) which absorbed technical training institutes, agricultural colleges, and eventually teachers' colleges. During this time, university fees were abolished under the Whitlam Government. An economic downturn and budgetary austerity followed. The new Fraser Liberal Coalition Government forcing CAE amalgamations to deal with the escalating cost of providing mass higher education.

The fourth phase reflects the ongoing difficulties associated with funding the higher education sector, and the pressure for more amalgamations spurred by anticipated economies of scale. CAEs merged with each other and existing universities to create new and larger institutions with more student places and a broader range of courses in the UNS. Universities were required to demonstrate greater efficiency and accountability, as public funding decreased. To offset this shortfall, they were encouraged to become more entrepreneurial and competitive through the generation of revenue from external sources including industry, international student tuition fees and benefactors. Each phase addresses changes to higher education policy in Australia and the factors which influenced and continue to influence change. Initially, these came from models developed in other countries culturally closest to white Australia. Digital technology, free trade and increased mobility between countries created global forces, principally based on market demand. These channelled the way universities and academic work responded to the needs of their students, research partners and the wider community.

Finally, this chapter examines the impact that changes over the past 220 years have had regarding the purpose of Australia's research-intensive universities. The issue of purpose will be addressed throughout this thesis, particularly in relation to academic teaching and its new category of teaching specialists.

2.2 Australia's first universities (1850 – 1938)

“The social contract between university and colony was to serve the public interest and produce graduates equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to benefit the wider community” (Fitzgerald, 2014, p 207). The first Australian universities reflected the values of their founders and their British heritage, their unique physical environments and the needs of their communities, which in turn shaped the academic work undertaken in each institution.

The University of Sydney was the first Australian university founded in the colony of New South Wales, in 1850. This was followed by the University of Melbourne in 1853 in the colony of Victoria, the University of Adelaide in 1874 in the colony of South Australia and the University of Tasmania in 1890 in the colony of Tasmania. Two more universities were established as state universities after Federation in 1901 and before World War 1 in 1914: the University of Queensland in 1909 and the University of Western Australia in 1911.

Whilst Australian universities adopted the lecture and small tutorial teaching model of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, they differentiated themselves from Oxbridge by being public, secular institutions open to “all classes and denominations of her Majesty's subjects” (New South Wales Government, 1850; Victorian Government, 1853). Until the middle of the nineteenth century, only white, male Anglican students were permitted to enrol at Oxford and Cambridge, which provided a narrow liberal education in classics and mathematics ostensibly

designed to prepare students for service in the clergy and high office in government (Bill, 1974; Anderson, 1992; Vernon, 2004).

Sherington & Campbell (2004) attributed Australia's departure from the Oxbridge model to the colonists' desire for a more utilitarian model based on professional courses, that was accessible and therefore beneficial to a broader section of the community. Macintyre & Selleck (2003) indicated that religious disputes between the Anglican and Catholic denominations engendered political instability, which was why the secular option in establishing colonial universities was followed. Bessant (1980), argued that the egalitarian claims regarding access to the early universities were unrealised, as most working-class families, many of whom were Catholics, would not have been able to raise the fees to send their children to secondary schools, let alone to the universities. Notwithstanding this, the University of Sydney did provide scholarships to one-third of its students during its first decade, and although many of the recipients had parents from professional backgrounds, one fifth of recipients were Catholics (Horne & Sherington, 2010).

The University of London and the Scottish universities presented Sydney and Melbourne with models targeted at the vocational needs of an expanding middle class, which was more in keeping with the task of nation building, especially once Australia was able to distance itself from its colonial past and its reliance on convict labour to support its economy (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1998).

University annual reports provided information on early initiatives undertaken by the first Australian universities to serve the interests of their communities. These included running night classes and public lectures, administering public service examinations, and applying publicly donated scholarships and bursaries to increase crop yields, eradicate plant pests and diseases in

stock animals, and improve soil quality (University of Adelaide, 1885; University of Melbourne, 1909). Federal Hansard records also indicated the importance of university research for nation building following each World War (Australian Government, 1919, 1920a, 1945a, 1948). Whilst the main function of early Australian universities was to provide teaching and training for students to fill professional and leadership roles, there was an increasing need for research during the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, attempts to harness universities' research capabilities did not become a priority until the Commonwealth Government began funding them after World War II (Blainey, 1956; Partridge, 1965; Nelson & Wright, 1992; Spaul, 1998; Macintyre, 2015; Forsyth, 2010, 2015, 2017).

The support for the establishment of universities in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia met with minimal opposition (Blainey, 1956) compared with the colony of Tasmania, and the States of Queensland and Western Australia, which experienced significant resistance to founding universities, with debates lasting many years (Davis, 1990; Whitehead & Tully, 2009). This was partly due to the rise of Australia's working class, from the 1850s onwards. By the 1890s, the trade union movement was well established in a number of work places and ready to exert its political power through the Labour Party, which was founded in 1891 (known as the Labor Party from 1912) (Macintyre, 1989; Patmore, 1994). Many of its representatives, both at the Federal and State levels held strong views on the role of universities, believing them to be elitist institutions that exclusively served the privileged and wealthy sectors of the community (Spaul, 1998).

2.2.1 World War I

By the start of World War I, although five out of Australia's six universities were well established (the University of Western Australia had only been operating for three years), they

were very small. The 1911 census data showed that of the total population of 4,455,005 only .043 % of males and .012% of females; comprising .055% of the white Australian population, attended university (ABS¹⁰, 2011a). By 1921, the census data showed that 1.33% of the total population attended university, with women comprising over a third or .039% of the student population (ABS, 2011b). These were still low numbers and although attempts were made to repatriate returned war veterans into higher education, the uptake was mainly absorbed by the newest universities in Queensland and Western Australia. The older more established universities owed their modest growth principally to the munificence of their benefactors, which maintained the status quo in relation to their middle-class clientele.

The war lifted the profiles of Australian universities when many staff and students enlisted in the defence forces while others collaborated with the Commonwealth Government on industrial, military and medical research (Blainey, 1956; Horne & Pietsch, 2016). This was despite universities never having fully recovered from the funding cutbacks of the 1890's economic depression (University of Adelaide, 1916; Poynter & Rasmussen, 1996; Macleod, 2000; Selleck, 2003; Dean, 2007; Horne & Pietsch 2016). However, worse was to come with the stock market crash of 1929, which plunged the western world into the Great Depression. Until this time, universities had continued to respond to community demand by extending their curricula, but as government funding and private philanthropy decreased, infrastructure maintenance suffered, and university staff were forced to bear salary cuts (Turney, et al., 1991; Poynter & Rasmussen, 1996). The period of austerity lasted until the beginning of World War II, when research and training necessitated universities taking on a significant role in the war effort and later in the re-building of the Australian economy.

¹⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics.

2.2.2 *Higher education policy and legislation*

Commonwealth Parliamentary debates in the early years of Federation indicated the importance of the work of universities in advising national policy and providing service to the community. The *Public Service Act 1902* (Australian Government, 1902a) consigned to universities the task of conducting examinations for staff applying for promotion within the public service. The professoriate's views were sought in relation to issues on tariffs regarding Australian wool and leather and imported machinery (Australian Government, 1902b, 1902c, 1907), whether Australia should accept American cases in determining matters of Australian constitutional law in the *Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1904* (Australian Government, 1904a, 1904b), the bacterial control of rabbits (Australian Government, 1906a), and drought-resistant cereal seed for arid regions (Australian Government, 1906b). What became clear was the nation's reliance on the application of research for primary industry and later for manufacturing during World War II and the nation building and economic recovery that followed.

Littleton Groom, Member for Darling Downs, Queensland, in the House of Representatives, passionately argued for research to eradicate pleuro-pneumonia in cattle and bovine contagious abortion. He conceded that the "scope of this work is necessarily limited by the fact that the staff [from the University of Melbourne's Veterinary School] is engaged primarily in teaching work" (Australian Government, 1913). He requested that, given the severity of the problem for the Australian economy, the Commonwealth Government make funding available for trained researchers and experimental animals. He went on to extol the wisdom of the USA in establishing its Department of Agriculture to undertake large-scale research of national importance.

Later, Groom was instrumental in passing the *Commonwealth Institute of Science and Industry Act 1920* (Australian Government, 1920b) thus creating Australia's first national research body which would work in collaboration with universities and research institutes (Currie & Graham, 1966). The Act was superseded by the *Science and Industry Endowment Act 1926* (Australian Government, 1926a) and the *Science and Industry Research Act 1926* (Australian Government, 1926b), to create the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). The Commonwealth Government further increased its support for research when it passed the *Medical Research Endowment Act 1937* (Australian Government, 1937a). This funded medical research in tuberculosis, heart disease, malnutrition and infant mortality (Australian Government, 1937b).

The principal legislation involving university teaching arose in relation to officer training in the *Defence Act 1909* (Australian Government, 1909), which was strongly debated in the national parliament. The main issue concerned whether theoretical training could adequately prepare an officer for a leadership role compared with experience in the field. There was also strong concern expressed over the level of academic achievement required to pass officer examinations. Teaching re-emerged as an issue in relation to the training of repatriated soldiers after World War I when the *Australian Soldiers' Repatriation Act 1917* (Australian Government, 1917) provided funding towards the education and training of returned soldiers. Unfortunately, this initiative was rescinded during the Great Depression as ongoing education in place of income was "an unaffordable luxury for many otherwise talented youth" (Forsyth, 2014, p 7).

2.2.3 External influences

From the consolidation of European settlement in the nineteenth century until the beginning of World War II, a number of countries, organisations and individuals influenced Australian higher education, and in particular, the work that academics performed.

2.2.3.1 Britain

Australia and its universities were bound to Britain by their “shared culture, shared values and shared ethnicity” (Pietsch, 2010, p 377), so it was unsurprising that initially the English institutional models of government, law and education were adopted (Millar, 1987; Shorten, 1996). The *Australian Constitutions Act 1850* (UK)¹¹ (HM Government¹², 1850), provided for Australian colonies drafting their own Constitution Acts and laws for the “Peace Welfare, and good Government of the said Colonies respectively” (p 669). These Constitution Acts established bicameral legislatures closely aligned to the English Westminster system of government and were responsible for establishing the legislative frameworks for Australian education (Shorten 1996).

Australian political leaders and reformers paid specific interest to what was occurring in the England with the emergence of the University of London in 1836, England’s first secular university, and the 1850 Royal Commission’s review of Oxford’s and Cambridge’s statutes and practices. Both events engendered significant dissatisfaction with Oxbridge, which “no longer reflected or served the nation” (Vernon, 2004, p 9).

The legislative reform of university governance following the passing of the *Oxford University Act 1854* (HM Government, 1854) and the *Cambridge University Act 1856* (HM Government, 1856) together with the removal of religious tests for students and graduates in

¹¹ Also known as the Act for the Better Government of Her Majesty’s Australian Colonies 1850.

¹² Her Majesty’s Government.

1870, were instrumental in making universities in England accessible to a greater number and diversity of students (Morgan, 2011). The introduction of written rather than oral examinations also did much to progress a meritocracy denoted by a more transparent and thus fairer system of assessment and selection (Bill, 1974). There was now pressure to build universities with a utilitarian focus in regional areas to support local communities to meet their specific needs as well as those of the nation. The success of German universities, the management of Britain's empire, and the need to maintain a leading position in global manufacture, meant that Oxbridge needed to extend its reach beyond Anglican orthodoxy, the lethargy of a standardised curriculum and the complacency of the professoriate (Mountford, 1966; Curtis, 1969; Sanderson, 1975).

Australia already understood the need for a different system of education and was ahead of England in implementing compulsory schooling for children up to the age of thirteen (NSW passed its *Public Schools Act 1866* (NSW Legislative Council, 1866), England passed its *Elementary Education Act 1870* (HM Government, 1870) and allowed persons from any class to study at their universities.

Once war was declared in 1914, Britain quickly realised how advanced German industrialisation had become through its organisation of science (Varcoe, 1970). Britain responded by forming a Committee of Council (Advisory Council) in July 1915 to oversee the funding of scientific and industrial research. In recognition of and respect for their autonomy, the British Government invited, rather than directed universities, technical colleges, professional societies, engineering institutions and industries to propose projects that would increase Britain's self-sufficiency and provide the tools for war (Forsyth, 2014; 2010). A scholarship scheme to encourage students to undertake postgraduate training in research and the new Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) were established in 1916. Australia followed Britain's

lead and created the Advisory Council of Science and Industry (ACSI) in 1916, championed by the Labor Prime Minister, Billy Hughes. This organisation later became the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in 1926 under Prime Minister Stanley Bruce's Country Party Coalition Government.

At every iteration of establishing a national research body, university academics formed part of the membership and contributed their expertise to a range of problems facing Australia's primary and secondary industries, ranging from prickly pear to paper pulp (Currie & Graham, 1966). The nation's need for research impacted the work of academic staff and especially those in universities' science and engineering departments. What prevented universities from making this a major component of their work, was their lack of research infrastructure, trained staff with a proven research record and a strong cohort of postgraduate students. At this stage in their histories, they were barely equipped financially to provide training at the undergraduate level to their still relatively small student cohorts.

2.2.3.2 America

The research work of the American universities was a matter of interest to Australian politicians and educationalists, as it seemed to promise a way of controlling the harsh Australian environment and developing primary industry.

Federal Hansard records noted the positive impact of the US government's initiative in establishing the Department of Agriculture in 1862, to coordinate innovation in agricultural production and provide an advisory service to farmers. The *Morrill Act 1862* (US Government)¹³, allocated grants of land endowments to each State to build local colleges

¹³ Also known as the *Land-Grant College Act of 1862*.

primarily for agricultural research, and the *Hatch Act 1887* (US Government¹⁴, 1887) established experimental stations for agriculture (Australian Government, 1901). The local agricultural colleges, which initially offered programs in agriculture and engineering, utilised the expertise of the Department of Agriculture and agricultural experimental stations. As the colleges expanded, other new disciplines and programs were subsequently added, with opportunities for new research introduced to the curriculum. Some colleges later went on to become State universities, which reflected the social and political life of the nation, and where, at least in theory, the principles of democracy, were embedded (Clark, 1987; Geiger, 1993; Brubacher & Rudy, 2004).

The development of a graduate school at Johns Hopkins University worked to consolidate research in the curricula for students and in professional development for academics. It was quickly adopted by Harvard and other elite private universities, and the new State universities (Platt, et al., 1973; Wittrock, 1993; Morgan, 2011).

Before the University of Western Australia (UWA) was established, Commissioners travelled to North American universities in order to find a working model on which to base their own. The American universities designed their courses to adapt to the needs of business, industry and communities. With graduate schools in research-intensive universities pioneering new knowledge, America became a world leader in higher education in the twentieth century (Westmeyer, 1985; Thelin, 2011).

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the status of teaching began to decline when the imperative to “publish or perish” dominated American research-intensive universities and spread throughout the western world. According to Wilson (1979), it gave rise to an industry based on an academic hierarchy, a surfeit of newly created journals and learned societies, and even the establishment of printing presses within individual institutions. The rewards of tenure,

¹⁴ United States Department of Agriculture.

promotion, sabbatical and recognition, tended to favour researchers rather than teachers, despite the fact that paradoxically, most academics were teachers (Clark, 1987).

Australia was well aware of America's success with research and particularly with the work produced by graduate schools, to the extent that there was pressure to create an Australian postgraduate university before the Second World War. While donations and bequests helped to establish Australia's universities and American universities alike, only the latter continued to benefit from loyal alumni and business for their ongoing maintenance and growth. Australian universities, on the other hand, were established by State Governments and were heavily reliant on them for their funding, which was very much subject to the health of the economy.

2.2.3.3 Germany

Flexner (1968) attributed what he believed to be the superiority of Germany's universities to the soundness of Germany's secondary education system or Gymnasium schools, where "curricula represented coherent, solid training over a protracted period" (p 307). The Gymnasiums were initiated by the Prussian statesman, Wilhelm von Humboldt, who also established University of Berlin as the first "research-oriented university" (Wittrock, 1993, p 321). This established a model that soon spread to most of Europe and America and continued to dominate higher education. Lectures provided the overarching themes for study, but it was the seminars, tutorials and practical exercises where real learning occurred. Students were required to analyse and discuss with each other and their tutors, issues and problems that had arisen from the lectures (Wegener, 1978; Wittrock, 1993; Morgan, 2011). Emphasis was on scientific investigation and original work.

Appointment to the professoriate was dependent on masters having published widely, and von Humboldt ensured the University of Berlin's reputation by recruiting leading academics who

were renowned in their respective fields (Morgan, 2011). However, this reputation was often attributed to the quality of their teaching, which attracted many students. It was during this time, that the nexus between teaching and research was formally recognised, the belief being that the most erudite scholars would also make the best teachers (Paulsen, 1906; Flexner, 1968; Humboldt, 1970; Casper, 1998).

The success of Humboldt's strategies enabled Prussia, soundly defeated by Napoleon in 1806, to rebuild its economy and market its model of the research university to other German states and beyond (Morgan, 2011). America recruited graduates from German universities who brought with them the new academic teaching and research workload model (Arimoto 2015), which was then adapted to the new graduate schools as disciplinary specialisations (Clark, 1997).

Germany's economic dominance leading up to World War I, did much to galvanise Britain and her Dominions in addressing their deficits in research training and scientific/technological development.

2.2.4 Academic work and the purpose of universities – pre World War II

Before the Second World War, university academics focused their energy on scholarship (reading, understanding and maintaining mastery of their field), teaching and examining students. Only rarely, and only in particular fields, did they conduct research (Forsyth, 2014, p 2). From 1850 – 1939, Australian universities were small, elite institutions, which catered predominantly to their middle-class clientele, with the exception of a few working-class scholarship recipients. Their size reflected community demand for university education and the consequent level of funding that they received. The two main educational philosophies that helped shape the early universities were those of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Cardinal John Henry Newman.

Humboldt argued for scholars to be free of interference from the state and be allowed to pursue their intellectual interests unencumbered. He also believed that scholarship, or original research, would benefit and strengthen the State by transforming each man [sic] into a citizen, who once educated, should “attach himself to the State; and the State should test itself by his measure” (Von Humboldt, 2008, p 49).

Cardinal Newman, initially an Anglican cleric and Oxford academic, and later ordained as a Catholic priest responsible for founding the Catholic University of Ireland (now the University College Dublin), influenced generations with his work *The Idea of the University*, published in 1854. His focus was on the individual being free to develop a critical and creative mind. He believed that knowledge was “its own end” and “its own reward” (Newman, 1959, p 130), and that by pursuing knowledge “we are satisfying a direct need of nature in our very acquisition” (Newman, 1959, p 131). This complemented the belief that universities should be autonomous, and their professoriates should have total academic freedom.

Because of Australia’s ties with Britain, Newman’s educational philosophy initially dominated the first Australian universities¹⁵. The bill to establish the University of Sydney in 1849 was championed by William Wentworth, a native-born Australian, student of Cambridge and leader of the Conservative Party in the NSW Legislative Council. He favoured Newman’s idea of a liberal education. Sydney resembled the Oxbridge model both by encouraging residential colleges (although not with the same power/autonomy as Oxbridge’s colleges) (Turney et al., 1991), and initially by offering a similar curriculum in classics and mathematics.

As the nineteenth century progressed, new disciplines in science, medicine, engineering and business were added (Barcan, 1980). This was in response to a number of factors, including

¹⁵ Newman College is a residential college named after Cardinal Newman and is affiliated with the University of Melbourne.

a growing middle class focused on education for the professions (North, 2016) and the expansion of public school education. The introduction of public exams made it possible for limited numbers of students from working class backgrounds to attend universities (Hyams & Bessant, 1972; Horne & Sherington, 2010). Additional research opportunities also emerged for the professoriate in the early twentieth century, in response to a growing economy and equipping the nation for war. As in Britain and elsewhere, the middle class was expanding and becoming more powerful. Australia consequently became more industrialised and more self-sufficient in its agriculture. New goods and services demanded a skilled labour force. Some training was absorbed by a compulsory system of primary and later secondary education, as well as technical colleges, but training in the professions and positions of leadership required higher level learning (Hyams & Bessant, 1972; Horne & Sherington, 2010).

It was therefore inevitable that Australian universities should reflect the needs and aspirations of their communities, by first taking what they wanted from the Newman model that defined Oxbridge and then from the Humboldt model favoured by Germany and America. A utilitarian layer from the new British universities was added to confirm their relevance and survival in a new nation.

2.3 Australian universities during World War II and the post-war reconstruction period (1939 - 1965)

The importance of science in medicine and agriculture was demonstrated during the first 150 years of European settlement in Australia (e.g. development of a respirator, antimalarial drug, portable electrocardiograph) (Dyke & Anderson, 2014), new strains of drought resistant wheat and other cereals and the crossbreeding of Spanish Merino sheep with breeds from Saxony and South Africa to produce a superior fleece (Henzell, 2007). During that time, the pace of

development was modest, with some setbacks due to the depressions in the 1890s and the 1930s. The main work of universities still involved teaching and the training of men and now, women for the professions. The latter were admitted to degree programs from the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Research began to be recognised as academic work in some disciplines, but this was chiefly in the hands of professors (many of whom were still recruited from British universities) and their select junior staff (when they were not teaching undergraduate courses). Research training was still a rarity, with some honours students and research assistants afforded the opportunity to work on projects managed by professors (Spaull, 1982; Blainey, 1957). Students seeking graduate education usually pursued their higher degree studies overseas, with most choosing to study in England (Partridge, 1965; Turney, et al., 1991; Dobson, 2012). Talk of establishing postgraduate education was first discussed in the Australian Parliament as early as 1919 (Australian Government, 1919), but it was not established until after World War II, when the Commonwealth Government passed the *Australian National University Act 1946* (Australian Government, 1946).

2.3.1 *World War II*

In the years between 1939 -1965, significant changes occurred in the Australian university sector. A number of these changes were influenced by initiatives overseas, and particularly in response to changes to higher education in Britain and the United States. Research emerged as a major force in fighting and ultimately in winning World War II. It provided tangible and speedy solutions to the weaponry and logistics of battle, and it addressed the basic material needs of defence force personnel and the civilian population. The Chifley Labor Government focused on keeping the universities operational throughout the war. It gave

them a greater role and funding to conduct applied research and training personnel for the defence of the nation, which demonstrated the need for such institutions. “If the Battle of Waterloo had been won on the playing fields of Eton, then the outcome of the second world war was decided on the laboratory benches and production lines of the allies” (Macintyre & Selleck, 2003, p 95).

Prior to the war, the CSIR, universities and research institutes were dedicated to biological issues because of Australia’s heavy reliance on the export of wool in addition to meat, wheat and fruit (Schedvin, 1987). Although the importance of technology in fighting a war was demonstrated during the World War I by the invention of tanks, machine guns, and sonar to detect the presence of submarines, its full impact was not recognised until World War II. Britain and her allies, called upon the resources of universities, due to insufficient numbers of defence scientists, to produce the technology required for victory. Much of the work on the Manhattan Project in developing the atomic bomb (which was initiated by an Australian academic and research scientist, Professor Mark Oliphant), was undertaken in universities, as was research on radar systems, explosives, computing and electronics, and medicine (Geiger, 1993).

Australian universities were minor players in World War I, but by the late 1930s, there was increasing research collaboration between them and the CSIR. During World War II, many university science and engineering departments found difficulty in obtaining apparatus, equipment and chemicals from Europe and the UK, due to short supplies. Notwithstanding this, their achievements in optical munitions, new medical drugs, trauma surgery, and operational forecasting, were significant (Forsyth, 2014; Spaul, 1982; Blainey, 1957).

The recorded histories of the first six Australian universities revealed that not only were academic staff enlisting to fight and undertake research, they were also contributing to winning

the war in a number of other ways. The University of Melbourne's response to the war was to fill staff positions in various policy units. These included the national public service in the newly established Australian Capital Territory, the Australian Embassy in Moscow, Radio Australia, the Australian Broadcasting Commission and the Services Education Council (Macintyre & Selleck, 2003; Blainey, 1957). This increased the importance of the social sciences and humanities in responding to the challenges of war, where diplomacy and proficiency in management, languages, history and economics demonstrated that they had an important contribution to make.

In 1942, the Hon. J.J. Dedman, MP., Minister for War Organisation and Industry, addressed a joint-conference of the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) and the Department of Army. In attendance, were also representatives from the Technical Training Division, the Department of Labour and National Service, the Man Power Priorities Board, plus professors from faculties making significant contributions to the war effort. Dedman recognised the need for universities to provide services including: "(i) Investigation and research into particular problems relating to the war effort (ii) The training of personnel with specific qualifications for the armed services, war production and other essential needs" (AVCC¹⁶, 1942)

It was deemed that "a reorganisation of our whole national life" was imperative and that to achieve success in the war, "universities must become rather more flexible institutions than they have in the past; they must be willing to do untraditional things" (AVCC, 1942).

Dedman indicated that he did not want faculties and departments that were not immediately relevant to military research to be closed, or for adult and extra-mural classes to be cut. He envisaged a much greater demand for this type of education, both for manpower during and in the re-construction period after the war. He warned the universities that they "must be

¹⁶ Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee.

ready to accept changes in traditional methods of teaching, in types of courses and in systems of control” (AVCC, 1942). This was required in order to cope with increased numbers of students, many of whom were from the working classes and who had limited secondary schooling.

Dedman made it clear that he did not want the universities to put up barriers to this new cohort of students, either through their stringent entrance requirements or through their narrow approach to teaching. He stressed that it was also important to maintain standards. For the first time, universities were asked to focus on student learning, by assimilating students’ socio-economic and educational backgrounds. This required a re-appraisal of teaching practice and methodology (AVCC, 1942).

For those students already in the system, there was a high demand for medical, dental and engineering graduates. It became necessary for the Commonwealth Government to introduce its reserved courses policy to encourage students, through financial assistance, to complete their programs before enlisting to fight the war (Spaull, 1982). Courses were consequently compacted to allow students to complete their degrees earlier. Universities were also encouraged to increase student intakes to ensure a steady number of graduates to assist in winning the war and in rebuilding the economy afterwards (AVCC, 1942; Spaull, 1982; Poynter & Ramussen, 1996).

2.3.2 *Post-World War II reconstruction*

Before the war concluded, plans were already in place to utilise universities’ expertise in the post-war economy. These were realised through the *Re-Establishment and Employment Act 1945* (Australian Government, 1945b) and the *Education Act 1945* (Australian Government, 1945c). Part III of the *Vocational Training of the Re-Establishment and Employment Act 1945* (Australian Government, 1945b), provided financial assistance for tuition fees, books, and equipment for returned veterans to undertake vocational training, including training in the

professions and agriculture. This was overseen by the Central Reconstruction Training Committee and the Regional Training Committees established under the *Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme*. This Act, supported by the *Education Act 1945* (Australian Government, 1945c), provided for the Commonwealth Office of Education's national research and advisory role on education, and for Universities Commission's role in overseeing the financial assistance and training needs of discharged veterans.

Science and technology became the main focus in the reconstruction of economies after the war, and many governments, including Australia's, saw value in funding universities and inevitably in controlling their outputs, both in terms of research and training (Blainey, 1956; Partridge, 1965; Nelson & Wright, 1992; Poynter & Ramussen, 1996; Forsyth, 2010, 2015).

The success of research in determining the outcome of the war convinced the Chifley Labor Government that universities needed to play a larger role in the defence and cultural and economic well-being of the nation. This meant expansion through training future researchers, professionals and leaders, which initially the government was prepared to fund. Other than wanting Australia to be defensively strong and economically prosperous, was the belief that these objectives could only be achieved through the provision of a "university education to the child of every man, of every class, provided the child is intellectually deserving" (Ashby, 1946, p 67).

2.3.3 *Commonwealth Government responsibility for Australian higher education*

The Government, along with its supporters in Eric Ashby, Professor of Botany at the University of Sydney (1938-46) and Ian Clunies Ross, Director of Scientific Personnel in the Commonwealth Directorate of Manpower (1943-45) and later Chairman of the CSIRO from 1949-59, actively pursued its egalitarian agenda through John Dedman. He was instrumental in

extending access to a broader section of the community through the interim vocational training scheme for injured ex-servicemen in 1941, and through the *Commonwealth Financial Assistance Scheme* in 1943 to support students from low-income families to undertake university study. The Universities Commission was established to administer the scheme in the same year. In 1944, the Government introduced the *Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme* (CRTS), which funded all eligible ex-servicemen and women and munitions workers to study in technical colleges and universities. This was given its statutory basis in the *Re-establishment and Employment Act in 1945* (Australian Government, 1945b), and the demand for post-secondary education was overwhelming once general demobilisation was underway.

The Commonwealth Government's injection of funds into Australian higher education, both during and after the war, was made possible through the *Income Taxation Act 1942* (Australian Government, 1942), which took over the responsibility for the collection of income taxes from the states (Walker, 1970; Smart, 1982; Karmel, 1988). This manifestly increased the Commonwealth Government's power through its financial superiority over the states, and in time, over higher education (Walker, 1970).

By 1949, the total number of students enrolled in universities was 31,753, 78.6% of whom were male (DETYA, 2001)¹⁷. Of these, 27.4% were part-time (mostly male) students who were also in full-time employment and attending evening classes to improve their educational qualifications (Spaull, 1982; DETYA, 2001). Whilst universities were better able to cope with the increase in student numbers compared with the technical colleges, students experienced significant over-crowding and limited resources (Auchmuty, 1963; Blainey, 1957). The CRTS partially alleviated this pressure by helping to fund new buildings for both teaching and research, and by developing curricula to provide training for new and diverse industries. Despite this, the

¹⁷ Department of Education, Training & Youth Affairs.

rate of progress could not keep pace with student demand, which by 1964 had more than doubled in enrolments since 1949 to 76,188 (DETYA, 2001). The number of professions expanded to include new disciplines in engineering and health sciences, whilst the humanities and social sciences also grew and diversified to include additional modern languages and disciplines in politics, economics, and sociology. (Blainey, 1956; Bessant, 1978; Forsyth, 2014).

Three new universities were created during this period to meet Australia's demand for higher education. The first of these, the Australian National University, initially was established by the Commonwealth Government "for post-graduate research and study, both generally and in relation to subjects of national importance to Australia" (Australian Government, 1946). The New South Wales University of Technology followed in 1949 (re-named the University of New South Wales in 1958). As its name implied, the university was charged with "the provision and regulation of Technical Education in New South Wales" (*New South Wales University of Technology Act 1949* (NSW Government, 1949), as distinct from the still predominantly liberal education offered by the University of Sydney. The third university, Monash University, was founded in 1958 in Victoria. Its chief objectives were to offer training and research towards "the pursuit of the benefits of ... practical application to the primary and secondary industry and commerce" (Victorian Government, 1958). All three universities reflected a strong utilitarian purpose and later joined the other previously established Australian universities (minus the University of Tasmania) in 1999, to form the Group of Eight, a coalition of Australian research-intensive universities.

It became apparent, that if Australia was to benefit from the boom in higher education, it needed to manage its resources at the national level. The states, which until then had responsibility for funding higher education, were unable to properly resource the infrastructure,

staff and learning resources required to effectively train the next generation of students, or to undertake new research in an increasingly competitive global environment. The Commonwealth Government also wanted responsibility for higher education because of its allegiance to Britain and America. The latter, through the Carnegie Corporation, was committed to maintaining a strong relationship with Western Bloc countries during the decades of the Cold War (Forsyth, 2017). The Corporation used the issue of educational grants to fund research and influence policy both in America and amongst its allies to protect peace after World War II. With the increasing power of research in strengthening economies, the Corporation had a role to play in “strategic philanthropy” (Lagemann, 1992, p 9).

The Carnegie Corporation supported Australia primarily through study grants for academics to visit America and participate in networks supporting research and a common political philosophy (Campbell, 2010). It funded a study trip for James Conant, President of Harvard University to investigate Australia’s “educational process and the interface between school and university” in 1951. His report was highly critical of Australia’s reliance on the British models of education, which he attributed, in some measure, to the fact that many professors working in Australian universities, were graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. Conant believed that Australia needed to establish a National Academy or National Society of Science, with a charter from the Commonwealth Parliament, to assert its cultural independence from Britain. He noted that the lack of ongoing philanthropy towards Australian universities, was due to their lack of popularity because they were “so removed from the contemporary problems of the country” (Conant, 1951, p 12). Conant attributed this to the deficiency of competition between universities, as most states had only one university, thus giving them a monopoly on

higher education in their region. But more importantly, he highlighted poor management of the universities and their consequent failure in public relations.

The professorial board apparently considers strategy at the highest level beyond its competence or power; the council or senate speaks without the authority of the professorial board and no Vice-Chancellor is or has been powerful enough to be an effective educational statesman.” (Conant, 1951, p 14).

Campbell (2010) suggested that Conant’s visit to Australia contributed to the Commonwealth Government’s commitment to re-structure higher education through the Murray and Martin Reports. At the very least, Conant’s visit indicated America’s interest in Australian education and in strengthening ties between the two countries both throughout and after the Cold War.

2.3.4 *The Murray Report*

By 1957, student numbers in universities had grown to 37, 815, which was a 16% increase on enrolments in 1949 (DETYA, 2001). This increase was partly due the Government’s extension of the *Commonwealth Financial Assistance Scheme*, re-named the *Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme* in 1951, to support four times the number of recipients under the previous scheme. With the baby boomer generation coming of age, and their heightened aspirations, which went beyond the skills obtained from secondary education (Trow,1984), student enrolments were expected to increase to approximately 65,000 by 1964 (Murray, 1957, p 82).

The *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities* (Murray Report), commissioned by the Menzies Liberal Coalition¹⁸ Government and chaired by Keith Murray, the Chairman of the University Grants Committee in Britain, recommended Commonwealth Government intervention to fund universities. The Report highlighted poor teaching, inadequate infrastructure

¹⁸ Coalition governments in Australia refer to the alliance of Liberal Party and National Party (i.e. centre-right political groups) forming government, with the Liberal Party representing the major group. This was often simply called a “coalition” government.

for large classes, insufficient research facilities in relation to libraries and laboratory equipment, and escalating staff/student ratios due to a substantial shortage of trained academics to fulfil students' training needs (Murray, 1957). Prime Minister Robert Menzies described the Report as “the outstanding event in my life” and a “new charter for the universities” (Menzies, 1970, p 86). He rushed it through both houses of parliament with bi-partisan support. Most of the recommendations of the report were accepted, thus establishing the Government's commitment to partially fund Australian university education along with the states, for universities to focus on national priorities (Forsyth, 2014) and “to fulfil more adequately their responsibilities in the twentieth century” (Tompkins, 1958, p 409).

2.3.5 *The Martin Report*

By 1961, it became apparent that the Government's response to the Murray Report was inadequate, as student enrolments had further increased by 57% since the release of the report in 1957 (DET¹⁹, 2019b). Consequently, in 1961, the Menzies Government commissioned the *Report on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia* (Martin, 1964), chaired by Leslie H Martin, Chairman of the Australian Universities Commission. The published findings and recommendations had a profound impact on Australian universities for the next two decades.

The Martin Report built on the earlier Murray Report, but went much further in allocating public funds to teacher education, technical education and the universities. It recommended “that technological and other non-university institutions should be strengthened” (Martin, 1964, p 15) through the creation of a new type of institution, the Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs). These would absorb teacher and technical education, agricultural colleges and paramedical institutions and “provide training that was more applied than research-intensive

¹⁹ Department of Education and Training.

universities, was cheaper to run and would take a large and more diverse number of students with varying abilities” (Karmel, 1988, p 121). The new CAEs were cheaper to run than universities. This kept the latter to a more manageable size, thus enabling them to “preserve the academic 'quality' and research function” (McCollow, 1994, p 35). This division of higher education became known as the ‘binary system’. Martin & Davies (1989) regarded the new system as “an act of political expediency” (p 170), whilst Treyvaud & McLaren (1976) saw CAEs as an equal but cheaper option because the new CAEs did not produce research. Whilst they inferred that CAEs offered an inferior form of higher education, the new binary system helped to address Australia’s agenda for economic development and workplace training at the time.

Much of the Martin Report focused on the issue of standards in higher education and the need to uphold them, given that the sector experienced unprecedented expansion. It recommended that the age for entry into university be set at 18 years to ensure a mature approach to study, that matriculation examinations provided appropriate indicators of students’ ability to succeed at university and that a quota system be introduced as a further measurement of standards. The Report also stressed the importance of participation in the academic community in terms of social as much as intellectual development and dissuaded students from undertaking part-time study. It suggested that another type of agency might be better positioned to cater for both working and adult students.

The recommendations of the Martin Report, once adopted, irrevocably changed the direction and scope of Australian higher education. The benefits of higher education were embedded within community consciousness because they provided more challenging career pathways for a broader section of the Australian population. They also paved the way for further

extensions to the sector. This changed people's perceptions regarding the significance and purpose of universities. At the same time, universities moved towards a managerialist style of governance and a business model of output, to address the post-war expansion of the higher education sector.

2.3.6 *External influences*

2.3.6.1 Britain

The 1963 *Report of the Committee on Higher Education* (Robbins, 1963), commissioned by the British Government and chaired by Lord Robbins, significantly affected Britain and its Dominions. It recommended immediate reforms to the sector, which included Colleges of Advanced Technology and Training Colleges for teachers, in addition to new regional universities.

But higher education is so obviously and rightly of great public concern, and so great a proportion of its finance is provided in one way or another from the public purse, that it is difficult to defend the continued absence of co-ordinating principles and of a general conception of objectives (Robbins, 1963, p 5).

The issues of public accountability and financing higher education, provided the justification for a coordinated system that could absorb larger numbers of students, provide specialist training for new and demanding occupations, and contribute to further research. The social objectives of the Report were intended to produce "cultivated men and women" and "the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship" (Robbins, 1963, pp 6-7). Underpinning the Report's recommendations was the principle, which by now had gained considerable currency in the global arena, that higher education should be available to anyone who was "qualified by ability and attainment" (Robbins, 1963, p 8).

The recommendations focused on increasing funding to encourage diversity amongst institutions and improve/clarify selection processes and course information to the public, by restructuring degrees and particularly teaching awards. They also sought to implement regular reviews of degree courses, improve communication between schools and higher education institutions, develop more postgraduate courses and opportunities for research, and establish a Grants Commission to distribute funds to institutions and advise the Government on policy for the sector. The Report was very detailed and prescriptive, and most of what it proposed was accepted. Australia duly took note, and the Robbins Report was referred to in the Martin Report, as a blueprint for expansion of its own higher education sector.

The most compelling feature of the Robbins Report was its use of statistical data to report on the performance of universities within the sector. This formed the basis for future monitoring and review in Britain and in Australia (Parry, 2014; Dent, 1964).

2.3.6.2 America

Australia watched with interest when America passed its *Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill)*. It was a complete departure from the disastrous *World War Adjusted Compensation Act 1924* (USA), which was unnecessarily complicated, and did not properly recompense men for their war service in World War I, possibly causing many to suffer more than they needed to during the Great Depression. The fact that a number of America's World War I veterans were in Congress during World War II and were willing to adequately recognise and reward America's ex-service men and women for their contributions, served as a model of compensation for other nations (Altschuler & Blumin, 2009). Low-interest loans, low-cost mortgages, twelve months of compensation for the unemployed, and significant funds to attend high schools, technical schools, colleges and universities were made available for veterans. Low

unemployment and the generous living allowance that accompanied the Government's payment of tuition costs, led to 2.2 million attending college or university and 5.6 million enrolling in other post-secondary training programs during the provisions of the Act. This represented a total of 51% of veterans taking up the offer of further education (Altschuler & Blumin, 2009). Nelson & Wright (1992) observed that the "United States came out of World War II buoyant, with technological capabilities extended by wartime production experience, while Europe came out prostrate" (p 1950).

In mid-1945, Australian House of Representatives noted that 24,000 American ex-service men had already enrolled at university, and the concern was that "unless we follow the example of other countries in regard to education, we shall be left a long way behind" (Australian Government, 1945d).

Nelson & Wright (1992) explored America's dominance in science and technology in the twentieth century and particularly in the period from the 1950s – 1970s. They pointed to the support of governments and industries in funding research and development in applied sciences, engineering and business management. They also highlighted the proliferation and diversity of colleges and universities catering for the demands of the large middle class, where post-secondary schooling became the norm.

This era also precipitated major changes to academic work where the word scholarship slipped out of usage to be replaced by research and "teaching became a derivative activity" (Rice, 1986, p 13). While it did not promote the emotive "Publish or perish!" catch cry of the late nineteenth century, it heralded a much stronger alliance between teaching and research that was to become "two sides of the same coin" (Ramsden & Moses, 1992, p 273) in academic work. However, while these two functions were considered to be inextricably linked, successive

decades witnessed research dominating status and rewards in academic work (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1979; Boyer, 1990; Bradley, et al, 2008, DET, 2016).

The *Donahoe Higher Education Act 1960* (California Legislature, 1960), enabled the *Californian Master Plan* (California State Department of Education, 1960), which created a tripartite state system of higher education, including junior colleges, the State College System, and the University of California. The rationale for this decision was:

the rapidly mounting enrollments in the state's institutions of higher education, the state's financial outlook, and a growing concern that competition and unnecessary, wasteful duplication between the state colleges and the University of California might cost the taxpayers millions of dollars (California State Department of Education, 1960, p xi).

The roles and relationships between the three types of institutions, were regarded as interrelated and therefore to be treated as one system. This interconnectivity and common purpose were enshrined in the State Constitution which sought to “provide educational opportunity to qualified students at a minimum cost to the taxpayer” (California State Department of Education, 1960, p xi). The Plan was a precursor to the binary systems in Britain and Australia, which were looking to affordably expand higher education in their countries (Karmel, 1993; Pritchard, 1993; Coaldrake & Stedman, 2016).

2.3.6.3 Supranational organisations

A significant phenomenon that emerged following World War II, was the development of supranational organisations, which placed higher education within the global economic context. Russia, and particularly America, initiated programs to improve education in allied countries, ostensibly to raise their standard of living by advancing the skills base for their economies. In reality, these programs strengthened the already dominant nations (Held et al., 2000; Altbach, 2004, Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Their rationale for progressing education, was the belief that it would prolong peace and enhance the lives of citizens in participating nations through economic productivity and upholding human rights, with freedom being the dominant goal. The most influential supranational organisations focusing on education were:

- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This organisation was established in 1945 and superseded the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (1921) and the International Bureau of Education (1925). While its initial focus was compulsory, universal primary and secondary education, it extended its influence to higher education, particularly within the last two decades and recently directed its resources into the quality of university teaching.
- Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), established in 1948, became the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1961. Its membership comprised mainly developed countries and it sought to provide a forum for policy development to promote economic growth and improve standards of living, particularly in developing countries. Increasingly, its role in education focused on collecting statistical information and reporting on international trends and future directions in education;
- The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were both created during the United Nations conference at Bretton Woods in 1945. They worked closely together to ensure economic cooperation and stability through an international payment system that supported the facilitation of international trade and sustainable growth and employment. Their chief focus regarding education was in determining its links to economic growth and in providing statistics and reports to that end.

These organisations became increasingly influential after World War II, both as reporters/monitors of world-wide trends in education and in developing policy to achieve what they considered necessary outcomes for economic and cultural wellbeing.

2.3.6.4 Human capital theory

When the Murray and Martin Reports were written, the belief that economic growth and national prosperity depended on the education and skills of its workforce, gained considerable momentum. This belief was embodied in human capital theory, which maintained that investment in higher education would deliver a high rate of returns for both the individual and society (Denison, 1962; Becker, 1964, 1975) and “hence public policy should be aimed at raising the participation levels in higher education” Karmel, 1988, p 9). Marginson (2019) was critical of this approach because it “cannot explain how education augments productivity, or why salaries have become more unequal, or the role of status” (p 287). He argued that human capital theory lacked realism because it was limited to an economic perspective without addressing differences in cultures, education institutions, work and workplaces and social status, which education, by itself, could not transform. Notwithstanding this, human capital theory continued to inform education policy at the national level despite indications that the trends in average wealth by wealth group widened in the last two decades (Saunders & Phillips, 2018).

2.3.6.5 *Academic work and the purpose of universities – post World War II*

Teaching... relied heavily on the rote lecture and the textbook as devices to transmit a corpus of received knowledge, and the examination to ensure it was absorbed. There was a thriving market in lecture notes, past exam papers and model answers. Laboratory and tutorial classes were restricted to the upper levels of study, encouragement of intellectual inquiry to the abler students who made up the honours lists. The library was utterly inadequate, with a collection of just 90,000 volumes, so that those writing essays in more discursive subjects depended on the Public Library (Macintyre & Selleck, 2003, p 87).

Macintyre's and Selleck's description of academic work at the University of Melbourne immediately following World War II, conveyed a rigid and uninspiring approach to teaching and learning, the inadequacy of which was to become even more apparent as student demand increased. Both the Murray and Martin Reports were highly critical of class sizes, the over-reliance on lectures, the lack of small group learning, and the practice of first year students being taught by newly graduated students. The Murray Report prescribed the imperative of "research ability and enthusiasm" (Murray, 1957, p 39), to produce good teaching and the Martin Report backed this by indicating that "senior staff should take an interest in first-year students" (Martin, 1964, p 55). Although both reports expressed the need for teaching and research to be closely linked in universities, they were scathing of the quality of teaching and recommended that major changes occurred. There was general acceptance at the time that university staff had "an obligation to regard teaching as their major responsibility" (Martin, 1964, p 55).

Underlying the perception of good teaching, was the purpose for which it would be utilised, which would also reflect the role of universities. The Murray Report went to some lengths to extol the type of graduate that universities should produce, which would reflect "a full and true education befitting a free man and the citizen of a free country" (Murray, 1957, p 8). To this Humboldtian ideal, was added the Newtonian belief in free inquiry and "the pursuit of enlightenment for its own sake" (Murray, 1957, p 9). This championed the necessity for academic freedom to be independent of state and national agendas, to allow the pursuit of knowledge to be guided solely by individual interest and passion.

In the four short years between the release of the Murray Report in 1957 and the convening of the Martin Committee in 1961, there was a perceptible move away from the idea of higher education as a private good with the added advantage of producing morally upright

citizens, to a public good, which would benefit society as a whole. In this new environment, all academic staff were required to undertake scholarly work and compete for government grants to support their research, which denoted “a subtle repositioning of universities as a public utility” signalling “a shift towards a public ownership of university-based knowledge...thus creating a requirement for accountability” (Forsyth, 2010, p 50).

In keeping with Humboldt’s re-organisation of secondary schooling in Austria in the nineteenth century, Australian universities also consolidated their purpose in society through the re-structuring of the secondary education system during the second half of the twentieth century. After World War II, Australian states made it compulsory for all children to attend secondary school to the age of fifteen, thus equipping them with a generalist education, which if pursued to the senior year levels, could provide entrance to universities.

Industrialisation, immigration, full employment policies helped create a silent social revolution, where secondary education was ‘consumed’ for personal economic advancement. Families, “the depression or wartime generations”, were willing and economically able to support their children (especially boys) undertaking secondary schooling beyond the compulsory leaving age to improve their credentials and opportunities for non-manual and skilled manual employment (Burke & Spaul, 2001).

Thus, each new university established after World War II, increasingly sought to strengthen their ties with and relevance to their communities by providing the knowledge and skills necessary for prosperity, both for the individual and for society. Paradoxically, these universities, but more so the early Australian institutions, relied on the legacy of older English and European universities’ and their centuries of survival in very different communities.

2.4 The Binary System and the challenge to fund Australian higher education (1966 – 1988)

2.4.1 The Binary System

The division of roles for institutions that arose from the recommendations of the Martin Report, created dual paradigms in higher education: the universities and the Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs). After nearly two decades in operation, the binary system was no longer regarded as an efficient or effective framework for Australian higher education.

The CAEs incorporated a mixture of institutions, which provided various types of teacher and technical training, but at a higher level to the training provided to apprentices in trades. State teacher colleges were added to the mix in 1973 by the Whitlam Labor Government and by 1976, “there were 19 universities and 83 CAEs enrolling a total of 310,000 students” (Karmel, 1988, p122). The role of CAEs was regarded primarily as one of service orientation with teaching dominating academic work. Universities claimed greater autonomy and status through their Acts of Establishment and were seen to fulfil a higher intellectual role in society due to their research output and postgraduate student training (Burgess, 1978; Everett & Entekin, 1987).

2.4.2 The Whitlam Government (1972 -1975)

The changes to the governance and control of higher education following the creation of the binary system, were regarded “as the most centralised of any western federal system” (Marshall, 1992, p 37). When the Whitlam Labor Government won power in 1972, there were few opponents challenging the binary system, as it had only been operating for seven years (Forsyth, 2014). Whitlam was driven by two principles: “national responsibility for education funding at all levels and the availability of free and equal education at all levels, and for all educational institutions, government and non-government” (Whitlam, 1985, p 293).

To achieve these ends, the Commonwealth Government committed to the responsibility of funding the whole tertiary education sector, including universities and CAEs, providing that institutions abolished tuition fees (Everett & Entrekin, 1987). The discontinuation of the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme went some way towards funding this initiative. However, the Government, in attempting to make higher education more attractive to non-traditional students, introduced the Tertiary Education Access Scheme (TEAS), which was a means-tested allowance provided to students who would otherwise have struggled financially to attend university or the CAEs. There was criticism that this scheme was too big a drain on the public purse, and that it failed to attract students who genuinely suffered disadvantage (Forsyth, 2014; Smart, 1982; Anderson & Vervoorn, 1983; Hope & Miller, 1988; McCollow, 1994).

The Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector provided an alternative, applied, skills-based education outside the binary system. It arose from the recommendations in *TAFE in Australia: Report on needs in technical and further education* (Kangan, 1974). The new sector consolidated the former mechanics institutes and schools of art, which were based on an apprenticeship system to prepare mostly young men for trades. TAFE was funded by the Commonwealth Government from the mid-1970s “for both recurrent purposes and for capital works” (Goozee, 2001, p 27) and offered mainly certificates and diplomas to both men, and women, who were becoming equal participants in post-secondary education. The Government’s decision to upgrade TAFE facilities, helped states to provide an alternative option to universities and CAEs for school leavers and adult students. But by removing some of the certificate and diploma courses from the CAEs, TAFE inadvertently contributed to the academic drift from CAEs to universities. The CAE’s turned their attention to bachelor degrees and even

postgraduate programs, and recruiting and supporting staff to undertake research (Harman, 1977; Taylor, 1987; Everett & Entekin, 1987; Potts, 1997).

The divide within the binary system was further tested when the Western Australian government decided to raise the status of the Australian Institute of Technology (AIT) by re-badging it as Curtin University. Governments in Queensland and NSW also prepared to upgrade some of their larger CAEs to university status (Harman, 1991). Meek (1991) referred to the binary system as the “disintegrated structure of higher education” (p 462) and pointed to the increasing similarities between CAEs and universities as ultimately leading to its demise.

One of the most significant threats to the binary system occurred when conflict between Palestine and Israel led to a sharp spike in the price of oil in 1973 and 1979, often referred to as the Oil Crisis or Oil Shocks. This severely impacted western economies, including Australia’s, driving up inflation and unemployment simultaneously, which resulted in high unemployment, commonly termed “stagflation”. These developments were compounded by a diminishing demand for higher education. This was due to a reduction in students coming through the secondary school system and the imperative to seek employment in stringent economic times. Australia’s higher education system was reduced to stagnation, which continued into the 1980s and signalled the end of the education expansion period of the past two decades (Batt, 1977; Taylor, 1987; Miller, 1995).

2.4.3 *The Fraser Liberal Coalition Government (1975 – 1983)*

Following the Whitlam Government's agenda for Australian higher education, and the economic downturn of the 1970s and early 1980s, the Fraser Liberal Coalition²⁰ Government chose a conservative fiscal approach to managing higher education.

in the period 1980 to 1983 spending on universities rose 24% in dollar terms and allowing for an annual inflation rate of 10% during that period and a rate of growth in student numbers of 4%, this led to a decline in the real level of funding per student by approximately 10% (Stokes & Wright, 2011; p 11).

The Fraser Government attempted to re-introduce tuition fees in 1981, but this was defeated in the Senate where it lacked a majority. Forsyth (2014) suggested that this may have been due to the unprecedented level of protests staged by student organisations and staff associations. Another more successful attempt to reduce spending on higher education, involved the Government threatening to withdraw funding from the CAEs unless states agreed to institute its program of CAE mergers. Many in the sector considered this strategy reflective of “draconian, heavy-handed tactics” (Meek, 1991, p 467). Between 1981-1983, 73 CAEs were reduced to 47, resulting in a ‘further blurring of the boundary between universities and CAEs (Harman, 1986, p 585).

What was unique...was the extent to which one sector of higher education was substantially restructured through mergers, the pace of the change achieved, and the fact that the mergers in most cases were not only involuntary, but were forced by the Commonwealth Government on institutions which came under the formal legal control of State governments’ (Harman, 1986, p 568).

In 1977, the Government, eager to establish a rationale for reducing the higher education budget commissioned a Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training in 1977, chaired by Professor Williams, Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of Sydney. The Williams Report

²⁰ Coalition governments in Australia referred to the alliance of Liberal Party and National Party (i.e. centre-right political groups) forming government, with the Liberal Party representing the major group. This is often simply called a “coalition” government.

was published in 1979, but it was anything but decisive, shying away from recommendations to close institutions which would require significant re-structure in order to reduce Government expenditure on maintaining the current system (Martin, 1964, p 39; Williams, 1979).

Given the Report's lack of commitment to change, the Fraser Government instead seized upon the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission's recommendations for amalgamations in the CAE sector (CTEC, 1981). The impetus for these amalgamations was the belief that there were "economies of scale to be gained from the establishment of larger institutions" (CTEC, 1981, p 153). The rationalisation of the CAEs into bigger, more diverse institutions, paved the way for an even greater shake-up of the sector by the Hawke Labor Government, when it took office in 1983.

2.5 The Unified National System

During its first term, the new Labor Government continued the trend of cost-cutting in higher education, because inflation and unemployment were still high. The Keynesian economic model that Western countries had followed since the end of World War II was unable to reverse the current economic conditions (Stokes & Wright, 2011). After much consultation with business, industry and members of the community, the Hawke Government sought to rebuild Australia's economy and make it more competitive in the global market by implementing major economic reforms. In addition to floating the Australian dollar, deregulating the financial sector, and reducing tariffs on imported goods, full-fees were introduced for international students wanting to study at Australian higher education institutions. The architect of that scheme was John Dawkins, Minister for Trade in the first Hawke Government, and Minister of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) in the second term of the Hawke Government. His new appointment heralded the second substantial expansion of the Australian higher sector,

which was both swift and transformative, and executed with minimal or organised opposition (Karmel, 1992; Harrold, 1991). His changes were built on previous initiatives, both at the national and international levels. and they had a profound influence on academic work.

Dawkins learnt a number of lessons from the unpopular institutional mergers driven by the Fraser Government. Firstly, he selectively consulted key influential players in the higher education sector known as the Purple Circle (Harman, 1988)²¹ to safeguard the support needed to realise his educational reforms. Then he took the bold initiative of replacing the CTEC with the new National Board of Employment, Education and training (NBEET). This removed the 'buffer' between the universities, CAEs and the Government and created "an increasingly instrumental view of education and its emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness" (Karmel, 1988, p 125). Institutions were now required to deal directly with the Commonwealth Government over issues of funding and support, which reinforced their "dependency mentality" (McKinnon, 1987, p 46) that had unwittingly been created by the Whitlam Government. Smart (1991) referred to the linking of funding to compliance as a form of "coercive federalism" (p 97) which suggested a subtle, yet effective way of manipulating outcomes without having to deal with significant resistance.

Dawkins' most inspired strategy for reform concerning his dismantling of the binary system and creating the Unified national System (UNS), involved leaving it to the institutions to negotiate amongst themselves, which amalgamations and mergers should occur. This provided a degree of institutional autonomy, but the real driver was the "carrot and stick policy" (Gamage,

²¹ Membership of the Purple Circle included Don Watts (VC, Bond University), Helen Hughes (Marketeer, Australian National University), Don Aitken, (Chair of the Australian Research Grants Committee, (later the Australian Research Council), Mal Logan (VC, Monash University), Bob Smith (University of Western Australia), Brian Smith (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) and Jack Barker (Ballarat College of Advanced Education) (Forsyth, 2014, p115).

1993, p 92), which ensured the support of six States and two Territories, plus the education institutions that would need to amalgamate. The winners from this strategy appeared to be the Principals of the CAEs who stood to gain much in terms of new research opportunities, increased funding, and higher status. The AVCC was concerned that the proposed reforms “had the potential to erode institutional autonomy and undermine the quality of teaching” (Marshall, 1995a, p 278).

2.5.1 *The Hudson Report (1987)*

The release of the Hudson Report in 1987 on the *Review of efficiency and effectiveness in higher education* (Hudson, 1987), provided Dawkins with the blueprint for administration in structuring the Department of Employment Education and Training (DEET) and in developing reporting mechanisms to enable him to harness the universities and CAEs to drive the UNS. Apart from canvassing the relevant stakeholders at that time, (i.e. Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, Australian Committee of Directors and Principals and Federated Council of Academics), the Committee of Enquiry, also “commissioned a study of teaching facilities from a firm of management consultants” (Hudson, 1987, p xvi). This was the first time that the Government had outsourced its work to another agency to collect information to inform its higher education policy.

The report did not recommend the abolition of the binary system, but rather the addition of flexibility and modifications to the system. It recommended that competent CAE students be allowed to undertake doctoral studies through the universities, to encourage the sharing of facilities and resources between universities and CAEs in regional areas, and to expand opportunities for students to study externally. The Committee believed that major changes to the

sector were not required and that “the distinctive roles of universities and CAEs should be maintained” (Hudson, 1987, p197)

So why did Dawkins circumvent this part of the Report and embark upon such a radical program of reform? Not only was the binary system formally abolished in 1989, but also an economic rationalist approach was employed to ensure that:

- management structures in universities resembled company boards and developed mission statements, strategic plans, and performance indicators for evaluation and accountability;
- the cost of education was subsidised by the introduction of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), a student loan scheme which operated like a graduate tax and required students to pay back approximately one fifth of the cost of their education through taxation, once they were earning more than \$22,000 a year. The underlying rationale was that individuals benefited from university study through significant lifetime earnings and therefore should contribute to the cost of higher education;
- institutions competed for funding for both recurrent grants linked to productivity and efficiency based on their triennial institutional profiles, and for research, which was prioritised through the newly formed Australian Research Council (ARC);
- institutions were encouraged to generate alternative funding from individuals and the private sector to reduce their reliance on public money.

These changes were “in line with the government’s major thrust of economic reconstruction, making Australian industry more efficient and internationally competitive, thus broadening the country’s export base” (Harman, 1989, p 5). A significant impediment for institutions in attracting research money from business and industry was the structure of Australia’s economy, which was predominantly reliant on primary industry and mining. Other

western countries, Japan and developing Asian countries were investing in technology to boost their manufacturing industries. Another pressing problem was the inability of the higher education sector to meet the demand of an additional 20,000 qualified applicants, due to a lack of funding. This caused a spike in youth unemployment with the potential for serious social repercussions (Harman, 1988).

2.5.2 *The Green Paper (1987) and White Paper (1988)*

To persuade stakeholders of the need for higher education to play a major role in restructuring the Australian economy, Dawkins pointed to statistical data on higher education participation rates, and annual graduate output rates to demonstrate that Australia had fallen behind Japan, the USA and Canada (UNESCO, 1984; Dawkins, 1987a, p 10). He argued that a substantial expansion of the higher education sector was required and that this was dependent on broadening access to a greater diversity of students. Academic programs needed to address the latest developments in technology, but more importantly equip students with the appropriate skills to adapt to the jobs of the future. The strategies promoted in the Green Paper reflected the neoliberal agenda adopted by the Hawke Labor Government.

The White Paper entitled, *Higher Education: A Policy Statement (1988)* (Dawkins, 1988), outlined the Government's plan for higher education. It also upheld the proposals in Green Paper (Dawkins, 1987a) and much of the Hudson Report's (Hudson, 1987) recommendations for staffing the UNS. Many regarded the Papers and Dawkins' effectiveness in selling his policies to academics, the media and the public, as evidence of a master strategist and communicator who worked hard on obtaining support to ensure the success of his higher education reforms (Harman, 1989; Smart, 1991; Meek, 1991; Meek, & Harman, 1993; Smyth, 1994).

2.5.3 *External influences*

2.5.3.1 Neoliberalism

The end of the post-war boom and the slow economic growth that followed in the second half of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, caused politicians, business and industry leaders to re-assess the economic theory underpinning their decisions. From 1945 – mid 1970s, Keynesian economic theory had prevailed in most western countries. In his book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (Keynes, 1936), economist, John Maynard Keynes challenged the thinking of a century of neoclassical economists and argued that aggregate demand for all goods and services in an economy, and not aggregate supply, determined the level of economic activity. He believed that during economic downturns, it was within the power of governments and not markets to bring the economy as close as possible to full employment through increasing expenditure on either consumption or investment. He had witnessed the devastation of the Great Depression and held that government intervention was “the only practicable means of avoiding the destruction of existing economic forms in their entirety and as the condition of the successful functioning of individual initiative” (Keynes, 1936, 381).

When the effects of OPEC Oil Shock of 1973 impacted western economies, the perception was that Keynesian economic theory was not equipped to deal with concurrent high unemployment and high inflation, especially as the neo-Keynesian and post-Keynesian factions could not agree on income distribution (Palley, 2004, p 2). This state of upheaval provided an opportunity for new thinking (or re-worked neoclassical thinking), on economic policy. The monetarists from the Chicago School of Business, led by Milton Friedman and the New Right, a vocal group that represented the views of business and affluent society, were quick to promote their free market agenda commonly referred to as neoliberalism. They believed that the market

should be left unencumbered by regulations, tariffs, and unionism to maximise profits and efficiency within economies.

The Fraser Government's policies reflected the New Right's agenda by attempting to dismantle Medibank, cutting expenditure in the public service, reducing taxation for private companies and trying to pass responsibility back to the states for parts of the education and health portfolios. Marginson & Considine (2000) argued that the Government's neo-liberal regime enforced its "dependence on foreign capital, commodity exports and foreign debt" (p 54). Head (1988), however, indicated that the Government's commitment to neoliberalism was not fully realised, and the New Right, economic rationalists, regarded the Fraser Government's first term in office as disappointing and one of lost opportunities. Notwithstanding this, the CAE mergers, whilst unpopular, were successful, and completed the first phase in streamlining the higher education sector, which the Hawke Government completed. Mergers and amalgamations were not unique, as other countries such as America, Britain and the Netherlands had found it necessary to merge smaller institutions to create larger, more diverse ones. The expectation was that they would be more efficient and cost-effective, thus greatly reducing the numbers of institutions to be administered (Gamage, 1996).

2.5.3.2 The global economy

Whilst Dawkins employed the "strategies of speed and surprise" (Smart, 1991, p 98) in abolishing the CTEC and disseminating his Green and White Papers, he was very much aware of international developments in higher education when he designed the UNS (Harman, 1989; Stanley, 1992; Smart, 1991). The *Report of the Steering Committee for Efficiency Studies in Universities* (Jarratt Report) (CVVC²², 1985), published by the Thatcher Government in the UK,

²² Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals.

emphasised financial management, and in particular resource allocation, streamlining departments and the central control of budgets. Shattock (1987) believed that this endorsement of strategic management was not necessarily new to universities. However, he conceded that the proposed governance structures resembling “surrogate board of directors” (CVVC, 1985, p 65), was a significant departure from the collegial university councils predominantly composed of academics. Much of what was in the Jarratt Report (also known as the White Paper) found similarities in Australia’s White Paper.

Throughout Dawkins’ Green Paper, a number of comparisons were made between Australia and other OECD countries in relation to participation rates, graduate outcomes, enrolments in economically strategic areas, including physical and biological sciences, business and other technical and professional courses. What dominated the Green paper were several references to the successes of the USA, Canada and Japan in terms of student participation.

The greatest factor influencing the Green Paper, was the OECD’s Report on *Universities under Scrutiny* (Taylor, 1987). Dawkins stressed the urgent need for Australia to grow its higher education sector, because: “Other countries are already undertaking such a process of review, including Japan and the USA, whose higher education systems are generally regarded as an important source of their economic strength and vitality” (Dawkins, 1987a, p 1). He explained that the only way to prepare Australia for the jobs of the future and successfully participate in the global economy was “by comparing Australia’s performance to the OECD” (Dawkins, 1987a, p 9). He reminded his audience that Australia was behind the leading OECD countries, and could not afford to let the situation continue, especially as “the importance of education and training and particularly higher education, [was] now firmly on the agenda of the OECD countries” (Dawkins, 1987a, p 10).

Australia future no longer relied on its historical singular reliance on Britain. It chose its own benchmark countries in the global arena and making decisions, either rightly or wrongly, to both expand and transform higher education to meet the economic and social needs of its citizens in the decades ahead.

2.5.3.4 Academic work and the purpose of universities – the Binary System

Comparisons between the rhetoric of Commonwealth Government policy from the commencement of the binary system in 1966 to its demise in 1989, showed a significant shift in thinking concerning the purpose of Australian universities. Whilst the Martin Report (1965) placed increasing responsibility on universities to serve the public good, both economically and socially, the pendulum swung back, as the UNS was created. The justification for universities satisfying a private good, was purely on economic grounds.

In the period between the 1986 – 1991 censuses, student enrolments rose by 37% from 389,968 to 534,510, with their representation in the total population increasing from 2.43% to 3.09% (Evans & McDonald, 1994; DETYA, 2001). Further institutional mergers occurred over the next 12 months, where student numbers rose again to 559,381 (DETYA, 2001), indicating that Dawkins and the Labor Government were successful in expanding the sector. By 1992, the program of mergers was all but completed and 19 universities and 46 CAEs became 32 public and 2 private universities, forming the UNS. The new system was funded from Federal grants based on the performance of universities against their institutional profiles, the student loans scheme (HECS), the growth of the international student market, and private sector money. Such an expansion did not come without considerable change and challenges for both university administration and academic work.

Apart from the AVCC's report on *Teaching Methods in Australian Universities* (AVCC, 1963) and *the Report of the inquiry into academic salaries 1973* (Campbell, 1973), little attention was given to the work performed by academics. This changed when the Hudson Report (Hudson, 1987) viewed staffing from the perspective of obtaining optimal performance with reduced resources and was duly translated into the Government's White Paper (Dawkins, 1988). The focus changed to attracting high quality staff to work in universities, increasing flexibility to enable staff to move between academic units in institutions, reviewing staff development and training, introducing staff assessment and unsatisfactory performance procedures, developing salary flexibility and introducing a national staff superannuation scheme (Dawkins, 1988, p 101-13).

In the 1980s the OECD began to question whether all academics were "productive in research, publish regularly and make significant contributions to the advancement of knowledge in their subject and specialisation" (Taylor, 1987, p 22). It suggested that because few academics were able to produce high-quality original work, institutions might need to be funded differently. It also pointed out that research output was a factor in judging the quality of higher education institutions because it was seen as "being more reliable than judgements of teaching and of service" (Taylor, 1987, p 22).

Human capital theory, which originally was applied to training students for highly skilled and leadership positions in society, was now being employed by governments and institutions to facilitate and assess research outputs. This was reflected in the Hawke Government's establishment of the Australian Research Council in 2001 to advise on national research priorities and provide assistance to universities in their interactions with the private sector thereby "gearing them [universities] more closely to commercial requirements" (Marshall,

1995a, p 276). Everett and Entekin (1987) warned of the dangers of the social sciences and humanities becoming devalued due to their reduced likelihood of attracting research money, particularly from business and industry.

How did academic staff manage the changes created by the UNS? The mergers of CAEs and universities brought together very different cultures with different teaching and research strengths and superimposed on those hybrid institutions a new management based on managerial lines. Vice-chancellors became like CEOs of large companies, with a growing team of senior managers at deputy vice-chancellor and pro-vice chancellor levels taking on responsibilities in an increasingly devolved structure due to the expanded size and diversity of universities (Lafferty & Fleming, 2000; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Schapper & Mayson, 2005; Macintyre, et al., 2017). Harman (1991) indicated that the introduction of the UNS was a stressful time in terms of changing the legislation to reflect new or altered universities, and in bringing both academic and administrative departments together. This was foreseen in the White Paper (Dawkins, 1988) and the option of early retirement was included, for those who either did not or were unable to fit the new structures.

Bessant (1996) observed that the pre-UNS universities had adopted minimal characteristics of the CAEs, “while the latter have moved closer to becoming traditional universities” (p 114). He considered that the universities were in a better position than CAEs to absorb change because they contained a “lot of ‘slack’, which could be taken up without a dramatic increase in resources” (p 114).

In the 1980s, the OECD declared that the purpose of universities was “the pursuit of truth, the preservation of culture, and the induction of the young” and that all universities despite their differences were linked to “their thirteenth century predecessors in Paris, Oxford and

Bologna” (Taylor, 1987, p 13). This statement was accompanied by much eloquence regarding universities’ abilities to survive in the face of various adversities encountered over the centuries.

Karmel, on the other hand, argued that for universities to fulfil their roles in society, they “should operate at arm’s length from governments” (Karmel, 2003, p 3). Yet, he conceded that because governments funded the system, a balance needed to be established between priorities at the national and institutional levels. This issue will be pursued alongside changes to staffing roles, structures and workloads culminating in the creation of specialist-teaching positions in Australian research-intensive universities in the twenty-first century.

2.6 Conclusion

The history of Australia’s higher education witnessed many changes from the establishment of the first universities to the creation of the Unified National System. The impact of two world wars cannot be overstated in relation to the changes that occurred in academic work. The ability of research to deliver innovation and profit transformed the role of universities. This eventually consigned teaching to a subordinate role in relation to funding, rewards and recognition. The early Australian universities were the products of the English system built on Newman’s ideal of a liberal education, where teachers as the guardians of knowledge commanded great respect. These institutions initially catered to a small elite professional and powerful class within Australian society, and an economy built largely on agricultural production. This was rapidly superseded by the more utilitarian models adopted by many German, Scottish and American universities, which better served the needs of Australia’s expanding middle class. Within four decades after World War II, the economic focus in Australia had changed to developing manufacturing and communication technologies, which required mass participation in higher education.

The formation of 37 public universities and the addition of 3 private universities and 2 international private universities, were the products of population growth, technological advances and competition produced by a burgeoning global market. Knowledge production became the main driver for economic growth. Although the purpose of universities always had been to serve their communities, albeit mainly the wealthy and influential sections of society, their outreach gradually extended to provide access, at least in theory, to all capable individuals, regardless of their socio-economic status. Such increasing participation and diversity were accommodated and driven largely through Australian Government policy in response to global markets and scorecards published by organisations such as the ARWU²³'s and the OECD²⁴'s reporting on nations' educational and economic successes. This presented significant challenges for teaching academics and their ability to deliver favourable outcomes for students' learning.

Chapter 3 explores the impact of international influences in shaping Australia's higher education system and the growing pressure on universities to improve the professional reputation of their teaching and teachers.

²³ Academic Ranking of World Universities

²⁴ Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Chapter 3 – The global knowledge economy and its impact on academic work

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 examined the evolution of universities as elitist institutions educating up to 5% of the population, principally to prepare men for leadership and the professions, and their role in developing research to win wars and to assist peacetime reconstruction. Academic traditions connected to scholasticism, which had emerged in the Middle Ages, were insular and self-perpetuating, and remained largely unchanged until the nineteenth century, when Wilhelm von Humboldt proposed a more outward-looking role for universities in pursuing new knowledge. Yet the divide between universities and all classes other than the ruling class remained, with the exception of America, where junior colleges and land grant universities sought to serve the interests of their communities.

In the decades after World War II, the relationship between higher education and nation states experienced significant change, as universities aligned their research in science and technology with national economic interests (Kwiek, 2000; Enders, 2004; Peim, 2012). Higher education no longer sat on the periphery. Peacetime demanded new products for the re-building and growth of domestic economies, while governments sought to secure national borders. The expansion of knowledge, and the linking of research to economic prosperity, created a demand for highly skilled workforces. This affected student participation in higher education worldwide. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's data, *Population with Tertiary Education* (OECD, 2018a), showed that the average proportion of persons aged between 25-34 years with a post-secondary qualification in OECD countries, rose from 23.79% in 1998 to 44.48% in 2018. Accompanying this trend, initially referred to as the massification and now the

universalisation (Trow, 2007) of higher education, was the development of new and cheaper modes of transport and communications technologies in the 1990s, which propelled higher education into global competition. This resulted in greater opportunities for student and staff mobility in and between countries, and the rapid electronic exchange of information, which made collaborations between other institutions and industry more achievable.

This chapter explores developments in globalisation, neoliberalism and new managerialism over the past three decades and their contributions in creating the “knowledge economy”, which had a profound impact on academic work.

3.2 Globalisation

The concept of globalisation was popularised by Levitt (1983) in his article, *Globalization of Markets*. However, attempts to encapsulate all the facets of globalisation were not successful (Held et al., 2000; Deem, 2001; Vaira, 2004; Marginson 2006; Rizvi 2007; Stromquist 2007). The concept was both complex and contradictory, dealing with competitiveness and collaboration between nations (Scott, 2000; Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007b), in terms of trade, knowledge (specifically technological knowledge), and the skills required to work with new technology. The complexities were further magnified because the benefits of globalisation were not equally distributed amongst nations. This was reflected in education systems, with some arguing that this inequality was deliberately imposed by transnational companies²⁵ in exploiting labour in the developing world to maximise profits (Held, et al., 2000; Tomusk, 2002; Peters, 2003; Lundahl, 2012; Altbach, 2013, 2015a; Lynch, 2015).

²⁵ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), World Trade Organisation (WTO), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

In the 1990s, writers argued that globalisation was responsible for the re-shaping of higher education and re-defining the role of universities and academic work. Beerkens (2003) argued that debates should not be about globalisation per se, which historically was driven by trade, but rather “the intensification of this process and the ongoing transformations of the global system of nation-states” (p 130). Robinson (2004) believed that the cause of globalisation was “global capital mobility” (p 10), which allowed a fragmented production process to be exported at low cost, with countries involved in producing various components of a given product. Kauppinen (2012) extended this notion to higher education and its relationship with transnational corporations (TNCs), making it possible for universities from different countries and TNCs to develop Research and Development (R & D) networks through cross-border integration.

At the heart of globalisation was interconnectedness, “an inevitable convergence of human activities” (Mok, 2003, p 117). It was facilitated by improvements in transport and communication, which increased “the velocity of the diffusion of ideas, goods, information, capital, and people (McGrew, 2000, p 347). Interconnectedness in higher education was expedited by the expansion of the sector from 1990 (Beerkens, 2003; Altbach, 2012, 2013). The development of education as an export industry depended on international students contributing substantially to institutional budgets and national economies. Australia’s report on *Education export income by country 2018–19*, revealed that international education added \$37.6 billion to the Australian economy (DET²⁶, 2019a).

3.2.1 *Information and communications technology*

King, et al., (2011) noted the transformation in communication during the 1990s, as the internet impacted academic work leading to “global convergence, comparison and integration” (p

²⁶ Department of Education and Training.

xiii). It also accelerated the trend towards life-long learning (Trow, 1999). Altbach (2005) believed that the knowledge economy and changes to academic life were inevitable, but he warned of the likelihood of deteriorating working conditions as global competition accelerated.

The Internet originated from research undertaken by the US Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA). It represented "a unique blending of military strategy, big science cooperation, technological entrepreneurship, and countercultural innovation" (Castells, 2010, p 45), that was rapidly applied to business, industry, government and education. Higher education came to rely on research collaboration between universities and external bodies.

The global diffusion of radio, television, the Internet, satellite and digital technologies, and so on... made instantaneous communication possible, rendered many border controls over information ineffective, and exposed an enormous constituency to diverse cultural outputs and values (Held, et al., 2000, p 24).

Ironically, the impetus for these collaborations was due to the rapid expansion of the higher education sector and the unwillingness of governments to adequately fund institutions (Clark, 1998). There were initial concerns that distance education through communications technologies and cross-border e-learning would replace contiguous learning and thus dramatically alter the student-teacher relationship and academic work (Altbach, 2005; Finkelstein & Altbach, 1997). However, after decades of the technology being available, it "has not displaced existing educational institutions as some expected but continues to grow, with open potential for new kinds of pedagogy and access" (Marginson & Wende, 2007b, p 8). The OECD's report, *E-learning in Tertiary Education: Where do we stand?* (OECD, 2005) found that amongst the 19 universities surveyed in OECD countries, information technology failed to replace face-to-face teaching and learning.

The wish of people to be in each other's presence, and the spontaneity of interaction and relationship that allows, cannot be duplicated through technology, or at least any that we are likely to see in place in the next quarter century (Trow, 2005, pp 58, 59).

Technology continued to revolutionise the delivery and assessment of higher education courses. Social media, through devices such as smartphones and tablet computers, transformed communication, including learning in the classroom (Shin et al., 2011; Forgie, et al., 2013; Gikas & Grant, 2013; Awedh, et al. 2015). It also had the potential to replace the fundamental role of teachers with Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), robotics and virtual reality (Scott, 2014).

3.2.2 Global governance in higher education

Following World War II, higher education responded to the increasing intervention of supranational organisations. Their influence grew due to the reluctance of western governments to fund the welfare state. This followed the breakdown of the Bretton Woods Agreement for international trade and financial management, and the oil crises in the 1970s (Woodward, 2009), which exhorted modern states to seek new alternatives for governance (Buchbinder & Newson, 1992; Mok, 2003; Shin & Harman, 2009). The new approach to governance employed by states to manage universities, was referred to as steering at or from a distance (Kickert, 1995; Marginson 1997, 1999; Rostan, 2010), or “arms-length control” (Wright & Shore, 2003, p 71). Instead of governments prescribing/enforcing strategies for growth in student participation and the quality of teaching and research, market forces determined the demand for applied research and student places. Whilst governments adopted more outward-looking policies to link their economies with post-secondary training and research, supranational organisations provided models of cooperation and global discourse through collaboration on goal setting and reporting (Schofer & Meyer, 2005).

Kienle and Lloyd (2005) credited the growing influence of supranational organisations during the last three decades, to their publication of data and trends in higher education, which informed policies and advice for institutions. The OECD assumed the most dominant role in shaping global higher education. Its publicly accessible comparative datasets and its publications focusing on specific themes (e.g. management and policy, entrepreneurship and innovation, trade policy and higher education), promoted competition between nations. This encouraged universities to extend participation to a greater diversity of students and assure the quality of their academic programs and research outputs (Martens & Jakobi, 2010). This was aided by the new online information system (OLIS) developed in the 1990s, which helped the OECD to more rapidly communicate statistical data to its committees and member countries (Sellar & Lingard, 2013).

The OECD has 36 member nations and has done much to “keep their higher education systems competitive and reactive to changes in the external environment” (Glass, 2014, p 9). It achieved this through its publications, *The State of Higher Education* from 2013 – 2016, and *Education at a Glance*, which was launched in 2013. Issues the OECD reported on included:

- expenditure on higher education as a percentage of GDP and net individual returns from higher education (further reinforcing it as a private good);
- loans schemes and internships for students;
- adult education programs for life-long learning;
- quality frameworks to ensure quality enhancement and improvement;
- institutional business models including regulatory frameworks, funding protocols/cost structures and income diversification;

- financing higher education through cost sharing between government, students and external bodies.

In addition to its annual publications, the OECD also commissioned reports and surveys such as *Promoting Research Excellence: New Approaches to Funding* (OECD, 2014), to examine Research Excellence Initiatives (REIs) and the *Survey of Adult Skills* (OECD, 2016). These initiatives determined the needs of business and industry in terms of the literacy, numeracy and problem-solving skills required for workforces. Whilst the social returns of higher education were acknowledged (OECD, 2019), the overwhelming emphasis was on economic returns and the need for international competitiveness in a changing environment due to technological advancements (Papadopoulos, 1994; Tomusk, 2002; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006).

The true purpose and value of the OECD was principally in its “policy learner” and “policy transfer” roles (Carroll & Kellow (2011, p 4), which provided “public accounts of the performance of member governments” (Sellar & Lingard, 2013, p 712). Although the OECD had no power to compel compliance from its members, it did have the capacity to use “soft” power based on peer pressure (Lo, 2011), by exposing non-compliance of members through its reports (Martens et al., 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006).

The OECD focused on measuring teaching quality by benchmarking outcomes and examining “the kind of education students should possess upon graduation and the types of learning outcomes the programmes should provide to ensure economic and social inclusion of students” (Fabrice, 2010, p 7). This accorded with its support of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) sponsored by the WTO. The OECD’s focus on teaching quality served to commodify knowledge, severely compromising institutional autonomy and advantaging the more prosperous nation states (Lundahl, 2012; Altbach, 2015a).

Other supranational agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF and UNESCO used data from the OECD, but they also developed their own data and publications in keeping with their own agendas (Kienle & Lloyd, 2005). Goal setting became particularly popular through the United Nations' *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (UN²⁷, 2015a), where 191 member countries and 22 international organisations sought to tackle the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of poverty, universal primary education, gender equality, child mortality, maternal health disease, environmental sustainability and global development (UN, 2000). This led to the creation of *17 Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs), which built on both the successes and the failures of the MDGs and which firmly established the role of higher education in a new global future (UN, 2015b). In this future, lifelong learning and quality in higher education were pivotal to achieving Goal 4 which specifically sought to “ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university” by 2030 (UN, 2015c).

In its response to the new Agenda, the World Bank adopted the policy of “innovative financing” by “blending donor contributions with internal resources and funds raised through debt markets” (World Bank Group, 2017, p 2). Its own provision of \$19.5 billion secured through the International Development Association (IDA) was used to fund the poorest countries. The IMF's contribution supported the proliferation of a Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) curriculum in developing nations. Employment in STEM occupations continually outpaced non-STEM occupations and, according to IMF estimates for 2014-2024 (IMF, 2017), the trend was expected to continue.

The WTO's responsibility for SDG targets concerning poverty, the environment, health and education, was dependent on “delivering and implementing trade reforms which [were] pro-

²⁷ United Nations.

growth and pro-development, and by continuing to foster stable, predictable and equitable trading relations across the world” (WTO, 2018).

What united these organisations, was their belief in creating new markets, primarily through private sector investment, with success aligned to the measurement of indicators against ever expanding datasets. The World Bank promoted its *Corporate Scorecard*, UNESCO, its *Data for Sustainable Development*, the IMF its *Coordinated Portfolio Investment Survey (CPIS) Guide*, and the WTO its *World Trade Statistical Review*. Critics saw these organisations as supporting profiteering by multi-national companies through their exploitation of the developing world. These companies were believed to have reduced knowledge to a commodity, thus robbing the university of “the loss of its essential nature” (Mittelstrass, 2010, p S181) and rendering it a “knowledge industry” with academics as “workers” (Tomusk, 2002, p 339).

Altbach (2015a) was particularly concerned about the efforts of the *US National Committee for International Trade in Education* and its supporters amongst for-profit education providers, who worked to ensure that higher education institutions were subject to WTO protocols and administrative and legal arrangements. He feared that America, which was home to most multi-national companies, would continue to allow its public universities to be privatised with far-reaching consequences. Altbach (2015a) shared Tomusk’s concerns and believed that submitting to the WTO jurisdiction would severely compromise institutional autonomy and leave developing countries vulnerable to exploitation by “overseas institutions and programs intent on earning a profit but not in contributing to national development” (pp 3, 4). Readings (1996) warned against the influence of “Americanization” in the production and control of knowledge, arguing that if it continued to go unchecked, would signify “the end of national culture” (p 3). Since this warning, other forces emerged to challenge America’s knowledge imperialism.

3.2.3 Regionalism

One of the strongest motivations for cross-border regional blocks to emerge in relation to global higher education, was market competition or global marketisation (Scott, 2000; Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Marginson & Wende, 2007b; Shin & Harman, 2009). The European Union strengthened its higher education sector through the Bologna Process. The Bologna Declaration of 1999, saw Ministers of 31 European countries, commit the region to “increasing the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education” (EHEA,²⁸ 1999). The Ministers resolved to standardise degrees and credit transfer, to encourage student and staff mobility between countries, thus further expanding the higher education sector to make it more globally competitive. This was supported by the Lisbon Strategy (2000), which committed signatory countries “to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (Lisbon European Council, 2000).

Prior to the Bologna Declaration, there were a number of student mobility programs run by various countries and coordinated by the Erasmus (now Erasmus+) Program, which commenced in 1987. This was credited with the mobilisation of over 3 million students within Europe. The program and higher education providers from 28 participating European countries, supported the European Union’s commitment to “step up the modernisation agenda of higher education (curricula, governance and financing) by benchmarking university performance and educational outcomes in a global context” (OIDE²⁹, 2009, p 2) through the *Education and Training 2020 (ET 2020)* framework. The European Commission (EC), used its publication, *Europe 2020 European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*, to support

²⁸ European Higher Education Area.

²⁹ Organisation Internationale pour le Droit à l'Éducation et la Liberté d'Enseignement.

“sustainable economic prosperity and employability, whilst promoting democratic values, social cohesion, active citizenship, and intercultural dialogue” (EC, 2010, p 11).

In addition to its training agenda in higher education, the EC, established the European Research Council (ERC) in 1997. The ERC dedicated significant funding for “investigator-driven frontier research across all fields” (ERC, 2020), through grants made available to independent researchers at every stage of their careers and in every discipline. However, the EC’s *Horizon 2020* program, linked to *Europe 2020*, was restricted to innovative scientific research, and thus was synonymous with marketability and profitability. Europe also responded to the challenges from the US and China, to make higher education more responsive to economic growth, through the Lisbon Strategy, by establishing framework programs and research centres such as the European Institute of Technology (EIT) and the League of European Research Universities (LERU) (LEC, 2000).

Whilst the European Union manouvered to optimise its market share in the global higher education economy, various other regions, including Africa, Latin America and South-East Asia continued to distinguish themselves from “Anglo-American imperial domination” (King, et al., 2011, p xvii). China and India led the challenge with their increasing numbers of academic publications, new institutions and participation rates in higher education (MHRD³⁰, 2017; IASTMP³¹, 2018; Pells, 2018). Countries such as Chile and Korea invested substantial government and private funding as a percentage of GDP in higher education (i.e. 2.5% and 1.9% respectively, when the OECD average was 1.5%) (OECD, 2018b, p 266). China’s plans for expansion placed it in a commanding position to dominate knowledge production worldwide by the end of the twenty first century (Clawson & Page, 2011).

³⁰ Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

³¹ International Association of Scientific Technical & Medical Publishers.

The 2018 *International Association for Scientific, Technical and Medical Publishers* (STMP) Report, revealed that China led the world in scientific publications (IASTMP, 2018). With 21% of the global total, China had already spent more on R&D than the whole of the European Union, and it was anticipated that China would outspend the USA in R&D by the mid-2020s (Pells, 2018).

In 2013, China embarked upon its most ambitious infrastructure and investment plan, the *Belt and Road* (BIR) initiative, which was dedicated to building transport corridors by road and sea across Asia and Europe. The BIR spans 66 countries and the size and complexity of the project has significant implications for higher education, with “foreign students along the belt and road ... competing to enroll in China’s universities” (Peters, 2019). To support this initiative, China established the *University Alliance of the Silk Road* (UASR), which involved “150 universities across 38 countries” (Baker, 2019). To provide the skilled labour required for such a massive enterprise, China committed to building one university almost every week (Schleicher, 2016).

To achieve these outcomes, China implemented strategies to create world-class universities. In 1995, it positioned Peking University, Tsinghua University and Fudan University to achieve world ranking through Project 11 and in 1998, more universities were added in Project 985 (Welch, 2005). In 2017, the *Double First Class University Plan* was introduced to increase the number of China’s elite universities. When the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU) was first published in 2003, China had 8 universities in the list of the top 500 universities in the world, with Peking University ranked in first place in the 251 – 300 range. In 2019, China had 58 universities in the top 500 list with 4 universities in the top 100 (ARWU, 2019), a feat achieved in less than two decades.

Notwithstanding China's significant advancement in world rankings, observers believed that America's dominance in knowledge production would prevail because it controls most of the world's prestigious academic journals, which are written in English (Held & McGrew, 1999; Altbach, 2004, 2005; Yonezawa, et al., 2016; Van der Wende, 2017). America is home to the largest number of top-ranking research universities which attract high performing staff and students. However, while "world-class research universities are dominated by western countries." (Shin & Harman, 2009, p 11), "in terms of producing graduates, China has overtaken the United States and the combined university systems of European Union countries" (Schleicher, 2016). It achieved this "while maintaining a low tax regime, which is something no other system models has achieved" (Marginson, 2011, p 594).

The term, the "Asian century" used since the 1980s, referred to the anticipated economic and political and cultural dominance of South-East Asia in the twenty first century. This had significant implications for Australia's higher education system and economy (White, 2009; Australian Government, 2012; Altbach, 2013; Salter, 2013). Olssen & Peters (2005) predicted that there would be "education wars' ... not only over the meaning and value of knowledge both internationally and locally, but also over the public means of knowledge production" (p 340). With the expectation that China would dominate higher education globally, its system of governance in higher education came under scrutiny. Like other countries, China struggled with the issue of funding the expansion of its post-secondary education and decided to concentrate government resources on a small group of elite universities, while other institutions generated revenue through charging tuition fees and other income raising activities. Through a process of de-centralisation, provincial governments were given a greater role in deciding the types of institutions and training that would best suit their economies (Zha, 2008, p 55).

Elite universities in China focused on research. Second tier universities concentrated on research and teaching and third tier universities were mainly teaching institutions. Vocational colleges made up the fourth tier in Chinese higher education. China deliberately chose a hierarchical structure for its higher education sector to meet both global competition and domestic demands. The structure was similar to the American model, which offered a range of post-secondary education options. However, the State-run universities in China were the most prestigious. Entry was based strictly on meritocracy, with private universities regarded as inferior alternatives (Zha, 2008). Recent World Bank reports noted that China had shifted away from a socialist market economy towards a market-based one (WB, 2017, 2018). This simultaneously influenced higher education policy and opened the country to global engagement.

Marginson, (2010a) believed that whilst a neo-liberal agenda, which embraced entrepreneurship, audit, accountability and quality assurance operated within East Asian economies, it was not incompatible for countries such as China, with its cultural roots deeply embedded in the Confucian philosophy of education. This philosophy promoted the transformative power of education for good citizenship, cohesive families and financial rewards. When Marginson compared China with America, he found that China's government represented a much more "powerful centralising and centripetal force" (Marginson, 2010a, p 596), which had sustained an educated civil service for many centuries.

The Confucian model valued learning and was inextricably linked to moral development and family honour. Parents had a duty to their children to provide them with the best accessible education to improve their livelihood and status. Children had a duty to bring honour to their parents through their learning. Education in China was held in such high esteem that parents were prepared to allocate large portions of their income at the expense of other necessities to

cover the costs of educating their children, which often included private tutoring (Marginson, 2010a). This allowed China, to finance research in its elite universities, which enrolled the country's top performing students, whilst funding from parents and private organisations opened up opportunities for students in second, third and fourth tier education.

However, to maintain high standards in China's four tiers of higher education Roberts & Peters (2008) believed that its socialist market economy needed to be "based on knowledge" (p 26). This idea was initially promoted in the World Bank report, *China and the knowledge economy: Seizing the 21st century* (Dahlman and Aubert, 2001), with the expectation that China would serve as a model for development and prosperity for other countries within its region to follow. Given more recent developments, the word "socialist" might be a misnomer as China was witnessing capitalist economic growth in both its nature and outcomes. Its low taxation allows finance, industry and knowledge to grow and diversify, and its Confucian Model systems helped to manage this development through a rapidly growing universal system of higher education.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) went much further in predicting Asian prosperity, claiming that: "By nearly doubling its share of global gross domestic product (GDP) to 52 percent by 2050, Asia would regain the dominant economic position it held some 300 years ago, before the industrial revolution" (ADP, 2011, p 3). For success on this scale, the ADB advised Asian countries to put their resources firstly into "merit-based, quality education that is equally accessible by all [which] can be one of the strongest drivers lifting people out of poverty and toward greater equality" (ADB, 2011, p 52).

Such enthusiastic forecasts, developed over a very short period of time, had implications for Australia's higher education export market. The top ten countries that sent their students to

Australia for higher education were all from within Asia. China represented a third of the total international student enrolments in Australian universities.

Table 3.1 - Ten countries with the highest number of overseas student enrolments in Australian universities in 2018

Country of Birth	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
China (excludes SARs ³² and Taiwan Province)	162,785	33.8%
India	71,566	14.9%
Malaysia	30,701	6.4%
Nepal	27,169	5.7%
Singapore	22,605	4.7%
Viet Nam	21,252	4.4%
Indonesia	12,559	2.6%
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	11,317	2.4%
Pakistan	11,052	2.3%
Sri Lanka	10,873	2.3%
Sub-total	381879	79.5%
TOTAL	479,987	100%

Source: Department of Education and Training (2019c).

The challenge for Australia was to maintain its Chinese enrolments in the future, as China was rapidly setting ambitious targets for international student recruitment. Since gaining entry to the WTO in 2002, China embarked on liberalising its trade in international education, which was boosted by its *Study in China* program launched in 2010 (Wen & Hu, 2019). In the 2018 report from the Ministry of Education (MOE) of the People’s Republic of China, “China was the most popular destination for international students in Asia” with 64.85% coming from the “Belt and Road” countries (MOE, 2018).

³² Special Administrative Regions.

3.2.4 University networks

University alliances were not new. The Russell Group in the UK, the Ivy League in north eastern America, and The Conference of the Grandes Ecoles in France recognised the advantages of cooperation. This was despite the “inherent conflict in university networks between the benefit of collective sharing of resources such as institutional expertise, research intelligence and key data, and the need to protect members’ individual competitiveness” (Redmond, 2016). With the massification of higher education and the accessibility of information and communication technologies from the 1990s onwards, the tendency for universities with similar visions and missions to network with each other intensified. This led to increased numbers of national, regional and international university groupings. These networks were believed to value-add to their members standing in the academic community (Trow, 2007; Middlehurst, 2015), through collaboration with institutions of similar values and objectives to develop their research strengths, to attract specific types of students and staff to study and work in their faculties and research centres, to influence government policy and to interact effectively with their communities.

Countries such as the UK and Australia, funded their universities centrally, and established national representative bodies (i.e. Universities UK and Universities Australia) which provided advice to governments and communities through the publication of reports and briefings on policy and issues affecting universities (Universities Australia, 2020a, 2020b; Universities UK, 2020). They also provided information to international students regarding national education standards and opportunities for study in their respective countries. In addition to these overarching organisations, there were specialist groups within countries that promoted the interests of their leading research universities such as the Russell Group Universities in the

UK (RGU, 2020), the C9 League in China (People's Daily Online, 2020), the U15 in Canada and the Group of Eight (Go8, 2020a) in Australia. Whilst these national groups focused on high standard education within their borders, their sights were always fixed on international markets and maintaining their competitive edge.

As regions developed alliances based on geographical, cultural, political and religious similarities, in order to be competitive, universities also collaborated with other universities, with similar missions and values to their own. Regional alliances for environmental sustainability were actively encouraged by the United Nations to establish “a new and equitable global partnership through the creation of new levels of cooperation among States, key sectors of societies and people”, which were “critical for promoting sustainable development and improving the capacity of the people to address environment and development issues” (UN, 1992).

Most Australian universities chose to enter into partnerships with regional networks, but some (particularly research-intensive universities), accepted membership with international university networks to provide them with cutting-edge knowledge required in the global economy (Graf & Kalthaus, 2018). Many Australian universities had membership in more than one network to enhance their competitiveness in particular areas of research and teaching.

International university networks often, but not exclusively, comprised top research universities, which represented an Emerging Global Model (EGM) which was trans-national in its outreach and global relevance. Such networks were defined by eight characteristics: “global mission, research intensity, new roles for professors, diversified funding, worldwide recruitment, increasing complexity, new relationships with government and industry, and global collaboration with similar institutions” (Mohrman, et.al., 2008, p 5). There were other global university

groups which were either thematic (e.g. International Sustainable Campus Network dealt with sustainable campus operations; the University of the Arctic focused on education in the Arctic region) or discipline-specific networks (e.g. Consortium of Universities for Global Health; Global University Systems, which concentrated on business and management). The thematic and discipline-specific university networks chose to identify issues normally outside the purview of the elite research universities, in order to differentiate themselves in “a crowded marketplace of networks” (Middlehurst, 2015, p 4).

Table 3.2 provides details on some of the major regional and global university networks that emerged since the 1990s.

Table 3.2 – Major regional and global university networks (1990 – 2020).

Year established	Network name	Membership	Network type	Mission
1996	Association of East Asian Research Universities (AEARU)	17 universities from the Chinese Mainland, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan	Regional	“opening up of a new era leading to cultural, economic and social progress in the East Asian region” (AEARU, 2020)
1997	Association of Pacific Rim Universities (APRU)	50 leading research universities from 17 APEC economies	Regional/global (linking the regions of the Americas, Asia & Australasia)	“We bring together thought leaders, researchers, and policy-makers to exchange ideas and collaborate on effective solutions to the challenges of the 21st century. We leverage collective education and research capabilities of our members into the international public policy process.” (APRU, 2020)
1997	Universitas 21 (U21)	27 leading global universities	Global	“Universitas 21 (U21) is committed to promoting the value of internationalisation and multinational collaboration. U21 facilitates the delivery of programmes, activities and initiatives, which could not be delivered through a single university or via bi-lateral agreements. (U21, 2020)

Year established	Network name	Membership	Network type	Mission
2002	League of European Research Universities (LERU)	23 universities from 12 European countries	Regional	“LERU advocates education through an awareness of the frontiers of human understanding; the creation of new knowledge through basic research, which is the ultimate source of innovation in society; and the promotion of research across a broad front in partnership with industry and society at large.” (LERU, 2020)
2002	Worldwide Universities Network (WUN)	23 research universities from 13 countries on 6 continents	Global	WUN draws upon the combined intellectual power and resources of its members to create opportunities in international research and graduate education. It partners with government, international organisations and industry to stretch ambitions and develop the next generation of leaders. (WUN, 2020)
2006	International Alliance of Research Universities (IARU)	11 research-intensive universities	Global	“To address the major challenges of our time; To add value by providing opportunities to students and staff that would not arise otherwise; To provide institutional joint working” (IARU, 2020)

3.3 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism paved the way for reducing state expenditures on public services... The discourse around education changed from one focused on rights and needs to one focused on markets and choices. The reluctance to invest in higher education was merely part of a wider project of privatising public services (Lynch, 2015, p 192).

The most enduring meta-narratives throughout the latter part of the twentieth century and the twenty first century, in relation to economic development and cultural exchange, were globalisation and neoliberalism. The former dealt with outreach and inter-connectedness facilitated by information and communication technology and improved, affordable transport. The latter was an economic framework predicated on market forces, sustained by competition and committed to efficiency, accountability, quality assurance and above all, the maximisation of

profit. Both meta-narratives grew and evolved in terms of their complexity and influence, and their impact on higher education in practically every country was substantial. Globalisation provided the environment for change, but neoliberalism was a principal force in driving that change and adapting it to a range of political philosophies and cultures.

Olsson & Peters (2005) believed that neoliberalism was a “politically imposed discourse” by “western nation states” (p 314). This was certainly true in terms of Milton Friedman and the Chicago School of the 1960s and the Washington Consensus think tank of the late 1980s/1990s, with its market-driven plan for South America, which was then applied to developing countries on other continents. However, the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 and the growth in world trade, also contributed to the global spread of neoliberal policy (Connell & Dados, 2014). The political and economic power of privileged classes in countries that embraced neoliberalism, continued to prosper to the detriment of low and middle income earners (Jacobs & Skocpol, 2005; Harvey, 2007; Solt, 2008; APSA³³, 2010).

Conservative and liberal governments across the world implemented and embraced neoliberalism. This was the legacy of the Reagan and Thatcher governments of the 1980s, which embedded neoliberalism through “persuasion, co-optation, bribery and threat to maintain the climate of consent necessary to perpetuate its power” (Harvey, 2007, p 40). This would not have been possible if politicians, their advisors and supranational financial organisations had not effectively represented the interests of the economically elite classes. Common strategies employed in neoliberal economic policy included: “the privatisation of state assets, economic deregulation, and redirection of public expenditure priorities toward fields offering high economic returns... trade liberalisation, the liberalisation of interest rates and rules for foreign direct investment, and the floating of the exchange rate” (Roberts & Peters, 2008, p 15).

³³ American Political Science Association.

Whilst the reach of neoliberal economic policies was global, their application did not necessarily produce heterogeneous economies. This was due to:

- multi-national companies, usually residing in wealthy nation states, exploiting the natural resources and cheaper labour of developing nations to maximise their own profits (Palley, 2005);
- high interest loan repayments attached to structural adjustment programs (SAPs), which were provided by the IMF and World Bank in return for the implementation of free market reforms by indebted countries (Walton & Seddon 1994; Stiglitz, 2004; Connell & Dados, 2005; Stroup & Zissimos, 2011);
- the partial application of neoliberal policies, either because of trade union resistance, political upheaval, civil unrest, level of industrialisation, historical and cultural factors (Harvey, 2007; Connell & Dados, 2005).

The failure of neoliberal economic policy to deliver prosperity to developing nations in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa countries, generated much resentment and opposition from those regions (Siddiqui, 1990; Kotz, 2009; Connell & Dados, 2014). To address criticisms of excessive interest rates, high unemployment and increased trade imbalance, the IMF and World Bank consented to “a softening of some of the ‘hard edges’” (Roberts & Peters, 2008, p 2), but that did little to redress the underlying inequities between developed and developing countries.

The biggest challenge to the continued dominance of the neoliberal economic model was the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2007, when borrowers defaulted en masse on subprime mortgage loans, triggering a banking crisis, which led to a world-wide recession. Not only had “the political right ... emerged from the tumult stronger, unapologetic, and even less restrained

in its rapacity and credulity than prior to the crash” (Mirowski, 2013, pp 1, 2), but “the ideology of weak regulation in the service of the ‘free market’ continue[d] its dominance” (Clawson & Page, 2011, p 6). That neoliberalism survived, despite the damage to economies in wealthy and poorer nations, supported Harvey’s (2007) contention that it represented the power of the economic elites and their tenacity for capital accumulation.

It was the failure of the US Government to apply fiscal constraints and penalties to the behaviour of multi-nationals and the financial sector, which led to a squeeze on government spending and the consequent underfunding of basic services, whilst leaving the market to its own devices. Many other countries followed America’s lead, using the economic downturn as a justification for reducing essential services, including higher education. This compelled the sector to look elsewhere for funding, enforcing a need to privatise both its teaching and research, whilst creating a highly competitive environment between institutions, nations and regions (Altbach, 2003, 2015a; Ferlie, et al., 2008; Shin & Harman, 2009; Shore & Taitz, 2012; Tierney, 2014).

3.3.1 Academic capitalism

Several authors argued that the modern university was a capitalist construct dominated by market forces and characterised by financial accountability, performativity measured by internal reviews/appraisals, and more recently, by institutional competition for high rankings in international league tables (Braverman, 1974; Barrow, 1990; Miller, 1995; Shumar, 1995; Winter, 1995). Academic capitalism was regarded as a “many-sided framework” (Kauppinen, 2012, p 545) that accommodated all of the above factors within neoliberalism and new managerialism.

The term “academic capitalism” was first introduced by Slaughter & Leslie (1997) to describe globalisation and the changes that occurred in universities in the western world impacting academic work, curricula, research and institutional autonomy. Other researchers sought to explain these changes through concepts including “entrepreneurial universities” (Clark, 2001), “knowledge industry” (Scott, 2003) “Triple Helix – university/industry/government innovation” (Etzkowitz, 2008), and “transnational academic capitalism” (Kauppinen, 2012). Philosophers such as Lyotard (1979) (critical history of modernity), Bourdieu (cultural capital theory), and Foucault (postmodernism), constructed frameworks to examine political, economic and social changes worldwide. These frameworks were employed to explain the role of universities.

Marginson & Rhoades (2002) argued that definitions of globalisation were too simplistic in relation to national and local influences shaping higher education sectors. Deem (2001) criticised the work of Slaughter & Leslie (1997) and Clark (2001), and believed they resorted to generalisations which “may cause us to pay less attention to more localised dimensions and features of higher education institutions” (p 8).

Sufficient time elapsed between early attempts to categorise the global impact on higher education, for some common trends to emerge. These were viewed as threats or challenges, or both, in relation to the way universities operated in the twenty first century. Some of the trends that influenced universities included:

- their dual purpose in delivering both a public and a private good to their students and communities;
- differentiating themselves from other institutions in relation to the type of training and research they provided and the calibre of students they enrolled;

- responding to competition at the national and global levels via:
 - the revenue from knowledge that they produced,
 - the networks required with other universities, industry, government and supranational organisations to strengthen their position, and
 - their performance in relation to quality assurance regulatory frameworks and league table rankings.

The last thirty years established higher education predominantly as a private good that provided the benefits of higher lifetime earnings to its consumers. This led policy makers to adopt a privatisation agenda by applying market rules to funding institutions (Shin & Harman, 2009). Rider, et al. (2012) noted that, by the late 1900s, “the notion of education serving as a form of public good had all but disappeared from official policy discourse” (p 2). By shifting the focus away from the needs of institutions and onto students as clients/ customers/consumers, higher education’s outcomes in teaching and research were relegated to the status of commodities (Banya, 2000). Research became necessary because it produced new goods and services. Learning and teaching became fragmented, with all courses modularised into smaller units, which students could assemble into degrees to address emerging employment opportunities (Winter, 1995). The two most dominant themes, in academic capitalism, were the commodification of knowledge, and the performance of academics and their institutions. Commodification depended on quality assurance, and performance supported productivity in delivering outcomes for states, industry and benchmarks set by global governance organisations.

Emphasis on the commodification of knowledge meant there was a risk of abandoning higher education’s purpose for social, moral and emotional development (Naidoo, 2010; Ball, 2012; Lynch, 2015; Sutton, 2017). There was also a danger that democracy’s very survival

would be threatened, unless education was treated as a public good (Giroux, 2002). Marginson, 2014a), acknowledged the role of universities in fulfilling a global public good, but warned that if university research output was limited to the market model, it would hinder its potential to address significant global issues such as climate change and the sustainability of natural resources.

Commodification relied on producing quality goods at the lowest price. The issue of privatisation became pressing, when the demand for higher education surged during the 1990s as governments struggled to fund the sector. In order to attract partners and funding for research, universities needed to demonstrate that they could conduct applied research which would fill a niche or value add to industries' productivity (Trow, 2004).

With increased competition, it became necessary to define and measure performance. Lyotard coined the term “performativity” in the late 1970s to describe the management of technology required to sustain the “best possible input/equation” (Lyotard, 1984, p 46). He predicted that future work would require both interdisciplinary study to accelerate multi-faceted research productivity, and life-long learning to provide the skills required to operate new technology.

Elliot (1997) and Fanghanel (2012) equated performativity with quality assurance, which spread across all continents, operated in most higher education institutions and affected all aspects of academic work and student learning. The following organisations emerged in response to developments in quality assurance:

- *Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency* (TEQSA) – Australia;
- *Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education* (QAAHE) – UK;

- *European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA)* – Europe; and
- *Higher Education Evaluation Centre (HEEC)* - China.

These organisations were created to ensure that provider registration standards were met as evidence of the quality of their nations’ education. Although the USA did not have a national quality assurance agency, institutional quality was monitored via performance indicators mandated by state agencies or governing boards, increased federal reporting requirements, expanded program review processes, and the publishing of program rankings (Patrick & Stanley, 1998). Increasing pressure was brought to bear on national accreditation agencies, the most notable being the *Accrediting Commission for Independent Colleges and Schools (ACICS)* and the *Council for Higher Education Accreditation, (CHEA)* to deliver on standards in American higher education (Powell, 2013).

Change in higher education as it transitioned from an elite to a mass system, was rapid and transformative. It raised concerns about the future of pure research in an environment that increasingly valued applied research (Avis, 2005), dwindling opportunities for flexibility and creativity in teaching (Peim, 2012) and learning focused on “preparing students for an economy based on media consumption and service provision” (Hoffman, 2012, p 12). Emphasis on performativity and quality assurance created new management structures in universities that significantly impacted academic work.

3.3.2 New Public Management

The 1990s denoted a significant change in the management of universities. The previous collegial model of academic assemblies, councils and senates, was administered by deans and heads of department with the support of numerous committees focused on teaching and research.

This was replaced by a dominant central management system, headed by vice-chancellors whose roles were modelled on CEOs in the business world, which were increasingly focused on marketing, recruitment and reputation (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Gallagher, 2000; Hemsley & Brown & Oplatka, 2006). This system was supported by the rising number of representatives from industry on chief governing bodies, which were reduced in size (often by cutting academic staff representation) to achieve efficiency and effectiveness in governance (OECD, 1999: Shattock, 2013).

The managerialist approach to university administration, which first appeared as early as the 1860s in America, with university trustees being replaced by businessmen, further sought to align itself with industry through New Managerialism or New Public Management (NPM). NPM represented a hybrid model of “corporate managerialism and private sector management styles, and... public choice theory and new institutional economics (NIE), most notably, agency theory and transaction cost analysis” (Peters, 2013, p 13).

The major impetus for universities to adopt NPM occurred in the late 1990s, when the Third Way was introduced by the Clinton administration in the USA and the Blair administration in the UK. The Third Way sought to temper the effects of neoliberalism and the conservative political ideology of Reagan and Thatcher by “uniting the two streams of left-of-centre thought: democratic socialism and classical liberalism” (Roberts & Peters, 2008, pp 15, 16). Its ideology soon spread to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Tony Blair, in his pamphlet, *The Third Way: New Politics for a New Century*, stressed the need for Labour to pursue its policies through market mechanisms, entrepreneurialism and new technology whilst “working in partnership with the private and voluntary sector” (Blair, 1998, p 6). This indicated a significant departure from “Old Labour” policies, and a new “partnership with business” (Blair, 1998, p 4).

Harvey (2007) dismissed the idea of Clinton and Blair reversing the changes implemented under Reagan and Thatcher, as he believed the power of the market was too entrenched. What resulted was a system that sought to “humanise the market” by accepting “the major theoretical tenets of neoliberalism regarding income distribution and the stability of capitalist economies” (Palley, 2004, p 9). The adoption of the NPM ensured that neoliberal policies were embedded in government agendas, by linking the work of public services with market forces, and the commodification of knowledge (Clarke and Newman, 1997; Giddens; 2003; Scott, 2003).

Higher education was not immune to the NPM, because its publicly funded institutions were regarded as a public service (Kairuz, et al., 2016). They were subjected to the same policies and regulations as other government departments and ultimately, to private business. The era of “collegial public sector professionals and administrators” (Ferlie, et al., 2008, p 335), was replaced by management committed to efficiency, assessment and entrepreneurialism. Before long, universities were exposed to a flood of schemes (e.g. Total Quality Management (TQM), Incentive-Based Budgeting (IBB), Business Process Re-engineering (BPR) (Birnbaum & Snowdon, 2003; Csizmadia et al, 2012; McClure, 2016). All were designed to achieve efficiencies and boost productivity at the lowest unit cost, with most leaving “nothing but traces of their former pre-eminence in the managerial imagination” (McClure, 2016).

What caused the most frustration for academic staff, was the burgeoning bureaucracy that accompanied NPM. Few argued against the need for efficiency and the prudent allocation of funds to achieve optimal results (Wright & Shore, 2003). Most complaints concerned the time taken to address administrative and reporting tasks and the concomitant stresses and implications

for quality and standards that impeded job satisfaction (Green, 2006; Fredman & Doughney, 2011; Leathwood, 2013; Kairuz, et al., 2016; Saunders & Ramirez, 2017). The “publish or perish” dictum of the 1970s was given new momentum once research became firmly conjoined with profitability, thus boosting the role of marketing (Lynch, 2014). STEM courses (i.e. science, technology, engineering and mathematics) had greater “economic utility” (Patrick, 2013, p 3) and therefore became more valued than courses in the humanities and social sciences disciplines (Giroux, 2002; Bullen, et al., 2004; Nussbaum, 2010).

One of the most time-consuming forms of academic reporting was undoubtedly auditing. Wright & Shore (2003) noted the control exercised through the audit-culture or “culture of accountancy” (p 78) in higher education under neoliberalism. Building on Miller & Rose’s (1990) argument that modern political power relied on mass media, marketing, advertising and management rhetoric “for educating citizens in techniques for governing themselves” (p 28), they mapped academic staff compliance within the new management environment. The final stage highlighted individuals’ passive acceptance of responsibility for the outcomes of their labour in accordance with the NPM’s instruments of measurement, reporting, performativity, productivity and profitability.

3.4 Knowledge economy

The most significant global development to emerge in the twenty first century was the value placed on knowledge. The term “knowledge economy” was first used by Peter Drucker in his book, *The age of discontinuity: guidelines to our changing society* (Drucker, 1969). It was resurrected, re-defined, popularised and embedded in the OECD’s publication, *The Knowledge-Based Economy* (OECD, 2016). This report highlighted the shift from industrial to post-industrial economies in OECD countries, and the importance of science, technology and

government policy in generating new knowledge and developing human resources to achieve productivity and economic growth. The report contextualised its message through the prism of New Growth Theory (NGT), which like NPM, was very much profit-driven and depended on acknowledging “the central role of the firm, the importance of national innovation systems and the requirements for infrastructures and incentives which encourage investments in research and training” (OECD, 1996, p 18). The definition of the knowledge economy was extended to reflect advances in globalisation, which were characterised by “the economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the de-territorialisation of the state, and investment in human capital” (Roberts & Peters, 2008, p 18).

The OECD’s report was reinforced by the World Bank’s 1998/1999 publication, *The World Development Report: Knowledge for Development*. This report identified technical knowledge and “knowledge about attributes, such as the quality of a product, the diligence of a worker, or the creditworthiness of a firm” (World Bank, 1998, p 1) as crucial for raising living standards in developing nations.

Since the reports were published, many countries developed policies which endorsed the knowledge economy as the culmination of academic capitalism (NZ Government, 2003, 2006; Government UK, 2009, 2016; National Research Council, 2012). NGT and managerialism served as frameworks/ guiding principles for the production and trading of knowledge, focused on economic prosperity. For universities to be competitive in this environment, they needed to be flexible and entrepreneurial in responding to global developments and competing against new providers entering the market. The World Bank was highly supportive of new entrants challenging established universities and pursued its agenda through additional reports (WB, 2002; 2009), which further fuelled competition in higher education.

Table 3.3 lists international neoliberal policies and initiatives from 1990 onwards, which significantly influenced Australian higher education policy.

Table 3.3 - Higher education policies and initiatives by Date, Initiative, Responsible Organisation and Country/Region (1990 – 2018)

Date	Initiative	Responsible Organisation	Country/Region
1991	<i>Higher Education: A New Framework</i> (Government UK, 1991)	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
1991	<i>Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE)</i>	British Government	UK
1992	<i>Ranking of world universities - The Times Higher Education Supplement</i>	Financial Times & The Sunday Times	Ireland
1992	<i>Polytechnics merged into universities</i>	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
1993	<i>Realising our potential: A Strategy for Science, Engineering and Technology</i> (Government UK, 1993)	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
1995	<i>Project 11</i> (CG, 1995)	Chinese Government	China
1996	<i>The Knowledge-Based Economy</i>	OECD	France
1997	<i>Report of the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education (Dearing Report)</i> (NCIHE, 1997)	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
1997	<i>Institute for Learning and Teaching (ILT)</i>	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
1997	<i>Quality assurance Agency (QAA)</i>	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
1998	<i>The Third Way: New Politics for a New Century</i> (Blair, 1998)	Tony Blair (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1997-2007)	UK
1998	<i>Project 985</i> (Chinese Government, 1998)	Chinese Government	China
1998	<i>Introduction of student fees</i>	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
1998	<i>California Community College System</i>	Californian State Government	USA
1998	<i>Knowledge for Development</i> (WB,1998)	World Bank	USA
1999	<i>Bologna Process</i> (European Ministers of Education, 1999)	European Union	Belgium
1999	<i>Learning to Succeed</i> (Government UK, 1999)	Department for Education and	UK

Date	Initiative	Responsible Organisation	Country/Region
		Employment	
2000	<i>Lisbon Strategy</i> (Lisbon European Council, 2000)	European Council	Portugal
2003	<i>Tertiary Education Strategy 2002-2007</i> (NZ Government, 2003)	Ministry of Education	NZ
2003	<i>The Future of Higher Education</i> (Government, UK 2003)	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
2003	<i>Shanghai Jiao Tong University world university rankings</i>	Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education (SJTUIHE)	China
2004	<i>Times Higher Education world university rankings (Supplement)</i>	Time Higher Education (THE) formerly Time Higher Education Supplement (THES)	UK
2007	<i>Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012</i> (NZ Government, 2007)	Ministry of Education	NZ
2009	<i>Higher Ambitions: The Future of Universities in a Knowledge Economy</i> (Government UK, 2009)	Department for Business Innovation and skills	UK
2011	<i>Introduction of MOOCs courses</i>	Stanford University	USA
2012	<i>Research Universities and the Future of America</i> (NRC, 2012)	National Research Council (upon direction of US Congress)	USA
2013	<i>Widening Participation in Higher Education 2017</i> (Government UK, 2013)	Department for Business Innovation and skills	UK
2014	<i>Research Excellence Framework</i> (Government UK, 2014)	Government of the United Kingdom	UK
2014	<i>Tertiary Education Strategy 2014-2019</i> (NZ Government, 2014)	Ministry of Education	NZ
2015	<i>Fulfilling our potential: Teaching excellence, social mobility, and student choice</i> (Government UK, 2017)	Department for Business Innovation and skills	UK
2016	<i>White Paper: Success as a Knowledge Economy 2017</i> (Government UK, 2016)	Department for Business Innovation and skills	UK
2016	<i>College Scorecard</i> (USA Government, 2016)	Department of Education	USA
2017	<i>Teaching Excellence and Student Outcomes Framework Specification</i> (Government UK, 2017a)	Department for Education	UK
2017	<i>Double First Class University Plan</i> (Chinese Government, 2017)	Chinese Government	China
2017	<i>Higher Education and Research Act 2017</i> (Government UK, UK2017b)	Government of the United Kingdom	UK

Whilst universities in most countries depended to some extent on government funding (Marginson, 2010a; King, et al., 2011), they had little choice but to adhere to government regulation. McBurnie & Ziguras (2007) argued for governments to increase financial support to universities to undertake new research, given the difficulties most institutions encountered in securing adequate support from external organisations and businesses. Clark (1998) believed that the underfunding of higher education would continue to be a constant because “knowledge outruns resources. No university and no national system of universities can control knowledge growth” (p 130), indicating that its proliferation would continue unabated, sometimes un-verified and increasingly under-resourced.

3.4.1 *Rankings & research-intensive universities*

Altbach (2012, p 27) declared that “if rankings did not exist, someone would have to invent them” in order to establish standards that reflected the complexity, diversification, competition and commodification resulting from the massification of higher education. America used league tables to rank universities for decades, but they had “only reached the level of intense interest, popularity and notoriety around the world since the late 1990s” (Hazelkorn, 2008, p 193). Dill & Soo (2005) argued that once access to higher education became a real possibility for most strata of society, and in a greater number of countries, potential consumers would require information regarding which institution to choose. This would inevitably lead to the practice of ranking universities.

The most prestigious league table, the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU), was produced by Shanghai Jiao Tong University in 2003. The ARWU evaluated research performance according to the number of published journal articles, citations and academic prizes universities achieve. Shin and Harman (2009) argued that such criteria were too limiting and did

not represent all the dimensions of faculty research, nor did it represent the value of research in disciplines that failed to attract funding from non-government sources.

Even though the ARWU made some minor changes to its criteria over the years, it avoided evaluating teaching quality. This was because of the difficulty in establishing criteria conducive to comparison on an international scale, given the diversity between national systems and the difficulties inherent in collecting data (Liu & Cheng, 2005; van der Wende, 2008; Altbach, 2012). Mohrman, et al. (2008) examined other international league tables to determine their points of difference with the ARWU. Whilst they found that the *Times Higher Education* (World University Rankings) or THE, had added peer evaluation to their criteria, and *Newsweek* international ratings included the number of enrolled international students, they concurred with Levin, et al.'s (2006) statistical analysis of international ranking tables. In the absence of consistent, mutually agreed performance criteria, the selection of world class universities was limited to research reputation (Mohrman, et al., 2008, pp 20, 21).

Marginson (2014b) linked social status to the branding of universities, which he believed was derived from global rankings, dependent on research outputs. Henkel (2005) believed that research reputation was “the strongest academic currency in higher education” (p 164) and a strong determinant in universities’ marketing and funding. Clearly, the prestigious, research-intensive, Emerging Global Model (EGM) (Mohrman, et al., 2008), and “World Class Universities (WCU) ...play an important role in developing a nation’s competitiveness in the global knowledge economy” (Cheng, et al., 2014, p 1). This created considerable pressure for leading universities to maintain their places in the top of the ranking lists. Irrespective of this, they were deemed to have an unfair advantage, as they enjoyed a privileged position of wealth and superiority, due to their established infrastructures and ability to appoint outstanding staff,

who were often financed through generous alumni endowments (Halsey, 1992; Hazelkorn, 2011; Kaba, 2012; Stocum, 2013).

Cross-border education created a substantial marketing industry in higher education. Most universities relied on marketing and media units within their structures to promote their programs domestically and abroad. There was concern that “image ha[d] become more important than the product” (Shumar, 1995, p 94), as increasingly large amounts of universities’ budgets were spent on staff recruitment and advertising campaigns. The international student market delivered significant economic returns through tuition fees and the consumption of goods and services. Education accelerated growth in international trade (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2007) with the three dominant exporters of higher education - the US, UK and Australia benefiting substantially (Peim, 2012).

Learning became “skills to acquire, ‘things’ to possess” (Molesworth, et al., 2009, p 285), with education reduced to a commodity in a buyers’ market, usually favouring the wealthy, elite universities (Redding, 2005; Gourlay & Stevenson, 2017; Stevenson, et al. 2017). They had the means to properly fund the more expensive science and technology courses, which were growing in demand (Freeman, et al., 2015). Aspiring universities wishing to improve their rankings, had little option but to try to emulate elite universities, which reaffirmed the criteria used to rank institutions. Teichler (2008) and Wright (2004) argued that ranking reports discouraged institutional diversity, by encouraging vertical classification/stratification within the sector. Harvey (2005) and Elliott (1997) believed that this had the potential to limit knowledge and reinforce the power of groups that controlled society.

The literature concerning rankings was generally critical of international league tables promoting a simplistic and limited criteria that failed to reflect institutional diversity (Shin &

Harman, 2009), especially as it diverted attention away from important “questions regarding the value, purpose and politics of higher education” (Lynch, 2015, p 201). However, it was also acknowledged that the “international benchmarking of institutions and disciplines[was] now ubiquitous” (Marginson, 2010b, p 6966) and therefore looked likely to continue as a significant global indicator of quality (van der Wende, 2008).

Despite concerns about the dominance of rankings in influencing reputations and policy, some observers viewed them positively. Hazelkorn (2008) attributed their acceptance by some, to their simplicity and independence from governments and institutions. Altbach (2006) contended that there was growing recognition that rankings were useful because they focused attention on important aspects of academic achievement, which had the potential to “influence policymakers who might otherwise be content to slash budgets and maintain mediocrity” (p 80). Others believed that rankings could be better configured to deliver a more multi-faceted/multi-dimensional view of higher education, that identified and measured institutions of similar missions, so that data was more relevant and meaningful (Van der Wende, 2008; Van Vught, 2008; Marginson, 2010b).

Marginson & Wende (2007b) suggested that functions within institutions, rather than the institutions themselves, needed to be assessed, but this would make it difficult to construct a single ranking system that fitted all universities. Van der Wende (2008) pointed to the example of the Centre for Higher Education (CHE), which was established in Germany in 1994, as providing a more realistic alternative to the ARWU and THE ranking systems. The CHE was an independent body that conducted research and developed models through consultation with decision-makers with the intention of advancing higher education systems and universities. Its focus was on fairness and diversity for the institutions to empower them “to take advantage of

their opportunities against national and international competitors.... and to create and foster a unique identity through specific and differentiated profiles” (CHE, 2018). The CHE provided information to potential students to help them choose institutions that addressed their needs.

Such an approach served as a fitting alternative to the holistic treatment of universities by international ranking agencies. However, current websites of a number of the top 100 universities in the published league tables, suggested it might take some time for the message of diversity to permeate the current dominant models.

3.5 The changing academy

During the last thirty years, universities experienced a number of transformations in response to rapid growth in student enrolments and the commodification of knowledge. Scott (2003) and Miller (1995) addressed the vocationalisation of the curriculum in higher education, which began after World War II, when new professions emerged in business, management and computer science. This compelled education to become more specialised with a growing emphasis on transferrable skills and the percentage of students finding employment upon graduation. The academic profession changed to meet the needs of a more diverse student cohort. The shift from teaching to learning and students from producers to consumers (Scott, 2003) resulted in an alleged student-centred approach to education. Higher education adjusted to students from a wide range of backgrounds, but was also expected to provide ongoing training or life-long learning to people of varying ages already in the workforce, who were required to use new technologies and respond to new management models.

Research became government and industry focused (Miller, 1995), and knowledge became transdisciplinary (Gibbons, 1994) through its emphasis on problem solving, which required increasing collaborations between disciplines within universities, and between

universities, government and industries. The application of science to problems, raised by external agencies for universities to solve, obfuscated the distinction between pure and applied research (Trow, 1999).

Trow (2005) built on Brennan, et al.'s (2004) model of student expansion, where up to 15% student participation could be considered education for the elite, and up to 30% indicated a massified system. Student access approaching 50% and beyond was regarded as a universal system of higher education, which created issues around teaching quality, value of qualifications and the impact of such a system on society. Trow (2005) predicted that flexible learning, particularly for students in employment, would set the trend for the modularisation of the curriculum, which would allow students to tailor their study to their future employment.

The move towards universal higher education occurred at the same time that information technology made the instant transfer of knowledge possible, thereby adding to its portability, capacity and applicability. Such significant change initiated major recalibrations in academic work. This led to differentiation and fragmentation (Clark, 1987), the “unbundling of universities ... the separation of academic functions into activities” (Wright, 2004, p 74), the “schisms” between the roles that academics performed in the pre-managerialist and post-managerialist universities (Winter, 2009) and a “narrowing of academic work” (Thomas & Davies, 2002, p 188).

3.5.1 Teaching and research – nexus and status

Globalisation and neoliberalism challenged the research-teaching-service (RTS) workload model, which Humbolt first proposed in the 1800s, and Clark and Boyer reinforced in the 1990s, where the 40% teaching, 40% research and 20% service model was regarded as the

norm. That formula was gradually dismantled over the past two decades, with increasing numbers of research-only and teaching-only positions created.

The experience of two world wars and the influence of German and American universities firmly entrenched research as an important component of academic work, despite not all academics undertaking research. As discussed in previous chapters, teaching was the main function of universities until post World War II, but after that time research was “rooted firmly in academic ideology and institutionalized in academic practices” (Fox, 1992, p 293) with the expectation that it would support and enhance teaching. Clark (1987) argued that the nexus between research and teaching should include students’ learning, as too often it was ignored through large lecture spaces that alienated students. Nevertheless, Clark was aware of governments’ inability to adequately fund the rapid expansion of student participation, together with the increasing commercialisation of knowledge. This meant that teaching lost to research, both in funding and status.

Staff not sufficiently research-active, often found themselves taking on the additional teaching load or “optional burdens” (Thomas & Davies, 2002, p 188) such as mentoring, compared to those who were more research-active (Willmott, 1995). Whilst teaching was considered to be a necessary function of academic life, it was research that determined an institution’s prestige (Fox, 1992).

Efforts to redress the imbalance between the status of research and teaching commenced in the 1990s. Earnest Boyer, President of the *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (CFAT), in his book, *Scholarship Reconsidered*, proposed a model of scholarship to challenge the “European university tradition, with its emphasis on graduate education and research” (Boyer, 1990, p 13). Boyer’s book was informed by a survey conducted by the

Carnegie Foundation of 5,000 academic staff from a range of higher education institutions. The survey results confirmed that the sector was under stress with teaching academics complaining of heavy workloads and inadequate remuneration. The time was propitious for an evaluation of academic work and specifically teaching, and institutions, and their staff “found the expansion of the definition of scholarship an attractive innovation” (Glassick, 2000, p 878).

We believe the time has come to move beyond the tired old ‘teaching versus research’ debate and give the familiar and honorable term ‘scholarship’ a broader, more capacious meaning, one that brings legitimacy to the full scope of academic work. Surely, scholarship means engaging in original research. But the work of the scholar also means stepping back from one’s investigation, looking for connections, building bridges between theory and practice, and communicating one’s knowledge effectively to students (Boyer, 1990, p 16).

Scholarship Reconsidered was widely read and its message was further reinforced by the Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (CASTL) Program’s Survey in 2004. Altbach (2005) welcomed the survey’s results, which confirmed stress levels amongst teaching academics and the need for immediate change.

Barrow (1990) saw Boyer’s and the Foundation’s work differently, and believed that neoliberalism, evident in the corporatisation of university managements, was promoted by the *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* and the *General Education Board*. He also believed that this type of organisation encouraged collaboration between universities and industry, leading to similarities in governance in relation to strategic planning, the setting of performance indicators and reports against those indicators. Barrow (1990) argued that to shift the perception of universities as one-dimensional businesses, academics needed to be more realistic in their aims and to reclaim academic democracy by challenging bureaucratisation and corporatisation.

The Report of the *National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education* (NCIHE), known as the Dearing Report, published in the UK in 1997, under the principal authorship of Sir Ronald Dearing, the Chancellor of the University of Nottingham, acknowledged “the inadequate recognition of teaching excellence” (NCIHE, 1997, p 216). The Dearing Report also recognised “a need to review and redefine the roles of academic staff and support staff within HEIs³⁴” (NCIHE, 1997, p 217). There was a perceived necessity for teaching to receive higher status within the profession and consequently, *the Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education* (ILTHe) was established to oversee teaching training and accreditation for professional qualifications.

Parker maintained that “promotion criteria represent[ed] one of the most tangible indicators of the status of teaching in universities” (Parker, 2008, p 238). He examined the salaries and classifications of academic staff in predominantly teaching roles since the Dearing Report. Despite staff unions negotiating salaries and changes to promotion criteria, Parker found that universities’ promotion policies still lagged in recognising teaching excellence at all academic classification levels. He conceded that, since the mid-1990s, some teaching achieved equality with research at the lower levels of lectureship. However, this did not apply to academic staff at higher levels “with fewer than half of universities taking teaching activities into account equally with research for applications to professorships and barely over a quarter for applications to readerships” (Parker, 2008, p 249).

Lack of status was confined to staff who mainly taught or who were classified as teaching-only. Cavalli & Teichler (2010) and Altbach (2003) noted the disparity between casual and contract staff compared to tenured staff. Women were more likely to be affected than men, as more tended to be employed as part-time or casual teachers, and were therefore less likely to

³⁴ Higher Education Institutions.

be promoted to senior ranks or included in institutional decision making (Davis & Astin, 1990; Thomas & Davies 2002 Altbach, 2005; Bornholt, et al. 2005; Welch, 2005). Institutional staffing structures were hierarchical, with promotion and job security difficult to achieve for early career academics, unless they produced high research outputs. Hourly paid staff were often denied conditions of service and were “excluded from staff appraisal and development and training programmes, and programme planning and delivery mechanisms” (NCIHE, 1997, p 222). Altbach (2005) compared part-time and casual staff in American higher education to the lower Hindu castes and the Japanese “masterless samurai” (p 149) in search of apprenticeships.

3.5.2 *Academic profile of the modern university*

By 2010, universities were very different to those of their predecessors in terms of staffing structures and academic and administrative functions. Shore & Davison’s (2014) depiction of Vice-Chancellors in New Zealand as CEOs with university governing boards dominated by business and industry representatives, shared many similarities with other countries, and especially Australia and the UK. *Higher Education. A Policy Statement* (Dawkins, 1988) and the 1985 *Report of the Steering Committee for Efficiency Studies in Universities* (Jarratt Report) (CVVP³⁵), were government publications that prescribed the size and composition of university governing bodies. Subsequent government reports and papers continued to pursue the issue of resource management, exhorting institutions of the “need to satisfy government, students and other funders that they are making a contribution to the total costs of higher education by continually seeking better value from their resources” (NCIHE, 1997, p 229).

³⁵ Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals.

Reducing the size and composition of university governing bodies while replacing academic staff representatives with representatives from business and industry, reinforced governments' neoliberalist agendas. This altered the character of the academy (Zusman, 2005) "away from the classical notion of the university as a republic of scholars towards the idea of the university as a stakeholder organization" (Bleiklie & Kogan, 2007, p 477). Shattock (2012) maintained that "the voice of the academic community must be a critical element in determining strategy" (p 61) and advised that this be balanced with a strong governing body and effective executive leadership to achieve good governance.

Casualisation of the higher education workforce was a major concern for staff and their unions since the rapid expansion of the sector in the 1990s. Their lack of secure employment and access to benefits, low remuneration, and exclusion from participation in the collegial activities of the faculty, produced an academic "under-class" in the university (Benjet & Loweth, 1989; Sharff & Lessinger, 1994; Ellison, 2002). The effects of hiring casual and part-time staff to minimise costs led to the constant threat of heavier workloads and the fear of having tenure terminated (Giroux, 2002). Universities' reliance on this transient workforce, meant that they could afford to be more flexible, and able to cope with fickle student demand until closer to the new term commencing (Shumar, 1995; Trow, 1999). The increase and differential treatment of non-tenured and casual staff contributed to the proletarianisation of the academic workforce (Wilson, 1991; Halsey, 1992; Miller, 1995). Shumar (1995) noted that "when education became a product, faculty members became labourers. Once they were labourers, they could be exploited to produce more product, more efficiently and for less cost" (p 94).

Kimber (2003) described the split within the Australian academic workforce that resulted from casualisation as "the tenured core with security and good conditions and the tenuous

periphery with insecurity and poor conditions” (Kimber, 2003, p 41). Dobbie & Robinson (2008) noted the widening gap between tenured and non-tenured academics in Canada and America and the differences in their conditions of employment. They reported on the ineffectual representation provided to this group by academic unions, which represented the interests of tenured staff, not prepared “to sacrifice their immediate interest in higher compensation, and whatever status gratification they derive[d] from tenure-track and non-tenure-track differences, for the sake of academic workers who many [saw] as inferior” (Dobbie & Robinson, 2008, p 135).

The small number of unions representing non-tenured staff lacked the bargaining power of those representing tenured staff. This left university management in a commanding position with part-time and casual staff, and often full-time non-tenured staff, powerless. Even the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), which lobbied strenuously for tenure, was not prepared to champion the cause of those lacking tenure (McPherson & Schapiro, 2001). Union membership in the US was in decline because the professionalisation of university jobs weakened the power of academic unions (Peters, 2003, p116) and because university governance discouraged the participation of staff in decision-making (Buchbinder & Newson, 1992, p 345).

Neoliberalism and managerialism effectively divided staff by creating tiers within the academic workforce, leading to differential treatment, which was reflective of employment practices in the wider community (Wilson, 1991). Another outcome of the corporatisation of universities was “the strengthening of the role of administrative staff at the expense of the academic community” (Rostan, 2010, p S71). Boyer (1990) also noted the growth and complexity of university administration, which he linked to the fragmentation of faculty within the university. The Dearing Report viewed the growth in administration as a positive outcome

supporting a student-centred approach in service provision. It saw the newly created jobs as providing more support to students in areas such as digital technology, library and career services (NCIHE, 1997, p 216).

Clark (2015) argued that the increase and diversity in administrative staff, rendered them more assertive and conspicuous than their “traditional” forebears. Stocum (2013) too, was critical of the employment of more administrators to deal with the excessive regulatory and reporting requirements expected of universities and designed to “convince state legislators of university accountability” (p 2).

3.5.3 *Pressures within the academy*

There was much negativity in the literature concerning the conditions and status of academic work from the 1990s to the present day. Many attributed this negativity to managerialism and the massification or universalisation of higher education. With titles such as *The University in Ruins* (Readings, 1996), *The Teacher’s Soul and the Terrors of Performativity* (Ball, 2003) and *Lost souls? The demoralization of academic labour in the measured university* (Sutton, 2017), there was a sense that the academy was overwhelmed by the pace of change.

Welch (2005) examined the growing split between teaching and research, with the creation of a new group in the academy, teaching-only academics. He regarded this as “a worrying sign” (Welch, 2005, p 208) because it mainly relied on females to fill these roles and because it split and consequently weakened the academic profession, given that governments were not committed to maintaining academic staff working conditions. Knowledge being produced in specialist research centres, placed added pressure on university staff to compete and produce applied rather than basic research to remain relevant in the knowledge economy. Henkel (2005) observed that industry also played a part in creating new knowledge, and with

reduced public funding, universities were effectively compelled to collaborate with external partners whose mainstay was the pursuit of profit. Advances in new technologies further added pressure to staff to work more efficiently (Fanghanel, 2012).

With education being viewed as a private good, even in communist countries such as China, students increasingly bore the cost of tuition. Such an arrangement consigned students to the role of customers. Many crossed over national borders to study programs that enhanced their employability. Accordingly, governments turned their attention to improving teaching and learning in order to protect and expand international student markets (Leask, 2001; Andrade, 2006; Guruz, 2011).

The British Government trialled its *Teaching Excellence and Student Outcomes Framework* (TEF) in the UK in 2017. The TEF assessed British universities on the quality of their undergraduate teaching. Panels of assessors rated them annually against the TEF Descriptors of Gold, Silver and Bronze. It was anticipated that, in 2020, the Government would link funding to institutions' performances. At present, while there is no legislated requirement that all British higher education institutions participate in the TEF, compliance will follow, once monetary rewards are introduced. The TEF is charged with

- Better informing students' choices about what and where to study;
 - Raising esteem for teaching;
 - Recognising and rewarding excellent teaching;
 - Better meeting the needs of employers, business, industry and the professions.
- (UK. Government, 2017, p 7).

The Office for Students, established in April 2018, by merging the *Higher Education Funding Council for England* and the *Office for Fair Access*, has responsibility for managing the TEF. It has the dual role of increasing access to students from all socio-economic groups and ensuring the quality of higher education in Britain. Institutions were required to provide a panel

of assessors for Annual Provider Reviews (or equivalent), to address institutional performance against the following six core metrics:

Table 3.4 – Teaching Excellence and Student Outcomes Framework Metrics, Criteria and Data Source

Metrics	Criteria	Data Source
Teaching on my course	Teaching Quality	National Student Survey (NSS)
Assessment and Feedback	Learning Environment	Higher Education Statistics Authority (HESA) and the Individual Learner Record (ILR)
Academic Support Continuation (i.e. retention)		
Employment or Further Study Employment or Further Study	Student Outcomes and Learning Gain	Destination of Leavers Survey from Higher Education (DLHE)

Source: (Government UK, 2017)

The decision to assess student employment through British taxation records indicated an intrusive strategy for measuring teaching quality. The focus was not so much on what students had learnt, but whether the completion of their study translated into employment outcomes, and more than that – whether their qualifications matched job specifications.

Regardless of the implementation of these initiatives, universities in Britain and other countries had already responded to their government’s agendas for higher education by “student-centering” their curricula and institutional services. Courses were further structured so that students could design their own degrees, which replaced the previous practice of sequential learning with courses representing building blocks leading to a particular body of knowledge (Winter, 1995). New ways of teaching were introduced to address student diversity, including blended learning, which combined face-to-face and on-line teaching (Singh, 2003; Garrison & Kanuka, 2004; Graham, 2006), and flipped classrooms, where students were expected to read their lesson materials prior to their classes (Lage, et al., 2009; Brame, 2013). Social media,

online learning tools and group work were increasingly used to extend students' interaction with course materials and with each other. These approaches required staff to be trained in applying new pedagogies to diversified "social characteristics and academic goals of students" (Arimoto, 2015, p 93). This added to the complexity and volume of their own work, especially if they were also involved in research.

New ways of assessing students' knowledge and understanding were mandated through the use of new technologies. In 2013, the OECD attempted to run a global initiative called the *Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes* (AHELO) project in 2013. This represented a form of data collection for countries to benchmark their assessment practices "to see if it [was] practically and scientifically feasible to assess what students in higher education know and can do upon graduation" (OECD, 2013).

Altbach (2015b) argued for the project to be discontinued because of the diversity between courses and curricula at tertiary level. There was concern that this would produce further flawed rankings in the international market. Additionally, the project was overly expensive. Either AHELO was scrapped, or it is still waiting for enough member countries to finance it. If it becomes a benchmarking tool, it will put academic staff under additional pressure to perform and compete (Wright & Shore, 2003; Barrett & Barrett, 2008; Tight, 2010).

Student feedback on teaching was the most utilised tool for assessment of teaching quality. The *Changing Academic Profession* (CAP) (2013) survey involving academic staff from 18 countries, found that students were "most influential" in evaluating academic teaching (Teichler, et al., 2013, p 171). Despite its common usage, there was criticism regarding whether student evaluation of teaching contributed to knowledge regarding teaching quality (Shevlin et al.; 2000; Pounder, 2007; Beecham, 2009; Hornstein, 2017; Uyyil et al., 2017).

Zabaleta noted that decisions determining teaching personnel were often based on student appraisals but doubted that this “stick-and-carrot approach to teaching performance evaluation” (Zabaleta, 2007, p 56) would deliver quality teaching. He maintained that factors such as popularity, entertainment, leniency with marking, and simplifying course content should not be used to influence evaluations. He referred to Dowell & Neal (1983) who contended that student ratings were “inaccurate indicators of student learning and therefore [were] best regarded as indices of consumer satisfaction rather than teaching effectiveness (p 462).

Some writers saw value in student assessment of teaching, if it led to improvements in teaching (McKeachie, 1987; Marsh and Roche, 1997; Spooren, et al., 2013), but there was concern regarding whether results were used as a “politically expedient performance measure for quality monitoring” (Penny & Coe, 2004, p 215). The latter was considered an additional and unnecessary pressure for academic staff. Pounder (2007) maintained that research on the student evaluation of teaching (SET), was unable to demonstrate a causal effect between teaching quality and student attainment. He questioned the value of such instruments for assessment in measuring “the quality, richness and diversity of what happens in the typical classroom” (Pounder, 2007, p 186). So, how could universities deliver tangible employment outcomes for students, and provide them with an experience that illuminated and transformed their view of the world?

3.5.4 *The scholarship of teaching*

Boyer regarded teaching as fundamental to scholarship and therefore academic life. His explication of the four functions of scholarship: discovery, integration, application and learning supported his belief that “teaching, at its best, shapes both research and practice. (Boyer, 1990, p 16). To achieve quality in teaching, it was necessary for institutions to apply three types of evaluation:

- Self-assessment
- Peer assessment
- Student assessment

The most difficult and the less practised of these was peer-assessment, which was often considered unworkable due to time constraints and the vagaries of organisational culture (Lomas & Nicholls, 2005). Boyer encouraged publishing in journals dedicated to teaching to lift both the profile and the quality of teaching. The scholarship of teaching needed to be treated as other disciplines and subjected to the same rigors of academic inquiry and reporting while providing “a vocabulary for discussion of the intellectual life of academe” (Glassick, 2000, p 877).

The Carnegie Foundation sought to support Boyer’s functions of scholarship, by providing the following strategies for implementation: “1) foster significant, long-lasting learning for all students, 2) advance the practice and profession of teaching, and 3) bring to teaching the recognition afforded to other forms of scholarly work” (Hutchings & Shulman, 1999, p 11). Allen & Field (2005) defined the scholarship of teaching as student-focused with an emphasis on understanding how students learn and adapting teaching methods to facilitate effective learning outcomes. Richlin & Cox (2004) believed that the power and value of

scholarship derived from a community of scholars who shared their research, could transform learning and teaching in higher education.

Improving the status of teaching was an ongoing process because the research it produced was usually not as financially profitable as STEM research. Additionally, there was a lack of training and professional development for teachers and teaching specialists (Locke & Bennion, 2010). Laurillard (2002) warned that there needed to be “a common understanding of the nature of learning at the university level, an acceptance that teachers must become reflective practitioners, and an intention by university management to create the conditions that foster and reward this rather different approach” (p 154). To some extent this was already occurring with the new teaching specialist positions that emerged, but the motivations of university managements would determine whether this development was in response to pedagogical validation, or market forces.

3.5.5 Institutional autonomy and academic freedom

If autonomy could be defined in terms of “control over academic work “(Buchbinder, 1993, p 333), were universities experiencing less autonomy? Universities experienced decades of corporatisation, and developed new governance, processes and relationships, in order to secure more revenues, more partners, and more students. Yet, while their financial dependence on the state reduced, they were still driven by government policy to achieve the state’s economic and social goals (Henkel, 2005).

Kerr (1991) maintained that universities were “essentially international institutions but they were increasingly living, in a world of nation-states that has designs on them” (p 18). Universities were expected to research beyond their borders and look for new opportunities and

new markets to develop and sell their research, yet they were still very much tied to their nation states, as their role in the knowledge economy strengthened and consolidated (King, et al., 2011).

Giroux (2002, p 443) argued that knowledge had a critical role in preserving academic freedom, and that once removed from ethical and political reflection, it weakened our ability to challenge oppression. Clark (1990) considered the intrinsic value of knowledge and warned that “invaluable cognitive domains would be lost forever if we continue to commodify it” (p 347). Altbach, et al. (2010), warned that the professoriate had lost much of its authority “to professional managers and bureaucrats, with significant impact on the nature of the university” (p 36). Altbach (2005) claimed that changes to academic work began when the Thatcher Government in the UK launched an assault on the tenure system in universities, thus destabilising the employment of academics, which precipitated the fragmentation of academic roles.

Not everyone looked to the future of universities with trepidation. Trow (2007) believed that by 2030, “there will be more of everything” (p 275) in terms of participation in higher education and the resources/infrastructure required to manage a universal system of higher education. The private sector and industry in particular would play an important role in training people to work with and design new technology. Whilst the bulk of higher education would be involved in the buying and selling of information, the Government would still provide financial support to elite research universities, insulating them from market forces. However, this suggested that less research-intensive universities would not be so fortunate in escaping the full impact of the market.

Barnett (2000) was even more optimistic in his prediction for the future of universities. He did not accept “the ‘end of the university’ thesis” (p 409). Barnett believed that creation of

new, more challenging roles would ensure the relevance of universities in the future “built around personal growth, societal enlightenment and the promotion of critical forms of understanding” (p 411).

Regardless of whether academics regarded the future for universities as one of optimism and opportunity or one where teaching and learning were confined to economic priorities, the value and role of Universities were firmly embedded in their nation’s blueprint for prosperity.

3.6 Conclusion

Worldwide developments due to the responsiveness of governments and industry to market forces at the global level, significantly influenced universities and academic work. Globalisation, neoliberalism and managerialism produced the knowledge economy in which universities operated. Funding expansion and diversity within the sector, consolidated higher education’s dual role in fulfilling both a public and a private good. In order to obtain the best returns for public money spent on universities, their governance changed to reflect institutions as businesses, with students as consumers and the requirement for stronger links to industry.

Accountability was pivotal in assessing academic performance, which led to the segmentation of academic work and a focus on teaching, due to universities’ reliance on the growing international student market. This in turn created an over-reliance on casual staff, as universities lacked sufficient funding to offer tenured positions to address their ever-expanding teaching loads. Very few Australian universities offered full-time continuing teaching positions, and it was not until the mid-2010’s that something resembling them in the form of teaching specialist positions were made available. It took a further ten years for all Go8 universities to make provision for teaching specialists. This indicated that further specialisations within academic work would likely continue to challenge the long standing 40% teaching, 40% research

and 20% service model, which had defined the academic profession in the second half of the twentieth century. The following chapter examines the ways in which Australian governments and universities have responded to external challenges and influences from the end of World War II to the establishment of the Unified National System. Higher education policy and initiatives are analysed to understand how these influenced teaching, precipitating the rise of teaching specialist positions in Australia's universities.

Chapter 4 – Policy, funding and quality assurance in Australia’s Unified National System

4.1 Introduction

The years 1990-2020 experienced significant change in Australian higher education. This was evidenced by substantial growth in student enrolments, advances in digital technology and increasing competition for international students and applied research. Much of this change was driven by global market forces. Chapter 3 described how the forces of globalisation, neoliberalism and managerialism combined to produce the global knowledge economy.

The Unified National System (UNS) represented Australia’s response to global competition. It sought to expand the nation’s higher education sector through amalgamating institutions and equipping them to take on larger numbers of students, and making university managements more streamlined to respond to market forces for Australia to compete effectively in the global market place. To fund the sector, higher education was promoted as a private good, with students expected to contribute to the cost of their education. Frameworks, standards of measurement and agencies were created to oversee the quality of outputs from universities. This chapter examines Australia’s government policy, informed by reviews of and reports on the sector, which influenced the funding and management of universities.

4.2 Australian Federal Government higher education policy

From the introduction of the UNS in 1989, Australian governments were predominantly occupied with “finding the resources necessary to fund higher education teaching, learning and research in generally constrained budgetary circumstances” (DET, 2015b, p 28). This issue was at the heart of every discussion paper, review, report and Commonwealth Act from Dawkins’

Green and White Papers (Dawkins, 1987, 1988), to 2020. The principles that underpinned Dawkins’ reforms of the sector were still evident but were steered towards an increasingly market–driven, user-pays system of higher education. Governance structures were adopted to bring universities more in line with businesses in their management, planning and finance. Universities were expected to be increasingly entrepreneurial in seeking alternative revenues of funding, and ironically, governments focused on exacting greater accountability and compliance from the sector, whilst reducing government funding in real terms (Meek; 1995, Moses, 1995; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Marginson, 2001).

Table 4.1 provides a list of the main policy documents that influenced Australian higher education from 1990-2020. Table 4.1 lists documents specifically related to funding and Table 4.1 lists documents specifically related to quality assurance within the sector.

Table 4.1 - Australian Higher Education Discussion Papers, Reviews and Reports (1990 – 2020)

Year	Discussion Papers, Reviews, Reports and legislation
1990	<i>A Fair Chance For All</i> (Discussion Paper) (DEET ³⁶ , 1990)
1990	<i>Higher Education: The Challenges Ahead</i> (NBEET ³⁷ 1990)
1991	<i>Higher Education: Quality and Diversity in the 1990s</i> (Baldwin, 1991)
1994	<i>Review of the National Board of Employment, Education and Training</i> (Wiltshire & Wiltshire, 1994)
1995	<i>Higher Education Management Review</i> (Hoare Review) (Hoare, 1995)
1998	<i>Learning for Life Final Report: Review of Higher Education Financing and Policy</i> (West Review) (West, 1998)
2001	<i>Universities in Crisis: report into the capacity of public universities to meet Australia’s higher education needs.</i> (Australian Government, 2001)
2001	<i>Backing Australia’s Ability—An Innovation Action Plan for the Future</i> (Howard, 2001)
2002	<i>Review of Higher Education in Australia</i> (Nelson Review). <i>Higher Education at the Crossroads: an overview paper</i> (Nelson, 2002a)
2003	<i>Our Universities: Backing Australia’s Future</i> (Ministerial Statement) (Nelson, 2003)
2007	<i>National Code of Practice for Registration Authorities and Providers of Education and Training to Overseas Students 2007</i> (DEEWR ³⁸ , 2007)
2008	<i>Review of Australian Higher Education</i> (Bradley Review) (Bradley, et al., 2008)
2009	<i>Transforming Australia’s higher education system</i> (Australian Government, 2009)

³⁶ Department of Employment, Education and Training.

³⁷ National Board of Education, Employment and Training.

³⁸ Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations.

Year	Discussion Papers, Reviews, Reports and legislation
2009	<i>Innovation White Paper, Powering Ideas: an Innovation Agenda for the 21st Century</i> (Carr, 2009)
2010	<i>Review of the Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) Act</i> (Baird Review) (Baird, 2010)
2011	<i>Higher Education Base Funding Review</i> (Lomax-Smith Review) (Lomax-Smith, 2011)
2013	<i>Review of Higher Education Regulation</i> (Dow & Braithwaite Review) (Dow, 2013)
2014	<i>Review of the Demand Driven Funding System</i> (Kemp-Norton Review) (Kemp, 2014)
2016	<i>Driving innovation, fairness and excellence in Australian education</i> (DET, 2016)
2016	<i>Cost of Delivery of Higher Education Report</i> (DAE ³⁹ , 2016)
2017	<i>Higher Education Support Legislation 2017</i> (Australian Government, 2017)
2017	Improving retention, completion and success in higher education (HESP ⁴⁰ , 2017)
2018	<i>Review of the Australian Qualifications Framework</i> (DET ⁴¹ , 2019b)
2019	<i>Final Report for Performance-Based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme</i> (DET, 2019b)

Although developments in Australian higher education reflected each government's party-political philosophy, they followed a similar trajectory, established by the Murray Report in 1957. This signalled the beginning of central government control and a more significant economic role for universities, which intensified since the late 1980s. Table 4.2 provides a list of the ministers and their governments responsible for higher education policy since the UNS was introduced.

Table 4.2 - Ministers with Responsibility for Higher Education within their Portfolios, 1987 – 2020.

Name of Minister	Ministerial Title	Ministry	Time in office
Hon. John Dawkins	Minister for Employment, Education and Training	Third Hawke Ministry (Labor) Fourth Hawke Ministry (Labor)	July 1987 – April 1990 April 1990 - December 1991
Hon. Kim Beazley	Minister for Employment, Education and Training	First Keating Ministry (Labor)	Dec 1991 – March 1993
Hon. Peter Baldwin	Minister for Higher Education and Employment Services	Fourth Hawke Ministry (Labor) First Keating Ministry (Labor)	May 1990 - March 1993
Hon. Simon Crean	Minister for Employment, Education and Training	Second Keating Ministry (Labor)	March 1993 – March 1996
Hon. Amanda Vanstone	Minister for Employment, Education, Training and Youth	First Howard Ministry (Liberal/National)	March 1996 – October 1997

³⁹ Deloitte Access Economics.

⁴⁰ Higher Education Standards Panel.

⁴¹ Department of Education and Training.

Name of Minister	Ministerial Title	Ministry	Time in office
	Affairs		
Hon. David Kemp	Minister for Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs	Second Howard Ministry (Liberal/National)	October 1997 – November 2001
Hon. Brendan Nelson	Minister for Education, Science and Training	Third Howard Ministry (Liberal/National) Fourth Howard Ministry (Liberal/National)	November 2001 – October 2004 October 2004 - January 2006
Hon. Julie Bishop	Minister for Education, Science and Training	Fourth Howard Ministry (Liberal/National)	January 2006 – December 2007
Hon Julia Gillard	Minister for Education	First Rudd Ministry (Labor)	December 2007 – June 2010
Hon. Simon Crean	Minister for Education	First Gillard Ministry (Labor)	June 2010 – September 2010
Hon. Chris Evans	Minister for Tertiary Education, Skills, Jobs and Workplace Relations	Second Gillard Ministry (Labor)	September 2010 – June 2013
Hon. Kim Carr	Minister for Higher Education	Second Rudd Ministry (Labor)	June 2013 – September 2013
Hon. Christopher Pyne	Minister for Education	Abbott Ministry (Liberal/National)	September 2013 – September 2015
Hon. Simon Birmingham	Minister for Education and Training	First Turnbull Ministry (Liberal/National) Second Turnbull Ministry (Liberal/National)	September 2015 – July 2016 July 2016 – August 2018
Hon Dan Tehan	Minister for Education	First Morrison Ministry (Liberal/National)	August 2018

Despite the changes in government, programs for reform and management structures, a number of trends in higher education prevailed, and many of these reflected changes occurring in business and industry (Bonnell, 2016; Coaldrake & Stedman, 2016). Globalisation and neoliberalism drove international competitiveness, pressuring governments to focus on economic development, particularly in technology and manufacturing. This inevitably led to a reassessment of nations' workforce skills required for adaptation to change and the leadership to

manage it. To achieve the goals set by governments, higher education was expected to play a significant role in improving productivity and innovation (Gallagher, 2000; Marginson, 2001).

The first significant change to Australian higher education occurred immediately after the creation of the UNS, when attention turned to funding the sector. The implementation of the new student loan scheme, the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), under the Hawke Labor Government, was the beginning of many changes made to higher education funding. This involved shifting responsibility for the cost of education onto students (Chapman, 1988, 1996).

The Government then turned its attention to the quality of teaching and research in Australian universities. The 1990's was a time of experimentation with new quality management framework models to report on quality assurance. This was connected to the need to protect and grow the international student market, which became "the largest service export and the third largest export category overall" with higher education "the biggest single contributor to this, representing around two-thirds of the total value" (DAE, 2015, p 1).

Overseas student enrolments increased from 24,998 in 1990 to 374,320 in 2018 (DESE⁴² (2020)). Overseas student representation within the total higher education student population during that time rose from 5.1% to 28% (DETYA⁴³, 2001; DESE, 2020). This affected the way in which academic staff taught and supervised research. This was particularly apposite considering that the majority of overseas students came from China, India, Nepal and Malaysia (DET, 2019c), with English as their second language.

During this period, domestic student numbers rose from 460, 068 in 1990 to 958,502 in 2018. Whilst this did not reflect the proportional representation of all socio-economic and other disadvantaged groups within Australia, successive governments committed to addressing issues

⁴² Department of Education, Skills and Employment.

⁴³ Department of Employment, Training and Youth Affairs.

of equity in order to expand the higher education sector (DEET⁴⁴, 1990; Gale & Tranter, 2011; Harvey, et.al., 2016).

4.3 Reviews of Australian higher education

Australian higher education underwent four major reviews following Dawkins' White Paper, including the West Review (1998), the Nelson Review (2002), the Bradley Review (2008), and the Birmingham Review (2016)⁴⁵. These reviews sought to make significant changes to universities' administrations and services, to ensure Australia's competitiveness in global higher education.

There were other reviews, which focused on specific issues affecting higher education. These either provided information to support the broader contexts of the major reviews, or they addressed an aspect of Australian higher education that was considered problematic by the government at the time. These included:

- the Hoare Review (1995), which underpinned the West Review's (1998) recommendations to reform university governance and administration;
- the Lomax-Smith Review (2011) which focused on base funding to finance the recommendations from the Bradley Review (2008);
- the PhillipsKPA (2012) and Dow & Braithwaite (2013) reviews on reporting and regulation requirements, which informed the Kemp-Norton's Review's (2014) focus on maintaining quality standards across the sector in a demand-driven system;

⁴⁴ Department of Employment, Education and Training.

⁴⁵ The *Review of Driving Innovation, Fairness and Excellence in Australian Higher Education* commenced in 2016. Submissions were received but a final report was not published. The Minister for Education, Simon Birmingham was replaced at the 2017 Federal election by the Hon. Dan Tehan.

- Deloitte Access Economics' (2016/2017) *Review of the impact of the TEQSA⁴⁶ Act on the higher education sector*, which was in response to complaints from the sector about the heavy administrative burden placed on universities by TEQSA;
- the *Review of the Higher Education Provider Category Standards* (Coaldrake (2019)), which sought to simplify and diversify the *Standards* to ensure more effective compliance.

In addition to issue-specific reviews which supported the major reviews, Australian governments commissioned reports, increasingly from external agencies to support their agendas for higher education.

4.3.1 *West Review*

Learning for life: review of higher education financing and policy: final report (West, 1998), known as the West Review, was overseen by Roderick West, retired headmaster of Trinity Grammar School in Sydney. He was commissioned by the Howard Government to achieve what the Hoare Review had failed to do. The latter review stressed the need for university governing bodies to commit to priority setting, feedback, training and professional development for their staff. The report claimed that both academic and general university staff were “the key resource of universities” and that they needed to be properly rewarded and managed as they were pivotal to institutional performance (Hoare, 195, p 18). Interestingly, this attitude towards staff did not feature in subsequent reviews. Paradoxically, the Committee focused on the conditions of tenure of academic staff, which it regarded as a significant barrier to the effective management of universities.

It is important that the burden of all employment adjustment does not fall on contract or fixed-term staff. The Committee believes that core university values, including academic freedom, can be preserved in other ways and that the notion of tenure or continuing

⁴⁶ Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency.

engagement should be reformulated in budget-aligned, need-aligned and performance-aligned terms. (Hoare, 1995, pp 10-11).

The challenge was too complex for universities to tackle. Stewart (1997) commented that there seemed to be “little of collective urgency in the committee’s recommendations since the report was released” (p 36). Performance review at every level of university staffing, including management, was regarded as both onerous and a substantial threat to university governance and autonomy (Harrold, 1993; Smart, 1997).

The West Review believed that the issue of tenure impeded universities’ accountability and the efficient management of their resources, particularly when faced with incompetent staff. The Review’s priority was the effective funding of institutions, which led it suggest that “perhaps extended tenure will be too much of a luxury in the modern university” (West, 1998, p 8). The West Review also embedded the concepts of students as consumers and lifelong learning in government policy and university culture. By placing students firmly in the role of consumers and by linking tuition to student demand, the Review Committee believed it would increase competition within the economy, by compelling employees to “focus increasingly on the skills and attributes of graduates rather than the institutions attended, influencing over time students’ enrolment preferences and, thence institutional behaviour” (West, 1998, p 126).

The concept of lifelong learning was closely aligned to both the student as a consumer of education, and the economy as a consumer of knowledge and skilled workers (Pick, 2006; Baldwin & James, 2000; Considine, et al, 2001). As a consequence, universities were required to provide undergraduate courses to meet industry needs, and a wider curriculum for students who expected to change their working occupations several times throughout their careers.

One legacy of the West Review was the recommendation that additional resources be assigned to teaching quality, given that the funding framework was heavily weighted towards

research (West, 1998, p 19). Its solution to improve teaching was to make universities more competitive and innovative by:

- changing their governance structures to reflect the mindset and skillset of the boards driving businesses;
- allowing them to set their own fees, including up to 25% of full-fee paying places for students who did not meet the cut-off scores for subsidised places;
- offering educational products different to their competitors, as many universities tended to offer similar programs;
- improving opportunities for credit transfer of successfully completed courses between vocational and training sectors and universities;
- introducing independent complaint procedures for students to ensure that course delivery and services were of a satisfactory standard; and
- seeking alternative funding from private providers in the market to reduce the pressure on public funding.

The Committee's recommendations had far-reaching implications for academic work in Australian universities. Teaching was subjected to review through the Course Experience Questionnaire (CEQ) designed in 1991. Ramsden (1991), as its architect, explained that Australian universities were obliged to participate in order to satisfy public accountability, as this was a trend increasingly being followed by OECD countries. The CEQ heralded a new student-centred approach to teaching, indicating that the power for assessment and delivery of courses had shifted from individual academics and their discipline units to students as consumers/clients (Sparrow, et al., 2000; O'Neill & McMahon, 2005; Eagle & Brennan, 2007).

4.3.2 *Nelson Review*

The 2002 *Review of Higher Education* (Nelson Review – named after Brendan Nelson, Minister for Education, Science and Training), commenced with a discussion paper, *Higher Education at the Crossroads* (Nelson, 2002a). This was followed by six issues papers and extensive consultation with the higher education sector, business and industry, culminating in the policy document, *Our Universities, Backing Australia's Future* (Nelson, 2003).

Previously, the Howard Coalition Government had sought to prioritise research and research training to bring them into closer alignment with industry goals by focusing on product development to increase commercial returns on the work undertaken by researchers (Kemp, 1998). In 2001, the Prime Minister, John Howard circulated his blueprint for the future of Australia in *Backing Australia's Ability* (Howard, 2001), which was primarily dedicated to Australia's need to perform better in research and development.

Whilst *Our Universities: Backing Australia's Future* (Nelson, 2003) did address the need to strengthen universities' research output, its main objective was to reorganise universities based on the Government's agenda of "Sustainability, Quality, Equity and Diversity" (Nelson, 2003, pp 10, 11). As well as focusing on issues of competition and diversity, *Backing Australia's future* also considered student outcomes in terms of equity, performance and completions. In order to increase Australia's skill base and economic productivity, all strata of society required improved access to higher education and the means to succeed at that level. The Report highlighted the need for flexibility and planning to offset the impact of increases in costs of delivery, competition from private and international providers of higher education, and the unnecessary duplication of university courses. It emphasised the burden on universities in relation to the "excessive and restrictive regulatory and reporting demands currently imposed by

both the Commonwealth and State and territory governments” (Nelson, 2003, p 9), yet it imposed further reporting requirements through the introduction of Student Learning Entitlements (SLEs) (AVCC⁴⁷, 2005). The SLEs placed limitations of 5 years on students to complete a 3-year undergraduate degree with additional time allowed for students enrolled in degrees of 4-6 years in duration.

The most contentious aspect of the Government’s plan for universities, was its workplace relations policy, in which funding “for the first time was based on conditions such as complying with national governance protocols and the *Higher Education Workplace Relations Requirements* [HEWRS]” (Stokes & Wright, 2011, p 48). In an effort to break the power of the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU), the Government made funding under the new Commonwealth Grants Scheme (CGS) contingent on institutions’ adopting enterprise bargaining and Australian Workplace Agreements (AWAs) for staff. This represented Government control over academic work through forced compliance. The response was an industrial campaign that lasted from 2005-2008 (NTEU, 2005; McAlpine, 2008), culminating in the abolition of AWA’s by the newly elected Rudd Labor Government.

In order to reward teaching performance, the Government created the new Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education in 2004. This body was responsible for encouraging innovation and excellence through a competitive grants scheme, the *Learning and Teaching Performance Fund* (LTPF). The Government required universities to meet 5 eligibility criteria as proof of institutional performance in learning and teaching, to be eligible for LTPF grants. These required universities to produce learning and teaching plans/strategies, and policies and processes to support professional development, including promotion criteria subject

⁴⁷ Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee.

to teaching evaluations, which significantly relied on student feedback on their courses (DEST⁴⁸, 2004). The Carrick Institute was also responsible for facilitating benchmarking and encouraging professional interactions with international experts in learning and teaching. It rewarded individuals who demonstrated quality teaching through the *Australian Awards for University Teaching* (AAUT). Although reviews as far back as the Murray Review in 1957 had recognised the need to improve teaching, this was the first time that strategies were put in place by the Australian Government to identify and reward teaching performance.

However, such reform was not without controversy, as the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) believed that the Report's recommended qualitative indicators for the LTPF, focused on limited measurable outputs, rather than actual teaching quality (AVCC, 2004). The Government was preoccupied with achieving excellence in learning and teaching but "with no agreed definition of excellence the questions remain[ed], what did the fund measure and were the indicators valid?" (Stokes & Wright, 2011, p 55). Others had issues with student evaluation and whether the *Course Experience Questionnaire* (CEQ) was a valid instrument for collecting data on the quality of teaching (Kniest, 2004; ACER⁴⁹ 2005; Harris & James, 2006; Barrie & Ginns, 2007). Many in the sector believed the LTPF favoured the established, elite universities, which attracted students with the highest entry scores (Shah & Nair, 2012; Shah et. al., 2011a).

4.3.3 *Bradley Review*

The *Review of Australian Higher Education*, chaired by Professor Denise Bradley, former Vice-Chancellor at the University of South Australia, stressed that universities need to be

⁴⁸ Department of Education, Science and Training.

⁴⁹ Australian Council for Educational Research.

responsive to a highly competitive global environment, particularly as they were falling behind other OECD countries (Bradley, et. al., 2008).

Australia is losing ground. Within the OECD we are now 9th out of 30 in the proportion of our population aged 25 to 34 years with such qualifications, down from 7th a decade ago. Twenty nine per cent of our 25- to 34-year-olds have degree-level qualifications but in other OECD countries targets of up to 50 per cent have already been set. These policy decisions elsewhere place us at a great competitive disadvantage unless immediate action is taken (Bradley, et. al., 2008, p xi).

The Committee highlighted the decline in students' educational experience and indicated that that "unacceptably high" student-staff ratios (Bradley, et. al., 2008, p xii) were to blame.

The inadequate funding of research, which had become even more dependent on the cross-subsidy of funds from teaching, was deemed to be responsible. The main recommendations of the Report proposed an increase research grants and tying the funding of teaching to meeting specific performance targets.

The *Bradley Review* emphasised the importance of demonstrating the quality of Australian university courses and teaching to both domestic and overseas markets. The Rudd Labor Government adopted many of the recommendations of the report in its policy document, *Transforming Australia's Higher Education System* (DEEWR⁵⁰, 2009). Its strategy was centred on Australia being better placed to compete in the global knowledge economy, which would be "underpinned by robust standards and accreditation" (p 8). In accordance with this strategy, the Government committed to:

- a 40% increase in the number of 25 to 34 year-olds holding a bachelor degree or higher qualification by 2025;
- a 25% increase in the number of diplomas and advanced diplomas completions by 2020;
- 90% of young people achieving a Year 12 or equivalent qualification;

⁵⁰ Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations.

- a 20% increase in higher education enrolments of students from low socio-economic backgrounds (SES) with a particular focus on Indigenous students and students from remote and regional areas;
- a reduction in staff-student ratios (DEEWR, 2009).

To achieve these aims, the *Bradley Review* recommended a demand-driven student entitlement system, which would uncap restrictions on course quotas and “allow eligible providers to set their own entry standards, and determine which, and how many, students to enrol” (Bradley, et. al., 2009, p xxiii). The Government rejected the idea of student entitlements, but instituted the demand-driven funding system (sometimes referred to as the student-funded system) from 2012, which it claimed would “encourage universities to respond to student demand and ... greater diversity to attract students” (DEEWR 2009, p 18). The Government also committed to improving the pathways between Technical and Further Education (TAFE) and universities, by encouraging collaboration and opportunities for articulation of credit transfer for students, and especially low SES students, who wanted to move between the sectors.

Birrel & Edwards (2009) and Massaro (2009) queried whether such strategies were sufficient to meet the ambitious targets for bachelor degree completions which the Bradley Review had set and the Rudd Government had accepted. There was concern that the proposed collaborations, and in some cases, proposed mergers between TAFEs and universities. This would especially disadvantage vocational education which would “be reduced to a feeder system for a struggling higher education institution thrown into a contrived market” (Darwin, 2011, p 20).

To ensure that its objectives were met, the Government committed to a new quality assurance body that would “accredit providers, evaluate the performance of institutions and

programs, encourage best practice, simplify current regulatory arrangements and provide greater national consistency” (DEEWR, 2009, p 31). The Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency (TEQSA) which superseded the former Australian Quality Assurance Agency (AUQA) was established in 1999. TEQSA had responsibility for regulation and quality assurance in universities from 2010 and for TAFE from 2013. Its powers exceeded those of its predecessor and were mandated via the *Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency Act 2011* (Australian Government, 2011a).

In addition to the Government’s agenda for student participation in higher education, the *Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) framework* and a *Collaborative Research Network (CRN)* were established to fund and encourage collaboration between institutions, industry and other stakeholders. The ERA replaced the Howard Government’s former *Research Quality Framework*, placing greater emphasis on ranking the prestige of journals and the economic impact of research. This was designed to measure Australia’s research performance against its global peers, generate greater competition within the sector and align research more closely with the Government’s economic agenda (Carr, 2009; ARC⁵¹, 2011).

4.3.4 *Birmingham Review*

The discussion paper, *Driving Innovation, Fairness and Excellence in Australian Higher Education* (DET, 2016) heralded another major review in Australian higher education driven by Simon Birmingham, Minister for Education and Training in the Howard Coalition Government. It followed on from the *Review of the Demand Driven Funding System* (Kemp, 2014) and the *Review of the impact on the higher education sector of the TEQSA Act* (DAE, 2017). These Reviews focused on problems associated with the demand-driven system in delivering growth

⁵¹ Australian Research Council.

that was cost effective in terms of public funding and reduced the administrative burden for both government and universities. The Kemp-Norton Review also took into account two failed attempts to pass changes in the Senate in relation to the proposed funding formula for universities in the 2014-2015 Budget. The Minister of Education, Christopher Pyne, planned for universities to set their own fees in a deregulated market and to increase the student contribution for tuition fees. He argued that “revenue can’t be found from the taxpayer” and that students were “currently paying 40 per cent of the cost, so we’re asking them to increase their contribution by 10 per cent to the 50 per cent level. I think that’s a fair deal” (DET, 2014a). These changes were intended to offset the Government’s 20% reduction in course funding and to assist with future infrastructure upgrades and new facilities in universities.

Whilst this had support amongst the Go8 universities and the majority of vice-chancellors across the sector, who hoped to offset the proposed 20% cuts to their operating grants by charging what they estimated the market would bear for Commonwealth Supported Places⁵² (CSP)s, there was heated opposition to the Government’s planned reforms. The NTEU, student organisations, and the Labor and Greens Parties, with independent senators, defeated the Government’s bills in the Senate in April and October of 2016 (ABC News, 2014; NTEU, 2014, The New Matilda, 2015).

When Birmingham replaced Pyne as Minister for Education and Training, he opted for a more consultative approach, and after receiving the submissions from *Driving Innovation, Fairness and Excellence in Australian Higher Education* (DET, 2016), he presented the Australian higher education sector with *The Higher Education Reform Package* (DET, 2017a) in

⁵² This referred to Government funding for student enrolments at universities, with students expected to pay the difference for the cost of their course. They could do this either by paying their fees up front or by deferring them to the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) and pay back their fees after graduation through the taxation system.

May 2017 to coincide with the Federal Budget. Birmingham described the changes to funding as being “quite measured, quite modest and quite balanced” (Doyle, 2017). This led one political commentator to compare the infamous 2014-15 Budget to the 2017-18 Budget: “If that was a man or woman-eating crocodile, then this budget is a pussy cat” (Chapman, 2017).

However, the higher education sector was almost unanimous in its rejection of the proposals in the Reform Package. Universities Australia and the Group of Eight universities condemned the increases to the *Higher Education Loan Program* (HELP) student loan scheme and the lowering of the payment threshold (Knott, 2017; Thomson, 2017). Their greatest concern was the imposition of an efficiency dividend, which represented a significant reduction in funding. There was also criticism over the way the Government had interpreted the *Cost of delivery of higher education* (DAE, 2016) report that it commissioned Deloitte Access Economics to write, and especially its calculations regarding the cost of course delivery. Even the authors claimed that the most their report achieved was the identification of factors that influenced costs. This would inform the data collection process, as there was “no single reasonable cost of delivery that [could] be estimated through analysis of the data alone” (DAE, 2016, p ii). However, they did point out that the Relative Funding Model (RFM), which was developed by NBEET and adopted by the Hawke Labor Government in 1990 to fix funding for set numbers of student places at universities, was not equipped to cope with the demand-driven system.

The *Higher Education Support Legislation Amendment (A More Sustainable, Responsive and Transparent Higher Education System) Bill 2017* (Australian Government, 2017), which sought to implement the recommendations of Birmingham’s Reform Package, first appeared before the Senate on 14 September 2017. As with Pynes earlier plan, the Package was unable to

gain assent, and it lapsed at the end of Parliament on 1 July 2019. In December 2017, the Mid-Year Economic and Fiscal Outlook (MYEFO) reported “a two year pause in tuition subsidy growth” (Norton & Savage, 8 May 2018), which was achieved without parliamentary approval and which effectively created a funding freeze by keeping inflation indexation at 2017 levels on any additional places that universities offered during 2018 and 2019. Australia’s higher education sector then prepared to finalise and implement the *Performance-Based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme* (DET, 2019b), in 2020, which would introduce new measurements for teaching quality.

4.4 Funding Australian higher education

In 1974-75, under the Whitlam Labor Government, investment in higher education represented 1.50 % of GDP, “placing it in the top third of OECD countries” (Marginson 2001, p 205). In 2018; OECD figures showed that Australia at 0.8%, was just below the OECD average of 0.9% of GDP for public expenditure on tertiary institutions (OECD, 2019). Whilst an improvement on previous OECD figures, which had Australia at 0.7% in relation to the OECD average of 1.1% (OECD, 2017), it prompted the following criticism from Universities Australia:

The OECD Education at a Glance Report ranks Australia’s public investment in tertiary education in the bottom four of the world’s advanced economies – 30th out of 34 nations – at just 0.7% of our GDP. The report data also confirms that Australian students and their families continue to pay the sixth highest fees in the world as a percentage of our national income. (Universities Australia, 2017a).

The decline in Government spending as a proportion of GDP began once the UNS was established. The rapid expansion of student numbers and Australia’s need to be competitive in the new knowledge-based global economy, forced universities to find new markets to remain viable. Governments used cost-cutting strategies to drive efficiency rather than increase funding, leaving universities with few options. The obvious targets were postgraduate students, but more

importantly international students, “where numbers were open-ended and each place was fully funded” (Marginson, 2001, p 209). There was “a slow Australian take-up of the opportunities of university R&D, a slowness reinforced by the lack of venture capital and the reduction in taxation subsidies” (Considine et. al., 2001, p 35).

The sector experienced further fiscal restraint under successive Australian governments despite a brief injection of funding following the Bradley Committee’s Final Report. This funding increase was subsequently superseded by a return to further funding restrictions. Table 4.3 provides a list of the main documents affecting Australian Government funding of higher education during the last thirty years.

Table 4.3 - Government policy documents relating to funding in Australian higher education, 1996 – 2019.

Year	Discussion Papers, Reviews, Reports and legislation
1996	<i>Performance-based Funding of Universities</i> (Anderson, et al., 1996)
1998	<i>Investing for Growth: The Howard Government’s Plan for Australian Industry</i> (Moore, 1997)
1999	<i>New Knowledge, New Opportunities: A discussion paper on higher education research and research training</i> (Kemp, 1999)
1999	<i>Knowledge and Innovation: A policy statement on research and research training</i> (Kemp 1999)
2001	<i>Universities in Crisis: report into the capacity of public universities to meet Australia’s higher education needs.</i> (Australian Government, 2001)
2001	<i>Backing Australia’s Ability—An Innovation Action Plan for the Future</i> (Howard, 2001)
2002	<i>Review of Higher Education in Australia</i> (Nelson Review) <i>Issues paper: Setting Firm Foundations: financing Australian higher education</i> (Nelson, 2002c)
2002	<i>University Resourcing: Australia in an international context</i> (Productivity Commission, 2003)
2006	<i>Learning and Teaching Performance Fund: Discussion Paper</i> (DEST 2006)
2011	<i>Higher Education Base Funding Review Final Report</i> (Lomax-Smith, et al. 2011):
2011	<i>Higher education teaching and learning costs</i> (DAE, 2011)
2015	<i>The importance of universities to Australia’s prosperity</i> (DAE, 2015)
2015	<i>The cash nexus: how teaching funds research in Australian higher education</i> (Norton, 2015)
2016	<i>Cost of delivery of Higher Education: Final Report</i> (DAE, 2016)
2017	<i>Higher Education Reform Package</i> (DET, 2017a)
2017	<i>Higher Education Support Legislation 2017</i> (Australian Government, 2017)
2017	<i>Review of the impact of the TEQSA Act on the higher education sector</i> (DAE, 2017)
2019	<i>Review of the Australian Qualifications Framework Final Report</i> (DET, 2019d)
2019	<i>Final Report for Performance-Based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme</i> (DET, 2019b)

4.4.1 Fee Deregulation

The *Higher Education Funding Act 1988* (Australian Government, 1988), heralded the user-pays system in Australian higher education by abolishing the Whitlam Labor Government's free education model and introducing the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) in 1989. HECS was introduced as a deferred, income-contingent loan which created "a subsidised market and the individual an investor in human capital" (Stokes & Wright (2001, p 23). It was the first student loan of its kind in the world and subsequently was adopted "in New Zealand (1991), South Africa (1991), the United Kingdom (2006), Thailand (2006) and Israel (2008)" (Chapman, 2011, p 83). The new loans were marketed to the Australian public as an equity initiative, because no student was required to pay up-front fees. It was argued that, since students were the beneficiaries of improved employment opportunities, it was only fair and reasonable that they pay for part of their education.

HECS loans were paid back through the Australian taxation system and initially, students were charged a base rate of \$1,800 per course which equated to approximately 20% of the cost of each course. Students could either pay their contributions up front and receive a 15% discount⁵³, or they could defer payment until their income exceeded the threshold level, which was set by the Government and adjusted annually in line with the Consumer Price Index (CPI). It was effectively an interest-free loan that did not have to be re-paid if the student's income did not exceed the threshold level, if they worked overseas and therefore did not pay Australian taxes, or if they died whereby their debt would be expunged. The Government took responsibility for the remaining 80% of the course cost, but paid universities the full course cost, and recouped the student contribution once student/graduate earnings reached the income threshold.

⁵³ Although HECS was marketed to the public on equity grounds, only those with the resources to pay up front were able to obtain the 15% discount through up-front payment of their fees. This meant that they paid less than students who were forced to defer their payments through HECS.

When the Howard Coalition Government took office in 1996, it introduced the *Higher Education Funding Amendment Bill* (Australian Government, 1997) following the 1996-1997 Budget. This Bill promoted a three-tiered system of course costs (which earlier had been rejected by Dawkins), and increased student contributions by 40%. The income thresholds were also lowered to hasten the rate of repayment once students had completed their courses and were in paid employment. When the *Social Security (Family Allowance and Related Matters) Legislation Amendment Bill 1999* (Australian Government, 1999) passed, it replaced Youth Allowance with Austudy which required students to be reliant for an extra three years (from the age of 22 to 25) on the financial support of their families.

The West Review in 1998, mirrored the Government's agenda in terms of responsibility for human capital investment by arguing that "in a learning society, primary responsibility for learning and choosing when to learn rests with the individual. The individual should be prepared to explore learning options and to invest time, money and effort" (West, 1991, p 5).

However, Government plans for the deregulation of student funding and charging commercial interest rates on HECS debts were abandoned due to their unpopularity (Harman & Meek, 2000). Neither did the initiative to charge full fees to domestic students deliver the outcomes for which universities hoped. They attracted little demand, other than from those students whose families could afford them, thereby adding little to most universities' revenues (Marks, 2008). More substantial reforms were introduced in 2005.

The decision to allow universities to increase their fees for CSPs up to an additional 25%, whilst providing extra revenue to universities and the Government, adversely affected students. They were supposed to benefit from the partial deregulation of their tuition fees, but nearly every institution opted for the full 25% increase. There was no evidence of market forces delivering

greater options and diversity (Marks, 2008), so the Howard Government, made yet another attempt at deregulating the market by introducing the FEE-HELP loan for domestic full-fee paying places. These loans were subject to a 20% loan fee in addition to a borrowed amount of up to \$50,000 for courses, but later were raised to \$100,000 in 2007 to facilitate enrolment in high demand professional programs. The changes raised questions about equity and prompted Marginson to note that FEE-HELP made the full-fee market feasible, which made it “the most important piece of university policy since the abolition of the fees in 1974.” (Marginson, 2005, p 16). Marginson envisaged the reforms having the power to split the sector, with some universities offering high quality research (e.g. Group of Eight) while others, particularly regional and newer universities, were confined to mainly teaching. Access to FEE-HELP courses and choice of institution would therefore be contingent on socio-economic status.

Following the introduction of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme in 1988, Australian higher education faced two major attempts at tuition fee deregulation, with the failed Pyne reforms, followed by the failed Birmingham agenda. To achieve its reforms to increase the rate of payback of student loans, by requiring those with debts living overseas to pay them back, the Government argued that “in 2016-17 some 23% of new HELP debt will never be repaid” (Australian Government, 2016). It proposed new measures that were expected to reduce that debt to 17%, but the Government acknowledged that they would be unpopular within the electorate. The decision to delay the implementation of many of Birmingham’s proposed measures, allowed time to defuse criticism and to prepare the electorate for the Government’s next initiative of linking funding to teaching quality, under the new Minister for Education, Dan Tehan.

4.4.2 *Performance-based funding*

The decision to tie performance in research and teaching to funding, gained momentum following the Dawkins reforms. It was very closely aligned with the issues of quality assurance and management, and more broadly to the notion that education was an economic service providing substantial private benefits to students through increased employment opportunities and higher lifetime earnings.

The Government supports the development of a funding system that responds to institutional performance and the achievement of mutually agreed goals. It intends to develop funding arrangements that take into account a range of output, quality and performance measures (Dawkins, 1988, p 85).

The main focus of Dawkins' performance-based funding agenda was research, as that proved to be more manageable in terms of identifiable criteria for measurement in comparison to learning and teaching (Connell, 2013). Whilst international student numbers increased, it was not until 2017 that education became the third highest Australian export, thus focusing increased attention on teaching (DET⁵⁴, 2017a).

Dawkins' first initiative to control Australia's research outputs, was to establish the Australian Research Council (ARC) in 1988, with responsibility for allocating competitive research grants in areas of national priority, numbers of publications and citations, and graduate load and outputs. The National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC), founded in 1937, was responsible for funding research in medicine and the health sciences. Both bodies were subject to considerable Government influence and control over the distribution of funds to universities, mainly because of the lack of industry contributions or philanthropy towards R&D in Australia (Smart, 1997; Marginson, 2001; Larkins, 2011; Woelert & Yates 2015).

⁵⁴ Department of Education and Training.

The Howard Government went further in the regulation of research management and outputs with its report on *Performance-Based Funding of Universities* (Anderson et.al., 1996). The Report found that indicators for the internal distribution of funds for research were “fairly well established in Australian universities [whilst] indicators of teaching or learning quality are as yet used very little within institutions” (Anderson et.al., 1996, p44).

Government effort then focused on developing the Research Quality Framework (RQF), which worked on a six-year cycle with funding based on a five-point rating scale to determine quality of research and its level of impact. The latter referred to applied research, which was to be given equal weighting to pure research by the Government to encourage universities “to achieve social, economic, environmental and/or cultural outcomes” (Roberts, 2005, p 10). This body was replaced by the *Excellence in Research for Australia* (ERA) framework in 2010 under the Rudd Labor Government. The purpose of the ERA was to deliver better quality in research by re-focusing on disciplines rather than research teams and by applying different metrics to different disciplines.

Journals were ranked to encourage quality rather than quantity and “where citation analyses were not appropriate, peer review of selected publications or outputs were used instead” (Sheil, 2014, S67), thus eliminating the need for expensive panels of experts to decide research quality.

The *Learning and Teaching Performance Fund* (LTPF) was introduced in 2006, but it proved a much more difficult initiative to implement, especially as it was the first attempt by the Government to establish and evaluate criteria for teaching quality. The LTPF relied principally on the data collected from two national surveys:

- the Graduate Destination Survey introduced in 1971 (by the Graduate Careers Council of Australia now the Careers Council of Australia), was used to determine the employment and starting salary of graduates and their level/type of study if they decided to continue with their education;
- the Course Experience Questionnaire (CEQ) commenced in 1992 and provided data on overall student satisfaction with their courses.

Additional student progression and attrition data was collected from each university, but, as previously discussed, the weight of criticism concerning accuracy, effectiveness and collection of the data meant that by 2009, “this scheme toppled, over-burdened by its complexity (Croucher, et.al, 2013, p 103).

The Morrison Coalition Government’s *Final Report for Performance-Based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme* (DET, 2019b), focused on demonstrating further accountability for spending public money on education and on promoting and developing “sound performance assessment of teaching and learning at universities” (DET, 2019b, p X). The previous strategy under the Former Ministers for Education, Christopher Pyne and Simon Birmingham, promoted fee deregulation and shifting further costs onto students. This strategy failed to gain wide acceptance in the sector, as it was seen to favour Australia’s elite research-intensive universities, because of their prestige and reputation in attracting students who were willing to pay extra for their education (Norton & Cherastidtham, 2015; Karp, 2017). This review sought to provide financial incentives to encourage poor performing institutions to improve their teaching standards and learning outcomes for students, by focusing on attrition rates, participation of students from equity groups, student experience and graduate outcomes.

Universities appeared to be “cautiously welcoming” (Bexley, 2019), of the new metrics for teaching effectiveness.

4.4.3 Quantifying the cost of higher education

The *Higher Education Base Funding Review* chaired by Dr Jane Lomax-Smith, former Minister of Education in the South Australian Rann Labor Government, was established to develop principles for funding that would deliver intended benefits of a demand-driven higher education system “including delivering increased teaching quality” (Lomax-Smith, 2011, p viii). The Committee’s brief was to align costs with services as much as possible, so that the value of a course or student support initiative could be quantified and spent only on the course in question, to avoid any recurrence of cross-subsidisation. Ultimately, the process would enable institutions to determine which areas were underfunded and which were overfunded, so that base funding could be applied fairly. However, the NTEU queried whether such a notion of fairness based entirely on the cost of producing a course, with no consideration of its impact on society, was desirable. It argued that while private rates of return for graduates could be estimated (i.e. income earned from completed qualifications), it was much more difficult “to capture and satisfactorily measure the returns to the broader community” (Rae & Kniest, 2011, p 6).

One of the most interesting issues in the Lomax-Smith Report, was the setting of contributions to base funding for higher education at 40% for students and 60% for government. The report went into detail as to how this could be applied, given that some students at the time were paying more than this for their courses, whilst other students were paying less. At no time, however, did the report justify why contributions were set at the 40:60 ratio. This indicated that, despite some opposition from student organisations and the NTEU, there was general acceptance that those who gained private benefits from education needed to pay for those benefits. The

issue continued to be a matter for debate, especially as the Abbott and Turnbull Coalition Governments attempted to instate fee deregulation and a 50:50 ratio for base funding (Australian Government, 2015b; NUS⁵⁵, 2015).

The determination of the value of private benefits was always going to be problematic because there was “no clear answer to the question of what [was] the appropriate mix of funding between government, the direct private beneficiaries of education (students and their families) and indirect private beneficiaries, principally major employers of university graduates and users of university research” (Williams, 1998, p 148).

The Review collected Field of Education (FOE) data from eight universities “to analyse the costs of delivering courses and the appropriateness of the current funding differentials between the clusters” (Lomax-Smith et. al, 2011, p 46). It found that not all FOE clusters were aligned with the funding model at that time, thus making it difficult to determine which clusters were the most appropriate to accurately measure costs within universities. On the data collected, the Review judged the average cost of teaching and scholarship to be equivalent to 94 percent of base funding with the remaining 6 percent supporting research in undergraduate places (Lomax-Smith et. al., 2011, p 48).

The fact that universities had used and continued to use grant funding to subsidise their research, made such data close to meaningless. In addition to the Lomax-Smith Review, the Government also commissioned Deloitte Access Economics in 2011 to write a report on the cost of teaching and scholarship. Both reports helped to inform *The Review of the Demand Driven Funding System* (Kemp, 2014). This was undertaken by Dr David Kemp, former Minister of Education, Training and Youth Affairs and former professor at Monash University, and Andrew Norton, Program Director of Higher Education at the Grattan Institute, a public policy think tank.

⁵⁵ National Union of Students.

The purpose of that review was to determine whether the demand-driven system was fiscally sustainable, and whether it maintained quality whilst increasing participation, particularly in relation to equity groups. Its Terms of Reference were also committed to assessing whether the current system supported “innovation and competition in education delivery in meeting the skill needs in the economy”, and more importantly, whether the demand-driven system was able “to ensure quality teaching [was] maintained and enhanced” (Kemp, 2014, p 81).

According to the Review’s report, the new system delivered an additional 100,000 student enrolments, between 2009-2012, including those from equity groups, which were equally distributed across the whole higher education sector. The Report claimed that there was strong support amongst the submissions received for the demand-driven system to be “retained, expanded and improved” (Kemp, 2014, p ix). To retain the current system, the Report recommended that CSP bachelor places remain un-capped. To broaden the system, the Report recommended extending access to CSPs to non-university higher education providers, including sub-Bachelor programs in the demand-driven system, and un-cap CSP postgraduate places.

The Government commissioned Deloitte Access Economics to deliver another report on *The Cost of Delivery of Higher Education*, in 2016. Although this report was based on access to a larger data sample (i.e. 19 institutions compared with 8 institutions in its earlier 2011 study), it recognised that there were still many problems with trying to estimate accurate costs specifically for the work that academics do, as it was very difficult to separate their teaching and research functions. In addition to this obstacle, there were many other factors affecting the outcome of the study.

The empirical analysis ...is not without its limitations. Most notably, the possibility of omitted variables related to quality or other important contextual factors may mean that estimated underlying costs are subject to bias, with implications for interpretation for the purposes of funding calibration (DAE, 2017, p xxiv).

A further study to quantify the cost of teaching and scholarship in Australian higher education, was undertaken by Deloitte Access Economics. They were commissioned by the Commonwealth Government to report on data for 2018-2020. Their objectives in collecting and reporting on the data were focused on:

- Accurately measuring the costs of teaching and scholarship by field and level of education.
- Supporting the continued transition to a more comprehensive, systematic and streamlined data collection process over time (DAE, 2019, p v).

Data from a total of 25 public universities (including ones from previous studies), was collected from 2017, to inform Deloitte Access Economics' future reports on data to 2020. The sample was "considered to provide a robust foundation for analysing the level of and variation in costs across the sector" (DAE, 2019, p vi). The purpose of the Deloitte Access Economics' reports was to compare the costs in funding teaching over time. What emerged from the report, was the difficulty in gaining consensus amongst institutions regarding whether projected future capital costs should be included in current cost estimates. Refinements in collecting data were suggested, but there was also concern about whether they would jeopardise the consistency and comparability of the historical data set. The complexity of the task of costing teaching in terms of institutional and discipline differences indicated that the process of refinement would be ongoing.

4.5 Quality assurance

From 1990, the Government focused on the need for a quality management framework for Australian higher education to ensure the quality of Australian courses, its teaching and research. This was partly due to the expansion of the sector which witnessed a more than a doubling of student enrolments from 420,850 to 896,621 between 1989 – 2002

(DEETYA, 2001; DESE⁵⁶, 2020b). Operating grants to institutions fell in per capita terms since the late 80s, but student/staff ratios increased from 13.7: 1 to 20.4:1 over the same period” (AVCC, 2003). Greater diversity equated to mixed abilities within student cohorts which placed a constant drain on resources, not least the academic workforce (McInnes, 2000; Winefield, et al., 2002). This was exacerbated by the funding crisis of 1996, when the Howard Coalition Government cut operating grants by 5% and refused to finance an increase in staff salaries.

However, the perceived need to grow the international student market, spurred the Government into action, as it was necessary for the financial support of universities and the economy. With the USA and the UK increasing their efforts in quality assurance to secure a larger share of the market, along with Canada and a number of European countries as well as emerging competing Asian countries, Australia had to make significant changes to its higher education sector to safeguard its export industry.

Table 4.4 - Quality assurance policy and initiatives in Australian higher education, 1990 – 2020

Year	Federal Government legislation, reports & initiatives
1990	<i>Higher Education: The Challenges Ahead</i> (NBEET, 1990)
1991	Education Services for Overseas Students (Registration of Providers and Financial Regulation) Act 1991 (Australian Government)
1991	<i>The Future of Discipline Assessments</i> (NBEET, 1991)
1992	<i>Achieving Quality: Higher Education</i> (NBEET, 1992a)
1992	<i>The Quality of Higher Education: Draft Advice</i> (NBEET, 1992b)
1992	Committee for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
1992	Course Experience Questionnaire (CEQ)
1993	First round of independent whole-of institution audits under the Quality Assurance Program
1993	<i>Education Services for Overseas Students Amendment Act 1993</i> (Australian Government, 1993)
1994	Allocation of quality-related funds to universities
1994	Second round of independent whole-of institution audits under the Quality Assurance Program
1995	Third round of independent whole-of institution audits under the Quality Assurance Program
1995	Australian Qualifications Framework
1995	Institutional Assessment Framework (IAF) required quality improvement plans to be included in Educational Profiles submissions
1998	Universities required to produce Quality Assurance and Development Plans to be published annually by the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs

⁵⁶ Department of Education, Skills and Training.

Year	Federal Government legislation, reports & initiatives
1999	<i>Quality assured: A new Australian quality assurance framework for university education</i> (MCEETYA 1999)
2000	<i>Australian Higher Education Quality Assurance Framework</i> (MYCEETYA, 1999)
2000	Australian Universities Quality Agency
2000	National Protocols for Higher Education Approval Processes (MCEETYA, 2000)
2000	<i>Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) Act 2000</i> (Australian Government, 2000)
2001	Australian Standard Classification of Education (ASCED) (replaced the ABS Classification of Qualifications (ABSCQ))
2002	<i>Striving for Quality: learning, teaching and scholarship</i> (Nelson, 2002b).
2004	Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education
2005	<i>Review of Higher Education Outcome Performance Indicators</i> (DAE, 2005)
2007	Australian Learning and Teaching Council (ALTC) (replaced the Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education)
2007	Promotion of Excellence in Learning and Teaching in Higher Education (PELTHE) program (responsibility for this program and for the Office for Learning and Teaching digital repository was transferred to Universities Australia on 1 January 2018).
2008	<i>Inquiry into the desirability of a national higher education accreditation body: final report</i> (PhillipsKPA, 2008)
2011	<i>Higher Education Standards Framework (Threshold Standards) 2011</i> (TEQSA ⁵⁷ , 2011)
2012	Office of Learning and Teaching (replaced the Australian Learning and Teaching Council)
2012	MyUniversity website
2012	<i>Development of Performance Measures. Report of the Advancing Quality in Higher Education Reference Group</i> (DIISRTE, 2012)
2012	National Advisory Group on Higher Education Data and Information (NAGHEDI)
2013	<i>Review of Reporting Requirements for Universities</i> (PhillipsKPA, 2012)
2013	<i>Assuring quality while reducing regulatory burden</i> (Emerson & Bird, 2013)
2013	<i>Review of Higher Education Regulation</i> (Dow-Braithwaite Review)
2014	<i>Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency Amendment Act 2014</i> (Australian Government, 2014)
2015	<i>A risk and standards approach to quality assurance in Australia's diverse higher education sector</i> (TEQSA, 2015a)
2015	<i>A New National Institute for Learning and Teaching Report</i> (DET, 2015c)
2015	<i>Higher Education Standards Framework (Threshold Standards) 2015</i> (TEQSA, 2015b)
2015	<i>TEQSA's Regulator Performance Framework Version 1.0</i> (TEQSA, 2015c)
2016	National Office for Learning and Teaching
2017	Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching (QILT) (replaced MyUniversity website)
2017	<i>Improving retention, completion and success in higher education</i> (HESP, 2017)
2018	<i>ELICOS Standards 2018</i> (Australian Government, 2018)
2019	<i>Review of the Australian Qualifications Framework Final Report</i> (DET, 2019d)

⁵⁷ Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency.

In 1990, the Higher Education Council released its policy paper, *Higher Education: the Challenges Ahead* (NBEET, 1990), which highlighted the changing global higher education environment and the need to protect and grow Australia's education industry. This was followed in 1991 by the National Board of Employment, Education and Training (NBEET⁵⁸) paper on the "weaknesses of the discipline review approach to quality assurance" (Jones, et al., 2000, p 2) in universities, which from the mid-1980s, was the main instrument for determining quality assurance. This paper examined the lack of uniformity in this approach and the fact that "there was no mechanism to ensure that the recommendations of the reviews were acted upon at the institutional level" (Shah, et al., 2010, p 2). Taking his cues from these Papers, Peter Baldwin, the Minister for Higher Education and Employment Services in the Hawke Labor Government, released *Higher Education: Quality and Diversity in the 1990s: Policy Statement* (Baldwin, 1991).

The Statement highlighted the inadequacies of the current system and announced measures to bring universities into line with countries such as New Zealand and the UK, which were more advanced in implementing their systems of quality control in their higher education sectors (Baldwin, 2000). These measures involved establishing a new *Committee for Quality Assurance in Higher Education* (Wilson Committee). It was responsible for recommending changes to the system, reviewing progress made by universities through voluntary whole-of-institution audits during 1993 -1995 via the Quality Assurance Program, and allocating part of universities' operating grants for quality assurance and enhancement initiatives from 1994.

In *Striving for quality: learning, teaching and scholarship* (Nelson, 2002b), Brendan Nelson, Minister for Education in the Howard Coalition Government, stated that the role for teaching in a mass education system was to "enable students to acquire knowledge and skills

⁵⁸ National Board of Employment, Education and Training.

relevant to employers as much as to society generally” (Nelson, 2002b, p v). He explained that universities were competing in a global knowledge economy and students would require life-long learning and multi-disciplinary skills. The ministerial paper supported and consolidated the Dawkins and Baldwin’s agendas for the purpose of higher education and placed a strong economic responsibility on universities and their teachers. What Nelson introduced to the debate about teaching quality, was the issue of status:

Most importantly, teaching needs to be accorded a much higher status in universities. It is necessary to take a broader conception of academic work and the validation of alternative career paths to improve the status of teaching. The quality of teaching is absolutely central to the learning experience. There needs to be a renewed focus on scholarship in teaching and a professionalisation of teaching practice (Nelson, 2002b, p x).

This issue is discussed at greater length in Chapters 6-8.

4.5.1 *Australian Qualifications Framework*

In 1995, the *Australian Qualifications Framework* (AQF) was introduced by the Keating Labor Government under the aegis of the newly appointed *Australian Qualifications Framework Council* (AQFC). The initiative was primarily to provide “a comprehensive, nationally consistent yet flexible Framework for all qualifications in post-secondary education and training” (AQFC, 1995, p 5). However, its focus on the competency-based models of vocational educational and training (VET) sector, meant that little attention was given to the input models of universities’ curricula (Wheelahan, 2011). Marginson observed that “the lack of clear national reference points compound[d] the problems associated with a lack of consistency as to how academic standards [were] determined, applied, monitored and maintained in Australian universities (Marginson, 2010, p 142).

The situation needed to change in order to improve and extend credit transfer arrangements between the VET and university sectors to expand and diversify higher education.

This would provide internationally recognised study pathways to promote increased student mobility and flexible labour markets to provide for lifelong learning to accommodate new job opportunities (Wheelahan, 2011; Marginson, 2010).

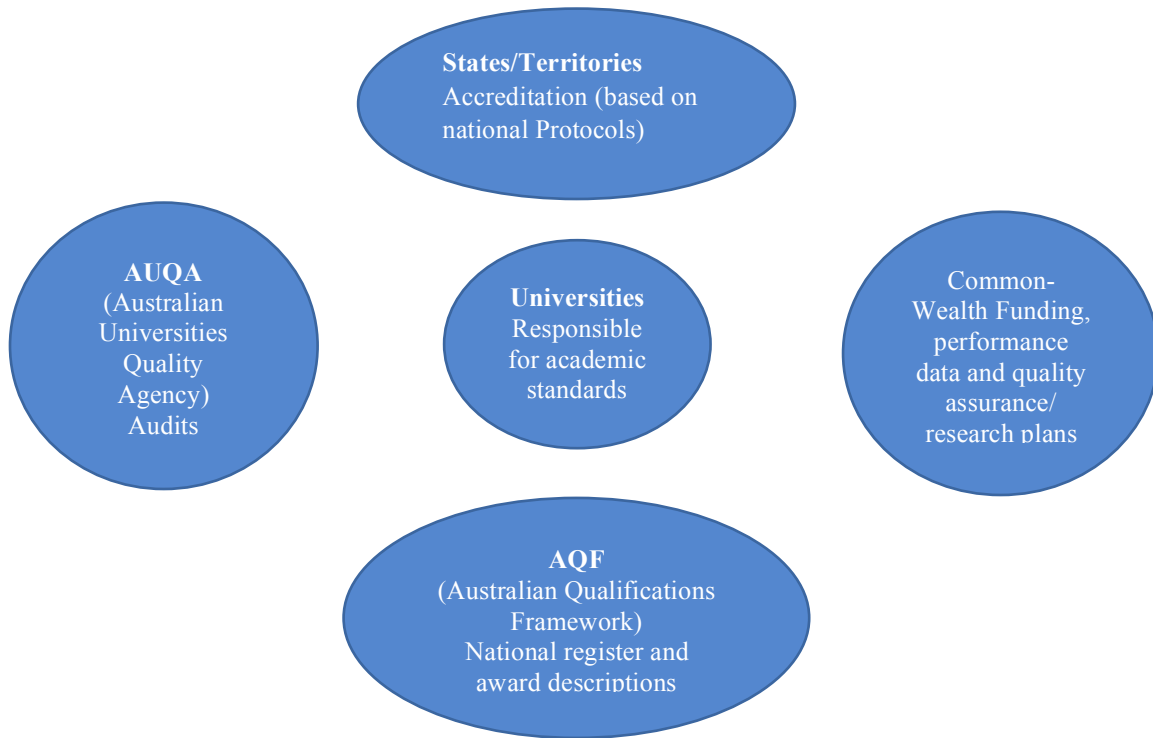
The funding allocated to quality improvement was increased and became more formalised in 1998, when universities were required to submit *Quality Assurance and Improvement Plans*, which were published annually by the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA). The initial strategy to construct quality assurance “as a device to reform the internal management of universities” (Vidovich, 2002, p 392), did not produce the desired outcomes, and tighter government regulation was seen as a better model.

Following consultation between Commonwealth, State and Territory governments on the formulation of criteria for higher education accreditation across the sector, the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA), consolidated the *Australian Qualifications Framework* in 1998 (MCEETYA, 1998). In 2000, the Commonwealth Government accepted MCEETYA’s recommendations and instituted the *National Protocols for Higher Education Approval Processes* (MCEETYA, 2000) and the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) (Australian Government, 2000) within its new national quality assurance framework.

4.5.2 *Australian Quality Assurance Framework*

In 1999, MCEETYA established a committee to report on a more consistent and effective model for quality assurance in Australian higher education that would address accreditation criteria and quality management processes. In 2000, MCEETYA created the *Australian Quality Assurance Framework* which, apart from AUQA and the National Protocols, also included the States and Territories, the universities and the Australian Government (DETYA, 2000).

Figure 4.1 - The Australian Quality Assurance Framework



Source: DETYA (2000, p 4).

4.5.3 Fitness-for-purpose model

The Government commissioned reports on suitable quality assurance models operating around the world and finally adopted the New Zealand framework. The UK model was found to be overly costly, intrusive and bureaucratic (Harman & Meek, (2000), which had earned it considerable criticism from within the UK higher education sector (Trow, 1994; Brennan, 1997 Gosling and D'andrea, 2001; Newton, 2000; 2002). New Zealand had to some degree adopted the UK model of institutional audit, but had dispensed with the highly contentious subject reviews, which required the ranking of courses, the collection of exhaustive documentation, visits to institutions and the observation of teaching. Australia preferred the NZ model because it was cost effective, did not overly intrude on the work of academics, was highly regarded in the

international arena and it offered an interpretation of quality assurance that was acceptable to politicians, bureaucrats and university administrators.

The “fitness-for-purpose” model was duly adopted/adapted by Australia because it was a strategy of least resistance. The Federal Government allowed universities to measure their performance against their own missions and objectives. It was understood that “no single working definition of quality is possible” (HEC, 1992a) as it can be “defined diversely according to who is defining it and for what purpose” (Viera, 2000, 255). It was decided that there was no need to impose a standard for quality, as this was already embedded in universities which had conformed to the Government’s economic agenda since the advent of the UNS and particularly since the funding cuts of 1996.

Reliance on public funding divided and conquered the Australian higher education sector, with the establishment of sub-groups within the AVCC such as the Group of Eight and the Australian Technology Network consortia, which were driven by self-interest and competition. Fitness-for-purpose represented a less-intrusive requirement for compliance. It appeared to respect institutional autonomy, which in reality was steadily eroding (Vidovich, 2001; Moses, 2007). Winning Australian Research Council (ARC) grants for universities became increasingly dependent on channelling efforts into Government prescribed research areas (ARC, 2019). The funding of higher degree scholarships was determined by Government-imposed limits on the length of candidature and the size of theses (ASCED⁵⁹, 2001). The breadth and scope of teaching and learning were also affected through the downsizing of maths, physics and the humanities disciplines with “one in four students ... doing a business related course” (Lawnham, 2002).

⁵⁹ Australian Standard Classification of Education.

4.5.4 Australian Universities Quality Agency

AUQA conducted audits of Australian accredited universities using the fitness-for-purpose model, where universities were required to report against their own strategic plans and performance indicators (PIs). The first round of audits began in 2001 and involved whole-of-institution audits, which lasted 5 years. These were replaced by audits targeted at specific areas of universities which were identified in previous audits. However, it was apparent from its beginnings that AUQA “was incapable about making reliable judgements about standards in universities because of its focus on mechanisms for quality assurance (QA), rather than the equality of actual outcomes in teaching and research” (Guest & Duhs, 2003, p 42).

AUQA was established to provide a public face to QA and to “facilitate the marketing of Australian higher education, particularly overseas” (Vidovich, 2002, p 405). Linking QA measures to “performativity in driving the quality agenda” (Harker, 1995, p 33), was possibly more important and less onerous administratively, than grappling with the real issue of quality. Adopting the fitness-for-purpose model supported this view. By allowing each institution to set its own goals and benchmarks, universities were in effect, judges of their own quality. They were required to demonstrate that they had met their targets, rather than demonstrate evidence of high standards or best practice, and whether their targets were worth setting.

In 2007, Kevin Rudd, leader of the Australian Labor Party, published his platform for education, *The Australian economy needs an education revolution* (Rudd & Smith, 2007), in the lead up to the election later that year. In his section devoted to University education, he acknowledged the AVCC’s concerns regarding “the impact of financial constraints on the quality of teaching and the educational outcomes for graduates” (Rudd & Smith, 2007, p 21).

When Labor won government in December 2007, it commissioned a major review of the higher education sector. The Bradley Review reported that the system was “complex, fragmented and inefficient” and too focused on administrative processes to give adequate attention “to assuring and demonstrating outcomes and standards” (Bradley, et. al, 2009, p 115).

Shah, et al., (2011b) studied the QA outcomes of individual universities both through their AUQA audit reports and through interviews with staff. They concluded that there was an inconsistency between universities where some used their own initiative to pursue high standards in academic work, while others had not successfully addressed the recommendations of the audit reports. The authors also believed that there was a lack of incentives that encouraged excellent teaching. There were also insufficient quantitative measures to determine teaching performance, which was more focused on processes than outcomes and standards, and the surveys for assessing student satisfaction were inadequate in assessing quality learning outcomes. Most compelling, was the claim that AUQA was not sufficiently mandated “to place sanctions or penalty on institutions (Shah, et al., 2011b, p 481). The attitude towards AUQA changed significantly, when it was replaced by a new regulatory body from 2012 (Shah & Jarzabkowski, 2013).

4.5.5 Tertiary Education and Quality Standards Agency

The Bradley Review made a number of recommendations regarding quality assurance measures which the Government accepted, and a new agency was duly established in the *Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency Act 2011* (Australian Government, 2011a). The Objects of the Act were to establish a single national standards-based regulatory framework within the new Higher Education Standards Framework, principally with authority:

3. Objects

- (c) to protect and enhance:
 - (i) Australia's reputation for quality higher education and training services; and
 - (ii) Australia's international competitiveness in the higher education sector; and
 - (iii) excellence, diversity and innovation in higher education in Australia; and
- (d) to encourage and promote a higher education system that is appropriate to meet Australia's social and economic needs for a highly educated and skilled population (Australian Government, 2011a).

The new agency was allocated power to register higher education providers, to ensure that accredited providers complied with the *Threshold Standards for Registration, Category and Accreditation Standards* (TEQSA, 2011), and if necessary, enforce compliance. TEQSA's enforcement powers included the investigation and collection of information in relation to compliance with the Act, cancelling course accreditation, shortening or cancelling registration, and seeking pecuniary penalties through the Federal Court or the Federal Magistrates Court.

As higher education institutions became better informed concerning the powers of the new regulatory body and its reporting requirements, many complained about the administrative burden placed upon them. This was a contentious issue in Australian higher education, as governments' regulation of the sector had intensified since the 1990s with each successive ministry promising to fix it, while none actually did. The Gillard Labor Government, announced a new *Review of Higher Education Regulation* (Dow-Braithwaite Review) in response to the concerns of vice-chancellors "about the effectiveness of Australia's higher education regulatory framework, as TEQSA's legislation does not appear to be operating in the manner intended by Government or the sector" (Dow, 2013, p 1). There was considerable unease regarding perceived defects in the Government's legislation. Given that it was another election year, Labor could not afford to further estrange the sector, as it had recently, when it decided to take money from higher education to fund major reforms in the secondary school sector (Kenny, 2013; Grattan, 2013).

Prior to the Dow-Braithwaite Review, PhillipsKPA was commissioned by the LH Martin Institute at the request of the Department of Education and Universities Australia to *report on the Review of Reporting Requirements for Universities* (PhillipsKPA, 2012). The 27 recommendations from the report were all implemented by the Government and dealt mostly with data management and the need to coordinate and streamline data collections between government agencies requiring information from universities. However, the *PhillipsKPA* review found that universities, unlike other businesses, were subject to regulatory requirements imposed by both Commonwealth and State governments. As a consequence, neither level of government understood the complex regulatory burden borne by universities.

The Dow-Braithwaite Review's remit focused solely "on TEQSA's regulatory activities and approach" because "the strength of the sector's reaction ... indicates that something more fundamental has gone awry and that there are important contexts that brings us to this point of an earlier than expected review" (Dow, 2013, p 4). This became a matter of urgency, given the different types of reporting identified in the intersection between the university and VET sectors with 20 universities identified as Registered Training Organisations (RTOs) and a third of TAFEs offering higher education degrees (Dow, 2013, p 12).

The findings of the Dow-Braithwaite Review were disturbing, as it appeared that Australia had a national regulatory body that was both distant from its constituents and prone to over-regulating a sector that was mostly successfully self-regulating. When TEQSA was first conceived, it was anticipated that there would be an influx of new providers into Australia seeking accreditation to operate within the higher education environment, and that such organisations would require close monitoring. TEQSA was established "almost as though it were the sole player in the higher education regulatory landscape and its governance

arrangements reinforce[d] this idea” (Dow & Braithwaite, 2013, p 56). The reality was that few private providers entered the Australian higher education market, due to the stringent definition to qualify as a provider university. This issue is discussed in later chapters.

The reviewers felt that TEQSA needed to “be smaller and be charged with fewer functions” (Dow, 2013, p 56) as well as actively engage, particularly in the area of policy advice, with other units within the regulatory network. The units included the Government department responsible for higher education, the Standards Panel, the Australian Qualifications Framework Council (AQFC) and the newly established single collection agency for national higher education data, the National Advisory Group on Higher Education Data and Information (NAGHEDI).

Much was said about TEQSA’s lack of consultation with the sector, which caused considerable ill feeling and mistrust. It also appeared that TEQSA had done little to streamline and coordinate institutional reporting requirements. These arose from the *Education Services for Overseas Students Act 2000* (Australian Government, 2000), *Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency Act 2011* (Australian Government, 2011a) *the Higher Education Support Act 2003* (Australian Government, 2003) and the *National Vocational Education and Training Regulator Act 2011* (Australian Government, 2011b), which regulated VET and university operations.

Despite the weight of criticism concerning TEQSA, there was consensus amongst institutions, and within the Government, that Australia needed a single regulatory body. The eleven recommendations from the review sought to re-position TEQSA with responsibility for the provision of registration and course accreditation only, and to apply the principles of “earned autonomy” (Dow, 2013, p 43). This entailed streamlining re-accreditation processes for

established providers and regularly seeking sector advice on issues affecting its role within the sector.

Although the Dow-Braithwaite Review specifically focused on the practice and performance of an individual statutory body, its findings constructively changed the future of regulation for quality assurance in higher education. The Review precipitated changes in legislation and a reduction in the requirement of reporting on TEQSA's three regulatory principles of regulatory necessity, reflecting risk and proportionate regulation.

4.6 Conclusion

The Unified National System transformed Australian higher education and positioned the nation as a major producer and exporter of knowledge and skills in the global economy. The UNS steered Government policy and witnessed the restructuring of universities in response to expansion and diversity within the sector. Increased competition from national and global markets led to the adoption of New Public Management practices. The emphasis on accountability, funding and quality assurance within universities, had significant implications for institutional autonomy, governance and academic work. Teaching quality was increasingly subjected to scrutiny. Students as paying customers, and particularly international students, most of whom were not subsidised for their study, expected a high level of service and expertise from their teachers. Improvements in teaching required additional strategies to professionalise the roles of teaching staff to deliver excellence in student learning, scholarship and leadership in pedagogy.

Whilst provider response through the *Review of the impact of the TEQSA⁶⁰ Act on the higher education sector* (DAE, 2017), temporarily modified the administrative burden on

⁶⁰ Tertiary Education and Quality Standards Agency

universities, TEQSA introduced new measures to regulate teaching quality. Whether these measures and preceding government initiatives have produced the required strategies to achieve their anticipated outcomes, will be a focus for Chapter 5. The changes to teaching in Australian Table A Provider universities, which led to “the significant ‘unbundling’ of academic work” (Baird, 2013, p 74), will be analysed to assess whether the new teaching specialist positions are likely to achieve parity with the professional status and working conditions of teaching-research staff.

Chapter 5 – The challenges for teaching in Australian universities

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 discussed the rapid expansion of Australian higher education and changes to the funding and management of universities following the introduction of the Unified National System (UNS). Whilst these changes entailed some unique characteristics (e.g. Australia's student loans scheme - the Higher Education Contribution Scheme), Australian higher education strongly reflected global trends.

With the creation of the knowledge economy, Australian governments continually reviewed the roles of universities and academic work to determine the most cost-effective strategies to fund the expansion of the higher education sector. This chapter examines attempts by governments to re-define universities, often through industrial means, in order to control the composition of academic work to improve its quality and the student experience. This chapter addresses changes to teaching in Australian universities. These changes included issues of status, measurement of teaching quality, segmentation of teaching functions, including the establishment of teaching specialist positions, and working conditions and support for teaching staff.

5.2 Defining Australian universities

Australia was somewhat unique in requiring all universities undertake both research and teaching. It was mandatory for admission to the Council of Australian University Presidents, and to satisfy Protocol 1 *Criteria and Processes for Recognition of Universities, National Protocols for Higher Education Approval Processes* (MCEETYA⁶¹, 2000). The teaching-research nexus

⁶¹ Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs.

was further reinforced through the *Higher Education Threshold Standards* (TEQSA, 2011, 2015). The *Provider Category Standards* (PCS) underpinned the quality framework and TEQSA's obligation to safeguard the quality of Australia's higher education and provide protections for all students, but especially the rights of international students.

The definition of Australian universities, and their adherence to the teaching-research nexus, was however challenged in the decades following the 1990s. When the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) investigated future workforce requirements, it questioned whether it was realistic to expect all academics to be equally effective in teaching and research (OECD, 1987). Chapter 4 discussed how the Howard Coalition Government openly contested the link between teaching and research in university work, through its industrial legislation to introduce new workplace agreements⁶², which the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) feared could “water down the accreditation of universities which would permit the establishment of teaching-only institutions” (Rosewarne, 2005, p 2) and a subsequent drop in status and conditions for academic staff who worked in them. The NTEU therefore remained steadfast in its commitment to the research-teaching nexus as the bedrock of academic life in Australian higher education.

Despite the Rudd Labor Government rescinding this legislation in 1998, more pressure was applied to academic work when the Minister for Education, Christopher Pyne (2013-2015) in the Turnbull Coalition Government, commissioned the Kemp-Norton Review on university funding (Kemp, 2014). The reviewers reported that: “Funding teaching-only institutions at a lower per-student Commonwealth-funding rate would contribute to the fiscal sustainability of the demand driven higher education system (Kemp, 2014, p 66). Pyne did not hesitate to show his

⁶² e.g. Higher Education Workplace Relations Requirements (HEWRRs) (Australian Government, 2005) and Australian Workplace Agreements (AWAs) (Australian Government, 2006).

support for this idea (AAP⁶³, 2014). Although the Review considered teaching-only institutions from a funding perspective, it focused primarily on private providers and whether funding them at a lower rate would ensure competitiveness within the sector. However, due to the diversity of providers and the complexity in establishing a funding formula, it was decided not to proceed with a recommendation on the matter.

The Lomax-Smith Review (Lomax-Smith et al., 2011), which earlier was commissioned by the Gillard Labor Government, noted that most other countries had teaching-only institutions, which were funded at a lower rate than research universities. Both sides of Australian politics regarded the tying of teaching to research an impediment to the funding of universities. Unravelling the complexities, however, still proved a challenge.

The Commonwealth Government's Productivity Commission identified "tensions between universities' research and teaching functions" and believed that teaching "play[ed] second fiddle to research" (Productivity Commission, 2017, p 2). The Commission believed that this was to the detriment of teaching quality, student experience and outcomes. It proposed that more attention be given to establishing appropriate measurements for teaching quality, with financial incentives to encourage best practice in teaching and penalties applied for poor teaching. It challenged the long-held belief that the teaching-research nexus was essential for teaching quality in order to "justify cross-subsidies from teaching to research" (Productivity Commission, 2017, p 2).

The Commission argued that critical thinking and research skills could be taught by non-research academics, as there was no available data to indicate that research academics made better teachers. The Commission even suggested that in striving to achieve both functions, "universities (and their staff) [might] lose focus and do neither teaching nor research as well as

⁶³ Australian Associated Press.

they could” (Productivity Commission, 2017, p 41). The Commission did qualify that this applied more to undergraduate teaching, as it acknowledged that postgraduate students would benefit from mentoring by research academics.

What was significant about the Commission’s approach to teaching arrangements, was its support for the Government’s preference to introduce teaching-only universities to the sector. It maintained that there was “no compelling policy rationale for requiring high-quality providers to conduct research in order to be able to label themselves as a ‘university’” (Productivity Commission, 2017, p 109).

The link between teaching and research was also questioned by many writers, who believed that their perceived mutual dependence on each other relied on assumed rather than empirical knowledge (Hattie & Marsh, 1996; Marsh & Hattie, 2002; Jenkins, 2004; Barnett, 2005; Coates, et al., 2009; de Weert, 2009; Enders & de Weert, 2009; Henkel, 2009; Cherastidtham, et al., 2013; Norton, et al., 2013).

The US, France, Germany and the Netherlands chose to establish separate research institutes and graduate schools. Managerial practices in some European universities led to a division within academic roles creating a hierarchy, with those who taught undergraduate students occupying low status occupations. The separation of bachelor and master’s students led to questioning the efficacy of research in an undergraduate environment (Musselin, 2007).

Moses (2004) anticipated that the Government’s intention to fund research and teaching differentially, might lead to “a clear hierarchy of universities on research and teaching excellence” with the potential for “teaching-only undergraduate universities.” (p 11). Probert (2014b) predicted the likelihood of teaching-only universities remaining on the policy agenda, and Norton & Cherastidtham (2015), anticipated different levels of funding for institutions once

research and teaching were separately assessed. They believed that the differentiation would better manage higher education expenditure, and that giving the responsibility for undergraduate learning solely to teaching-only staff, would not disadvantage students.

The rationale for merging institutions into larger universities when the UNS was first introduced, was based on economies of scale, to accommodate larger numbers of students without placing additional financial strain on the Federal Budget (Dawkins, 1988). Thus, whilst, the UNS was deemed necessary to fund a mass system of higher education in the twenty first century, the debate changed to whether the sector was adequately resourced to fund a universal system of higher education (Trow, 1999).

In 2019, the Commonwealth Government endorsed Recommendation 5 in *What's in a Name? Review of the Higher Education Provider Category Standards – Final Report* (Coaldrake, 2019), and “supported the principle that both teaching and research should remain a defining feature of the ‘Australian University’ category” (DET⁶⁴, 2019d, p 2). However, there would be stricter criteria governing what constituted research and the amount that universities would be required to produce. For those institutions who were unable to “to build the required research capacity to meet the new requirements” (DET, 2019a, pp 8, 9), a new provider category, *National Institute of Higher Education*, was added to the Provider Category Standards. This category was designed to accommodate the “highest performing higher education providers which [were] not universities” and would allow them to have “a significant measure of self-accrediting authority status” (DET, 2019a, p 6).

By doing this, the Government effectively circumvented another confrontation with the NTEU. Ultimately, funding became the primary motivator for change, given that maintaining

⁶⁴ Department of Education and Training.

the current 37 HESA Table A Provider⁶⁵ public universities at a competitive level of research performance, was difficult to sustain.

5.3 The status of teaching

Most of the literature on the status of teaching in Australia since the release of the Murray Report in 1957, acknowledged that it was considered inferior in prestige, recognition and rewards when compared with research (West, 1998; Bradley, et. al., 2008; Chalmers, 2011; Stokes & Wright, 2012; Probert, 2014a; Productivity Commission, 2017). This perception reflected the situation in the UK (Harley, 2002; DfES⁶⁶, 2003; Skelton, 2005; Young, 2006) and much of the developed world in the post-war period (Fairweather, 1996; Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006; Geschwind & Broström, 2015). The focus was primarily on research, because of its ability to deliver innovation, which equated to prosperity and ultimately political and economic power. However, with life-long learning and increased international student participation in higher education made possible by advances in communication technologies and transport, some of the focus began to turn back to teaching.

While Australian governments debated separating the funding of teaching and research with implications for the re-definition of universities, significant changes were already occurring in university teaching. The need to ensure the quality of Australia's higher education, was in part a response to global competition for international students. Though many chose to study at institutions with reputations built on their research and international ranking (Mazzarol, 2002, Hazelkorn, 2008; Plewa, et al, 2016), governments acknowledged that teaching quality also needed to be addressed. Their contributions to the cost of their education meant that students as

⁶⁵ Table A Providers in this study represent 37 out of the 38 Australian publicly funded universities identified in the *Higher Education Support Act 2011* (Australian Government, 2011). The Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education was not included in this thesis due to its unique mission, structure and student cohort.

⁶⁶ UK Department for Education and Skills.

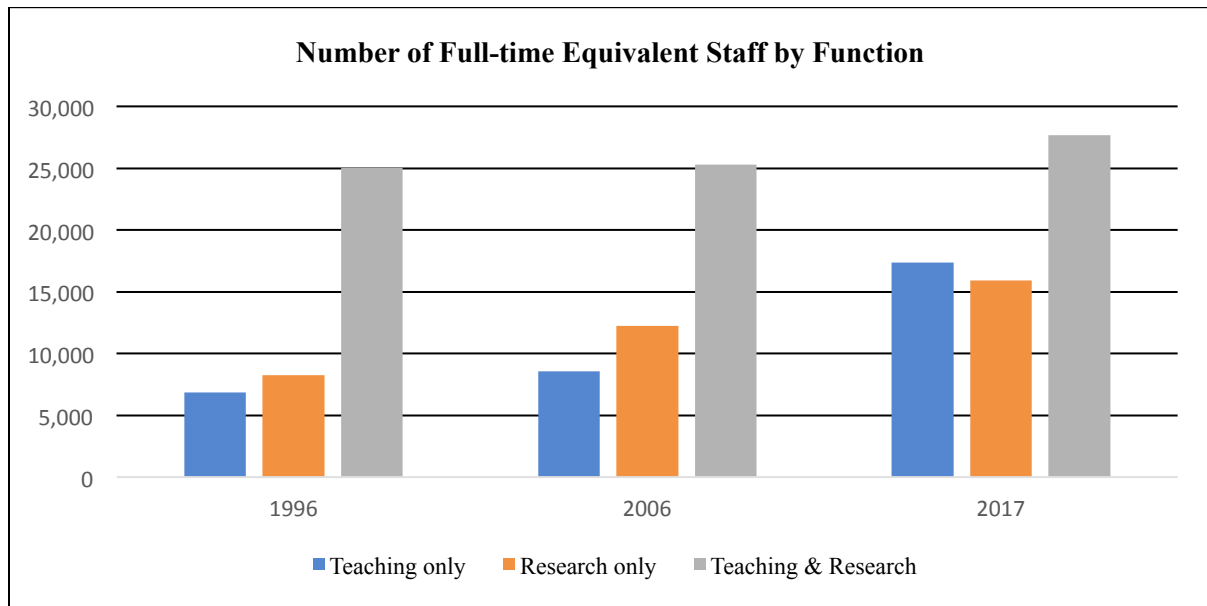
consumers expected and were entitled to receive appropriate value for their education (Marginson, 1997; Naidoo & Williams, 2015).

Winefield et al. (2003) and Young (2006) believed that the low status of teaching-only staff in Australian and UK universities, was due to the inequitable distribution of funding with research receiving a much larger proportion of government funding than teaching. In Australia this was achieved through using Commonwealth Grant Scheme (CGS) funding for teaching, to subsidise research.

Chapter 4 discussed the issues associated with difficulties in identifying effective criteria for measuring teaching quality in higher education, and the initiatives by the Australian Government to increase rewards for teaching. However, the status of teaching registered minimal improvement. The solution to this anomaly was complex because the issues of workload, tenure and promotion all needed to be addressed, particularly as the numbers of teaching-only positions were steadily increasing.

Figure 5.1 reveals the substantial increase in teaching-only staff, which by 2019, outnumbered research-only staff.

Figure 5.1 - Proportion of Teaching-Only functions to Research-Only and Teaching-Research functions in Australian Table A provider universities.



Source: Universities Australia (2019a, p 41).

The majority of staff who held teaching-only positions were often recent graduates or staff confined to an ongoing cycle of casual contracts with little prospect of securing continuing employment. With the stigma of being regarded as an “under-class” (Benjet & Loweth, 1989; Sharff & Lessinger, 1994; Ellison, 2002), as “second-class citizens” (Brown, et al., 2010), or “teaching slaves” (D’Arcy, 2017), the prospect of teaching-research staff or research-only staff transferring to a teaching-only role held little attraction. This was especially true while the rewards for research, including opportunities for travel, funding for projects, and career development, still outweighed those of teaching (Taylor, et al. 1998, p 266). Probert (2015) noted that national and institutional teaching awards only benefitted small numbers of recipients, which left most teaching staff unrecognised and unrewarded, and did little to improve the overall prestige of teaching.

5.4 Measuring quality in teaching

The need to improve teaching quality came to the forefront of government policy from late 1980s – early 1990s. Government bodies and projects focused on linking the quality of student learning to teaching, as the US had done through the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Vardi, 2011; Hutchings & Shulman, 1999). Feedback from student surveys, and graduate outcomes, featured prominently as examples of good teaching, because information on these was relatively easy to organise and collate. Table 5.1 below lists the initiatives that Australian governments implemented over the last thirty years. None of these produced a definitive description of teaching quality. Instead, they provided indicators of quality, which given the diversity of institutions, made the task for governments easier to implement.

Table 5.1 – Government-funded organisations and initiatives responsible for identifying and rewarding quality teaching in Australian universities

Year	Initiatives
1990	<i>National Priority Reserve Fund (NPRF)</i>
1990	<i>Commonwealth Staff Development Fund (CSDF)</i>
1992	<i>Committee for the Advancement of University Teaching</i>
1993	<i>Course Experience Questionnaire (added to the Graduate Destination Survey, which was introduced in 1971)</i>
1997	<i>Committee for University Teaching and Staff Development (CUTSD)</i>
1997	<i>Australian Awards for University Teaching (AAUT)</i>
2000	<i>Australian Universities Teaching Committee (AUTC)</i>
2004	<i>Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education</i>
2006	<i>Learning and Teaching Performance Fund (LTPF)</i>
2007	<i>Excellence in Learning and Teaching in Higher Education (PELTHE)</i>
2008	<i>Australian Learning and Teaching Council (ALTC) (rebadged former Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education. Abolished in January 2012 by the Gillard Labor Government)</i>
2012	<i>University Experience Survey (UES)</i>
2015	<i>Student Experience Survey (SES)</i>
2015	<i>Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching website</i>

Australia's first significant use of performance indicators to measure teaching quality nationally, began with Ramsden's report on the Course Experience Questionnaire (CEQ) in 1991. He tested the following characteristics in a national trial:

- Good Teaching;
- Clear Goals and Standards;
- Appropriate Workload;
- Appropriate Assessment;
- Emphasis on Independence (Ramsden, 1991, p 136).

His model focused on competition to drive performance within the sector (Griffin, et al., 2003). By 1993, the CEQ was incorporated into the Graduate Careers Council of Australia's (now Graduate Careers Australia) Graduate Destination Survey, which collected information on graduates' employment and further study from every university in Australia.

The CEQ underwent further refinement (Wilson et al, 1997; McInnis, et al., 2001), and remained pivotal in reporting on teaching quality. Its data measured student satisfaction in relation to teaching performance (Ramsden, 1991; Wilson, et al., 1997) and was used by *The Good Universities Guide*⁶⁷, to compare and rate universities across Australia.

In 2012, the *University Experience Survey* was implemented in all universities. The data from this exercise was expected to inform and encourage continuous quality improvement through performance-based funding. However, the financial incentive was removed just prior to the survey's implementation (Radloff, et al., 2011), leaving its creators wondering about the lifespan of their project. The survey survived and was rebadged the *Student Experience Survey* in 2015 and included students in the middle of their degrees. Postgraduate coursework students were included in 2017.

⁶⁷ *The Good Universities Guide* is an independent publication which provides information for the purpose of comparing universities' performance over a range of criteria, including teaching quality.

The *Australian University Teaching Criteria and Standards Framework* (AUTCSF) was commissioned by the former Office for Learning and Teaching (OLT) in 2014 (Chalmers, et al., 2014). Five universities in Western Australian⁶⁸ ran the project and developed 7 criteria, after examining teaching quality criteria in universities in Australia, the US and the UK. The AUTCSF was the product of protracted negotiations with national universities and was expected to be used by staff in every Australian university to highlight quality teaching outcomes for career planning, performance development reviews, promotion and teaching award applications. However, only two universities, Curtin University and Federation University, continued to use the AUTCSF. The other universities made their own arrangements, which indicated that unless criteria were mandated, each institution would set its own standards for teaching.

TEQSA subsequently intervened to ensure consistency across the sector. The *HESF*⁶⁹ *Domain 3: Teaching, Higher Education Standards Framework* (TEQSA, 2019a) specified the following minimum standards required for course design:

- staffing to meet students' learning requirements;
- relevant contemporary knowledge and qualifications of teaching staff and academic leaders;
- appropriate-level accessible learning resources; and
- quality of the courses subject to assessment by an external expert.

The UK White Paper, *The Future of Higher Education*, (DfES⁷⁰, 2003) proposed that publicly accessible information on the assessment of teaching be upgraded to “help student choice drive up quality” (Young, 2006, p 199). This approach strongly resonated with the

⁶⁸ The participants included the four Western Australian public universities: Curtin University, Edith Cowan University, Murdoch University and the University of Western Australia, and the University of Notre Dame, a private university operating in Western Australia.

⁶⁹ Higher Education Standards Framework 2015.

⁷⁰ Government UK Department of Education and Skills.

Australian Government. However, deciding on meaningful criteria that depicted quality teaching was difficult. Australia introduced the Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching (QILT) website in 2015, which provided information to students and their families on:

- overall satisfaction of current students, and recent graduates
- rates of students moving into full-time employment after graduation, and
- the median salary received by recent graduates (DET, 2015d).

The Department for Education and Training recorded the *Monthly average QILT website usage* in its *Annual Report 2018/2019* (DET, 2019e), but until 2020, there was no review of QILT to determine its usefulness in helping students choose their program and institution. However, QILT provided information to prospective students and their parents regarding teaching and the resources supporting student learning. This was in contrast to the information provided by international league tables' rankings, which focused primarily on universities' research performance.

5.5 Segmentation of teaching

As student numbers increased in universities, governments and institutions were motivated to place a value on every component of academic work in order to control, improve and maximise its outcomes. The downside of this strategy was the potential for the reasonable or efficient cost approach to dismantle or de-skill academic teaching (McCarthy, et al., 2017; Schapper & Mayson, 2005). Compartmentalising the tasks that created, delivered and evaluated course content, equated to a Fordist production-line model of teaching. Such a development was seen as academics "losing part of their traditional guild power that once protected individual autonomy" (Enders & de Weert, 2009, p 261).

Musselin (2007) noted the change from teaching as a "craft activity, with each academic responsible for her own class, either alone, or with a small team of assistants" (p 7), to one often

involving a team of participants dependent on the technical proficiency of information technology staff to provide on-line education. The result was a product that could be taught by staff, including staff casual staff, who were not involved in the development of courses. This raised questions concerning intellectual property and professionalism. Such segmentation was more conducive to the formulaic measurement (and costing) of individual processes, which had been on the Government's agenda since the Howard Coalition Government commissioned the report on *Performance-based Funding of Universities in 1996* (Anderson, et al., 1996).

5.5.1 *Academic identities*

The changes that occurred at the global, national and institutional levels over the past three decades challenged the traditional 40% teaching, 40% research and 20% service model of academic work (Finkelstein, et al., 2009; Sanders, 2011; Arimoto & Daizen, 2013) with new roles continually emerging. The rate of change was compared to “a type of ‘industrial revolution’” (Percy & Beaumont, 2008, p 146), which Giddens (1991) and Henkel (2009) believed would create new identities due to emerging individualism driven by competition between staff. This would ultimately override the influence of disciplines within the academy, leaving many staff vulnerable and unprotected.

Musselin (2007) attributed the changes in diversification and specialisation within the academic workforce to collaborations between universities and industry, where such interactions had a transformative effect on the culture and practices within the higher education sector. Academic work became an “industry” (Musselin, 2007, p 9) requiring new learning systems focused on transferable skills (Farnham, 2009, 2012). Coates & Goedegebuure (2012) argued that with the proper management of differentiated roles, staff would benefit from a new conceptualisation of their work and the opportunities created in developing new career pathways.

They developed eight strategies to apply to future academic work, which reflected its complexity and encouraged a more responsive model to address continual change and diversity for both students and staff. The implications for policy were to support wide-ranging staffing positions. These spanned academic, administrative, technical, clinical, entrepreneurial and leadership skills, while requiring flexible workload models and promotion criteria to adequately represent, support and reward the increasing diversity in university work.

5.5.2 *Quasi-academic territories and third space professionals*

Whitchurch (2007) extended and updated Becher's (1989) treatise on *Academic Tribes and Territories* by demonstrating how the academic landscape had evolved in relation to the convergence and overlapping of roles between professional managers and academics. She claimed that the new roles "no longer provide[d] clear understandings of professional identities" (Whitchurch, 2007, p 5). New categories of employment were continually emerging, and it was quite common for administrative staff in universities to be highly qualified. Similarly, some academic staff were taking on administrative and management roles.

Coaldrake and Stedman (1999) acknowledged the significant differences between academic and non-academic employment and career development, but they pointed to universities' increasing commitment to the flexible delivery of courses and the potential for rewards to be based on skills rather than job classifications. Shelley (2010) surveyed the changing roles between academic researchers and research managers in English universities and found that the latter were moving from administration into specialist research support, often with higher degree qualifications and finance experience, which added to the tension between the two groups. Her findings suggested that the divide between academic and administrative work was irrevocably shifting, which universities needed to recognise and address.

Macfarlane (2011a) introduced the term, “para-academic” which he described as specialist roles “based on a more limited set of skills and responsibilities” (p 60). He referred to the processes of “up-skilling” from an administrative role to undertake duties in an academic role, and de-skilling, involving the uptake of administrative duties in an academic role. His preference was to re-claim the research/teaching model in order to preserve the key purpose of universities. Macfarlane believed that the majority of new career pathways would be created in management and research, and not in teaching, which would remain as “a Cinderella activity, rewarded through tokenistic prizes and ‘fellowships’ rather than attracting mainstream kudos despite institutional rhetoric” (Macfarlane, 2011a, p 71). He believed that teaching would be left to academics, albeit low-status academics, given the emerging trend of traditional academic jobs being unbundled into more specialised roles.

With the expansion of higher education and the rapid pace of technological innovation, Enders and de Weert (2009) argued that differentiation and specialisations within the academic workforce had to occur as it was “impossible to expect staff to be highly competent in teaching, research, (external) relation management, academic leadership or technical expertise without being caught between competing obligations” (p 264). The creation of new roles meant that staff who had previously worked in minor supportive roles, needed to develop new skills to fill the voids that academic staff could not hope to fill.

Bare & Bexley (2017) believed that industrial awards limited and constrained academic work in Australian universities, thus preventing them from effectively responding to present demands and future needs. They maintained that the “industrial architecture” (p 134) of Australia’s academic workforces had not changed since the design of the Higher Education Worker (HEW)/Higher Education Officer (HEO) classifications in 1991, and their adoption into

the Higher Education General Staff Salaries and Classification Award in 2002. They proposed that the old classifications of teaching- research, research-only and teaching-only be eliminated in favour of a single academic career classification. This would allow for greater flexibility in allocation of duties, more concentrated duties at specific stages of a career than those required by a broad spectrum of duties in any one year, and a greater ability to move within and across roles and institutions, over the course of a career. The problem with committing to one award, however, was agreeing on the structure of classification levels. It seemed likely that positions with a greater teaching component would attract a lower classification, thus reinforcing teaching as a low-status occupation.

University teaching therefore needed to navigate its way, not only in a research-dominated higher education environment, but in an environment that separated its components into specialisations, whilst trying to resurrect its status and demonstrate the quality of its content, delivery and outputs. This was the challenge for Australian universities.

5.5.3 Teaching specialist categories in Australian universities

Over the past fifteen years, Table A Provider universities created new categories of teaching staff (referred to as teaching focused by Probert, 2013a, 2014a, 2015; Probert & Sachs, 2015), in contrast to casual teaching only staff. Many of the new teaching categories represented a response to the NTEU's strategy to move casual staff into continuing roles. However, there were other universities who wanted to promote high quality teaching and they sought to add elements of advanced scholarship and leadership to their new teaching roles. It is these types of roles which are referred to as teaching specialists and which form the focus of this thesis in relation to Australia's Group of Eight universities.

Probert (2014a) warned of the variations in position descriptors for academics primarily dedicated to teaching and the mixed messages that these created.

If teaching focused can mean both ‘failed academic awaiting performance review’ and ‘respected leader of curriculum reform’, it is hard to see how everyone is going to know who is in the sin-bin and who is a ‘scholar’ deserving of respect. (p 3)

Table A Provider enterprise agreements and websites revealed that 35⁷¹ out of Australia’s 37 public universities offered teaching specialisations with the following 18 different titles (with some universities having more than one category).

Table 5.2 – New teaching specialist categories in Table A Provider universities

Teaching Focused (8)	Early Career Fellow (2)	Ongoing Sessional Fellow (1)
Early Career Development Fellow (6)	Teaching Academic (2)	Scholarly Fellow (1)
Scholarly Teaching Fellow (6)	Teaching Specialist (2)	Teaching & Leadership (1)
Education Focused (5)	Academic Tutor (1)	Teaching Intensive (1)
Teaching Scholar (4)	Distinguished Educator (1)	Teaching Specialist (Academic) (1)
Teaching Fellow (3)	Graduate Teaching Fellow (1)	Teaching Specialist (Critical Practitioner) (1)

These descriptors targeted staff at different stages in their careers. The descriptors that applied to all staff, relied on criteria that required evidence of teacher effectiveness irrespective of staff of any age, discipline or skill set. Criteria that targeted casual/sessional staff were more likely to reflect the negotiated enterprise agreements between the NTEU and universities from 2011. These were designed to allow for a limited number of casuals or early career academics on fixed-term teaching contracts to transfer to continuing positions, principally dedicated to teaching and often containing the word “Scholarly” in their titles (Brown, et al., 2010, p 15).

Experiences of casual staff who moved into NTEU initiated roles varied in the support they received, the long-term sustainability of their new roles and the pathways open to them

⁷¹ No reference to a teaching specialist category staff could be found at Queensland University of Technology or the University of Western Australia

(Norton, et. al., 2016). Of note, was the continued lack of clarity concerning a definition of scholarship and what it was supposed to contribute to teaching and learning (Goodman, 2018).

It was suggested by Lane (2013) & Probert (2014b) that the descriptors targeting older continuing academic staff were initially a knee-jerk reaction to the *Research Quality Framework*, where staff with weak research records were moved into teaching-only roles to boost the average research outputs of remaining staff to increase international rankings.

5.6 Workplace conditions for teaching staff

5.6.1 Teaching workloads

A concern for some writers was the increased workloads that teaching specialists encountered in relation to hours spent in teaching larger classes, assessing students' work and dealing with ever-more demanding administration (Jensen, & Morgan, 2008; Vardi, 2009; Kenny, et al., 2012; Clarke et.al. 2015; Darabi, et al., 2017). For teaching-research staff, the challenge was to find opportunities to do their research, as teaching and administration tended to dominate their workloads. For research-only staff, the challenge focused on establishing links with industry and staff in other universities for collaborative projects and the money to fund them. For teaching-only staff, the impact was hardest felt, with inadequate working hours allocated to the preparation and marking of work, and little, if any, professional development.

Papadopoulos (2017) assessed Australian universities' workload models by examining their enterprise agreements and related documents. She reported that staff typically found that they spent "annual hours ranging from 1595 hours to 1800 hours" which equated to "between 60% and 90% of their annual hours in teaching and related duties" (p 513). The variation in hours between universities, prompted the NTEU to seek regulation by placing an enforceable limit on the number of working hours (NTEU, 2016).

The NTEU also tried to ensure that casual staff, who worked under different and more limited working conditions with fewer protections and support, were paid according to the real hours they worked. Trying to move these staff into continuing teaching-only positions, indicated a break from the Union's past commitment to upholding the teaching-research nexus in universities. The NTEU was in a difficult position, given that it estimated there were between 60,000-70,000 casual employees, who were "career" casuals "engaged in core ongoing functions" (NTEU, 2016, p 30). This number increased due to larger student intakes with lower cost-per student funding, insufficient research funding and *the Higher Education Contract of Employment Award* (HECE, 1998). The latter excluded "the use of fixed-term contracts for roles that primarily involve[d] teaching" (Bare & Bexley, 2017, p 135). The solutions for the NTEU were not simple, given that they faced "balancing concerns over the quality of education, equitable and fair treatment of staff, equity between groups of staff, the financial viability of institutions, prudent risk management, and the implications for the future of the Australian academic workforce" (Andrews, et al., 2016, p 2).

The NTEU estimated the ratio of casual staff to continuing staff in Australian universities, as 4.2 casual employees per Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) employee, which it regarded as both conservative and exploitative (NTEU, 2016). While such high levels of casual labour relieved the workload burden on tenured staff, some believed that it "undermined not just tenure but the nature of all academic work and even academic freedom" (McCarthy et al., 2017, p 2017).

5.62 *Tenure and promotion*

Teaching awards were a welcome addition to the recognition of the work performed by academics, but their benefits were modest. Much more commitment was required by university managements to establish meaningful and systemic rewards that were accessible and achievable for all teaching staff (Probert, 2013a). Continuing employment and incremental salary increases were far more highly prized as long-term solutions towards achieving parity with the conditions enjoyed by research staff (Probert, 2013; 2015; Chalmers, 2011).

Tenure was “the heart of academic identity” (Henkel, 2005, p 145). It provided security of employment and access to career pathways. More importantly, it represented academic freedom for staff encompassing “high levels of autonomy, freedom to publish and to speak openly, even when their views [were] unpopular with authority, whether it be with the university administration, the scientific establishment, or the government.” (Winefield, et al., 2003, p 53).

But tenure was under threat, due to the segmentation and fragmentation of academic work, made possible by the large cohort of casualised staff. Tenured staff with hard won protections negotiated over many years, presented a high-risk cost to management and served to deter continuing appointments, which could be replaced with fixed-term and casual staff (Brown, et al., 2010, p15).

Even if teaching-only staff were successful in winning tenure, many faced impediments to advancement and movement between academic work categories, which were described as “boundaried careers in which incumbents no longer develop[ed] the traditional academic skill set required to move between institutions or for career progression within their own institutions” (Bennett, et al, 2018, p 281).

Vardi & Quin (2011) argued that the criteria for promotion in teaching and research positions needed to demonstrate equivalence in the standards expected of applicants. For that to occur, an understanding was required, not only within institutions, but within the Australian higher education sector as a whole, “about what constitute[d] excellence in higher education teaching so that it [could] be both assured and rewarded” (Probert, 2014b). Such an understanding would enable mobility for teaching staff between universities. University promotions policies had to be clear on which criteria were essential to demonstrating levels of expertise for each level of classification. This issue was of particular importance at the senior classification levels, which was why the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) assumed such prominence.

5.6.3 *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL)*

Having SoTL as a criterion in promotion policies was complicated, given there was much debate about its definition, its equivalence to discipline research, and how SoTL might be applied to academic teaching in order to raise its status (Paulsen & Feldman, 1995; Hutchings & Schulman, 1999; Richlin, 2001; Kreber, 2002; Cranton, 2011; Vardi & Quin, 2011; Probert, 2014a; Bennett, et al, 2017; Macfarlane, 2018). For SoTL to be successfully integrated into promotion criteria, it needed to “demonstrably represent the same value, effort and intellectual capacity as promotions based on research in order to avoid accusations that teaching scholarship [was] a ‘soft’ or inferior promotions option” (Vardi & Quin, 2011, p 41).

Probert warned of the risks associated with each university having its own definition of scholarship and adopting a “cherry picking approach to his [Boyer’s] conceptual framework and recommendation” (Probert, 2014a, p 5). She pointed to the need for the sector to establish an

understanding of the meaning of scholarship, as the fragmentation of academic work and the dominance of managerialism was undermining academic authority in the university.

Hutchings & Schulman (1999) provided a definition of scholarship, which required academic staff to be well-informed of the current and latest developments in teaching, with assessment of practice and development of pedagogical theories subjected to peer collaboration and review. The latter required “question-asking, inquiry, and investigation, particularly around issues of student learning” (Hutchings & Shulman, 1999, p 13). Essentially, these requirements equated to the discovery component of scholarship with research, thus promoting the development of a new discipline demonstrating the same basic credentials as other disciplines.

Broadening Boyer’s (1990) definition of SoTL to focus on the process of teaching and learning beyond the classroom, to include the requirement to publish research on teaching and learning, was seen as useful in defining promotion criteria at the higher level of teaching (Vardi, Quin, 2011). Linking the quality of student learning to teaching prompted the Australian government and institutions to publicly recognise and reward scholarly activity through the achievement of citations, grants and fellowships, feedback from student surveys, and graduate outcomes.

Macfarlane (2018) maintained that there was no difference between a good teacher and a good researcher. Both types of academic required scepticism to critically evaluate information, collaboration with and acknowledgement of the work of others in their discipline, an open mind to new ideas and theories to advance knowledge, courage to justify and defend their research, and a commitment to lifelong scholarship.

Whilst SoTL had the potential to close the status gap between academic teachers who had the option to undertake research in teaching and learning and their teaching-research and

research-only colleagues, it left casualised teaching-only staff ostracised and disenfranchised in the academic community. However, the status of teaching specialist was by no means guaranteed. Much depended on whether the focus on student learning was regarded as a valid research area, and whether the time allocated to it was sufficient to produce properly peer-reviewed publications in high quality journals. Macfarlane (2018) advised that the academic teaching profession distance itself from such nomenclature as research in learning and teaching and replace it with research in education or higher education (Macfarlane, 2011b). Probert, however, expressed concern that such an approach was essentially teaching imitating research. This indicated that teaching would struggle to establish its own unique criteria and faced “going backwards as a result of the growing intensity of research performance pressures” (Probert, 2015, p 71)

Such debate signified that a consensus in defining and measuring scholarship needed to be achieved for the professionalisation of teaching to progress.

5.6 Supporting quality teaching

Since the 1990s concerted efforts were made by universities in Australia and internationally to improve the reputation of university teaching. It was evident that, if the focus was going to be on student learning in a universal system of higher education, it required skilled teachers to address the increasing diversity of students and curricula. Assuring quality outcomes was a challenge, given that students were “no longer assumed to be sufficiently gifted to learn for themselves in the face of indifferent teaching” (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1999). Table 5.3 below provides a breakdown of the major supports that Table A Provider institutions made available to their teaching staff.

Table 5.3 – Support for Academic Teaching Staff in Table A Providers by University, Academic Staff Teaching Programs, Peer Review, Institutes, Centres & Academies and Teaching Awards.

University	Academic staff teaching programs	Peer Review	Institutes, Centres, & Academies	University Teaching Awards
Australian Catholic University	✓	✓	✓	✓
Central Queensland University	✓	X	Staff access only	X
Charles Darwin University	X	✓	X	X
Charles Sturt University	✓	✓	✓	✓
Curtin University	✓	✓	✓	X
Deakin University	✓	X	✓	X
Edith Cowan University	✓	✓	✓	✓
Federation University Australia	✓	X	✓	✓
Flinders University	✓	✓	✓	✓
Griffith University	✓	✓	✓	✓
James Cook University	✓	X	✓	✓
La Trobe University	✓	✓	✓	✓
Macquarie University	X	✓	✓	✓
Monash University	X	✓	✓	✓
Murdoch University	✓	✓	✓	✓
Queensland University of Technology	✓	X	✓	X
Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology	Staff access only			
Southern Cross University	✓	✓	✓	✓
Swinburne University of Technology	✓	Staff access only	Staff access only	✓
The Australian National University	✓	✓	✓	✓
The University of Adelaide	X	✓	✓	✓
The University of Melbourne	✓	✓	✓	✓
The University of Queensland	✓	✓	✓	✓
The University of Sydney	✓	✓	✓	X
The University of Western Australia (only Medicine has peer review)	✓	X	✓	✓
University of Canberra	Staff access only	X	X	✓
University of New England	Staff access only			
University of New South Wales	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Newcastle	X	X	✓	✓
University of South Australia	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Southern Queensland	✓	✓	X	✓
University of Tasmania	✓	✓	✓	✓

University	Academic staff teaching programs	Peer Review	Institutes, Centres, & Academies	University Teaching Awards
University of Technology, Sydney	✓	✓		✓
University of the Sunshine Coast	X	X	✓	✓
University of Western Sydney	X	X	✓	✓
University of Wollongong	X	X	X	✓
Victoria University	✓	✓	Staff access only	✓

An investigation of each Provider A university’s website was conducted in January 2020 and the results of supports for teaching staff are reported in Table 5.3 above. “X” indicates that searches of individual university websites could not locate the information sought.

5.6.1 Teacher training

Trowler & Bamber (2005) found that the difference in missions of higher education institutions made it difficult to decide on a national policy in the UK that would deliver compulsory teacher training for all academics who taught. They concluded that for such an outcome to occur the policy needed to be “prioritized, properly resourced, and measures taken to develop a hospitable environment for it both structurally and culturally” (Trowler & Bamber, 2005, p 79).

Table 5.3 above shows that staff in Australian universities who were new to teaching, were required to either enrol in a university award or specialist modules to familiarise themselves with teaching methodologies, IT programs and policies that covered assessment, student performance, supervision and grievance resolution. This was also offered to casual staff, as they were assessed by students in the same way as continuing staff through Course Experience Questionnaires and Student Experience Surveys. Three quarters of universities offered a specific course(s) for teaching in higher education, (e.g. Graduate Certificate in Higher Education) with many of these universities providing courses specifically for casual/sessional staff. Many institutions implemented strategies which were available to all teaching staff on the

new developments in blended and interdisciplinary learning using the latest digital technologies. However, there were no requirements that existing continuing academic staff, compulsorily undertake teaching courses, as advocated by Trowler & Bamber (2005).

5.6.2 *Peer review of teaching*

Over two thirds of Table A Provider universities offered institutional support for peer review of teaching for academic staff. For most institutions, peer review was not compulsory, but teaching staff who wished to improve their teaching and/or who sought promotion as teaching specialists were encouraged to undergo peer assessment. This took two forms – formative and summative peer review. The formative review required staff to choose a mentor/colleague who was prepared to observe their teaching and provide feedback for the purpose of improvement. The intention was to develop collaborative practices where knowledge was shared constructively to improve performance. Summative feedback involved an application process with a team or panel appointed to complete a formal review providing direct evidence of teaching practice to committees which decided matters of probation, promotion and awards. Institutions provided manuals, procedures and templates for both formative and summative processes. Some universities who had either recently commenced peer reviews or claimed to support them, listed external resources for staff to access, rather than producing their own templates and procedures.

In July 2019, the Tertiary Education Qualities and Standards Agency (TEQSA) produced a *Guidance Note: External Referencing* (TEQSA, 2019b), which encouraged universities to compare their practices with other institutions, both domestically and internationally. Institutions were expected to engage in peer review of assessment, benchmarking and moderation to ensure high standards in teaching. TEQSA's mandated regulatory powers

(Australian Government, 2011), required compliance across the sector and Table 5.3 indicates most universities had responded to this requirement.

5.6.3 *Learning and teaching units/institutes/academies*

The size and scope of units dedicated to teaching excellence in Australian universities varied. Nearly all universities had online resources to support staff in their teaching. Just over half of Table A Provider institutions had units dedicated to teaching support and improvement. Table 5.3 shows that nearly all universities established separate centres, institutes or academies committed to teaching quality. Well-resourced units such as the Curtin Academy (Curtin University, 2020) and the University of Melbourne University's *Centre for the Study of Higher Education and Learning Environments* (Melbourne, 2020a) offered the following options to staff who wanted to improve and build careers in teaching:

- Workshops and courses for professional development in new learning and teaching approaches including blended learning and work-integrated learning;
- IT programs with varying levels of assistance in instruction and ongoing support for teaching academics;
- Special events and conferences to showcase learning and teaching;
- Spaces created to facilitate collaborative learning that provided face-to-face or virtual distributed learning through videoconferencing and other computer-generated discussion;
- Access to the most relevant and current resources concerning SoTL;
- Access to support staff and mentors.

Many Provider A universities' units provided the opportunity for teaching staff to network with each other and invite visiting academics to share their experiences and expertise. Often, academies were formed where staff became active members in their professional

development. Unfortunately, not all universities were as well-resourced as Melbourne or Curtin or managed to provide the same level of services and support to their staff. Neither did all teaching staff have the opportunity to participate in additional activities to their work, and especially those with an 80% or more teaching load (Sanders, 2011; Bennett & Roberts, 2017).

Of note was the increasing trend of membership of the UK's Higher Education Academy, now Advance HE, with staff encouraged to apply for fellowships as tangible proof of the quality of their teaching (Probert, 2015). This provided a form of globally recognised credentialism, adding further opportunities for professional development and building reputations for teaching-only academics and their institutions.

5.6.4 Institutional grants and awards

Probert (2013) found there was “little doubt that it was the introduction of the Learning and Teaching Performance Fund (LTPF), which persuaded the sector to focus on the quality of university teaching” (p 15). However, both she and Chalmers (2011) questioned whether the grants that were offered by the LTPF, were sufficient to produce systemic change in the absence of adequate tenure and promotion provisions within the sector. Despite the limitations of Government-funded teaching grants, which operated through the LTPF from 2006 – 2011, and were continued until its successor the Office of Learning and Teaching (OLT) was disestablished in 2017, dissatisfaction within the sector was generated by their loss.

Gardner believed that the decision to abolish the LTPF and the OLT removed “the national commitment to innovation and improved performance in learning and teaching” (Gardner, 2016). Pittman and Bennett (2016) argued that the Government's withdrawal of OLT funding would adversely affect the ability of the Australian higher education sector to attract international students and to ensure that domestic students were “better equipped to improve

Australia's social and economic wellbeing" (para. 18). Despite a rise in international student enrolments as a proportion of total student enrolments from 26,8% - 30.7% in the period 2016 – 2018, (DESE, 2020a, 2020b), it was too early to assess the effect of a lack of Commonwealth Government teaching grants on international student recruitment. Approximately one third of universities provided teaching grants. Most of the Group of Eight universities led the field with the University of New South Wales and the University of Queensland committing \$1.5 million and \$1.25 million, respectively. However, other universities such as the Australian Catholic University (ACU, 2020), and the University of South Australia (UniSA, 2020) budgeted amounts close to \$150,000 to improve teaching quality.

In 2018, the Government transferred the responsibility for the *Australian Awards for University Teaching* (AAUT) to Universities Australia, the peak body representing all universities within the Australian higher education sector. Nearly all Australian universities provided teaching awards and grants for their staff (see Table 5.2), many of which were based on the AAUT criteria. Awards for teaching excellence were usually labelled "Vice-Chancellor's Awards". However, the numbers and amount of funding for awards varied significantly, often favouring established, wealthier universities, such as the Group of Eight and other larger universities located in capital cities.

5.6.5 Leadership

The complex and evolving nature of academic work prompted many writers to question how academic teaching should be managed. Given the growth of competition within the sector and the high profile that research commanded, many grappled with restoring teaching's standing in universities through forging new relationships with education-focused research and the many new specialisations that emerged in academic work.

O'Meara (2005, 2006) recommended returning to the basic four pillars underpinning Boyer's framework and encompassing the Scholarship of Discovery, Integration Application (Engagement) and Teaching. She argued for stronger faculties, relying on robust leadership, and reward systems focusing on "rewarding diverse scholarly talents and emphases" (O'Meara, 2005, p 51). Coates & Goedegebuure (2012), went further and proposed a reconceptualisation of Boyer's four pillars of academic work to include a fifth pillar for leadership because they reasoned that most senior staff appointments entailed administration, management and leadership.

Vardi & Quin (2011) argued for leadership to be included in SoTL, so that teaching had a significant voice on management committees. Smeal, et. al (2011), made a case for multi-level leadership and management, where managers at all levels were "instrumental [in] mobilising and sustaining staff engagement" (Smeal, et. al, 2011, p 10). Winter & Sarros (2002) and Ramsden (1998) regarded effective leadership as pivotal to achieve staff motivation, satisfaction and performance. They believed that leadership underpinned professional development and rewarded staff for their achievements. Bennett & Roberts (2017) saw little likelihood of academic promotion or mobility within the academic workforce for teaching academics, without leadership support. Ewan (2009) believed that the responsibility for teaching quality and status rested firstly and foremostly with vice-chancellors and maintained that "the importance of strong leadership by a vice-chancellor committed to teaching and learning quality cannot be over-emphasised (p 37).

5.7 Conclusion

The impetus to improve teaching quality was often initiated by Commonwealth Governments, who used funding to achieve compliance and competition within the Australian

higher education sector. Universities responded to government incentives to introduce new approaches to student learning and reward quality teaching, as they struggled to cope with the expansion and diversification of their communities. The removal of the Learning and Teaching Performance Fund, disadvantaged regional and newly established universities in their ability to offer their own teaching grants, whilst most of the Group of Eight universities were able to draw on their resources to remain competitive in teaching as well as research. The emergence of teaching specialist positions was promoted as a strategy to improve teaching performance. Whether these positions had sufficient impact on advancing their status by establishing parity with teaching-research staff, is discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 6 explores the value ascribed to teaching by the Group of Eight as an incorporated entity established to protect and promote the interests of Australia's research-intensive universities. The issue of leadership is pursued to assess the guidance and support extended to the members of its network in relation to teaching and its role in their institutions.

Chapter 6 – The Group of Eight

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 provided an overview of the changes to Australia’s academic profession in relation to new categories of teaching staff and to the developing trend in quasi-academic roles that combined the work of administrative and academic staff. This chapter focuses on the Group of Eight (Go8) as a network. It examines the issues that led to the establishment of the Go8, its influence on the higher education sector, and the priorities for its membership.

6.2 Establishing the Group of Eight

The Group of Eight (Go8) was established in 1994 as an informal coalition of Australia’s research-intensive universities and was legally incorporated in 1999. It included:

Monash University (“Monash”) (1958)

The Australian National University (“ANU”) (1946)

The University of Adelaide (“Adelaide”) (1874)

The University of Melbourne (“Melbourne”) (1853)

The University of New South Wales (“UNSW”) (1949)

The University of Queensland (“Queensland”) (1909)

The University of Sydney (“Sydney”) (1850)

The University of Western Australia (“UWA”) (1911)

The Go8 comprised five of Australia’s earliest State institutions, the ANU, which was established and funded by the Commonwealth Government specifically for research and postgraduate education, and the two largest science and technology-focused institutions built after World War II, the UNSW and Monash. The first five universities were often referred to as “sandstones” in the media and by the academic community (Keating, 2003; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Ramsden, 1999; Marginson, 1997) to reflect their age and links to the

sandstone institutions in England. They also had “a century over which to buttress their autonomy and educational authority and their elite role and clientele” (Keating, 2003, p 272). Even though ANU, UNSW and Monash were technically “red brick”⁷² universities, they were often included in the “sandstone” category due to their affiliation to their older counterparts. Go8 universities were also compared to the Russell Group of research-intensive universities in the United Kingdom, which similarly included both sandstone and newer red brick universities (Jerrim, et al., 2015; Ross, 2018)

Together, they represented Australia’s research universities who managed to consistently out-perform the combined efforts of other Table A Providers⁷³ for both the Commonwealth Government’s Excellence for *Research in Australia* (ERA) grants, and the *National Health and Medical Research Grants* (NHMRC) grants. Whilst at times other universities performed well in winning ARC and NHMRC grants, Table 6.1 below demonstrates the Go8’s consistently high research achievements. Its grants equated to more than all other Australian universities and other recipients combined.

⁷² “Red brick” was used to describe ANU, UNSW and Monash because of their similarities to institutions of the same name established in the UK in the late 19th and early 20th centuries characterised by their strong civic and vocational roles

⁷³ Table A Providers represent 37 out of the 38 Australian publicly funded universities identified in the *Higher Education Support Act 2011* (Australian Government, 2011). The Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education was not included in this thesis due to its unique mission, structure and student cohort.

Table 6.1 - The number of ARC and NHMRC grants won by the Group of Eight universities, 2002, 2010 and 2018.

Group of Eight universities	2002		2010		2018	
	ARC Grants	NHMRC Grants	ARC Grants	NHMRC Grants	ARC Grants	NHMRC Grants
Adelaide	61	49	59	70	39	32
ANU	99	17	148	22	75	13
Melbourne	39	11	179	162	108	115
Monash	75	75	151	123	105	149
Queensland	148	70	167	99	107	92
Sydney	124	100	168	162	86	84
UNSW	134	39	180	89	116	92
UWA	72	52	77	50	50	30
Go8 Total	752 (59.21%)	513 (82.47%)	1,052 (66.20%)	777 (83.90%)	686 (59.70%)	607 (58.09%)
TOTAL	1,270 (100%)	622 (100%)	1,589 (100%)	926 (100%)	1,149 (100%)	1,045 (100%)

Sources: ARC (2019); NHMRC (2019)

In 1996, the Go8 established its central office in Melbourne, but moved to Canberra in June 2000, where it was strategically positioned to lobby and influence the Commonwealth Government on higher education policy. Other benefits in being a not-for profit organisation incorporated under the former Corporations Act 1989 (now Corporations Act 2001), meant that the Go8 consortium, could lease office space and employ staff to provide administrative support for its agenda. The organisation would continue to provide an opportunity for the eight universities to reach consensus on issues important to their needs and interests. Ultimately, it would provide a united voice to governments and within the sector, to ensure that its universities continued to remain competitive. The establishment of the Go8 was followed by the formation of the Australian Technology Network (ATN) in 1998, the Innovative Research Universities (IRU) in 2003 and the Innovative Research Universities (RUN) in 2011. This segmentation within Australian higher education resulted from competition for research grants and high-

quality students and was “shaped by federal government policy and financing, including policy-engineered markets” (Marginson, 2006, p 9).

Why did Australia’s research-intensive universities form their own consortium, when ostensibly all universities since 1920 were represented by the Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee⁷⁴ (AVCC).

According to Moodie (1998), formal acknowledgement of the Go8 occurred in 1998 when the Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA) clustered universities into groups for the purpose of reporting on national research performance (DEETYA, 1998). This appeared to legitimise the Go8 as the elite sub-group within the sector. DEETYA’s report used six criteria including “research expenditure, international citations and research quantum funding” (Leech, 1998, p 33) and it represented the first time that Australian universities had been officially ranked. The criteria were designed to intensify competition between institutions to increase and improve their research performance. However, qualities that enabled competitiveness were “unequally distributed” (Marginson, 1997, p 6) in favour of the older traditional research universities, who were always going to have an advantage over the newer universities (Reid, 2005; Marginson and Considine, 2000; Marginson, 1997; Reid, 1999).

6.3 Segmentation and unification

One of the first decisions that the Go8 made, following its incorporation in 1999, was to withdraw its membership from the Australian Higher Education Industrial Association (AHEIA). This body was formed in 1990 to represent employers in the higher education sector. It was an amalgam of the former Australian Universities Industrial Association and the Australian Advanced Education Industrial Association that was created in response to the new institutions

⁷⁴ The AVCC was re-badged as Universities Australia in 2007.

that emerged through mergers in the Unified National System (UNS). By 1999, the Go8 did not believe that AHEIA adequately supported or represented its members. The Go8's lack of confidence in AHEA's abilities to adequately represent its interests was partly responsible for its decision to relocate to Canberra. In America and the UK, older research-intensive universities had formed similar alliances (i.e. Ivy League and Russell Group) to ensure that they maintained their advantage in rapidly changing higher education environments.

When the Go8's split from AHEIA occurred, there was an expectation that it would also leave the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC), which had the potential for other groups to follow suit. The media saw this decision as a response to increased competition within the sector, prompting it to comment that "[g]etting the universities to face the same way has, at the best of times, been like herding cats: now that the Federal Government requires them to compete, the task of representing joint interests has become even trickier" (The Australian, 1999, para. 1).

The Go8's decision to remain with the AVCC, and later Universities Australia, was one of pragmatism. Segmentation within the sector had the potential to strengthen the Go8, but fragmenting Australia's peak representative higher education body would weaken its voice in a climate where securing adequate research funding was becoming increasingly challenging (Healy, 1999; The Australian, 1999; Marginson, 2000a). Sufficient pressure was applied by the AVCC Peak Council and other university groups to ensure unity within the sector, given that Dawkins had abolished the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, leaving a void in communication between universities and the Hawke Labor Government, at a time when it was most needed.

The AVCC's structure of standing committees, meetings, information-sharing and data collection initially enabled it to provide policy advice to the Commonwealth Government and produce codes of practice that represented consensus amongst most Australian universities (Marshall, 1995b). However, the adaptations made by the AVCC did not keep pace with the external political and economic environment, requiring a significant overhaul of its role leading to the new representative body, Universities Australia, in 2007 (Quiddington, 2007).

The Go8 embraced New Public Management (NPM) in its governance and administration in order to become a major player in influencing higher education policy. Its structure included a Chief Executive Officer who represented the public face of the network and coordinated information following consultation with its members, which was circulated to the Government, media and the public. The Go8 website established a library of its contributions to Australian higher education policy. These included submissions in response to government reviews and initiatives, media statements on government policy, and commissioned reports reflecting the Go8's agenda.

We are focused on the bigger picture. We see continuity as paramount in what are turbulent geopolitical times when it has never been more important to ensure policy stability in the areas of Defence, Trade and Education – all portfolios the Go8 contributes to by way of research, international engagement and educating the future workforce required to underpin our national economy (Thomson, 2019a).

Maximising research performance was always the Go8's primary concern. To this end, the Go8 focused on funding, and especially tuition fees from international student enrolments, which "support[ed] Australia's research discoveries" (Thomson, 2019b). Investment in teaching was therefore a means to an end. The Go8 universities attracted the brightest students (Universities Australia, 2020ac), which produced the highest number of successful postgraduate researchers (DESE, 2020b). This improved rankings and reputations, which attracted the

brightest students to their universities. The Go8's interest in teaching was focused on supporting this self-perpetuating cycle.

6.4 Resistance and compliance

When Dawkins embarked upon his reforms for higher education, he was aware that there would be strong resistance from the Australian Labor Party (ALP), and the union movement over his proposal to re-introduce student fees, thus ending free university education in Australia (O'Brien, 2015). He managed to persuade the ALP and the unions to accept his proposal for a partial user-pays system for university education through his key objectives, which were "social democratic in purpose: increasing participation in higher education, to be in part financed by its principal beneficiaries, and more aligned to national economic and social objectives" (O'Brien, pp 28, 29).

However, Dawkins' neoliberal agenda for organisational effectiveness encompassing institutional management and staffing (Dawkins, 1988, pp 101 – 113), incurred resistance, particularly from the older universities who were ambivalent to interference regarding their governance and autonomy. The opposition from these universities took somewhat longer to defuse. Dawkins publicly declared that old established universities were "ossified bodies incapable of adaption" (O'Brien, 2015, p 26, as cited in Leveratt, 1994).

Such a perception caused resentment amongst the older sandstone universities. Dawkins was unapologetic. He had based his opinion on first-hand information regarding how such institutions behaved towards their students and the community.

Dawkins had been a student at Roseworthy Agricultural College in South Australia, which offered vocational training and applied research principally related to farm and land management. He later studied economics at the University of Western Australia, the state's

oldest and most prestigious university, with a strong reputation in basic research (Macintyre, et al., 2017). Dawkins recognised the tensions between the established universities and the Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) with respect to funding, research and reputation. He also knew that the changes he was proposing, if successful, would deliver a significant and ambitious transformation in Australian higher education. Dawkins believed that “there are those who have a vested interest in the protection of the status quo, regardless of the wider issues” (Dawkins, 1987b, p 14).

Macintyre et al. (2017) and O’Brien (2015) reported on the strained relationships between Dawkins and the leaders of Australia’s two oldest and most prestigious universities - Professor David Penington, Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne and Professor John Manning Ward, Vice-Chancellor, University of Sydney. Penington and Ward watched with dismay as Dawkins’ agenda for higher education unfolded in his Green Paper - *Higher Education: a policy discussion paper* (Dawkins, 1987a) and his White Paper – *Higher Education: a policy statement* (Dawkins, 1988). They shared grave concerns over the redirection of research funds from general recurrent grants “to establish new special research centres and key centres of teaching and research, as well as to assist research in technological institutions in the advanced education sector.” (Dawkins, 1988, p 83). This indicated that resources which were previously granted to research universities, would be spread more thinly across the sector to assist the newer universities in establishing their research profiles.

What the two vice-chancellors most resented, however, was the challenge to their authority in not being allowed to reach their own decisions about what to teach and what research to conduct, and to set entry and pass standards (Sydney, 1990, p 5). In his memoirs, Penington (2010) referred to Dawkins as a “pestilence” (p 173) and believed that implementation

of his 'reforms' depended on him deliberately stirring the "politics of envy" (p 264) between the Go8s and the newly formed universities to create further division within the sector. Penington contended that the establishment of the UNS represented a centrally controlled, uniform and deficient system of higher education. He felt that Commonwealth funding was inadequate to support the expansion the country needed in order to be economically competitive, and that universities had relinquished their autonomy by supporting the Government's agenda.

The CAEs were quick to back Dawkins because they expected to gain prestige, higher salaries and opportunities for research. Their support in 1988/89 led to "a public, and frequently bitter brawl...that Dawkins was happy to exploit at times" (Marshall 1995, p 45). Dawkins also ignored lobbying by the AVCC and the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations (FAUSA), which intensified divisions between the colleges and established universities (Marshall, 1988).

Not all the Australian research-intensive universities were opposed to Dawkins' bold plans for higher education. Monash and UNSW were both large post-war institutions offering numerous courses in science and technology, which Dawkins believed would provide practical applications necessary to stimulate economic growth. According to Gregory (2014), Monash's Vice-Chancellor, Mal Logan, "was close with members of the Hawke Government, ... and became a key, unofficial but powerful advisor to the ALP on higher education issues" (p 34). Logan was a participant in Dawkins' informal group of advisors, the Purple Circle, and was therefore privy, and possibly contributed to, the planned restructure of higher education from the onset. Both Monash and UNSW gained in size and influence under the UNS.

Irrespective of how universities felt about the changes they faced, they had little choice but to comply with the Government's agenda, as funding was tied to student enrolments and the

educational profiles that the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) negotiated with each institution. Although institutions were “free to manage their own resources without unnecessary intervention” (Dawkins, 1988, p 10), they would be required to justify their decisions and actions, which signalled that greater accountability was expected of them.

Dawkins warned institutions that a review of effective performance against the goals and objectives negotiated with the Commonwealth Government through their institutional profiles, would be pivotal in “determining their future levels of income from Commonwealth sources” (p 10).

6.5 Competition and trust

The establishment of the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU), the Times Higher Education (THE) *World University Rankings* (2004) and the *Quacquarelli Symonds World University Rankings* (QS) firmly embedded research performance as the most important factor in establishing universities reputations. The more established universities with a tradition of strong research, were able to maintain their positions amongst the top 100 universities worldwide. However, there was some concern that Australia’s strongest research universities would not be able to compete with the calibre of Oxford and Cambridge due to the limited Government funding they received (Lane & Trounson, 2011). Inadequate government funding was a common theme in the post-war history of Australian higher education, and especially each time there was a significant expansion of the sector.

Now that Australian universities and particularly Go8 universities had to compete with overseas universities and vocational institutions, there was much more emphasis on securing large international student enrolments and forging partnerships with business and university networks to finance research outputs. This led to a greater emphasis on marketing and

entrepreneurial activity and lobbying Government to provide policies that would deliver better opportunities for raising revenue. It also pitted the Go8 against the other Australian university consortiums, and the university sector against the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector and private providers of higher education. The level of competition was significantly heightened by the Howard (1996-2004) and Abbott (2013-2015) Coalition Governments' attempts to re-introduce full fee-paying places for undergraduate degrees.

Marginson (2000) argued that the Howard Government's decision to cut universities operating grants by 12-15% between 1997-1999, and change the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) from a flat rate to a differential payment (thereby increasing student contributions by 35-125% dependent on the cost of courses and anticipated earnings from their completion), actually strengthened the Go8 universities' position within the higher education sector. The decision to allow universities to offer 25% above their allotted quota of undergraduate courses as full fee-paying places, again favoured the Go8s. As fines were placed on institutions unable to fill their Government-funded places, many of the newer and regional universities were effectively excluded from the market for full-fee paying places.

Being able to build on already accumulated resources and operating in a political environment that favoured a free market economy, undermined trust between university groups and strengthened the Government's power in the sector. In 2007, as institutions prepared for a federal election, Professor Glynn Davis, Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, launched a discussion paper, *Seizing the Opportunities*, on behalf of all Go8 universities (Go8, 2007). He advocated what was effectively a voucher system re-badged as scholarships based on merit, that would allow students who had receipt of them, to choose where they wanted to study. The

assumption being, based on previous entrance score data, that students would make the Go8s their first choice of institution.

Greg Craven, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Strategy and Planning) at Curtin University of Technology was quick to respond to what he perceived as unbridled elitism designed to undermine and possibly eradicate less-privileged institutions. He claimed that the race was rigged “beyond the standards of a sideshow shooting gallery” because of the Go8’s “accumulated benefits of decades of public funding” (Craven, 2007).

Such an attitude towards the Go8, escalated when the Minister of Education, Christopher Pyne in the Abbott Coalition Government, who, in addition to fee-deregulation, also proposed the establishment of two tiers of university – the research university and the teaching university (Lane, 2011a; 2011b). The Go8s supported Pyne’s arguments for fee deregulation within the domestic market and his idea that different categories of university could be funded differently, because they stood to gain the most. They believed that as a result of the Rudd-Gillard Labor Governments’ demand-driven system, they had been “saddled with mediocrity after years of reduced government funding and policies that drove quantity over quality and conformity over diversity” (Hare, 2014).

Competition from other universities, particularly the Innovative Research Universities (IRUs) (Le Grew, 2012) and the prospect of a further 20% Government funding cut per Commonwealth supported student place proposed in the 2014/2015 Budget (Kniest, 2014), created further stress between the university groups. The Go8 regarded the ability to charge full fees to domestic students for selective courses as a means towards alleviating its members’ financial pressures and enhancing their research dominance. At no point during this time did it raise the issue of wanting to improve teaching quality.

The National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) and the National Union of Students (NUS) responded by launching their highly successful campaigns culminating in a *National Day of Action* on 20 August 2014, claiming that students could pay as much as \$100,000 for their degrees, which would exclude low SES students from the market (White, 2014; Smith, 2014). During this time, the sector was divided and the Go8 found very little support from other university consortia. The Abbott Government responded by amending its legislation to the point where the Go8 eventually withdrew its endorsement. It could no longer perceive any tangible advantage for its members, which contributed to the Bill's failure to pass the Senate in 2015.

The rift between the Go8 and other university groups was temporarily relaxed when all universities united to condemn proposals initiated by the new Minister of Education and Training, Simon Birmingham in the 2017-2018 Budget. His proposals included a 2.5% - efficiency dividend amounting to a \$2.8 billion reduction in Government funding, a 1.82% annual increase in HECS-HELP student contributions, and the lowering of HECS-HELP repayment threshold from \$55,000 to \$42,000. That Bill also failed to pass the Senate, due to opposition from a now united higher education sector. The strategy that the Government finally adopted was to suspend the demand-driven system with a freeze on university places until the end of 2019. The issue of teaching quality was not raised by the Go8 in relation to the proposed funding cuts, but it was raised in relation to a new initiative which invited universities to compete for \$80 million worth of funding that was “coming out of savings that the Government ‘banked’ by capping university places” (Go8, 2019a).

The greatest challenge for the Go8 regarding quality and teaching effectiveness emerged with the *Final report for performance-based funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme* (DET, 2019b), which ended the two-year freeze of the *Commonwealth Grants Scheme*. From

2020, funding was performance-contingent and cumulative over the years to a maximum amount of 7.5%, with the possibility of using un-allocated funds to assist poor performing institutions.

Performance-based funding (PBF) was allocated to institutions based on how well they performed in measures to assess undergraduate student experience/satisfaction, success/attrition, equity group participation for Indigenous students, low SES and regional/remote students, and graduate outcomes. These measures were intended to promote a high-quality education system and provide effective and reasonable incentives to improve universities' performance in teaching and students' employability (DET⁷⁵ 2019a, p 7).

The Go8 Chair, Professor Dawn Freshwater⁷⁶, Vice-Chancellor, University of Western Australia, endorsed the recommendations of the report, having sat on the panel that wrote it. The recommended core performance measures were ones in which the Go8 universities tended to excel. Early reports from other university groups also demonstrated they were prepared to work with the BPF in return for increased funding, which would be tied to student enrolments (RUN, 2019; ATN, 2019; IRU, 2019). There appeared to be less resistance to its principles and objectives than previous attempts to introduce full fee-paying undergraduate places.

6.6 Mergers

Possibly the greatest perceived threat to the dominance of the established universities was the pressure imposed on them by Dawkins to amalgamate with the CAEs. However, by the time these mergers were completed in the early 1990s, it became evident that whilst some changes were inevitable, the cultures, values and missions of the universities that formed the Group of Eight, remained intact. This was despite the Go8s having absorbed institutions, whose main purpose and focus was teaching.

⁷⁵ Department of Education and Training.

⁷⁶ Professor Freshwater was appointed as Vice-Chancellor at the University of Auckland from March 2020.

Mergers were not new to global higher education. America had recorded institutional mergers since 1940, and Britain had merged institutions since the release of its White Paper on Higher Education in 1966. During the 1980s the Netherlands as well as Australia, both used institutional mergers to reduce costs in their higher education budgets. In Australia, this led to forced amalgamations⁷⁷ between 30 CAEs (Gamage, 1993). Harman & Harman (2003) noted that amalgamations rarely occurred between universities. If a university merged with another institution, it most likely involved “‘take-overs’ of one or more smaller non-university institutions, rather than consolidations” (p 39), which occurred under the UNS.

By 1992, mergers involving the Go8 universities were concluded. The only institution that did not absorb other higher education organisations was the University of Western Australia, despite the initial pressure for it to merge with Murdoch University. The issue was not forced because both institutions were large enough to warrant Government funding in the UNS, and because Western Australia had already undergone a significant re-structure of its higher education sector under the Fraser Government (Macintyre, et. al, 2017). Table 6.2 reflects the mergers that occurred between the Go8 universities and Colleges and Institutes and the year when those mergers were completed.

⁷⁷ An amalgamation usually refers to two institutions of similar size and mission combining their resources.

Table 6.2 - Mergers by Go8 University, Colleges and Institutes, and Date of Merger

Go8 University	College/ Institute	Date of Merger
Adelaide	Adelaide Campus of the South Australian College of Advanced Education	1991
	Roseworthy Agricultural College	1991
ANU	Canberra Institute of the Arts	1992
Melbourne	Hawthorn Institute of Education	1991
	Victorian College of Agriculture and Horticulture	1991
	Victorian College of the Arts	1991
	Victorian College of Pharmacy.	1991
Monash	Chisolm Institute of Technology	1990
	Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education	1990
	Gippsland Institute of Advance Education	1991
	Victorian College of Pharmacy	1992
Queensland	Queensland Agricultural College	1990
Sydney	Sydney College of the Arts	1990
	Sydney Conservatorium of Music Sydney Institute of Education	1990
	Institute of Nursing Studies at Sydney College of Advanced Education	1990
	Cumberland College of Health Sciences	1990
UNSW	St George Campus of the Sydney College of Advanced Education	1990
UWA	No amalgamations occurred	N/A

Inevitably, there were concerns over the merging of institutions with different academic cultures. Whilst the older universities had offered some vocational programs since their establishment, particularly the most highly regarded degrees of medicine, law, dentistry and engineering, they also channelled significant resources into basic research, collaboration/competition with international scholarly communities and increasing research partnerships with industry. Harman (1991) argued that the new universities were different from pre-UNS universities if only because of their multiplicity and variety of courses, many of which had been offered by the former CAEs and institutes. He viewed the amalgamations in a positive

light, believing that they delivered more advantages and benefits to a greater number of students. But he also noted problems in establishing new administrative and academic structures, ensuring the equitable treatment of staff, and efficiently utilising resources.

Important decisions needed to be made regarding how teaching and research would be funded and supported. Amalgamations produced a range of issues including:

- increased administrative and teaching loads due to the expansion in numbers of bachelor degree students;
- concern that former college and institute staff would be given preferential treatment in relation to competition for research grants; and
- lower standards due to the influx of college and institute students and the promotion of staff from those organisations, possibly to the detriment of university staff seeking promotion (Mildred, 1991).

Ultimately, Dawkins' plans for creating fewer, larger universities succeeded, as thirty years later the original amalgamated institutions still existed, with another three newer ones having joined their ranks. Fears that the older, established universities had concerning potential damage to their reputations, research capabilities, finances and the quality of their staff and students dissipated, and the measures by which they were judged, favoured research performance. The benefits for former college and institute staff were better pay and conditions, higher status, with opportunities to improve qualifications, undertake research and participate in the international academic community. Such outcomes ensured that the cultures of the research-intensive universities effectively absorbed the CAEs, with research continuing to dominate teaching, which did little to reward staff who preferred to teach (Moses & Ramsden, 1992; Mahony, 1995; Potts, 2011). The Go8 worked hard through lobbying national governments and

networking at the international level to ensure that its members maintained, and where possible, improved their standing, in the major international league tables that recognised research above teaching performance.

Table 6.3 records Go8’s success in international university ranking league tables over the past decade. This was despite increased competition from both established research universities and upcoming research-intensive universities, and more recently, from Asian universities who have put considerable resources into improving their rankings (Levin, 2010; Australian Government, 2012; Altbach, 2015a).

Table 6.3 - Group of Eight universities’ rankings in the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), Times Higher Education Rankings (THE) and Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World University Rankings league tables, 2010 and 2019.

Group of Eight universities	ARWU		THE		QS	
	2010	2020	2010	2019	2010	2019
Adelaide	201-300	101-150	73	=135	103	106
ANU	59	76	43	49	20	24
Melbourne	62	41	36	=32	38	39
Monash	151-200	73	178	=84	61	=59
Queensland	101-150	54	81	69	43	48
Sydney	92	80	71	=59	37	42
UNSW	151-200	94	152	=96	46	45
UWA	101-150	99	200+	134	89	86
No of Go8s in the top 100 places	3	7	5	6	7	7

Sources: ARWU (2010, 2019), THE (2010, 2019) and QS (2010, 2019).

6.7 Teaching

By the time the Go8 had established its office in Canberra in 2000, attempts to develop a national approach to teaching evaluation had already begun through initiatives including the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission’s (CTEC) discipline reviews in 1986 and the

review of honours programs undertaken by the Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee's (AVCC) through the *Academic Standards Program* in 1988. Dawkins was keen to extend Government control to vocational and university education. He did not trust the established universities to self-regulate programs and teaching standards. Dawkins wanted newly amalgamated institutions to develop graduates who would address the nations' skills shortages and improve productivity on par with the leading OECD and other economically successful countries (Dawkins, 1987a; 1988). Successive governments sought to control and manage university teaching, seeing it as vital for the continued growth of international education, which earned \$35.2 billion in 2018 (DET,⁷⁸ 2019b).

The Go8's policy and issues papers over the past twenty years revealed that its primary interest was research performance and the funding required to support it. Ironically, this was despite much of the funding being provided by international full fee-paying students. Against the backdrop of Commonwealth Governments' agendas for strong economic growth in an increasingly competitive global economy, the success of higher education was seen as crucial. Universities' reputations continued to be based on world rankings with research standing pivotal.

When the Go8 addressed the issue of teaching, it was principally in relation to increased competition for both domestic and international students. This led to the Go8 applying pressure on the Government for universities to set their own fees, and for the higher education sector to have access to consistent mechanisms for the assessment of teaching quality (Go8, 2000, 2007).

With regards to fee deregulation, the Go8 argued that the Government's funding formula for undergraduate places, was antiquated and unresponsive to graduate demand with many skilled workers imported from overseas. It claimed that the curriculum was too narrow and inhibited competition and diversification (Go8, 2007, p 28). The Go8 believed that allowing

⁷⁸ Department of Education and Training.

deregulation of tuition fees would be advantageous to its members as they could properly fund their courses.

The Go8 revisited the issue of diversification in its paper, *Higher Education Standards and Quality* (Go8, 2010). This was in response to the Government's new standards regulator, the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA), which the Go8 believed would further enforce conformity within the sector. It argued that TEQSA's role should be to monitor and safeguard registration standards and that "higher education providers should be allowed to set their own standards themselves, as this is the best way to promote innovation and diversity in the national system." (Go8, 2011).

The *Higher Education Standards Framework (Threshold Standards) 2011* (TEQSA, 2011), which supported the *Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) Act 2011* (Australian Government, 2011), had oversight of institutional learning and teaching, including course accreditation, facilities and spaces, staff engagement in scholarship, resourcing and updating courses, assessment, student learning outcomes, and staff expertise and availability. The Go8 reduced TEQSA's regulation of quality assurance in learning and teaching in favour of increased institutional autonomy, when the Standards and the Act, were reviewed in 2016 (DAE⁷⁹, 2017; Go8, 2016).

Apart from lobbying for increased funding and clear regulatory arrangements for teaching quality to enhance participation in global competition, the Go8 delivered minimal leadership on the issue of teaching improvement. It allowed the Government to set the agenda in this area, leaving implementation to individual universities. Such a strategy allowed the Go8 to pursue its main agenda of protecting, promulgating and expanding its members research strengths.

⁷⁹ Deloitte Access Economics.

In its recent response to *the Government's Performance-based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme Discussion Paper*, the Go8 emphasised that “Go8 teaching and learning activities delivered more than \$4.9 billion to the Australian economy” (Go8, 2019b). It also pointed out that having 7 out of 8 of its members placed in the top 100 universities listed in the *QS World University Rankings*, was “a definitive statement of performance and quality” (Go8, 2019b).

The figure of \$4.9 billion was derived from a London Economics report commissioned by the Go8. The amount represented approximately 7.4% of the total contribution that Go8 universities made to the Australian economy in 2016, which was estimated at approximately \$66.43 billion for that year (Conlon, et al., 2018, p iii).

The Go8 used this data to support its claim that its members were world-class institutions and therefore required minimum regulation. The Go8 was particularly concerned about any diminution of research activity and maintained that its members' research performance, upon which reputations were based, was the chief reason why students consistently applied to the Go8s as their first choice for study (Go8, 2019b).

In its promotional publication *Go8-Facts-of-Distinction 2019* (Go8, 2019c), the Go8 promoted its success in university world ranking league tables, its ability to attract high quality students both nationally and internationally (particularly at the postgraduate level), its financial contribution to the Australian economy and its group's cumulative research and commercialisation record. Whilst emphasising its accomplishments in world-class research, there was no mention of world-class teaching. Teaching was not mentioned at all. The publication mentioned its success concerning course completions and graduate outcomes, but it did not address student experience or student support.

The Go8's *raison d'être* was to protect the interests of its members, by persuading governments to support and reward research, and by “developing elite international alliances and partnerships” (Go8, 2019b). To exploit its influence internationally, the Go8 became a signatory to *Global Research Intensive Universities Network* (GRIUN) (Maslen, 2013) to ensure that Go8 universities were at the cutting edge of global developments in research and in a stronger position to influence higher education policy.

Of most importance, was the Go8's decision to be a signatory to the *Hefei Statement on the ten characteristics of contemporary research universities*⁸⁰ (LERU, 2013), which identified goals to increase the effectiveness of research universities. These included the meritocratic selection of staff and students, breadth and depth of research effort, and a reaffirmation of research integrity and academic freedom. Of note was the Go8's overall commitment to:

The right to set its own priorities, on academic grounds, for what and how it will teach and research based on its mission, its strategic development plans, and its assessment of society's current and future needs; and the right to determine who it will hire and admit, including an ability to recruit internationally to attract the best people to achieve these priorities (Hefei Statement, 2013).

The signatories to the Hefei Statement were under pressure from governments to deliver on national priorities and wanted to reassert their autonomy on research agendas. The only mention of teaching in the Statement referred to signatories' reliance on research to produce graduates who could “contribute to the national welfare” (Hefei Statement, 2013). This reinforced the Go8's view of teaching as a corollary of and subordinate to research.

⁸⁰ Three other research university networks were signatories to the Hefei Statement: the League of European Research Universities, Association of American Universities and Chinese 9 Universities.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined the Group of Eight as the body that represented the interests of Australia's eight research-intensive universities. It analysed the Go8's views on teaching in relation to its overriding interest in research and found that the Go8 considered teaching to play a supportive role. The Go8's decision to be a signatory to the HEFIE Statement (which demonstrated minimal interest in teaching quality), its submissions to government, its published reports and its website which promoted rankings and research, all indicated that teaching it considered teaching to lack status and reward. The Go8 left these matters for individual members to address rather than provide a consortium-wide approach to improving teaching quality.

The next chapter will explore each individual Go8 university's commitment to teaching in terms of support for staff in relation to pedagogical skills and methodologies, rewards and recognition, and workloads and promotion. The value ascribed to teaching will also be examined in comparison with the status, benefits and incentives to teaching-research and research-only positions within the academic workforce.

Chapter 7 - The role of teaching in the Group of Eight universities

7.1 Introduction

To understand why the Group of Eight (Go8) universities adopted teaching specialist positions, each institution's commitment to teaching was examined. This chapter focuses on the Go8s' responses to government and industry pressures to provide high quality education to advance economic development and prosperity. It analyses their support for the teaching-research nexus which Go8s used to define themselves. The value that Go8s placed on teaching is assessed by comparing their marketing publications and website information against their annual reports, human resources policies, enterprise agreements, academic research and media commentary. This chapter also examines each Go8's performance in relation to their receipt of national and international teaching awards and grants, and feedback from student surveys on teaching quality.

7.2 Shifting the focus to teaching

Analysis of each Go8 university's strategic plans gauged the importance of teaching as portrayed in mission statements and goals. These plans were a departure from collegial academic planning, to one where senior management controlled the future direction of teaching (Howes, 2018; Davis, 2017). Appendix 2 provides the name of every vice-chancellor, or equivalent, their years of service and the strategic plans for which they were responsible since the introduction of the Unified National System (UNS) in 1989.

John Dawkins, Minister for Employment, Education and Training in the Hawke Labor Government (1987–1991), specified a seven-point blueprint for strategic planning (Dawkins, 1988, p 104). The blueprint provided guidelines for developing each institution’s educational profile upon which funding was contingent. Consequently, there was considerable uniformity in universities’ strategic plans. Notwithstanding this, these plans provided an insight into what each institution valued through its priorities, objectives and targets.

In their earliest strategic plans, the Go8 shared a commitment to:

- being recognised as global universities;
- attracting high quality students and staff nationally and internationally;
- contributing to the social, cultural and economic development of the nation;
- diversifying their funding bases by developing networks and collaborations with industry and overseas universities.

Research rather than teaching dominated these plans, yet there were indications of a shift towards increased support for teaching, although in the University of Adelaide’s case, this was not always welcomed.

Adelaide’s first strategic plan (Adelaide, 1987) was simplistic and formulaic in requiring every faculty to address the issue of promoting quality education. This elicited a range of strategies, including a review of courses and the introduction of new teaching methodologies and the use of information technologies. However, the plan encountered resistance in some faculties. The Faculty of Arts maintained that it had always promoted quality in its curricula and teaching. The Faculty of Agricultural Science indicated that the strategic planning exercise had undermined faculties’ autonomy to deliver effective educational outcomes. It believed that “the

nexus between good university teaching and research, and the maintenance and expansion of research, will promote quality learning” (Adelaide, 1987, p 60).

The Australian National University (ANU) held a similar view in its *Commitment to change: strategic plan, 1988-1992* (ANU, 1988). ANU indicated that undergraduate students’ access to leading researchers, larger numbers of postgraduate research students than other universities, and well-equipped libraries, provided the nexus required between teaching and research. There was little mention of teaching either in relation to quality improvement, professional development opportunities, or reward and recognition for staff. The Plan referred to services for the improvement of teaching and pledged “to raise the quality of the presentation and organisation of University courses” (ANU, 1988, p 19). However, it provided no measures to achieve this.

In ANU’s *Faculties Sectional Plan*, which formed part of the strategic plan, there was reference to “strengthening and developing new initiatives in teaching” (p 32) within the Faculty of Arts. These initiatives sought to “ensure close integration between teaching and scholarly research in the humanities and social sciences” (p 33). Every other faculty listed reducing, increasing or re-locating staff and deleting or adding programs under the heading of “Teaching” in their plans.

Looking to the Future. The Strategic Plan for The University of Melbourne (Melbourne, 1988), highlighted the lack of Government funding at a time of rapidly expanding student numbers. In his introduction to the Plan, Melbourne’s Vice-Chancellor, Professor David Penington pointed to the growing success of the Asia Pacific region, which had invested more than Australia in research and development and stood to capitalise on its gains in international educational markets. However, the Plan only briefly addressed the issue of quality improvement

in teaching by stating the University's commitment to a constant review of "course structure, curricula and assessment ... by departments, faculties, the Academic board and external experts to ensure the maintenance of high standards and modern teaching methods" (Melbourne, 1988, p 15).

The University of Queensland prioritised teaching quality in its *Strategic Plan 1992 – 1996* (Queensland, 1991). The Plan relied on professional training in current theories and methodologies, where career progression required "pedagogic competence" and "success as a teacher" (Queensland, 1991, p 7). To assess effectiveness in teaching, the Plan identified the need to develop performance targets and student evaluations focused on "teaching quality, student progress and completion rates" (p 8).

The University of New South Wales (UNSW) used the Unified National System (UNS) and the measures that it imposed for strategic planning, as an opportunity to restructure its faculties and facilities. It embraced the new managerial culture and established a Corporate Planning Committee to modernise the university. The only significant mention of teaching was an intention to create "more efficiencies in teaching arrangements throughout the University". (UNSW, 1988, p 7). No information was provided in relation to how efficiencies would be achieved.

The University of Western Australia's *Strategic Plan* (UWA,1992), indicated that a high standard in teaching would improve undergraduate student retention, thus adding more students to UWA's postgraduate pool. This indicated that teaching's role was seen principally to prepare and support students to undertake research. The University argued that benchmarking learning and teaching at an international level addressed the "emerging trend in leading universities world-wide to re-focus on teaching and the undergraduate curriculum" (UWA, 1992, p 7). It was

evident that the university felt pressure to improve teaching in order to compete with the world's "leading" universities.

The University of Sydney was the last Go8 to produce an institutional strategic plan, *The University Plan, 1994–2004* (Sydney, 1994). The Hoare Committee's emphasis on "excellence in management and accountability" (Hoare, 1996, p 1), influenced the strategies and performance indicators that Sydney adopted. These included:

- providing support mechanisms to reduce student attrition rates;
- creating an academic staff development plan and schemes for rewarding excellence;
- instituting international benchmarking and longitudinal studies on students' experiences;
- instituting schedules for revising and updating curricula in Faculty and College Plans;
- providing staff development opportunities, including access to certification courses in teaching;
- producing an Equity Plan⁸¹ with specified equity targets and timelines (Sydney, 1994).

Monash University planned to upgrade pedagogical skills, reward teaching excellence and extend opportunities for staff development. (Monash, 1990). Its strategies to improve teaching included the provision of training courses and course evaluations through its Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit. It also included outside study programs to update staff on the latest developments within their disciplines (Monash, 1990). Monash's commitment to growing its student numbers, both nationally and at its overseas campuses in Kuala Lumpur, Mumbai, Prato and Suzhou, led to a focus on life-long learning, principally to upgrade professional qualifications. This involved offering joint courses and collaborative teaching with

⁸¹ The issue of equity was a prominent one in the Hawke/Keating Labor Governments (1983 - 1996). The *Higher Education Equity Programme* in 1985 encouraged universities to implement courses and strategies to increase participation of non-traditional students. This was later linked to institutional operating grants from 1991, where universities were given additional funding to meet their equity targets (Gale & McNamee, 1994; Ramsay, 1999). Equity continued to be an enduring theme for Australian higher education, for economic as much as social reasons, and quality teaching was required to retain an increasing diversity of students.

staff from other universities, providing more on-line courses for students, and increasing credit transfer arrangements between Monash and the Technical And Further Education (TAFE) sector. The workload pressure on teaching staff, including casual staff, to accommodate the numbers and diversity of students, resulted in heated enterprise bargaining negotiations between the University and the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) during 2012-2014 bargaining round (NTEU, 2013).

Comparing the Go8's institutional strategic plans against their 1990 annual reports, revealed that teaching rarely attracted attention. Winning research grants and the successes of individual researchers tended to dominate reports. When teaching was promoted by Go8s, it was seen as a means to advertise the consistently high entrance scores required for admission to their programs, to applaud the recipients of government and institutional teaching awards, and to demonstrate global outreach through collaborations with overseas universities in the provision of joint degrees.

7.3 Embedding teaching quality in institutional planning

From the latter half of the 1990s, Go8 universities' strategic plans (see Appendix 2) were required to include evidence of alignment of institutional missions with their objectives through meeting the targets set in performance indicators. This was in response to the Government's increasing demands for accountability and financial management. Ironically, it was also at a time of declining public funding "from 96 per cent [of total funding] in 1983 to an anticipated 87 per cent in 1997" (Hoare, 2006, p 117). The Government sought to deflect criticism of its funding of universities, by targeting the inefficiency of universities' administrations.

The Hoare Review (Hoare, 1995) warned that whilst professional accountability "had long been accepted in research through publication and peer review attention[was] now turning

increasingly to accountability for teaching and service” (p 3). This new focus on teaching was precipitated by Government and community pressure to address unmet demand for student places, which was estimated to be around 55,000 (i.e. 25%) students (Bartlett & Rowan, 1994, p 5). An increase in student numbers meant an increase in range of interests and abilities, which university teaching needed to address (Meek, 1994).

The West Review supported the Hoare Review’s recommendations for making universities’ administrations more business-like, but it went further in promoting teaching quality. The *Learning for Life: Review of Higher Education Financing and Policy Final Report* (West, 1998) emphasised the need to “ensure that public funding for tuition is driven by students’ choice” (West, 1998, p 15) in relation to institutions and courses. The rationale was that there would be greater differentiation between institutions in the future. They would focus on their strengths and offer courses which provided “high quality learning experiences” (West, 1998, p 16) and “lead more directly to employment outcomes (West, 21998, p 114). The Report recommended that universities advertise their services to students, implement student complaints procedures and promote “an enhanced teaching culture in higher education institutions to balance the established research culture” (West, 1998, p 38).

The Go8s responded to the Hoare and West Reviews by restructuring their administrative workforces to re-direct money to research and the creation of services and units to support student learning and teaching staff. Paradoxically, whilst the numbers of administrative staff at the lower levels of classification were reduced, new middle and senior management positions were added to universities’ staffing. This resulted in a “bicephalous structure ... of senior administrators (registrar, bursar and other divisional heads) working alongside the vice-

chancellor and a small number of senior academics (deputy and pro vice-chancellors) with delegated areas of responsibility” (Macintyre, et al., 2017, p 210).

Regardless of whether restructures did much to reduce the overall staffing budget, some Go8s chose to invest in new supports for staff and students, including students from equity groups. New centres emerged, including UWA’s Teaching and Learning Centre (1995) and its Albany Centre which delivered educational services in remote regions (1998), Melbourne’s Centre for Indigenous Education (1997), Queensland’s Teaching and Educational Development Institute (1998), and UNSW’s The Learning Centre (1999). Some of these centres replaced existing units that previously provided support to staff and students, whilst other Go8 universities such as Adelaide, ANU and Sydney retained and upgraded their existing support units. The requirement to include new digital technologies and new teaching methodologies did much to create units that were better equipped to respond to developments in teaching and learning.

To ensure the quality of their graduates and their status as elite universities, the Go8s applied more resources to teaching, particularly as competition from both national and international universities became more intense (McInnis, et al., 2000; Asmar, 2002; Norton, et al., 2013). The need to improve teaching was fuelled by ongoing pressures from government, industry and organisations such as the OECD, which regularly published scores on sector performance through their *Education at a Glance* series (OECD, 2019).

7.4 Marketisation and vocationalism

Go8 strategic plans focused on new frameworks (e.g. *The Triple Helix; The Melbourne Model* (University of Melbourne, 2006); *UNSW Scientia Educational Experience* (UNSW, 2015); *Five Pillars to Excellence* (University of Adelaide, 2019a), strategies and ambitious performance indicators to achieve teaching quality. More importantly, their efforts were designed to impress

the higher education market. Links to industry groups were also used by the Go8s to demonstrate their innovation and relevance by providing “career ready” courses for their students. Marginson (1997) commented that university advertising increasingly “provided less information to aid student choices, and more statements about positional value” (p 9).

Because of their focus on self-promotion, strategic plans usually did not address issues of implementation and budget (Anderson et al., 1999). Many institutions preferred to leave those details to their operational plans (i.e. learning and teaching plans). As competition between the Go8s escalated, operational plans became accessible to university staff only. Although Australian public universities were partially funded by taxpayers, their transparency was limited by the intensity of competition within the sector. As one vice-chancellor explained:

We have a broad plan and that is publicly available; the more detailed ones are not. The reason is obvious: lots of thought and money has gone into positioning the university to be competitive. We don't want to give that away. Also, there are areas of performance which we do not want to publicise (Anderson, et al., 1999, p 27).

The Government's focus on vocational education and training, following the West Report in 1998, significantly affected Go8 universities. This was inevitable once student numbers expanded. Not all students were destined for postgraduate study/research. Providing new cohorts with flexible learning opportunities for future workforce demands, meant that teaching needed to “demonstrate the relevance of courses” (Hoare, 1995, p 2).

The Go8s had always offered professional degrees, but now their generalist undergraduate degrees were increasingly expected to address workplace skills shortages (Business Council of Australia, 2015; Universities Australia, 2018a, 2018b; Rumbens, et al., 2019). Staff developed new courses and teaching methods in collaboration with industry. The new curricula included units which provided opportunities for work integrated learning to prepare students for roles in future employment. To ensure the relevance of teaching and

learning in the workplace, representatives from industry were offered membership on Faculty Boards and discipline committees. Similarly, academics participated in business and community groups, to ensure the currency of their knowledge regarding the latest developments in industry (Winter, et al., 2006; McIlveen, et al., 2009; Edwards et al., 2015).

The Go8's recent strategic plans reflected Universities Australia's (UA) commitment to implement work-integrated learning in all its 39 member universities⁸² in collaboration with the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Australian Industry Group, the Business Council of Australia and the Australian Collaborative Education Network (UA, et al, 2015). This initiative produced a report (UA, 2018), which focused on the effectiveness of Australian universities in delivering courses that provided practical work experience to improve graduate employability.

The Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) required that all registered higher education providers comply with the *Higher Education Standards Framework* (2015d). *Standard 5.3.1* mandated that all courses were benchmarked and formally reviewed, with the latter requiring external reviewers. *Standard 5.3.4* specified that courses be regularly monitored to ensure “the quality of teaching and supervision of research students, student progress and the overall delivery of units within each course of study” (TEQSA, 2015e). Such oversight ensured the relevance and currency of course content, pedagogical skills and expertise in course delivery, and ultimately, students' investment in their degrees. Continued registration as a Table A Provider depended upon adherence to the Standards, which was reflected in all Go8 universities' learning and teaching policies.

⁸² Membership includes the 37 Tables A Providers listed as Australian public universities listed in the Higher Education Support Act 2003 (Australian Government, 2020) and Bond University and the University of Notre Dame. The latter two universities are private institutions, who receive limited funding from the Commonwealth Government.

The Go8s were also required to meet standards set by external accrediting agencies such as Chartered Accountants Australia, Engineers Australia, Australian Medical Council (AMC), Australian Dental Council (ADC) and Australian teacher registration authorities in each state, for professional degrees that they offered. External accreditation required that universities' courses reflected proficiency in the understanding and application of current professional knowledge and practices.

TEQSA endorsed the standards set by these bodies as evidence of professional competence. Sections 189 and 194 of the TEQSA Act recognised the need to avoid the duplication of reporting for the same programs, which otherwise placed an added regulatory burden on institutions (Australian Government, 2011).

The Commonwealth Government's *Final Report on Performance-Based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme* (DET, 2019b) supported industry's expectations of Australian higher education. It proposed that more attention be given to the quality of teaching and student support "to ultimately achieve the best possible graduate outcomes" (DET⁸³, 2019a).

In response to the increasing demands of regulatory authorities and community expectations, but more specifically to the competition within the national and international higher education sectors, the Go8s' strategic plans (see Appendix 2) committed to the following goals for learning and teaching:

- new and restructured teaching spaces to provide access to the latest information technology and teaching methodologies;
- greater effort to obtain student feedback in addition to the survey results published on the Government-sponsored Quality in Learning and Teaching (QILT) website (e.g. UNSW's

⁸³ Department of Education and Training.

myExperience Survey (UNSW, 2019a); Melbourne's *Subject Experience Survey* (Melbourne, 2019a);

- maintaining face-to-face campus-based learning for students as an important element in teaching, whilst also combining or “blending” it with the latest on-line delivery options;
- joint ventures with overseas universities to provide courses and incentives that encouraged students to study overseas as part of their degrees;
- focusing on new work-integrated learning pathways to encourage students to engage with industry for both employment and research-related experiences.

7.5 Teaching-research nexus

The idea of a mutually beneficial link between teaching and research, often referred to as the teaching-research nexus, gained popularity following World War II, when research began to overtake university teaching in both rewards and status (Clark, 1994). Neumann (1992) offered the most useful and widely accepted description of the “nexus” which involved “the dissemination of the latest advanced knowledge by “teachers who have 'gone beyond the average level of knowledge”” (p 162). The advantage to students entailed “a questioning, critical approach to knowledge” (p 164).

Neumann also researched student perceptions of the nexus and found that “not all active researchers were identified as good teachers, suggesting that active research involvement [was] a necessary but not sufficient condition for good teaching.” (Neuman, 1994, p 336). When she reviewed the literature on the nexus, Neuman found that the:

Empirical evidence is inconclusive and many studies of this nexus have suffered from incomplete conceptualisation. There is a need for systematic, unbiased study of the possible interaction of the teaching and research roles of academic work, in order to enhance understanding of the operation of the core work roles of academics, as well as to

assist policy making and the implementation of change at institutional and national levels (Neuman, 1996, p 5).

Whilst Neuman reported that there was genuine belief in and support for the nexus amongst senior academics in universities, she acknowledged that the higher education community was divided over whether research informed teaching (Neumann, 1992). Hattie & Marsh's (1996) analysis of 58 studies questioned whether teaching and research were as interconnected as claimed. They found the link between them to be "zero" (p 507) and an "enduring myth" (p 527) but did not dismiss the nexus as either undesirable or unattainable. They noted that teaching and research competed against each other, and it was often difficult to achieve quality in both areas. Tight's (2016) investigation of the nexus delivered similar findings, prompting him to ask whether it was worth persisting with (p 204).

Brew & Boud (1995) argued that the disparity of opinion was more due to inconclusive research and that it was important to examine "underlying values associated political agendas" (261). Taylor (2007) supported this view and indicated that the debate would continue as teaching and research were fundamental to universities and distinguished them from other institutions. Clark (1994) believed that the nexus was "a magnet for resources, power and prestige" which tested "the limits of scarce resources" (p.16). This raised the question of whether Go8s could afford to implement a rigorous teaching-research nexus in their courses, in an environment where Commonwealth funding was in decline.

The issues for the Go8s, who exploited the teaching-research nexus to differentiate themselves from other universities, were complex. It was generally accepted that postgraduate students were guided by active researchers and the latest developments in research methods during their training. All Australian universities were required to deliver both teaching and research to maintain their accreditation as universities (Australian Government, 2015), and all

provided research training to students at honours level and above. To compete in this environment, the Go8s marketed themselves as high ranking research institutions with superior research staff who provided superior quality teaching. To further differentiate themselves as elite institutions, the Go8s claimed that their undergraduate students experienced high level research-led teaching. The irony concerning their claims was that there was no conclusive evidence which established that good researchers made good teachers. However, the nexus remained an ideal and a marketing tool until it was either too expensive to implement, or the market no longer valued the concept of research-led teaching, or both. This issue is explored in Section 7.6 below.

7.6 Individual approaches to quality improvement in teaching

The main factors influencing each individual Go8 university's approach to ensure quality teaching, were examined to establish their commitment to improvement and their methods for achieving this. Most institutions declared varying levels of support for the teaching-research nexus, which was used to highlight the quality of teaching and market institutional prestige. For many, this was replaced due to government and industry pressure to provide a stronger vocational focus to curricula and student learning.

7.6.1 Monash University

Monash's *Learning and Teaching Plan 2005-2007* (Monash 2005b), identified the definition of a teaching-research nexus as necessary to assist the recognition of "quality learning and teaching". The Plan also included continuous review of programs, student learning, teaching and assessment. A spreadsheet contained strategies, actions, responsibilities and timelines against stated objectives. A quality cycle and revised planning framework were also developed to support the Plan. Monash's Annual Report 2004, indicated that "\$503,000 was distributed from

the Learning and Teaching Innovations fund to faculties and support units for development of graduate attributes, international curricula, flexible offerings, technology supported-learning, and the teaching-research nexus” (Monash, 2005c, p 9).

However, undergraduate handbooks for Bachelor programs in Arts, Commerce, Law, Medicine and Science from 2006 - 2010 revealed that, until 2008, the only programs that provided research training were a small number of Science courses (i.e.) Biology, Chemistry, Psychology and Pharmacology) and Law (Monash, 2005d, 2006a, 2007, 2008a). This reflected a need for research skills which were required for students wishing to pursue a research career in the sciences. No evidence was found of research-led teaching in the Arts, Commerce or Medicine undergraduate programs. This indicated that the plan to integrate the teaching-research nexus in bachelor degrees was not followed, despite funding being allocated to academic areas for its implementation.

From 2009, program objectives (i.e. graduate attributes) appeared in all undergraduate handbooks (Monash, 2009a). These claimed to equip students with research skills in “quantitative and qualitative analysis” that would “develop a capacity for independent critical analysis” (Monash, 2009a). Whether the objectives equated to ideals rather than achieved outcomes was unclear, as reports on integration of the objectives were not evident.

Many of the changes that Monash undertook to improve teaching, such as the *Monash Experience Questionnaire* (Monash, 2006b) were a direct result of audits imposed on all Australian universities by the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA). These included the establishment of the Centre for the Advancement of Learning and Teaching (CALT) and the introduction of teacher training for staff, with the development of three Graduate Certificate courses in Higher Education, Law Teaching and Health Professional Education (Monash, 2007).

In 2008, Monash chose an aggressive marketing approach with its publication, *The Monash Passport*. The teaching-research nexus was replaced “with international exchanges, leadership programs, work training programs and volunteer and research opportunities as a grounding for outstanding careers” (Monash, 2008). Research informed learning was replaced by a strong focus on vocationalism and equipping students for the job market. This reflected the shift towards work integrated learning in industry and the professions (McLennan & Keating; 2008; Patrick et al., 2008; Cooper, et al., 2010).

References to “teacher directed learning, peer directed learning and online engagement” under the heading of “Workload requirements” were included in the handbooks for every course, in every bachelor degree that Monash offered. The opportunities for overseas study and work experience continued to represent important components of undergraduate programs, usually as a six-unit compulsory component of a degree structure. There was also opportunity for extension, by converting units from the Free Elective Study component of the program or by accessing the compulsory Global Immersion aspect of some programs, which offered field work in overseas locations. Such an approach provided strategies for work and cultural experiences, which were easier to articulate, implement, assess and report than research-led teaching.

In all its strategic plans, Monash committed to flexible and life-long learning through distance and on-line technologies, and networking and collaborations with other institutions and organisations to make it competitive in the global higher education market. Whilst Monash achieved good results in the international league table rankings,⁸⁴ and it attracted the most first preferences for university study in the State of Victoria in 2018/2019 (VTAC, 2019), this did not translate into equivalent ratings for teaching quality and student satisfaction. Monash achieved

⁸⁴ Monash was 75 in the 2019-2020 THE rankings, 73 in the ARWU rankings, and =58 in the QS rankings.

only two 5 Star ratings in *The Good Universities Guide*⁸⁵ (GUG, 2020) for Student Demand and Student Retention out of 14 categories and scored 21 for Teaching Quality and 22 for Overall Quality out of 37 Table A providers (GUG, 2020). (See Appendix 3).

7.6.2 *The Australian National University*

In its *ANU buy 2010* strategic plan, ANU claimed that all its teachers were active researchers who continued to “challenge conventional modes of teaching and explore new means of opening up their disciplines” with students benefitting from “diverse ways of approaching facts and flexible modes of learning” (ANU, 2011, p 9). The Plan represented the sentiments of many Australian universities and the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) at that time. However, that attitude changed. The Go8s’ realised that a stated commitment to the nexus was meaningless. If it was to be retained, evidence was required to demonstrate that linking research to teaching improved pedagogy, student learning and graduate outcomes.

In its *Strategic Plan 2020-2022*, ANU admitted that it needed to respond to global competition, which had accelerated due to “seismic changes in pedagogy and massive investment in research innovation” (ANU, 2019a, p 18). In relation to learning and teaching, ANU acknowledged that it was “not good at working and communicating across the units of the University” and it had “to become more actively engaged with business and industry” (ANU, 2019a, p 11). In responding to the lack of inter-disciplinary and work-related opportunities for students, ANU committed to collecting and addressing feedback on student satisfaction and improving the University’s learning infrastructure.

In 2018, ANU published *A Vision for Excellence in Learning and Teaching at The Australian National University*. The document provided little more than a bland statement on

⁸⁵ The Good Universities Guide is produced by The Good Education Group, an independent company, that publishes statistics on a range of criteria to allow comparisons to be made regarding universities’ performances.

aspirational values. Although it did mention placing students at the centre of learning and teaching and enriching the learner experience, no detail was provided regarding how this would be achieved. An *ANU Educational Researcher Network* (ANU, 2020) was established for academic staff interested in publishing research in education-related areas. A list of suggested areas was listed on the website, but again, no further detail was provided.

What worked to ANU's advantage was its student: staff ratio, which represented the best of the Go8s at 13:1 (GUG, 2020), and the fact that it had the least number of estimated casual staff of the Go8s (Department of Education, 2018). Whilst it did not guarantee quality teaching, it provided staffing numbers and expertise that were conducive to quality outcomes. Because ANU's main focus was on research and postgraduate study (ANU, 2014), there was less pressure on the university to produce vocational education. Students were expected to advance to postgraduate level and excel in research, and ANU's priority was to perform well in the international league table rankings.

ANU's research achievements reflected its ranking as the top Australian university in the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World University Rankings (QS, 2019). Its contention that students benefitted from being taught by leading researchers in their fields, may have contributed to ANU's rating of 7th out of the 37 Table A Provider universities for Teaching Quality, in *The Good Universities Guide* (GUG, 2020) (see Appendix 3).

This represented the highest ranking amongst Go8 institutions. Teaching quality was assessed on the extent to which students "felt lecturers and tutors actively engaged them in and demonstrated concern for learning, provided clear explanations of coursework and assessment inspired them intellectually, seemed helpful and approachable and provided useful feedback on work" (GUG, 2020). However, this result could equally have been due to small class sizes.

ANU's most significant initiative regarding teaching quality was to require:

All staff with teaching responsibilities... to meet the requirements of an ANU Higher Education Academy (HEA) fellowship (or equivalent) and become a fellow as a part of their probationary conditions, or within a year of transfer, unless they are a principal fellow of the HEA. All PhD students and fixed-term and affiliated staff with teaching responsibilities can complete an HEA fellowship (ANU, 2019c)

This effectively gave responsibility for the quality assurance of teaching and learning to UK's Higher Education Academy (now Advance HE). This equated to minimal effort undertaken by ANU's senior management to ensure that the standard of education satisfied students' and staff expectations.

7.6.3 *The University of Adelaide*

Adelaide's *Beacon of Light Strategic Plan 2013 - 2023* ("Beacon") sought to apply research-led teaching to its academic programs (Adelaide, 2013) by introducing small group learning through its *Small Group Discovery Experience* (SGDE) initiative. This was based on Humboldt's model of teaching and research, which required 'collaboration between students and researchers and working together in small groups to make new discoveries' (Adelaide, 2015a). It was promoted by the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Warren Bebbington as an opportunity for undergraduate students to benefit from the expertise of leading academics. He based this initiative on his own undergraduate experience where students "met professors in small classes and [were] fortunate to learn from exceptional teachers who inspired and challenged" (Adelaide, 2014).

Bebbington's plan for the University of Adelaide to remain a small university, went against the national trend for expansion (Schriever, 2014, p 7). His vision for teaching at Adelaide required senior academic staff to reduce their number of lectures and/or post them online, so that time saved could be spent with students in small group discussions. When the

initiative commenced in 2014, it was touted as an opportunity to “turn back the clock on the massification of higher education over the past 20 years” (Adelaide, 2014). Adelaide was the only university at the time committed to offering small group learning in all its undergraduate programs. Whether experienced academic staff and particularly the professors to which Bebbington alluded, had engaged with the SGDE, was not evident.

In 2015, the Adelaide Academy was established to support teaching-only academic staff. This initiative and the SGDE contributed to Adelaide being shortlisted amongst 27 other universities worldwide, for the UK Higher Education Academy’s inaugural Global Teaching Excellence Awards (Adelaide, 2017b).

However, by the beginning of December 2017, the only reference to the existence of SGDE was in the *Coursework Academic Programs Policy* (Adelaide 2019b), which required that: “All programs will... include at least one SGDE in each year of the Program (except where the Program leads to a Professional Certificate or Graduate Certificate)”. Bachelor degree students experienced some form of small group learning at least three times within their degree. This denoted a diminished response to the original intention advocated in the Beacon, which was to: “enliven a spirit of freedom to investigate new fields of learning” and support “discovery in long-term, basic research” (Adelaide, 2013, p 7).

Adelaide returned to a focus on research, when its plan for “turning away from enrolment growth to focus on student learning quality” (Adelaide, 2015a) was exchanged for one of significant growth (Adelaide, 2019a). The proposed merger of Adelaide with the University of South Australia in 2018, with their combined research strengths, was seen to have the potential to place the new institution in the top 100 universities in the world (Bolton, 2018). It was argued that the merger would attract more international students and researchers to South Australia.

(Schriever, 2018). Adelaide's *Strategic Plan Future Making. A 21st century university for Adelaide* (Adelaide, 2019a) was a response to the failed merger talks (Bolton, 2018; Bosivert, 2018; Richardson, 2018). The new plan focused on attracting high quality staff and students, facilitating growth through "subject-based admission" from 2020 and more aggressive marketing specifically targeted at recruiting international students. Although "teaching quality" was mentioned in the document, it did not include any strategies for improvement.

7.6.4 *The University of Melbourne*

In 2005, Melbourne focused its efforts on building a framework for teaching and learning on the *Nine Principles Guiding Teaching and Learning in the University of Melbourne* (Baldwin & James, 2002) and *The Teaching-Research Nexus* (Baldwin, 2005). These publications broadened and enhanced the alleged interconnectedness between teaching and research. Baldwin claimed that Pascarella & Terenzini (2005) in the US, reported the benefits of such an approach. *The Teaching-Research Nexus*, offered practical advice on improving teaching by infusing it with the latest research, including the lecturer's/tutor's research projects, building research activities into undergraduate assessment, and providing opportunities for students to be involved in departmental research projects.

Whether staff implemented these ideas was unclear, as Melbourne's Vice-Chancellor, Professor Glyn Davis (2005-2018) commenced at the University, with an ambitious agenda of his own. His *Growing Esteem* theme was integrated into three consecutive five-year strategic plans (Melbourne 2005; 2010; 2015). These plans adopted very different strategies for learning and teaching.

To improve its market share of high achieving students, and particularly to increase its revenue from international student enrolments, Melbourne's leadership decided on an ambitious

approach to learning and teaching in 2008, known as the *Melbourne Model*. Influenced by the Bologna Declaration (1999) and the Bologna Process (2001) (EHEA⁸⁶, 2019), Melbourne developed its Model hoping to further extend its access to students internationally and to create opportunities for its domestic students to study abroad (Melbourne, 2019b). Six generalist three-year bachelor degrees replaced the former 96 offerings. These allowed students to focus on their major area of interest whilst studying courses from other disciplines. This provided the breadth of knowledge and experience that Melbourne believed would be required by employers. Graduates who specialised in a specific area of study had to undertake a two-year masters research degree⁸⁷. These changes attracted strong opposition from staff, many of whom faced redundancy as a result of the changes, students, the NTEU and the media (Morton, 2007; King, 2011; Newman, 2015).

The only mention of a link between teaching and research was in Melbourne's claim that their degrees were "taught by renowned researchers and industry leaders recognised globally for their outstanding achievements" (Melbourne, 2019b). Whether world-renowned staff were engaged in teaching at the undergraduate level, was questionable. Even if they had been, the question of whether they were effective teachers was debatable, as there was no conclusive evidence to establish that quality researchers delivered quality teaching.

Kniest⁸⁸ (2014) estimated that nearly half the teaching undertaken in Australian universities was undertaken by casual employees. Table 7.1 below shows that an average of

⁸⁶ European Higher Education Area.

⁸⁷ Ironically, the *Melbourne Model*, which reflected a European model of higher education, did not succeed in significantly increasing its numbers of European students, as its 2018 Annual report revealed that the majority of international students were from Asian countries (Melbourne, 2019c).

⁸⁸ The Commonwealth Government's Department of Education only provides aggregate number of casual staff rather than unit records of individual casual staff, so Kniest's calculations were based on data obtained from and crossmatched between the Commonwealth Government's Department of Education staffing data, TEQSA's identification of staff on casual work contracts, and Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA) data.

36% Actual Casual⁸⁹ Staff full-time equivalent (FTE) staff were involved in teaching in Go8s during 2017. The number was much higher for Teaching Only Actual Casual FTE staff. However, the data was skewed by the fact that Monash did not report any continuing and fixed-term staff as Teaching Only. Similarly, ANU reports very few continuing and fixed-term staff in this category. Despite these anomalies, it was clear that majority of teaching at most Go8s was undertaken by casual staff. Melbourne had the highest percentage (i.e. 51%) of Actual Casual staff with teaching comprising part or all their academic workload. Whilst they may have demonstrated exemplary teaching, casual staff were not mentioned alongside the world-leading researchers referred to in the website information promoting teaching quality in the *Melbourne Model* (Melbourne, 2019b).

Table 7.1 – Group of Eight University by Continuing and Fixed-Term Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) Staff and Actual Casual FTE Staff, by Function, 2017.

Group of Eight University	Teaching Only FTE Staff				Teaching & Research FTE Staff			Total of Teaching Only and Teaching & Research FTE Staff	
	Continuing & Fixed-Term Staff	Actual Casual Staff	Total Teaching Only Staff	% of Teaching Only Staff who are Casual	Continuing & Fixed-Term Staff	Actual Casual Staff	Total Teaching Only Staff	Actual Casual Staff	Casuals as a % of all Teaching Staff
Adelaide	84	215	299	72%	762	0	762	215	28%
ANU	5	240	245	98%	1,041	68	1,109	308	28%
Melbourne	338	748	1,086	69%	1,459	0	1,459	748	51%
Monash	0	654	654	100%	1,789	73	1,862	727	39%
Queensland	150	451	601	75%	1,134	0	1,134	451	40%
Sydney	167	830	997	83%	1,892	0	1,892	830	44%
UNSW	53	619	672	92%	1,662	3	1,665	622	37%
UWA	108	131	239	55%	714	0	714	131	18%
Totals and averages %	905	3,888	4,793	80%	10,453	144	10,597	4,032	36%

Source: Department of Education, Skills and Employment, Selected Higher Education Statistics Staff (2017 and 2018).

⁸⁹ Actual Casual Staff FTE figures are published the year after FTE continuing and fixed-term staff figures are released.

After the *Melbourne Model* was introduced in 2008, Melbourne struggled to attract the majority of Victorian first preference applications to its courses. Table 7.2 indicates that prior to its new degree structure, Melbourne was the premier university in its state for student demand. Since 2008, Monash has held that position, which suggested that domestic students could discern no significant advantage in pursuing the *Melbourne Model*, given that it entailed further extensions to their study with additional HECS debts.

Table 7.2 - University of Melbourne and Monash University VTAC first preferences reports at two-yearly intervals, 2000/2001 – 2018/2019

Group of Eight (Victoria)	2000/01	2002/03	2004/05	2006/07	2008/09 (1 st year of the Melbourne Model)	2010/12	2012/13	2014/15	2016/17	2018/19
Melbourne	10,836	11,605	11,515	12,224	10,961	10,038	12,192	12,464	13,067	13,500
Monash	9,757	10,845	10,825	11,996	13,623	15,203	15,078	15,551	15,947	16,985
TOTAL (all Victorian universities)	56,283	62,931	60,129	62,092	64,939	68,385	70,889	73,148	72,114	70,861

Source: Victorian Tertiary Admissions Centre, Reports and Statistics (2020).

The increasing dominance of Monash, and Melbourne’s poor performance in the Course Experience Questionnaire data (GUG, 2020; QILT⁹⁰, 2020) (see Appendix 3), prompted Melbourne to declare in its *2018 Annual Report*, that for the last seven years (i.e. since 2012) it had “attracted students with the highest ATARs in Victoria” (Melbourne, 2019c, p 19). Melbourne also highlighted its success in attracting 44% of the market share of international applicants, its commitment to new learning infrastructure and its Flexible Academic Programming project as proof of its commitment to “High Quality Teaching and Learning” (Melbourne, 2019c, p 18). The Plan failed to mention strategies to improve university teaching.

⁹⁰ Indicators for Learning and Teaching.

7.6.5 *The University of New South Wales*

In 2002, UNSW's Council pledged \$3 million to raise the profile of teaching under the leadership of Professor Adrian Lee, Pro Vice-Chancellor (Education and Quality Improvement). He created the *Innovative Teaching and Educational Technology Fellowship Scheme* (ITET Fellows) to provide mentoring to new staff at the university, in addition to two programs to assist students new to university: *First Year Experience Awards* and *Peer Mentoring as Support for First Year Students*. Underpinning these changes was the commitment to updating University policy to include performance in these programs as criteria for promotion (UNSW, 2003; Cooper, 2004).

UNSW's *Academic Promotion: Policy and Procedures* document (UNSW, 2005b), introduced peer review of teaching equal to peer review of research in terms of rigour and status. Staff could specify their contribution to teaching, research, and service. Faculty Learning and Teaching Review Panels evaluated applicants' teaching portfolios for consideration by Faculty Promotion Committees and University Promotion Committees. The weightings for teaching were up to 60% of academic workload. UNSW maintained teaching quality as a basis for promotion to Professor (Level E) in successive academic policies and procedures (UNSW, 2019b; 2019c, 2019d).

In its *2005 Strategic Plan*, UNSW claimed that the teaching-research nexus enriched the learning experience and outcomes for all its students (UNSW, 2005a). UNSW also published *The research-teaching nexus* (2005c), which outlined the importance of linking research to teaching and examples for achieving this. The *Guidelines on Learning that Inform Teaching at UNSW* (2005d), provided strategies that delivered staff support, career development, quality assurance and rewards for teaching. The Guidelines informed the *Learning and Teaching Plan*

2005-2007, where the integration of the teaching-research nexus in student learning and institutional culture was UNSW's No. 1 Goal (UNSW, 2005e). Staff were provided with a toolkit containing templates for reporting on various aspects of the nexus, together with an extensive list of resources. Forums were held for staff to share experiences and practices. Case studies, faculty initiatives and student feedback on the nexus were circulated (UNSW, 2005d), along with the website explaining its benefits (UNSW, 2005e). UNSW led the state in the money allocated to it from the Commonwealth Government's *Learning and Teaching Performance Fund* in 2007 and 2008 (UNSW, 2006; 2007). In the first decade of the twenty first century, UNSW (largely due to the Lee's efforts) genuinely believed that linking research to teaching would benefit both teaching staff and students.

With Lee's retirement in 2006, UNSW's focus on teaching lost momentum. A major restructure occurred in 2006, under the university's new leadership, with greater emphasis on streamlining governance and administration (UNSW, 2006). Pedagogy focused on the scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL), with particular emphasis on "how students learn" (UNSW, 2009). The *Course and Teaching Evaluation and Improvement (CATEI) Process* was created to obtain student feedback on educational experiences at UNSW and more recognition was given to staff who won national awards and grants related to teaching. Lee later commented that "many VC's main CPIs⁹¹ [sic] relate to improving research standing... However, most parents naively think the Universities are driven by a desire to educate their children well" (Lee, 2019). The University continued to pay lip service to the quality and benefits of the teaching it provided, whilst channelling resources into research performance.

⁹¹"CPIs actually referred to KPIs (Key Performance Indicators).

UNSW underwent a major re-structure when it recruited Ian Jacobs as its vice-chancellor in 2015. He immediately prepared staff for his new strategic direction for the University, the *UNSW 2025 Strategy* (UNSW, 2015). The proposed changes were costed at \$3 billion. Jacob's focus was on improving UNSW's international rankings. To position it in the top 50 universities in the world required "setting up an institute of global development; and recruiting 100 "stellar" academics from Australia and around the world" (Powell, 2018). Jacobs had ambitious plans for education. UNSW claimed it was the model of both a research-intensive and a teaching-intensive university (UNSW, 2015). This inferred that they were equally important and equally supported. To achieve the teaching-intensive component, the University planned to employ 25% of UNSW's academic workforce in teaching specialist roles by 2025 (UNSW, 2018a). This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

7.6.6 *The University of Queensland*

Queensland was one of the most pro-active Go8 universities in responding to changes to teaching in higher education, both at the national and international levels. It was very successful in winning Australian Awards for University Teaching⁹²(AAUT), which commenced in 1997 (see Appendix 3). From 2009 – 2018, the Go8s won 91 out of 146 combined *Awards for Teaching Excellence* and *Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning*⁹³, which equated to 62.3% of the total pool. Of those, Queensland led with 26 or 17.8% of these awards, with the Queensland University of Technology as its closest rival on 19 awards or 13% of the total

⁹² From 1 January 2018, responsibility for the AAUT was transferred from the Australian Learning and Teaching Council to Universities Australia.

⁹³ These represented the most prestigious government-funded teaching awards, other than the Outstanding Teacher of the Year Award. These awards are discussed later in this chapter.

awards (ALTC⁹⁴, 2009 2010, 2011, 2012; Universities Australia, 2015, 2016a, 2017b, 2018c). See Appendix 3.

In 2007, Queensland was one of the first Australian universities to introduce teaching-focused positions to its academic workforce (Illing, 2007). Probert (2013) highlighted Queensland as an exemplar of university teaching, stating that: “One of the earliest and most serious responses to the new focus on the quality of teaching came from The University of Queensland” (Probert, 2013a, p 14). The new positions, known as Education Specialists, were essentially teaching roles with responsibility for improving teaching quality across the university. They represented the University’s response to its *Report of the Working Party on the Diversity of Academic Roles* (Queensland, 2007a). The Report noted that: “practice in other Australian universities, and at many overseas institutions, suggests that teaching-focussed academic appointments are commonplace, and an important part of staffing structures” (p 4). Most Go8 universities eventually adopted these positions in one form or another.

Following the Hoare Report (1998), Queensland’s strategic plans from 2000 – 2018 emphasised student-centred learning and improving the student experience. The University’s focus turned increasingly towards developing “international collaborations, and industry and professional links” (Queensland, 2013, p 9) and incorporating “more industry-focused learning in the curriculum” (Queensland, 2018a, p7).

The vocationalisation of the University’s curriculum was significantly influenced by student feedback from market research conducted in 2007. Healey (2008) noted that Queensland’s “(strong tradition, research and so on) [were] now less relevant to prospective students than career outcomes” (p 25). The report found that: “Culturally, students don't see the value or relevance of research excellence... They are more impressed by lecturers who have

⁹⁴ Australian Learning and Teaching Council.

worked in industry than studied it (p 25). Healey indicated that Queensland changed its marketing strategy on the strength of the report's findings, which resulted in a 10% increase in student applications in the 2007/2008 admissions cycle.

Queensland's *Student Strategy 2016-2020 White Paper* (Queensland, 2016) reflected the Government's agenda for future growth and this was used to drive the University's *Strategic Plan 2018-2021* (Queensland, 2018a). The University implemented work-integrated learning through "industry placements, industry projects, work simulations, field experiences, entrepreneurship/enterprise" (Queensland, 2018a).

Queensland established inquiry-based Undergraduate Research Programs and Summer and Winter Research Programs, which claimed to provide students with the opportunity to work alongside "leading academics and researchers" (Queensland, 2020d). Every faculty offered projects within these programs, which comprised a component of students' degrees. Queensland also provided students at undergraduate and postgraduate levels with opportunities for work experience, with staff appointed at each faculty to advise students (Queensland, 2020e).

Whilst there were programs to assist teachers in course design and online learning using the latest technologies, it was evident that the focus was on the student experience. The only support for Teaching-Focused staff was a website listing 3x2 hour sessions provided by the *UQ Learning and Teaching Focused Network* (Queensland, 2020f). These sessions were open to any staff who wished to attend. Staff wanting to further their career in teaching were directed to the HEA@UQ website (Queensland, 2020g), thus delegating responsibility for teaching quality to UK's Advance HE's international academy for university teachers.

The "Measures of Success" which Queensland used to gauge the effectiveness of its teaching strategies included:

“1. An increase in student satisfaction with their UQ student experience

2. An improvement in the employability of our graduates” (Queensland, 2016, p 14).

Queensland admitted that this was a simple approach when it first referred to these measures in its White Paper (Queensland, 2016, p 14), and indicated that there would be many more to follow. However, no other measures were added. Teaching staff who sought further feedback on their teaching could access the peer observation program (Queensland, 2018b). Additionally, they could consult the University’s promotion policies and procedures which provided criteria for assessing levels of proficiency in teaching in relation to academic staff classifications.

7.6.7 *The University of Sydney*

Soon after his appointment as vice-chancellor at the University of Sydney, Dr Michael Spence committed to restructuring governance to make it more accountable and responsive to changes in global and Australian higher education. A period of consultation with staff, students and external stakeholders commenced in 2009, resulting in the *Green Paper* (Sydney, 2010a), the *White Paper* (Sydney, 2010b) and Sydney’s *2011-2015 Strategic Plan* (Sydney, 2011a). The Green Paper identified two major challenges for the University: “an increasing international competition for the most able staff and students, and an increasing range of public policy aspirations for the university sector in Australia (Sydney, 2010a, p 16). This required a significant restructure of its governance and curriculum. The University committed to two major strategies – “mutual accountability” and “engaged enquiry” (Sydney, 2010b, p5). The latter entailed a major review of undergraduate programs that would demonstrate a “seamlessness in the learning of our students and our researchers as they work to sharpen their skills in critical thinking and analysis for the purpose of advancing knowledge and understanding” (Sydney, 2010b, p 5). Cross-disciplinary teaching and research were proclaimed

to be the “core” of the University’s vision for academic work with opportunities for “community-based learning⁹⁵” (Sydney, 2010b, p 6).

This approach was abandoned in 2015, with links between research, teaching and learning replaced by a strategy that openly challenged Melbourne’s dominance within the sector⁹⁶. *Strategy 4* in Sydney’s 2016–20 Strategic Plan (Sydney, 2016) outlined a new curriculum framework with an increased number of vocational options. The new one-year Bachelor of Advanced Studies degree, which could be added to a general bachelor degree. A Professional/ Specialist Master’s degree or an Advanced Specialist Master’s degree (+1-2 years), provided specialist skills for students wanting to work in the business sector. The new degrees provided work integrated learning and addressed the growing trend towards vocational training in Australian universities (McLennan & Keating; 2008; Patrick, et al., 2008; Edwards et al., 2015). Sydney also produced a research-focused option, called the Dalyell Program, which was promoted as providing extension studies for high-achieving students.

Brown & Griffiths (2015) raised the issue of additional cost to students undertaking the new degrees and reported that although “acknowledging the proposed four-year degrees may be more costly, Dr Spence [Sydney’s Vice-Chancellor] said it would be worthwhile if it made graduates more employable” (para. 6). Naylor (2015) also saw the initiative as a revenue-raising exercise for the University, in much the same way as Melbourne had with the *Melbourne Model*, and believed that the proposal would “likely have little impact on the student experience” (para 5).

⁹⁵ Community-based learning included work experience for both students and research staff in “civil society ... government, the intergovernmental organisations, and the business world” (Sydney, 2011b, p 6).

⁹⁶ Despite Monash’s dominance in attracting the majority of Victorian first preference applications to its courses, Melbourne maintained its prestige within the sector. Ironically, this was based mainly on its international research rankings rather than its *Melbourne Model*.

Underpinning these new degrees, were opportunities for students to access project-based learning, interdisciplinary study, and a greater array of student exchanges. In 2018, Sydney exceeded its targets for the Bachelor of Advanced Studies by 50% and more than 900 students enrolled in its Dalyell Program (Sydney, 2019c, 2020a), which indicated a strong market for its new programs. Despite the demand for these programs, they did not reflect a positive student experience, as the University rated 29 in Learning Engagement and 33 in Teaching Quality amongst the 37 Table A Provider universities (GUG, 2020) (see Appendix 3).

To support staff in developing its new vocational undergraduate and postgraduate programs, Sydney implemented its *Modular Professional Learning Framework* (MPLF) (Sydney, 2019d) in July 2019. This consisted of 19 two-hour modules, all of which were offered via on-line, face-to-face, or a hybrid of both delivery methods. The modules were aligned with the UK Higher Education Academy's *Professional Standards Framework* to ensure that staff training conformed to international standards. Whilst, the MPLF was a centrally run program, staff could opt to include faculty-specific courses towards their accreditation (Liu, 2019).

To ensure the quality of teaching associated with these changes, Sydney incorporated peer review into its evaluation of teaching (Sydney, 2016, p 39). This was in response to TEQSA's requirement that "academic governance include rigorous scrutiny and peer review of academic activities, carried out independently and separately from the staff who are directly involved in those activities" (TEQSA, 2017a). An added pressure for compliance was the example of other institutions who had incorporated peer review into their teaching and promotions procedures. However, there was much debate regarding its structure and implementation (Ramsden & Martin, 1996; Casey, et al., 1997; Harris, et al., 2008). Sydney left peer review to faculties to manage, in deference to adopting an institution-wide approach. This

represented a minimalist attitude towards teaching quality, particularly as Sydney had sufficient resources to provide a comprehensive and uniformly supportive peer review program for all teaching staff.

7.6.8 *The University of Western Australia*

From 1990, UWA attempted to improve the status of teaching. However, these attempts were haphazard. This was largely due to leadership and budgetary issues.

Reference to research informing teaching as an educational principle and priority, featured in UWA's Annual Reports and on its Teaching and Learning websites from the late 1990s to 2004. The University planned to "incorporate original research in the undergraduate teaching and learning program" (UWA, 1997) and established a task force in 1998 "to further promote the teaching-research nexus, along the lines of the Boyer Commission report in the United States" (UWA, 1998). No report was made publicly available.

When UWA was audited by the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) in 2004, AUQA noted the University's stated commitment to the teaching-research nexus was evident in some faculties. The audit panel found examples of research "directly informing their teaching, in terms of curriculum content, readings and opportunities for students to participate in research projects" (AUQA, 2004, p 31). However, it questioned the lack of a "symbiotic relationship" (p 31) between teaching and research.

In its *Annual Report 2000*, UWA referred to its success in linking teaching and research to a new Teaching Internship Scheme for PhD students, designed to enhance the employability of its interns (UWA, 2001b). This scheme was commended by AUQA and two new programs were consequently added: *Introduction to University Teaching*, and the *Teaching Fellowship Scheme*. What UWA chose not to mention was AUQA's observation that, while in principle,

UWA was highly supportive of the teaching-research nexus; in practice, it appeared to take it for granted (AUQA, 2004). To remedy this, the Report recommended that the University “develop explicit policies, practices and performance measures focusing on the nexus between teaching and research (AUQA, 2004, p 32). However, the nexus disappeared from UWA’s major publications after 2004. Instead, the Centre for the Advancement of Teaching and Learning was established in 2005, providing teaching resources and support, resembling similar developments across the sector (UWA, 2005).

Clark (1998) had observed earlier that rhetoric often lagged behind reality for institutions who tried to implement the nexus across all levels of learning. He attributed this to the cost of such an exercise. He also questioned whether it was appropriate to involve undergraduate students, who were not “sufficiently sophisticated in a domain of knowledge” (p 16) to benefit from the experience. This was particularly since the undergraduate cohort had steadily expanded exhibiting an increasing diversity of ability in relation to critical thinking and an understanding of the complexity of knowledge.

In 2012, UWA introduced its *New Courses* curriculum, which closely resembled the *Melbourne Model*. The undergraduate student curriculum was restructured into five general bachelor degrees, with new opportunities for postgraduate professional and research qualifications. The rationale was to align UWA “with other leading international universities and ensure that a UWA education provide[d] the best possible opportunity for graduates to pursue careers anywhere in the world” (UWA, 2012b).

In that same year, Professor Paul Johnson was appointed as vice-chancellor and the teaching-research nexus re-emerged as a significant marketing strategy in UWA’s *Strategic Plan 2014 – 2020* (UWA, 2014). UWA, once again, claimed that the nexus would permeate all levels

of student learning across all disciplines in the University. The *Education Futures* website listed values, including: transformative teaching, evidence-based teaching, experiential learning, integrated research experiences and global citizenship and leadership (UWA, 2015a, 2015b), which it sought to embed in UWA's curriculum.

These values underpinned UWA's four educational principles, which entailed life-long learning, critical thinking, cultural literacy, and high level written and personal communication (UWA, 2012). Whilst the values and principles represented sweeping aspirational statements, they provided no detail regarding how learning and teaching would be research-led. The Undergraduate Degree Structure in 2015 (which was three years after the introduction of the new degree structure), revealed that "advanced training in communication and research skills and individual academic mentoring" did not occur until students were enrolled in an honours program (UWA, 2015c).

In 2015, Professor Johnson announced that 200 professional and 100 academic staff positions would be abolished, with 50 new academic positions created to address changes required to deliver UWA a competitive advantage in the sector (UWA, 2015d). He indicated that UWA's significant financial shortfalls, as a consequence of the Abbott Coalition Government's failure to secure fee-deregulation for undergraduate programs, were a contributing factor (Burrell, 2016). By September 2016, Professor Johnson had left the University, in the middle of the restructure that eventually led to the reduction of 5 faculties and 4 schools to 4 faculties and 2 schools by the beginning of 2018. The new vice-chancellor, Professor Dawn Freshwater oversaw the *Research-led Project* which produced 16 recommendations introducing initiatives to improve teaching (UWA, 2017a). These initiatives were replaced by the strategic publication, *UWA 2030*, in which Professor Freshwater gave an undertaking that UWA would

“commit to teaching excellence through a refreshed performance framework, recognised by a fellowship scheme and supported by peer evaluation” (UWA, 2019b, p 13). Professor Freshwater left UWA in March 2020 to take up the role of vice-chancellor at the University of Auckland.

What emerged from the Go8s’ strategic plans and education policies, was a common desire to consolidate and improve their standing in the national and global higher education communities. Whilst many initially genuinely believed that teaching informed by research would enrich students’ learning, it proved to be a difficult and costly exercise at the undergraduate level. Most Go8s were forced to abandon the ideal of the teaching-research nexus, irrespective of whether it represented a sincere belief that it would improve teaching, or whether it was regarded purely as a marketing strategy. Competition and diminished resources forced the Go8s to focus on graduate employability and the student experience as measures of teaching quality. To remain competitive, they succumbed to pressure from governments, industry, other universities and students to vocationalise their courses. Teaching quality became synonymous with being up-to-date with the latest information technologies and workplace skills. Knowledge was increasingly confined to servicing the economy by ensuring that students were job-ready, leaving academics with reduced control over course content and teaching methodology.

7.7 Teaching performance

The issue of quality has been depicted as “a complex, elusive, value-laden and controversial concept which is difficult to articulate and to define” (Soliman & Soliman, 1997, p 136). Nonetheless, several attempts were made to measure and assess the effectiveness of teaching in universities, in order to improve students’ learning experiences and educational

outcomes. The main publications, data sets and incentives used to report on or encourage quality teaching included:

- *The Good Universities Guide* (produced by a private company, The Good Education Group,);
- higher education reviews and statistical information, produced by the Commonwealth Government's departments with responsibility for Australian higher education;
- Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching (QILT) website (funded by the Commonwealth Government);
- National and international teaching awards.

Despite criticism regarding the criteria used to assess teaching quality and particularly the dependence of the sector on student surveys for evaluation of teaching (Dowell & Neal, 1983; Penny & Coe, 2004; Pounder, 2007; Zabaleta, 2007), these reports could not be ignored.

Table 7.3 below provides data on Go8 student: teacher ratios and their performance in areas relating to teaching quality and student support. Only an average score was provided for the Student: Staff Ratio, as a number of universities reported the same ratios.

Table 7.3 - The Good Universities Guide rankings of Group of Eight Universities by Student Staff Ratio, Teaching Quality, Student Support and Learning Resources.

The Good Universities Guide ratings	Adelaide	ANU	Mel-bourne	Monash	Queens-land	Sydney	UNSW	UWA
Student: Staff ratio (Average for all Table A Providers – 22:1 ⁹⁷)	21:1	13:1	19:1	21:1	24:1	17:1	19:1	22:1
Staff Qualification ⁹⁸	6	1	17	4	2	26	5	25
Student Demand ⁹⁹	30	6	2	1	8	3	5	7
Student Retention ¹⁰⁰	23	5	1	2	27	3	6	10
Learner Engagement ¹⁰¹	18	31	28	15	17	29	20	30
Learner Resources ¹⁰²	25	34	28	22	5	36	33	21
Skills Development ¹⁰³	20	29	27	18	16	28	34	37
Teaching Quality ¹⁰⁴	19	7	14	21	4	33	35	26
Graduate Salary ¹⁰⁵	22	18	36	26	20	21	11	32
Getting a Job ¹⁰⁶	33	21	32	17	14	8	7	37
Overall Quality	20	16	27	21	9	34	36	19

Source: *The Good Universities Guide* (2020).

Each year, *The Good Universities Guide* (“Guide”) collected, collated and published data from surveys and reports on 37 HESA Table A Provider universities, and two private institutions, Bond University and the University of Notre Dame. The latter were omitted from Table 3 for the purpose of data parity. The Guide compiled its student satisfaction and graduate outcomes data from the *Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching* website (QILT, 2020), which stored the results from the national *Student Experience Survey* and the *National Graduate*

⁹⁷ Each Go8’s student to staff ratio was included rather than a ranking, as institutions often share the same ration.

⁹⁸ Proportion of staff who hold a Masters or PhD degree.

⁹⁹ Proportion of students with the highest Australian Tertiary Admissions Rank (ATAR) score.

¹⁰⁰ Retention of students who progress through to the second year of study.

¹⁰¹ Students who experienced interaction with other students and staff during their degree.

¹⁰² Students who were satisfied with their study materials, equipment, spaces, IT resources and library facilities

¹⁰³ Students who believed that their critical thinking and problem-solving skills, written and oral skills, and knowledge of their field developed during their courses.

¹⁰⁴ Students were satisfied that teaching staff were approachable and actively engaged them in learning and provided clear explanations of and feedback on coursework and assessment.

¹⁰⁵ The median salary of graduates.

¹⁰⁶ Proportion of graduates who were employed full-time four months after completing their course.

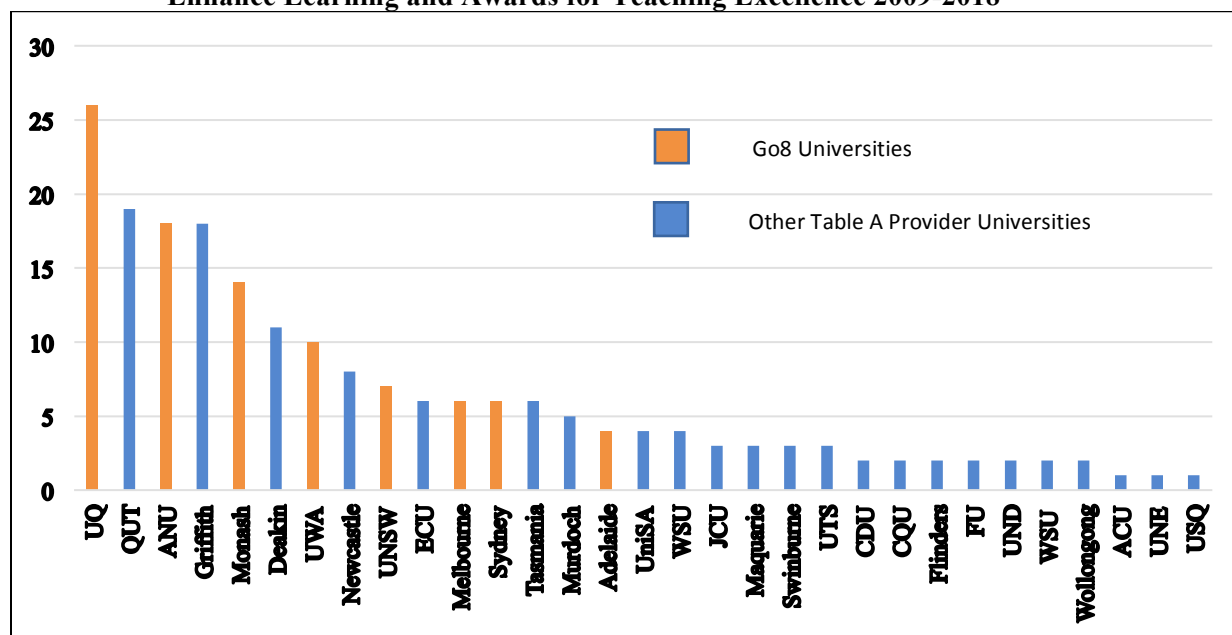
Destination Survey. Data on student-staff ratios was obtained from the 2018 higher education statistics on the Department of Education, Skills and Employment's (DESE, 2020b).

Ten out of the fourteen categories that the *Guide* collected were included in Appendix 3 because they held relevance for teaching quality. Whilst there were some categories in which the Go8s performed well (e.g. student demand, student retention, staff qualification, teaching quality), this was not consistent across the consortium. It was difficult to identify correlations between categories. ANU's low student to staff ratio might have contributed to its relatively high score for teaching quality. However, it did not explain why Queensland performed better than any Go8 in teaching quality, despite having the highest student to teacher ratio amongst Go8 universities.

The Go8s rated well below the national average in most of the *Guide*'s categories. According to students' experience of teaching recorded in the *Guide*, the Go8s performance indicated considerable scope for improvement. The irony was, that despite the weight of negative data in comparison to other universities, the Go8s still attracted the highest ranking students. This raised the question of just how useful the *Guide*'s data was in assisting students in choosing a university. Earlier studies indicated that internationally recognised qualifications and reputations, usually based on league table rankings, influenced students' and particularly international students' choices of institutions (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Jackling, 2007; Yang, 2007). However, other factors such as location of campuses and choices of programs, both of which favour Go8s, could be equally important. The Go8s increasingly relied on market research through institutional student surveys to inform them of the changes required to maintain their competitiveness.

The Go8s fared much better in national teaching awards, which they dominated during the last decade. This indicated their competitiveness and level of resources which had a bearing on the calibre of staff they employed in their universities.

Figure 7.1 - Table A Provider recipients of combined Australian Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning and Awards for Teaching Excellence 2009-2018



Sources: Australian Learning and Teaching Council, 2009, 2010, 2011; Universities Australia, 2015, 2016a, 2017b, 2018).

Over the past decade, the Go8s were the recipients of 54 (39%) out of 138 of the most prestigious national awards for teaching and learning, with the remaining 84 (61%) allocated to 24 other Table A Provider universities. Each year a presentation was made to the *Outstanding Teacher of the Year*. Since its inception, the Go8 were the recipients for the years listed below:

- ANU - 2010 (1)
- Monash - 1998, 2009, 2015 (3)
- Queensland - 2000, 2003, 2004, 2019 (4)
- UNSW - 1999 (1)
- UWA - 1997 (1)

Sources: Universities Australia, 2019c).

In the 2018 *Global Teaching Excellence Awards* sponsored by Advance HE¹⁰⁷, the University of New South Wales was amongst twelve finalists chosen from an international field (Advance HE, 2019a).

Table 7.4 – Innovation and Development Grants by Group of Eight Universities, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2016.

Group of Eight University	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
Adelaide		1	3		1	1
ANU			1			
Melbourne	2	2	2	2	2	1
Monash	1			4	2	2
Queensland	3	1	2	1		
Sydney	2	1		1	1	1
UNSW	1	2	3	1		
UWA			1			1
Total number of grants lea by Go8s & total income	9 \$1,405,458	7 \$1,137,730	12 \$2,583,000	9 \$1,231,000	6 \$1,283,000	6 \$1,350,000
Total number of grants & income	20 \$3,066,635	24 \$4,416,496	22 \$4,519,000	33 \$4,798,000	20 \$4,631,000	15 \$4,629,000

Sources: The Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education, 2007; Australian Learning and Teaching Council, 2008, 2010; Office of Learning and Teaching, 2012; Department of Education, 2016)

Table 7.4 above provides a record of the Go8s’ success in securing *Innovation and Development Grants*¹⁰⁸ (IDGs), which were introduced by the Commonwealth Government in 2006 and discontinued in 2016. They were originally called the *Competitive Grants Scheme* from 2006-2009 and their priority was to deliver “research and development focusing on issues of emerging and continuing importance” (ATLC, 2009c) in learning and teaching. They provided substantial incentives in funding and prestige compared to other grants. This created a

¹⁰⁷ Advance HE was formed in 2018 following the merger between the UK’s Higher Education Academy (HEA) and the Leadership Foundation and the Equality Challenge Unit. It is an international body with worldwide membership, focused on improving teaching quality and the professionalisation of teaching in higher education.

¹⁰⁸ These grants were administered by the The Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education, from 2006-2007, by the Australian Learning and Teaching Council from 2008- 2011, and by the Office of Learning and Teaching, 2012 - 2016).

competitive environment which encouraged hundreds of submissions from academics each year. However, it favoured the Go8s who were both “resource rich” and strong in research (Wheelahan, 2007). This persuaded the Gillard Labor Government to change the criteria and the name. Greater emphasis was given to collaboration between universities and application to teaching practice, in order to spread funding evenly across the sector. The grants also fostered collaboration between institutions. The host or lead institutions were recorded as the recipients of IDGs, but often there were academic teams from those universities working on other funded projects with other IDG recipients.

Despite the change in name and criteria, the Go8s continued to perform well in leading IDG projects. When the grants were discontinued in 2016, some Go8s funded their own grants, in line with influential high-ranking universities in America (Harvard, 2012; University of California, 2016) and the UK (University of Bristol; University of Manchester, 2020) who encouraged leadership in education.

The Go8s performed better than other Australian universities in competing for awards and grants than in providing support and services to students. This was reflected in the results from national *Student Experience Surveys* reported by *QILT* and *The Good Universities Guide*. Halse, et al. (2007) attributed this disparity to award-winning teaching staff also being active researchers. They were more likely to publish in discipline-specific journals than those dedicated to pedagogy. They would also struggle to find opportunities to disseminate their knowledge acquired through teaching to their colleagues, due to their heavy research workloads. However, winning awards and grants, was advantageous to the Go8s. It delivered economic and social returns for institutions who used their achievements to market their results, and it improved the prospects of individuals seeking promotion (Chalmers, 2011).

7.8 Conclusion

Competition in Australian higher education was driven by governments' responses to neoliberalism. This gave rise to managerial practices which promoted lean, essentially hierarchical organisational structures committed to profit, efficiency and accountability. New Public Management, was adopted by the Clinton, Blair and Hawke governments, and promoted as a less aggressive alternative, to appease the left factions of their parties. However, the tenets of competition, entrepreneurialism and responsibility to constituents were central to their administrations and to the organisations they funded. This placed significant pressure on universities as publicly-funded non-profit organisations to reflect the management structure of businesses. They were required to provide evidence to stakeholders (i.e. Australian taxpayers, government, benefactors, and industries that collaborated in research and provided work experience to students) of returns on the investment in higher education.

Teaching was increasingly under scrutiny as graduate outcomes became a significant factor used by governments to measure teaching quality. The pressure was greater for Go8 universities because they saw themselves as global institutions. Whilst initially reluctant, Go8s adopted the reforms for teaching that the Hawke Labor Government and successive Australian governments imposed on universities. This was chiefly driven by competition within the sector, which the Go8s could not ignore. As a result, the teaching-research nexus, which Go8s claimed underscored the quality of their academic work, was increasingly used as a marketing strategy to differentiate the Go8s in the higher education sector.

Neuman (1998) indicated that there was a genuine belief amongst educators that the nexus existed, and it had the potential to offer a superior educational experience and outcomes for students. Even those who believed there was little evidence of a symbiotic relationship

between teaching and research in universities, (Hattie & Marsh, 1996; Trowler & Wareham, 2008; Tight, 2016) deemed it worth pursuing. However, this strategy was jettisoned by most Go8s because it was too costly to implement across all degree levels, and it failed to influence student choice. The promotion of the teaching-research nexus was replaced by a focus on vocational education and the knowledge and skills required to enable students as consumers of higher education to be “career ready” and to contribute to Australia’s economy.

Chapter 8 investigates the Go8s’ decision to introduce teaching specialist positions. It compares their conditions of employment against those of teaching- research staff. The issues of leadership and scholarship, which most teaching specialists were expected to demonstrate, are examined in relation to the support they received to perform their roles effectively.

Chapter 8 - Teaching specialist positions in the Group of Eight universities

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 examined the factors influencing the Go8s' increased focus on teaching, which initially stemmed from the Commonwealth Government's decision to significantly expand and diversify Australia's higher education sector in the late 1980s-early 1990s. Various initiatives since that time increased the demand for accountability and productivity from universities through the establishment of quality assurance agencies, the linking of teaching performance to funding, and awards and grants established to reward quality teaching. Australia's over-reliance on international students' tuition fees to fund their universities in a highly competitive market, further reinforced the need to provide satisfactory standards of teaching.

Teaching specialist roles represented a development within higher education which unbundled academic roles (Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006; Macfarlane, 2011), thus further increasing specialisations within academic labour. This chapter examines the definitions of these roles in the Australian Group of Eight (Go8) universities, how they differ from teaching and research academic roles, and the support provided to them. Publicly available sources were used to determine whether the rhetoric regarding these roles was consistent with the functions that they performed. The study builds on Probert's (2013a) report on *Teaching-focused academic appointments in Australian universities: recognition, specialisation, or stratification?*

The underlying question in this study was whether teaching specialist positions created a viable career alternative to the still dominant teaching and research academic model in terms of promotion opportunities and status.

8.2 Defining teaching specialists

The term “teaching specialist” was chosen for this study to distinguish these positions from Probert’s (2013a) broader categorisation of teaching-focused positions, which included groups within Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institutions and private providers. There was no simple definition for teaching specialists, as each Go8 had their own expectations for these roles. What most had in common, was reference to scholarship and leadership to distinguish them from teaching-only roles, including *Scholarly Teaching Fellows*, *Teaching Fellowships*, and *Academic Fellowships*. The latter were roles created in response to the National Tertiary Education Union’s (NTEU’s) campaign to reduce the casualisation of academic staff. This gained momentum during the 2012 enterprise bargaining round, by transferring long-term casuals and early career academics into continuing or fixed-term positions (Rea, 2012; Evans, 2013). Table 8.1 below lists the definitions and expectations underpinning each Go8’s category of teaching specialist.

Table 8.1 - Group of Eight Teaching Specialist Positions by University, Year (when first introduced), Category and Definition/Expectations.

University	Year	Category	Definition/Expectation
UWA	1988	Professorial Fellow (Teaching and Learning)	“Applicants should demonstrate an outstanding professional contribution and commitment to high quality teaching at all levels, and a leadership role in the maintenance of academic standards and in the development of educational policy and of curriculum areas within the discipline. Applicants are expected to have made original, innovative and distinguished contributions to the advancement of teaching in the discipline” (UWA, 2017b).
Queensland	2007	Teaching Focused	“Responsibility for greater leadership applies across teaching, scholarship of teaching and learning (for Teaching Focused staff)” (Queensland, 2019a).
Melbourne	2009	Teaching Specialist	“ Teaching specialist positions ... are principally focussed upon teaching and associated activities including; lecturing, group or individual tutoring, preparation of teaching materials, educational design,

University	Year	Category	Definition/Expectation
			educational leadership, supervision of students, marking and preparation for such activities; and clinical or professional practice where appropriate” (Melbourne, 2018).
Monash	2015	Education Focused	“An education-focused academic staff member’s primary role is to provide a high standard of learning and teaching, educational design and delivery and educational leadership” (Monash, 2017).
Adelaide	2016	Education Specialist	“continuing academic staff at Levels B-E who have been formally recognised by the University as Education Specialists, with a willingness to commit 61% to 90% [now 70-90% (Adelaide, 2019b)] of their time to teaching and teaching related duties (including scholarship) and who have formally agreed to this workload in their employment contract. Membership [of the Adelaide Education Academy] is conferred by the DVCA or delegate through a process which assesses teaching excellence” (Adelaide, 2019c).
UNSW	2016	Education Focussed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education Focussed academics will be recognised as experts in education and for more than just the amount of teaching they do. • Education Focussed academics will be recognised for contributions to educational practice, the teaching and learning environment, and to pedagogical research. • Education Focussed academics will be expected to maintain their discipline-specific knowledge but may do so through means other than research” (UNSW, 2019e).
ANU	2017	Distinguished Educator	“Distinguished Educator refers to the title appointed to individuals in recognition of their eminence and sustained exceptional performance in relation to teaching and learning” (ANU, 2016a).
Sydney	2017	Education Focused	“Staff employed in education focused roles will have access to promotion (taking into account teaching excellence, leadership and record of scholarship), performance planning and development as well as a career path in teaching” (Sydney, 2018a).

The numbers of teaching specialists working in Go8 institutions were:

- Adelaide - 85 from a quota of 100 (J. Schipper, personal communication, 15 January 2020)
- ANU - 8 from a quota of 15 (ANU, 2018b)
- Melbourne – 358¹⁰⁹ (Department of Education, 2019d)
- Monash – 168 (M. Kohli, personal communication, 15 January 2020)
- Queensland – 165 (FTE¹¹⁰) (Queensland, 2020h)
- Sydney - 150 (D. Liu, personal communication, 4 January 2020)
- UNSW - 270 (UNSW, 2018a, 2019c)
- UWA -7 (Department of Education, 2019d)

These numbers represented an extremely small section of the academic workforce and were included amongst “Teaching Only” staff when reported to the Commonwealth Government’s Department of Education and Training¹¹¹. Whilst they lacked critical mass, they were expected to exercise considerable influence over the quality of teaching in their institutions through scholarship and leadership.

Queensland created a model that would inform future teaching specialist roles in the Australian higher education sector. At the time, universities competed for funding from the new *Learning and Teaching Performance Fund* (LTPF) established in 2006 (DEST, 2004b, 2006). By 2007, Queensland replaced its teaching-only positions with Teaching Focused positions. This required staff to apply for these positions and once accepted, to then:

contribute principally to teaching and to the scholarship of teaching which, in the case of some clinical and professional appointments, may be through a significant contribution to professional practice. Maintenance of currency with the discipline or professional practice and a contribution to service is expected (Queensland, 2007b).

¹⁰⁹ Melbourne re-badged its Teaching Only positions as Teaching Specialist positions in 2009.

¹¹⁰ Full-Time Equivalent.

¹¹¹ On 1 February 2020, the Department of Employment, Skills, Small and Family Business merged with the Department of Education, to form the new Department of Education, Skills and Employment.

Prior to this initiative, Queensland was acknowledged as an exemplar amongst Go8s for its “positional advantage...institutional coherence...and broad-based and vibrant scholarly cultures” (Marginson & Considine, 2000, pp 195, 196). However, when Queensland first launched its Teaching Focused positions, it encountered cynicism concerning its commitment to scholarship. The Queensland State Branch President of the NTEU reported that “a small number of staff said they had been “tapped on the shoulder” by heads of schools saying they should consider a new teaching position because their research was not up to par” (Illing, 2007, p 21). It was believed that research-inactive staff were being moved to teaching-focused roles in readiness for the long-anticipated *Research Quality Framework*, which promised far greater rewards than the LTPF. The desire to reduce poor research performances, which adversely skewed institutional data on research outcomes, was seen as Queensland’s main motivation for introducing its new Teaching Focused staffing category. Queensland denied this accusation, claiming that its commitment to excellence in teaching was supported by the promotion of at least three of its staff to professorial level, based on the quality of their teaching (Illing, 2007).

In 2008, the Minister for Education, Julia Gillard, in the Rudd Labor Government noted that:

only universities with the very best outcomes were eligible to receive funding with the Learning and Teaching Performance Fund (LTPF). As a result, only a few, mainly prestigious universities received funding and little, if anything at all, went to regional and less well-resourced universities (DESSFB,¹¹², 2008)

Gillard offered extra funding for teaching improvement, in addition to teaching excellence, to encourage other universities to strive for better teaching outcomes. Melbourne quickly responded to these new incentives and in 2009, introduced its Teaching Specialist positions, which replaced its teaching only positions (Melbourne, 2009). Other Go8s followed Queensland and

¹¹² Department of Employment, Skills, Small and Family Business.

Melbourne and introduced teaching specialist roles to their academic workforces. Initially, these positions were seen to be most useful in health science disciplines, which relied significantly on highly qualified teaching staff supervising students in clinical practice (Probert, 2013a). Teaching specialist positions meant that institutions could satisfy the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) that they were committed to quality improvement in teaching. Compliance and competition were the drivers in establishing these positions, and the older established, research-intensive universities were better resourced to respond to the changing educational landscape (Marginson, 2000b; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Marginson, 2006; Abbott & Doucouliagos, 2009).

UWA and ANU took a very different approach to the other Go8 institutions. Rather than establish a new category of academic work, they created academic titles that specifically rewarded quality teaching. UWA, offered promotion to Professorial Fellows (Teaching and Learning) at Level D (UWA, 2017c¹¹³) as early as 1998, which represented the first attempt by the Go8s to properly reward quality teaching (UWA, 1998). ANU awarded a five-year contract with an additional \$10,000 paid annually to its Distinguished Educators (ANU, 2016b). The quota for these positions was 15, (ANU, 2016a¹¹⁴), but only 8 were filled (ANU, 2018b). These positions placed the responsibility for institutional teaching quality on a small number of senior staff. Neither university focused on the need for wide-spread cultural change to improve the

¹¹³ UWA's criteria for appointment required that applicants: "demonstrate an outstanding professional contribution and commitment to high quality teaching at all levels, and a leadership role in the maintenance of academic standards and in the development of educational policy and of curriculum areas within the discipline. Applicants are expected to have made original, innovative and distinguished contributions to the advancement of teaching in the discipline" (UWA, 2017b).

¹¹⁴ ANU's criteria for promotion was significantly more detailed than UWA's criteria and included proof of teaching awards in addition to satisfying at least five categories of teaching-related activities including: teaching practice, research-led education, course and curriculum design, student-focused teaching, teaching and learning development and scholarship, teaching and learning leadership, education engagement with: government

quality and status of teaching at their institutions. Teaching primarily supported research and graduate outcomes. Neither university provided strategies or performance indicators detailing expected outcomes for their teaching specialists in improving quality in teaching and learning.

8.3 Teaching specialist roles – what made them different?

To understand the role that teaching specialists performed in the Go8s, a comparison was undertaken between their working conditions and those of teaching- research staff.

8.3.1 Teaching workloads

Most Go8 workload allocation procedures for teaching specialist were subject to individual negotiations between staff applying for those positions and the heads of their relevant academic units.

The common annual maximum of 1,725 hours adopted by most Go8 universities, represented “a full-time workload for 52 weeks (1950 hours), less 4 weeks (150 hours) annual leave and 10 days (75 hours) of public holidays or days in lieu of public holidays” (UWA, 2017c, p15). The exception to the annual maximum number of working hours for academic staff in Go8 universities was Monash who negotiated 1,645 hours in its enterprise agreement (Monash, 2020a).

Adelaide, Sydney and UNSW were the only Go8 institutions who published the workload allocation for teaching specialists. Adelaide specified that between 70% – 90% of workload for Education Specialists be dedicated to teaching and teaching-related duties (e.g. course preparation, assessment, reporting, leadership) (Adelaide, 2019b). Interestingly, Adelaide did not include teaching related research in its *Definition of Teaching and Teaching Related Duties* (Adelaide, 2019b). Sydney adopted a range of 70% - 80% for its Teaching Specialists (Sydney, 2018a) and UNSW chose between 80%-100% for its Education Focussed

staff (UNSW, 2018b). The remaining time for these universities' teaching specialists was committed to service and/or leadership. There was some discrepancy with UNSW's workload allocation. Its enterprise agreement enabled Education Focussed staff to allocate 20% of their workload to activities outside their teaching-related responsibilities (UNSW, 2018b, p 26). However, according to UNSW's *Academic Expectations Framework*, Education Focussed staff were "expected to allocate 80-100% of their time to education-related activities and 0-20% of their time to Service and Leadership related activities" (UNSW, 2019f). It was difficult to see how Education-Focussed staff, particularly at the lower levels of classification, would find time for scholarship, service or leadership, if 100% of their workload was devoted to "education-related activities".

By allowing a high teaching-related workload of up to 90%, Adelaide, was able to save revenue on employing casuals, so that ultimately, resources for research could be maintained. Its vice-chancellor, Professor Bebbington emphasized the move would not cut services or generate new revenue. Rather it entailed making "strategic choices" and "intentionally reallocating funds to where we can achieve a better outcome in the long term" (Adelaide, 2015b). Data showed a reduction in casual staff numbers from 14.2% in 2016, when Education Specialists were first introduced, to 13.7% in 2017 (DET¹¹⁵, 2017a, 2017b). However, the casual staff numbers rose to 13.9% of the total workforce in 2018, when leadership changed at Adelaide (DET, 2018).

The issue for Go8s was essentially a budgetary one. They could not afford to neglect teaching because of Government pressure on institutions to protect Australia's education export industry (DEA¹¹⁶, 2016; Universities Australia, 2016b; DET, 2017b; DESSFB, 2018).

¹¹⁵ Department of Education and Training.

¹¹⁶ Deloitte Access Economics

Similarly, they could not afford to reduce their investment in research, given their reliance on favourable rankings and international student revenue which significantly funded their research (Go8, 2015; Norton, 2015. The *Times Higher Education's* (THE) launch of the *European Teaching Excellence Rankings* in 2017 (THE, 2017) and the *Performance-Based Funding for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme* (Australian Government, 2019a), added further incentive for institutions to raise their standards in teaching. The pressure on the Go8s to fund both teaching and research to a high standard to maintain their prestige and reputations, was further exacerbated by competition from overseas and domestic universities. Dowsett (2020) noted that four non-Go8 Australian universities¹¹⁷ had substantially lifted their international student numbers and their rankings over the past fifteen years. This was achieved through the focus and alignment of their strategic plans in response to annual ranking data.

Most teaching specialists had the advantage of continuing employment, which entailed a level of training and support usually not available to teaching-only academics who tended to be casual or sessional staff (Coates, et al., 2009; Ryan, et al., 2013). However, they also had a much heavier teaching load. Despite including principles of workload fairness and transparency in Go8s' enterprise agreements, there was considerable debate regarding how the hours for teaching and teaching-related activities were calculated. Of concern, was whether workloads accurately reflected the real time taken to satisfactorily fulfil their teaching responsibilities (Soliman & Soliman, 1997; Soliman, 1999; Kenny, 2008; Jensen & Morgan, 2009; Kenny & Fluck, 2014).

¹¹⁷ Curtin University, Deakin University, Queensland University of Technology and the University of Wollongong.

Table 8.2 – Group of Eight Universities by Teaching Only, Research Only and Research and Teaching staff as Percentages of the Total Workforce, 2007 and 2018.

Group of Eight Universities	Teaching Only staff as a percentage of the total academic workforce		Research Only staff as a percentage of the total academic workforce		Teaching and Research staff as a percentage of the total academic workforce		Other staff as a percentage of the total academic workforce	
	2007	2018	2007	2018	2007	2018	2007	2018
Adelaide	0.2%	6.6%	34.3%	41.9%	64.8%	51.0%	0.0%	0.5%
ANU	0.0%	0.4%	59.4%	27.9%	40.0%	70.6%	0.6%	1.1%
Melbourne	1.0%	9.9%	45.0%	41.9%	55.0%	41.5%	0.0%	6.6%
Monash	0.0%	0.0%	43.5%	39.9%	54.5%	60.1%	2%	0.0%
Queensland	1.4%	6.2%	36.7%	51.2%	61.6%	41.6%	0.3%	1.0%
Sydney	0.0%	5.6%	32.0%	29.0%	66.0%	64.9%	2.0%	0.5%
UNSW	3.3%	6.0%	26.3%	43.0%	69.1%	49.0%	1.3%	2.0%
UWA	2.2%	9.0%	32.8%	3.06%	65.0%	53.7%	0.0%	1.3%

Source: Department of Education and Training (2019d) Staff Time Series

Table 8.2 shows that the 40% teaching, 40% research, 20% service traditional workload model was maintained in only half the Go8s, compared to most of the Go8s in 2007. ANU, which was established as a research university, was the only university in 2007 with the majority of its staff listed as research-only. Substantial changes to academic workload models occurred in just over a decade. Adelaide, Queensland, UNSW and UWA reduced the numbers of their teaching-research staff and increased research-only staff numbers. The increase in teaching-only positions indicated the growing segmentation of academic work at their institutions. ANU, Melbourne, Monash, and Sydney elected to do the opposite. Both strategies were designed to optimise research output, either by increasing the numbers of research-only staff, or by “reducing the research-active denominator for research rankings” (Probert, 2013b, p 49). The latter was achieved by moving research-only staff who were research-inactive, into the teaching and

research category. Since the introduction of teaching specialist positions, teaching only staff numbers increased in nearly all Go8 universities. Monash was the exception and chose to record them as teaching-research staff¹¹⁸.

The “Other” staff category referred both to senior management and the new staffing roles or “third-space professionals” (Whitchurch, 2008, 2012; Coates & Goedegebuure, 2012, Veles & Carter, 2016), which reflected further specialisations within academic work. This applied to teaching and the production, presentation, delivery and assessment of course materials, utilising new technologies and methodologies (Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006; Musselin, 2007; Locke, 2014). Prior to this development, the NTEU feared that the new teaching specialist roles “would encourage a permanently bifurcated academic workforce in universities” (O’Brien, 2015, p 280). Teaching was increasingly subjected to the compartmentalisation of its tasks. This raised the issue of teaching quality and the potential to de-skill and further de-professionalise teaching (Schapper & Mayson, 2005).

If teaching specialist roles were intended to transform teaching and learning in the Go8s, as their stated definitions and expectations indicated, then the integration of scholarship and leadership were crucial in establishing their parity with teaching and research roles.

8.3.2 *Scholarship*

If these new kinds of staff are not undertaking disciplinary research, creating new knowledge in their chosen fields, what makes their teaching distinctively ‘higher’? How should they be selected and how should their work be evaluated at different stages of their careers? (Probert, 2014b, p 1).

¹¹⁸ An email from Monash University in response to why Monash does not record Teaching Only staff was received stating “Education Focused are a subset of Teaching & Research staff. These academics are recorded as T&R as there is still a research component to their roles” (C. Wilson, personal communication, 15 January 2020).

Over the past thirty years, Go8s demonstrated varying levels of commitment to teaching quality. Boyer's (1990) work, *Scholarship reconsidered: Priorities of the professoriate*, provided a point of reference for institutions. He advocated the need for the scholarship of "discovery, integration, application, and teaching" (Boyer, 1990). Boyer regarded them as equally important, mutually dependent and cumulative aspects of academic work. He stressed that balance between these forms of scholarship was necessary. Their status depended on the effort devoted to each part of the whole and the reward and recognition that they received. Boyer argued that teaching was not properly rewarded in deference to research and maintained that to be effective, teachers must "be well informed, and steeped in the knowledge of their fields...widely read and intellectually engaged" (Boyer, 1990, p 23).

Barr and Tagg (1995), extended Boyer's model of scholarship to embrace the "Learning Paradigm" (p15), which placed students at the heart of education, and sought to discover different and better ways of teaching. Their influence led to new ways of engaging students in their learning and developed into working models of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) (Trigwell & Shale, 2004; Hutchings & Shulman, 1999; Glassick, Huber & Maeroff, 1997). Further advancements in SoTL contributed to an emerging discipline dedicated to student-centred learning (Lea, et al, 2003; O'Neill & McMahon, 2005; Baeten, et al., 2010) with research-led teaching, problem/evidence and inquiry-based learning (Brew, 2003, 2010; Wood, 2003; Healey, 2005; Spronken-Smith & Walker, 2010; Clark, et al., 2011; Boud & Feletti, 2013; Pedaste, et al., 2015) re-defining the nexus between teaching and research.

Chalmers (2011) noted that SoTL gained increasing attention from universities when it was added as a criterion for the *Australian Awards for University Teaching (AAUT)*, in 2006. However, a significant impediment to the application of scholarship to teaching and learning for

the Go8s, was the lack of a definition that characterised it and the criteria by which it would be measured. Research quality relied on assessment through publications in terms of both the numbers of books and articles published and the reputation of the publishers who printed them. Whilst peer review of teaching was increasingly common in universities, its criteria was still undergoing development. For it to be effective, it needed to be both quantifiable and accepted amongst university communities, which are issues that are addressed later in this chapter.

Probert (2014b) and Probert & Sachs (2015) noted that the meaning of scholarship was unclear across the Australian higher education sector. They analysed the struggle to define scholarship in the Bradley Report, on *Transforming Australia's Higher Education System* (Bradley et al., 2008) and in Kemp's and Norton's *Report of the Review of the Demand Driven Funding System* (Kemp, 2014). They found there was "little evidence that the terms 'scholar' and 'scholarship' [were] used easily within Australian universities to describe distinctive values or qualities" (Probert & Sachs, 2015, p 52). Recognition of the difficulty in differentiating teaching from research was reflected in the *Provider Category Standards*. This required university staff to "demonstrate 'sustained scholarship that informs teaching and learning in all fields in which courses of study are offered'" (Probert (2014b) citing Australian Government, 2011, pp 9-11).

The Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) initially left scholarship to universities to implement, acknowledging that scholarship was employed differently, and its interpretation and application varied across different providers (TEQSA, 2014). When it became apparent that institutions struggled with or disregarded the concept of scholarship and its implementation in teaching, TEQSA delivered a definition of scholarship for the sector.

In the context of the *Higher Education Standards Framework (Threshold Standards) 2015* (HES Framework), ‘scholarship’ means those activities concerned with gaining new or improved understanding, appreciation and insights into a field of knowledge, and engaging with and keeping up to date with advances in the field (TEQSA, 2017b).

TEQSA also provided a list of the strategies, which required universities to demonstrate they had implemented “a successful culture of scholarship” and a range of teaching activities to support it (TEQSA, 2018). This reflected further control over academic work by the Australian Government.

Despite the previous lack of clarity, Sydney and UWA made some attempts to implement what they interpreted as SoTL. Sydney’s biannual publication, *Synergy* (1996 – 2011), was “a scholarly forum for the discussion and debate of higher education teaching and learning” (Sydney, 2011b). It provided staff with a platform for discussion and the professional sharing of teaching methodologies. An effort was made to integrate SoTL into teaching practice at Sydney in early 2000 (Asmar, 2002). Fullan’s (1991) theoretical framework, which focused on student-experience rather than teaching was employed. It encouraged knowledge-sharing between teaching academics, support for teachers, rewards and incentives, research into new teaching approaches and methodologies, and collaboration with students to initiate new strategies for learning (Asmar, 2002, p 27).

UWA’s Law School established a *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning Hub (SoTL-in-Law) Interest Group* in 2013, which was mainly concerned with the production of refereed articles and the provision of assistance to staff applying for Australian Awards for University Teaching (UWA, 2018).

However, support for SoTL became more widespread once TEQSA defined scholarship and prescribed the types of outcomes it expected in the design and delivery of courses and

research training (TEQSA, 2018). Some of the initiatives which Go8s subsequently implemented included:

- Melbourne’s School of Biomedical Sciences’ *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* as a new Research Group in 2017 (Melbourne, 2019d), which was dedicated to SoTL projects concerning student learning and funded by scholarships provided by the School;
- Queensland’s *UQ New Staff Start-up Grant - Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL)* sought to “identify and develop an area of professional learning in SoTL that [was] relevant to their current and intended role” (Queensland, 2019b). Its *TF Leadership Group* communicated the latest trends in teaching to the whole university community via its monthly *UQ Teaching Community Update* (Queensland, 2020i). Queensland also developed its own definition of SoTL, with an extensive list of activities for staff to adopt as evidence of their progress in this area (Queensland, 2019c);
- UNSW developed a *Learning and Teaching Glossary* (UNSW, 2019g). The MedEd Interest Group was established to “support scholarly practice, encourage research and create new networks amongst its members” (UNSW, 2019h). The *Connections in Learning and Teaching Seminars* program (UNSW, 2019i), offered seminars in SoTL for all teaching staff.

ANU’s link to SoTL was chiefly through its *ANU Educational Fellowship Scheme* (ANU, 2019c), which was affiliated with Advance HE¹¹⁹, an international network of

¹¹⁹ Advance HE was formed in 2018 after the merger between the UK’s Higher Education Academy (HEA) and the Leadership Foundation and the Equality Challenge Unit.

universities and individuals focused on the professionalisation of teaching (Advance HE, 2019b).

Adelaide took a different approach by deferring to Humboldt's model of integrating the teaching-research nexus into undergraduate student learning through small discussion groups organised along similar lines to Oxbridge tutorials (Adelaide, 2013). While "scholarship" and "research scholarship" were mentioned in Adelaide's strategic plan (Adelaide, 2019a), no definition or detail of their intended impact on the institution were mentioned.

Despite various attempts to integrate SoTL into university teaching, there was still a lack of unity amongst the Go8s regarding what constituted scholarship, the workload allocation required for it to be effective, and how it was to be rewarded. Probert suggested that the real reason for the introduction of what she described as 'teaching-focused' roles was to get research-inactive staff to do more teaching. "That's what the deans, that's what the budget holders really want - to get those staff to do more teaching, not just to be more scholarly in their teaching" (Lane, 2013, p 25).

To be effective as a leader in teaching in Go8 universities, teaching specialists needed to demonstrate "evidence of high quality publications" (Monash, 2019b, p 9), "published educational texts" (Melbourne, 2019e), "authorship of widely-used text books" (UNSW, 2019f, p3), and be recognised as an "international authority in the scholarship of teaching and learning" (Queensland, 2019c). This strongly resembled the research requirements for leadership in teaching and research roles. However, staff in those positions were allocated 40% of their workload to undertake research, whereas some teaching specialists, as described in 8.3.1 *Teaching workloads*, spent 80% - 100% of their workload teaching. Promotion to senior levels, required them to use their private time to produce research in their field.

8.3.3 Leadership

Every Go8's definition of teaching specialists (see Table 8.1) included an expectation that they would exercise a mentoring/leadership role through their pursuit of excellence in teaching. This involved being at the forefront of developments in teaching quality and disseminating that knowledge amongst teaching colleagues (Probert, 2013a). As with scholarship, leadership in teaching specialist roles revealed inconsistencies amongst the Go8 institutions in terms of marketing rhetoric, policies, procedures and support structures regarding these roles.

Melbourne, Monash, Queensland, Sydney and UNSW all had teaching specialist roles as categories of employment in their promotions policies and procedures (see Table 8.3 below). Sydney and UNSW also included these roles in their enterprise agreements (Sydney, 2018a; UNSW, 2018b). All five institutions provided staff with information on leadership expectations for teaching specialist roles at different levels of classification. However, in its *Academic Promotions Procedures 2015* (Sydney, 2018b), Sydney recognised Teaching Focused staff as a "Promotions Category", and not as a "Substantive Position" which was confined to teaching-research and research-only staff. This suggested that teaching continued to trail research in value and status.

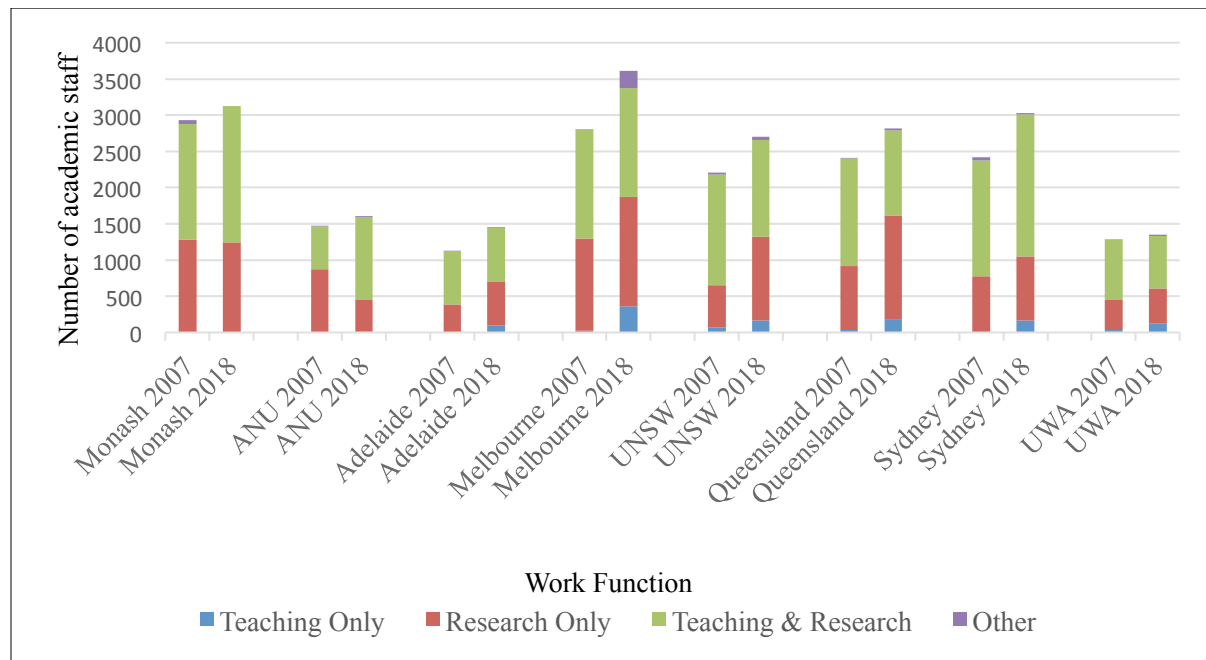
Leadership for Education Focused staff in Queensland's *Promotion of Academic Staff Levels A-D – Procedures* (Queensland, 2020j), required them to initiate changes to curriculum reform, pedagogical research and support for colleagues. However, little detail was provided to guide these roles. Alternatively, Melbourne and UNSW, and to a lesser extent Monash, provided benchmarking indicators on leadership (Melbourne, 2019e; UNSW, 2019f; Monash,

2019b). These indicators informed how leadership in teaching performance, scholarship, and teaching support and quality were assessed.

Notably, Go8 publications and strategies signified a response to government regulation of the sector. TEQSA's *Guidance Note on Staffing, Learning Resources and Educational Support*, provided an undertaking that it would require evidence from each provider university that its academic leadership was "consistent with the provider's scale and level of educational offerings, and capable of developing and maintaining a higher education learning environment" (TEQSA, 2017). In June 2019, it produced a *Guidance Note on Academic Leadership*, which placed increased responsibility on senior management to ensure that their most capable teaching staff were appointed to oversee teaching and research training (TEQSA, 2019c).

Adelaide undertook a different approach to the above mentioned Go8 universities. The *Adelaide Education Academy* was established to support a scholarly community united by their expertise in teaching. Full membership was dependent on an application process which required staff to demonstrate "experience of leadership in teaching and learning" (Adelaide, 2019c), with funding for professional development made available to members only. UWA and ANU took a similar approach to Adelaide's by focusing on rewarding teaching specialists, but they limited the scope of their positions and relied on promotion and additional remuneration in recognition of their prior achievements rather than anticipated outcomes in their new roles.

Figure 8.1 - Group of Eight Universities by Full-Time Equivalent Staff and Work Function, 2007 and 2018.



Source: Department of Education and Training Staff Time Series, 2007, 2018 (DET, 2019f).

Figure 8.1 depicts the distribution of staffing functions in Go8s. The year 2007 marked the arrival of a teaching specialist model which was followed by most Go8s¹²⁰, with Queensland leading the trend. Teaching specialists were reported in the Teaching Only staff category, as the Commonwealth Government did not record data on teaching specialists as a separate function. Figure 8.1 reveals that whilst numbers increased since 2007, they were still disproportionately small when compared to teaching and research and Research Only staff. The majority of Teaching Only positions were filled by casual staff and the reporting of their data by the Commonwealth Government was delayed by one year compared to the data for staff who held continuing or fixed-term positions. Despite the time delay, Actual Casual Staff data was not included in the data for Figure 8.1 because it was not comparable with teaching specialists' working conditions. Only continuing and fixed-term staff data was used.

¹²⁰ UWA was the first Go8 to formally recognise and reward elite teachers through promotion in 1998. ANU adopted a similar approach in 2017.

In 2007, the numbers of Teaching Only staff, as a percentage of the total Go8 academic workforces in 2007, ranged from 0.2% at Adelaide to 3.3% at UNSW, with ANU, Monash and Sydney all recording no Teaching Only staff. Melbourne, Queensland, UNSW and UWA were the only Go8 institutions with Teaching Only staff appointed at Level C and above. The combined number of Teaching Only staff at Level D/E was 19, with 46 at Level C - a total of 65 staff. UNSW employed 45% of the total combined number.

By 2018, the numbers of Teaching Only staff in continuing and fixed-term functions increased in most Go8 universities. Monash, however, continued to record no data for this group. Melbourne employed the largest number of Teaching Only staff, which comprised 9.9% of its academic workforce. This reflected Melbourne's decision in 2009 to re-badge all its Teaching Only academics, who were mostly casual staff, as Teaching Specialists.

Table 8.3 provides data on the numbers and percentages of academic staff who were employed at Level C and above in all academic work function in 2018. The classifications represented leadership roles in universities and revealed that all Go8s, with the exception of Monash, had senior staff in Teaching Only positions. However, the issue of parity between Teaching Only and Research and Teaching staff proved difficult to determine, due to the small numbers of Teaching Only staff and the limited number of years they had worked in the Go8s.

Table 8.3 – Group of Eight Universities by Percentage of Level C and Level D/E staff within the Teaching Only, Research Only and Research and Teaching Work Functions, 2018.

Group of Eight Universities	Nos. and % of Level C and above Teaching Only staff	Nos. and % of Level C and above Research Only staff	Nos. and % of Level C and above Teaching and Research Only staff	Nos. and % of Level C and above of Only staff	Nos. and % of Total academic staff
Adelaide	44 (45%)	164 (25%)	570 (77%)	8 (100%)	1,457 (100%)
ANU	2 (33%)	341 (42%)	714 (63%)	15 (83%)	1,603 (100%)
Melbourne	94 (26%)	364 (24%)	1032 (69%)	101 (42%)	3,615 (100%)
Monash	0%	341 (27%)	1,181 (63%)	1 (100%)	3,124 (100%)
Queensland	36 (21%)	56 (32%)	384 (27%)	26 (100%)	2,814 (100%)
Sydney	36 (21%)	239 (27%)	1,446 (74%)	10 (66%)	3,027 (100%)
UNSW	80 (48%)	386 (33%)	1,006 (76%)	39 (91%)	2,701 (100%)
UWA	50 (42%)	130 (27%)	591 (81%)	17 (94%)	1,349 (100%)

Source: DET Staff Time Series (2018)

The data in Appendix 4 indicates that Adelaide, UNSW and UWA attempted to recognise and reward teaching specialists. Whether such a concentration of responsibility for so few teaching staff was conducive to a cultural shift in these universities, was unclear. The issue of implementing “deeper’ teaching and learning practices” (Knight & Trowler, 2000, p 69) at the departmental level to insure against the effects of structural and leadership variations in institutions, was essential if cultural change regarding the value of teaching was to be achieved. The durability of teaching specialist roles in the Go8s depended on their continuing impact on pedagogy and student learning, without detracting from research resources and reputation.

In addition to the conceptualisation of teaching specialist roles in terms of the Go8s’ expectations of their scholarship, leadership and workloads, the support that they received provided further insight into how these roles were valued.

8.4 Support for teaching specialists

8.4.1 Teaching awards and grants

Boyer espoused that better education would only be achieved by the way scholarship was defined and rewarded (Boyer 1990, p xiii). UK's *Higher Education Academy* regarded "the recognition and reward of teaching as a fundamental component of academic work" (HEA, 2009, p 1). Chalmers (2011) viewed the "provision of and access to professional development ... as a measure of an institution's commitment to the profession of teaching and an aid to assessing teaching quality" (Chalmers, 2011, p 30). Appendix 4 provides a table which lists the Group of Eight Universities by Staff Development, Teaching Support Centres and Networks, Peer Review of Teaching, Promotion Policies and Awards and Grants.

The Go8s reflected the practice of most other Australian universities in their provision of awards and grants to reward and encourage excellence in teaching. Chapter 7 provided a record of the Go8s' achievements in relation to national teaching awards and grants (see Figure 7.1 and Appendix 3). This practice was initiated by the Australian Government when it created the *Australian Awards for University Teaching* (AAUT) in 1995. Chalmers & Thomson (2008) noted that many Australian universities' awards were "either completely or partially aligned with Carrick criteria"¹²¹ (p 29), which was a practice they maintained. Shah et al., (2011b) noted that this trend also coincided with the creation of the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA). AUQA was established in 1995 to evaluate teaching performance, which was used to inform Commonwealth Government funding. Chalmers (2011) and Vardi (2011) believed that universities increased their numbers of teaching awards and grants in response to

¹²¹ The Carrick Institute for Learning and Teaching was established by the Australian Government in 2004 to promote and support quality university teaching.

the Government's emphasis on quality assurance with its demands for accountability and productivity.

TEQSA stipulated that it would “need to be satisfied that teachers have knowledge of contemporary developments in the discipline or field they are teaching, and that they have skills in contemporary teaching methods appropriate to their role” (TEQSA, 2017b). Institutional awards and grants for teaching provided an incentive for teaching staff to meet these requirements and a tangible response to the regulator that an effort was being made to address quality assurance in student learning. UNSW provided \$1.5 million annually from 2017 (UNSW, 2019k) and Queensland provided \$1.25 million in 2019 (Queensland, 2019f). Whilst such a commitment implied a genuine attempt to redress the balance between teaching and research in terms of rewards and status, it also represented a relatively inexpensive strategy when compared to the money that funded research. Norton noted that universities earned up to “\$3.2 billion more from students than they spend on teaching, and [had] powerful incentives to spend the extra money on research” (Norton, 2015a).

Other than the *Learning and Teaching Advancement Grant* Scheme offered by Adelaide exclusively to its Education Specialists (Adelaide, 2019e), the Go8s' awards and grants were not limited to teaching specialists, so that any staff member with an interest in teaching could apply. It appeared that teaching specialists might not be so special after all. However, there was also another form of recognition for teaching that was highly esteemed in Australian universities, which the Go8s embraced. This recognition represented a worldwide trend dedicated to teaching quality in higher education.

8.4.2 *Advance HE Fellowships, teaching centres and support teams*

Nearly all Go8 universities, had links to Advance HE's professional membership scheme, the *Higher Education Academy* (HEA) Fellowship, which provided networking opportunities for staff from 3,111 institutions worldwide (Advance HE, 2019c). The Associate Fellow, Fellow, Senior Fellow and Principal Fellow categories provided for different levels of competency and status, with Principal Fellows representing the apex of professional teaching knowledge and skills (Advance HE, 2019b). Advance HE also had responsibility for the *UK Professional Standards Framework* (Advance HE, 2019a) and the *Global Teaching Excellence Awards* (Advance HE, 2019b). Participation in Advance HE provided the Go8s with a recognised global network. It provided external regulation and accreditation for quality assurance in teaching, and contributed to the professionalisation of teaching (Chalmers, 2011; O'Keeffe, 2017). This also served as a marketing tool for institutions, many of whom posted their Advance HE Fellows on their websites as evidence of their commitment to teaching.

While Advance HE's membership was increasing, Adelaide, Monash and UNSW, also chose to establish their own academies with links to Advance HE. No formal link between Melbourne and Advance HE could be found. However, Melbourne created its own Honorary Professorial Fellows and Honorary Fellow within its Melbourne Centre for the Study of Higher Education (Melbourne, 2020c) and other support centres (see Table 8.4 below) for the professional development of its teaching staff.

Table 8.4 – Group of Eight Universities by Links to Higher Education Academy Fellowship (Advance HE).

Group of Eight Universities	Links to Higher Education Academy Fellowship
Adelaide	The university paid the Advance HE membership for staff who were successful in obtaining a fellowship. Either full or affiliate membership of the Adelaide Education Academy was required to access services. (Adelaide, 2019c)
ANU	ANU Educational Fellowship Scheme (557 HEA Fellows) (ANU, 2019c)
Melbourne	No formal links
Monash	HEA Fellows (14 current + 30 Alumni members) Expected Advance HE accreditation in 2020 (Monash, 2019c)
Queensland	HEA@UQ Program; HEA Fellows Community (over 270 Fellows) (Queensland, 2020g)
Sydney	Over 250 HEA Fellows (Sydney, 2019i) supported by Sydney’s Academic Enrichment Learning Centre (Sydney, 2019b); The Education Portfolio (Sydney2019i)
UNSW	No formal links. UNSW has its own Scientia Education Academy Fellows (40 Fellows) (UNSW, 2019l).
UWA	Academy Fellowship Scheme (AFS) – accreditation from Advance HE (50 Fellows) (UWA, 2019d)

Table 8.4 shows the Go8s’ links to Advance HE, plus the units and teams in place to assist academics in relation to new teaching methodologies and skills development in new information technologies. All teaching staff had access to these supports, with the exception of the institutional academies, which required application-based membership. However, by far, the most prestigious membership was the Advance HE Fellows and these increased in the Go8s. They provided both a public and internationally recognised commitment to teaching quality, in order to satisfy regulatory requirements and community expectations.

8.5 Professionalising teaching

For the status and rewards of teaching to equal those of research, it was necessary to go beyond definitions and ensure that supports were in place to provide access to the most recent developments in pedagogy. Neither would “technical competence” (Labaree, 1992) deliver the outcomes that university teachers required. For teaching to be seen as a viable profession within universities, institutional cultural change needed to occur.

Building a profession means ongoing culture change within universities, building on the improvements to date. Much of this has to come from within the academic profession itself – all successful professions have a high degree of self and peer monitoring. But it is only going to occur within an institutional context where staff feel that teaching effort will be recognised and rewarded (Norton, et al., 2013, pp 54, 55).

Norton et al. (2013) maintained that the Commonwealth Government could have made considerable savings on compliance in relation to TEQSA audits, had universities taken responsibility for the professionalisation of teaching. However, they also recognised the need for management support to ensure that teaching staff received an alternative and equally rewarding career pathway to teaching- research and research-only staff.

James, et al. (2015) argued that the responsibility for cultural change rested with all staff who taught, including casual and sessional staff. They saw a role for peer review in helping to “establish that standards for learning outcomes at course level [were] being met” and “identifying the effectiveness of professional practice” (p 28). They believed that it also provided a vital lens for teaching quality, which served as a useful alternative to student survey results. More importantly, peer review informed the criteria for promotions, which had the potential to make teaching a viable career for staff. To change academic cultures within their institutions, the Go8s needed to ensure that peer review and promotion policies reflected consistent criteria regarding evaluation and continuing improvement.

8.5.1 Peer review

Peer review of teaching was not a new concept, (Schulman, 1993; Lomas & Nicholls, 2005; Harris et al., 2008), and the need for reliable and respected measurement of teaching quality became a matter of urgency for the sector.

In 2009, the *Australian Learning and Teaching Council* (ALTC) published the *Report of the Peer Review of Teaching for Promotion Purposes* (Crisp et al., 2009). The aims of the project were to:

- create a robust summative peer review process with the potential to foster and acknowledge excellent teaching and learning in Australian universities, particularly by being integrated with the promotion process;
- establish tools and protocols for the external peer review of teaching; and
- articulate ground rules and principles for a sustainable, effective and customisable process of internal and external peer review of teaching (Crisp et al., 2009, p 1).

The project team recommended that formative peer review be undertaken initially in institutions (if it had not been practiced prior to the release of the Report), in order to enculturate and prepare staff for the summative process. The latter would inform promotion procedures for teaching staff by providing peer review protocols and criteria to measure and assess teaching quality.

Crisp et al., 2009 identified that the following measures would also need to be adopted:

“workable protocol documents, reporting tools, professional development materials, and a dissemination website for the summative peer review of both classroom teaching and written materials and documentation relating to teaching” (p 30). This allowed sufficient flexibility to integrate the peer review of teaching into the mission and objectives of every Australian university. However, for peer review to work, much emphasis was placed on “the need for peer reviewers to undertake significant professional development, mainly to increase the validity and accuracy of reports” (p 22).

The ALTC was replaced by the Office of Learning and Teaching in 2012. Some of the money saved from its disestablishment, went towards funding TEQSA, which increasingly undertook the responsibility for overseeing the peer review of teaching in provider universities.

Peer review will be necessary for the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency to monitor the standard of learning and teaching properly... If you're going to do this seriously, you need to look at peer assessment, probably international peer assessment . . . as we do in research (Lane, 2011, p 37).

Professor Ian Young, Vice-Chancellor of ANU expressed this view in anticipation of TEQSA being established with oversight of teaching quality.

James, et al. (2015) argued that the continuing deregulation of higher education made it imperative for the regulation of standards in relation to the qualifications and experience of teaching staff. TEQSA adopted this approach in *HESF Domain 3: Teaching in the Higher Education Standards Framework (Threshold Standards) 2015* (TEQSA, 2019a). The Threshold Standards focused on teaching qualifications and skills ensuring that course design and evaluation were appropriate to the group being taught. The *Guidance Note: External Referencing (including Benchmarking)* (TEQSA, 2019b) followed. It encouraged universities to compare standards of best practice. Peer review was regarded as one form of external referencing but was mainly seen in the context of assessment. Whilst it provided guidance on course content, the issue of course delivery was not addressed.

Table 8.5 – Group of Eight University by Peer Review of Teaching, by Formative, Summative and Reviewer Training Arrangements.

Group of Eight University	Peer Review of Teaching		
	Formative	Summative	Reviewer Training
Adelaide (2020e)	✓	✓	✓
ANU (2020e)	✗	✗	✗
Melbourne (2019h)	✓	✓	✗
Monash (2020d)	✓	✓	✓
Queensland (2018b)	✓	✓	✓
Sydney (2019d)	✓	✗	✗
UNSW (2019o)	✓	✓	✓
UWA (2017d)	✓	✗	✗

By 2020, most universities offered peer review of teaching at both formative and summative levels (see Table 8.5 above). The exceptions amongst the Go8s were ANU, UWA and Sydney. ANU’s commitment to peer review consisted of junior staff being able to observe the teaching of experienced staff in ANU’s *Peer to peer observation program* (ANU, 2020b). UWA’s *Evaluation of practice and continuing professional development* in 2017 (UWA, 2017d), provided for “participation as a peer reviewer” to assist other teachers in their professional development. Sydney made sporadic attempts to introduce peer review of teaching by running its university-wide *Open-Door Event*, which encouraged academic staff to visit colleague’s classrooms to observe their teaching (Sydney, 2019j). Sydney’s Faculty of Health Science and Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences also ran peer observation programs in 2018 and 2019 (Sydney, 2019k). These approaches offered interested staff the opportunity to observe others teaching or be observed by them whilst teaching. However, they lacked the metrics required to lend robustness to the process for use in promotion and award and grant applications.

Of the five Go8s who offered summative peer review, Queensland, Melbourne and Adelaide, provided additional support to staff who were appointed as observers and reviewers of teaching. Queensland created a College of Peer Observers (Queensland, 2019d) with 29 members representing every faculty that provided a formal evaluation of teaching for academics. Peer Observers had access to regular meetings and training to support their teaching. In 2019, Melbourne established the Melbourne College of Reviewers who were “appointed on the basis of their sustained personal record of demonstrated teaching excellence, innovation and leadership” (Melbourne, 2019f). Their roles included the review of curriculum design and assessment in addition to teaching practice. In 2019, the *Melbourne Peer Review of Teaching Program* (Melbourne, 2019g) was piloted in the Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences with the expectation that it would be implemented across the university from 2020 onwards. In addition to summative peer review for promotional purposes, awards and grants, Adelaide’s Peer Review Panel Members were also required to assess academic staff wishing to convert to Education Specialist positions (Adelaide, 2020h).

8.5.2 *Promotion*

Promotion and confirmation of appointment are the most important aspects of reward...For rewards to work properly, universities need to provide explicit criteria of good teaching, based on up-to-date knowledge, and must establish clear standards for teaching at different levels of appointment (Ramsden, 1995, p vi).

Most of the Go8s instituted provisions for the promotion of teaching specialists to Level E, with the exceptions of UWA and ANU. Both these universities recognised only Teaching and Research staff and Research-Intensive staff in the academic employment categories specified within their promotion policies and procedures. (UWA 2017e; ANU, 2018b, 2019i). They relied on the specialist positions they created to demonstrate their commitment to teaching quality (i.e.

Professorial Fellow (Teaching and Learning) and Distinguished Educators), but neither of these positions were mentioned in policy or enterprise agreements.

Monash, Queensland, and UNSW provided detailed exemplars underlying their promotion criteria to inform and guide teaching specialists in their career development. These included expectations concerning different levels of promotion and included teaching delivery, program/course design, student learning, and professional engagement (Monash, 2019a; Queensland, 2020g; UNSW, 2019g). All three universities regarded education-based research/SoTL and peer review as integral to teaching specialist roles, and their capacity to improve teaching in their institutions.

Melbourne had similar criteria and benchmarks for teaching and learning to those of Monash, Queensland, and UNSW (Melbourne, 2019e), but these formed a generic set of guidelines for all staffing categories rather than being designed specifically for Teaching Specialists. Similarly, Adelaide's *Academic Promotions Procedures* provided promotion criteria for "Research Excellence; Educational Excellence; and Engagement, Service and Leadership" (Adelaide, 2019b) which was applied to all its five categories of academic staff, including Education Specialists.

The Scholarly Teaching Fellows from Sydney's 2011 enterprise agreement (Sydney, 2011c), which represented the NTEU's push to provide more stable working conditions for teaching-only casual staff, were converted to Education Focused positions in Sydney's 2018 enterprise agreement (Sydney, 2018a). The enterprise agreement established a quota of up to 120 Education Focused positions that would be advertised externally. Sydney's level of commitment towards changing institutional culture, depended on the classification of advertised positions to value teaching's contribution to the student learning and academic careers. A

number of job advertisements, from March 2018 – February 2019 (see Appendix 5), indicated that Education Focused roles at Sydney mostly comprised A and B Level classifications.

8.6 Conclusion

An examination of the integration of teaching specialist roles in Go8 universities revealed variations in their definitions and their workload models, although not all institutions published the latter. There were allegations that some universities had deliberately moved research-inactive staff into teaching specialist roles to allow talented researchers more opportunity to develop their research skills and outputs (Illing, 2007; Probert, 2013a, 2013b; 2014a; Lane, 2013; Probert & Sachs, 2015). All Go8s claimed that their teaching-specialist positions provided career development through leadership and scholarship opportunities. The main support for this was found in the provision for evidence of teaching excellence, which was added to promotion policies. What was questionable was the lack of a clear definition of scholarship and adequate provision in the available workload models for this to occur. Whilst it was recognised that teaching specialist roles represented a relatively new category in academic work for many Go8s, data in Table 8.3 and Appendix 5 suggested that there was considerable scope for improvement. These sources included data for the different staffing categories reported by the Australian Government and data on teaching specialist jobs advertised by the Go8s between March 2018 and February 2019. They indicated a lack of representation for these positions at the higher levels of classification, in comparison to teaching-research staff.

The success of teaching specialist positions will depend on their level of representation within their workforces and their influence within their institutions. More importantly, their future professionalisation and status will be contingent upon how well they are supported by senior management and staff. For years, teaching in universities was considered inferior in status

compared to research (Richardson, 1998; Lane 2013; Probert, 2014a; O’Keeffe, 2017), which caused staff to view the new categories with caution (Bennett, et al. 2017).

Although teaching specialists comprised an extremely small section of Go8 workforces, it must be acknowledged that the majority of Go8s only recently offered these positions (see Table 8.1). Growth will depend on a multiplicity of factors. These include: the future funding of higher education in Australia, the support for teaching specialists, the professionalisation of teaching, the industrial climate, and economic development and global trends affecting teaching in Australian higher education.

The Go8s accommodated their own type of teaching specialist category with varying levels of resources committed to the centres, units and teams supporting them. Evidence indicated that support was generally available to all teaching staff who wished to use these services. The more staff who are supported in their teaching, the greater the likelihood of effecting cultural change within their institutions. However, if teaching specialists are expected to take on heavy teaching workloads, with few available opportunities to develop scholarship and leadership, the status of teaching will not change, and this will have adverse implications for teaching quality.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This study examined why teaching specialists exist in Australian research-intensive universities, specifically the Group of Eight (Go8) universities. Narrative history and thematic history provided context and meaning for the study. In addressing the central theme of the thesis, the expectations concerning teaching specialists' roles were assessed against their integration into institutions' academic workforces, and the levels and types of support, recognition and reward that they received. Comparison against the dominant work category of teaching- research staff was used to inform the value and status of teaching specialist positions in the Go8s. This research provided insights into how teaching was perceived and managed in the Go8s, and an understanding of the dominant influences driving changes in academic work in Australia. This reflected on the purpose of Australian research-intensive universities in the global knowledge economy.

9.2 Global context

Global influences concerning policies and initiatives in higher education were essential to understanding the changes in academic work and particularly teaching in Go8 universities. Chapter 2 analysed major worldwide developments in higher education after World War II. New knowledge and the demand for highly skilled labour emerged, as nations sought to secure their borders and focus on economic recovery. Cultural and political ties to the United Kingdom, which also served as a major source of senior academic recruitment, significantly influenced Australian higher education. America's Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill) informed Australia's plans for its returned soldiers. University education, which had hitherto

been restricted to the middle classes in preparation for leadership and the professions, was extended to a broader section of the community. Australia's interest in higher education was principally utilitarian. Its climate, wildlife and natural resources initially required reliance on the disciplines of agriculture and mining engineering.

Chapter 3 examined globalisation, neoliberalism, New Public Management and the development of the global knowledge economy. Competition driven by market forces in conjunction with exponential advances in information technology and travel, produced a worldwide student market that was both mobile and profitable. Education became Australia's third largest export with higher education comprising approximately two-thirds of the total value of money earned from international students (DAE¹²², 2016b). It explained why Commonwealth Governments regulated universities to make them more accountable by streamlining administration and improving their overall service to students, including the quality of teaching.

9.3 National context

Commonwealth Governments' roles in funding and policy development emerged as the most significant factors affecting teaching in Australian higher education. With so much at stake in relation to education export revenue, governments exerted and extended their influence. Significant shifts in power away from the universities and towards government occurred after World War II. The Commonwealth assumed responsibility for funding higher education to address overcrowding in universities and insufficient resources to cope with this. The recommendations of the Murray (1957) and Martin (1964) Reports delivered much needed funding to the sector. In 1974, the Whitlam Labor Government committed to the full cost of tertiary education and extended access to higher education for all socio-economic groups in

¹²² Deloitte Access Economics.

Australia. Although it did not challenge universities' autonomy at that time, it was a precursor for other governments to legislate the changes that they deemed necessary (McKinnon, 1987; Smart, 1997).

A variety of strategies were employed. The most successful strategies elicited desired outcomes without overt interference, as this provided universities with a semblance of control regarding how they would implement governments' agendas (Rostan, 2010; Marginson 1999; 1997; Kickert, 1995; Wright & Shore, 2003). This was achieved by linking funding to compliance (Gamage, 1993; Considine, et al, 2001; Marginson, 2001). The greatest irony was the increase in institutional accountability as Government funding steadily decreased in real terms (Marginson, 2001; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Meek; 1995, Moses, 1995).

Approaches which failed to gain cooperation within the sector, challenged governments. This occurred in 2005 when the Howard Coalition Government introduced the Higher Education Workplace Relations Requirements (HEWRRs) legislation (Australian Government, 2005). Similarly, attempts by the Howard, Abbott and Turnbull Coalition Governments at fee deregulation, which favoured the Go8s, were not well received by other universities.

However, the emphasis on teaching quality and effectiveness most likely would not have occurred in Go8 and other Australian universities, if the Commonwealth Government had not intervened. Loss of the stewardship of teaching through the disestablishment of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (Karmel, 1988; Marshall, 1988, 1990; Smart, 1991) and the Office of Learning and Teaching (Gardner, 2016; Pittman & Bennett, 2016), undermined autonomy within the sector (Coladrake & Stedman, 1998). Despite their disestablishment, there was no certainty that teaching would have achieved its current profile if left to these organisations. These bodies were created by Commonwealth Governments and then

discarded because they were no longer seen to meet their objectives. Governments were concerned primarily with the state of the Australian economy, which reduced teaching and research to commodities and universities to corporations (Barrow, 1995; Connell & Dados, 2014). Governments responded to data produced by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and other supra-national organisations. These replaced the economics of the welfare state in favour of market forces and competition. Through public disclosure of countries' performances in education, such data provided a model of 'soft' power built on coercion (Lo, 2011), which was successful in effecting change (Martens et al., 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2006).

In addition to pressure from external agencies, Australian governments were compelled to address their higher education sectors' rankings in world university league tables, which first emerged during the 1990s. Although these tables ranked universities individually, principally on their research performance, they also reflected the effectiveness of national education systems in supporting their universities (Braverman, 1974; Barrow, 1990; Miller, 1995; Shumar, 1995; Winter, 1995).

To safeguard Australia's higher education export industry, the Commonwealth appointed two regulators, the Australian Universities Quality Agency in 1999 and the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency in 2011. The latter organisation was given greater powers in provider registration to ensure that standards were met, especially in teaching, which it monitored through the *Higher Education Standards Framework* (2015) (TEQSA, 2011, 2015). This allowed governments to steer higher education at a distance, whilst demonstrating to the global market that measures were in place to protect Australia's third major export and its reputation for quality higher education. This reinforced Australian governments as the main

drivers for changes to teaching and teaching quality in universities. The Go8s, for the most part responded to this change, rather than initiated it.

9.4 Purpose of universities

The history of higher education in Australia revealed that the purpose of universities had not significantly changed. Initially, they were established to serve the needs of an expanding middle class (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1998), as the colonies grew into nationhood. Fitzgerald (2014) noted that the purpose of Australian universities was further extended to benefit the wider community, following the establishment of the Trade Union Movement in the 1850s and the Labor Party in 1891. The repatriation of soldiers from both world wars and opportunities for university study to facilitate economic reconstruction, influxes of migrants and rising birth rates, led to expansion of the higher education sector. Materialism, consumerism and global competition encouraged governments to prioritise economic prosperity over social and cultural considerations (Lafferty & Fleming, 2000).

By the 1980s, Australia's reliance on agriculture and mining was challenged as technologies created new products and employment opportunities in manufacturing and communication. Asia's economies were rapidly advancing, which added further incentive for Australia to restructure its industries and education (Harman, 1989; Marginson, 2011; Australian Government, 2012; Shin, et al., 2015; de Soyres, 2018). The Hawke Labor Government responded by forcing universities to change. New Public Management (NPM) practices were first mooted by Dawkins' in his Green Paper (Dawkins, 1987a). The Hoare Report (1995) expedited NPM in university administration to ensure that budgets facilitated the adjustments required, especially once the Unified National System (UNS) was implemented.

Dawkins ended the binary system of colleges and universities in order to expand the sector to meet the challenges of the emerging global knowledge economy. Concern was raised regarding the commodification of knowledge (Drucker, 1992; Banya, 2000; Tomusk, 2002; Mittelstrass, 2010) and the loss of institutional autonomy and academic freedom (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Musselin, 2007; Enders & de Weert, 2009). However, universities responded by increasing and applying their research to industry needs, and by adapting their management and academic work practices to address the neoliberal demands of national and global economies.

Despite claims of embracing the ideals of Newman and von Humboldt in their mission statements and strategic plans, universities had been on the same trajectory throughout white Australian history (Davis, 2017). They remained secular, public institutions, shaped and controlled by governments, notwithstanding increasing industry and community partnerships. Conformity and uniformity of the higher education sector, which Davis (2017) claimed was written into law by Dawkins, has not changed over the past three decades. What changed Australian higher education was its increasing multinational population and its demand for higher education. New bodies of knowledge, new technologies with opportunities for learning and research, and improved mobility between nations, also made demands on universities. Governments sought to ensure that universities reflected and responded to this. Universities adopted the values and agendas of governments, who purportedly represented the aspirations of their constituents.

9.5 Purpose of teaching

Teaching reflected the purpose of universities in servicing the needs of their communities. It witnessed significant change from the early medieval universities of Bologna, Paris and Oxford, dedicated to preparing men usually from wealthy and influential sections of

society for the professions, leadership in government and religious life. Wilhelm von Humboldt's university reforms in Germany during the nineteenth century encouraged scientific investigation and discovery and the practical application of knowledge. America adopted this new approach to education and created graduate universities. These served as the model for universities in some counties. Two world wars further supported research, with teaching assuming a secondary, albeit supportive role. Neoliberalism and market forces elevated the role of research in the global economy. This escalated competition between universities, which were major producers of research.

The idea of research informing teaching was used by universities to differentiate themselves from institutions that provided students with basic instruction and vocational skills. However, claiming a symbiotic nexus between teaching and research and effectively integrating these two components of academic work proved to be challenging. Whilst "the positive benefits of teaching on research were less well articulated," they "were nonetheless felt to exist" (Taylor, 2007, p 882). Most Go8 universities managed to provide an environment conducive to research development and training at the postgraduate level, but they struggled to articulate the relevance of research in the undergraduate curriculum.

Economies were changing. Work was becoming more complex and different skills were required in the workforce. Higher education needed to expand to meet new demands. Expansion adopted human capital theory (Denison, 1962; Becker, 1964, 1975) and extended education to a wider section of the population, which presented a broader range of abilities (Karmel, 1988). This required a greater understanding of students' diversity and the teaching methodologies required to address their needs.

Governments focussed attention on teaching quality following the introduction of full fee-paying places for international students in 1986 and the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) for domestic students in 1989. This placed students in the role of customers with expectations that they would receive a high standard of education. This thesis highlighted the dependence of universities, and especially the Go8s on international student fees to fund their research and the education of domestic students (Norton, 2015; Thomson, 2019b). Student satisfaction and graduate outcomes were used by Australian governments and industry as measures for quality to impose their economic agendas. Vocationalism eclipsed the benefits of the teaching research nexus, which the Go8s failed to effectively articulate or implement in their undergraduate curriculum. Although most Go8s initially made genuine attempts to integrate teaching and research, their lack of resources and support, inevitably defeated their efforts.

A significant factor affecting teaching arose from diminishing public funding, in large part due to the rapid expansion of the sector and competing demands for government support in other areas of the economy. This forced universities to develop collaborations with industry to secure additional revenue and it placed pressure on institutions to ensure that students were “job ready” (Business Council of Australia, 2015) through work integrated learning (Orrell, 2004; Patrick, et al., 2008; Smith, 2012; Edwards, et al., 2015). Practical application of learning was further reinforced by data on graduate outcomes, with these results linked to funding from 2020 under the new *Performance-Based Funding [PBF] for the Commonwealth Grant Scheme* (DET¹²³, 2019a). Jackson & Bridgstock (2019) queried whether graduate outcomes data would deliver the Government’s agenda, given that the labour market largely dictated employment opportunities. Feedback from student surveys also supported the demand for undergraduate degrees to be more responsive to skills required in the workforce (Healey, 2008; QILT, 2020).

¹²³ Department of Education and Training.

The role of education was promoted as a public good under the UNS. Paradoxically, funding the new system relied on promoting the private benefits of education. This succeeded in reducing much of the negative reaction to the introduction of students' contribution to the cost of their courses through the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) and the resultant HECS-HELP and FEE-HELP loans. One ongoing criticism that governments and institutions encountered was the absence of an accurate detailed costing of teaching and research as separate functions. The desire to separate the funding for these two major components of academic work resulted from the cross-subsidisation of research by teaching. While this situation remained, research continued to short-change and exploit teaching, further entrenching its low status in universities (Lomax-Smith, 2011; Kemp & Norton, 2014; DAE¹²⁴, 2011, 2015, 2016).

As higher education expanded, academic work, and particularly teaching, was subjected to the segmentation of its components, including course development, delivery and assessment. Increasingly, staff were employed to undertake a single task such as course design, designing online assessment or marking assignments and exams. Clark (1987), Wright (2004) and Winter (2009), viewed this trend negatively, believing that it narrowed the definition of academic work by creating differentiation and fragmentation. This was reflected in the large numbers of casual staff in Australian universities, which had created an under-class of teaching-only academics who worked outside the normal discipline networks and support, compared to tenured or continuing academic staff (Benjet & Loweth, 1989; Sharff & Lessinger, 1994; Ellison, 2002).

The emergence of teaching specialist positions was promoted as improving pedagogy and student learning through scholarship and leadership. This thesis examined the integration of these roles in the Go8s to determine whether the rhetoric underpinning them matched their reality in relation to their workloads, support and the professionalisation of teaching.

¹²⁴ Deloitte Access Economics.

9.6 Teaching specialists – elite teachers or an academic underclass in the Go8s?

Chapter 8 compared workloads, scholarship, leadership and support in relation to peer review and promotion, between teaching specialists and teaching-research staff. The study indicated that teaching- research staff continued to enjoy greater advantages. This finding was based on an examination of the enterprise agreements and policies of each Go8 university, contrasted against strategic plans, annual reports, information from institutional learning and teaching websites, and staff data obtained from the Commonwealth Government websites dedicated to higher education. Most of these groups comprised small numbers of staff in relation to the total number of equivalent full-time staff (EFT) in the Go8s (Table 8.2) and the number of EFT actual casual teaching staff (Table 7.1).

The information obtained from the Go8s indicated that Adelaide, Sydney and UNSW allocated extremely heavy teaching and teaching-related workloads to teaching specialists, which amounted to between 70 – 100% of their total workload. Other Go8s had not published their teaching specialists' work allocations, indicating that this depended on individual negotiations between staff and their managers. However, it did not rule out the potential for similar time commitments to teaching. Such teaching workloads raised questions about the feasibility of scholarship and leadership in the stated expectations for these positions (see Table 8.1). Heavy workloads gave credence to earlier claims that in some cases research-inactive staff were moved to these positions to enable other staff to undertake more research (Illing, 2007; Lane, 2013; Probert, 2013b), or to save money by reducing the numbers of casual staff (The University of Adelaide, 2014). Similarly, issues of support and particularly promotion and peer review for teaching specialists, revealed mixed approaches. The data regarding Level C and above classified positions between the different academic work categories, indicated that teaching-only

staff were well behind their teaching-research colleagues (see Appendix 4), in relation to the professionalisation of the work they performed.

If teaching specialists had experienced the same opportunities as their teaching-research colleagues for professional development and promotion, then the Go8s faced a number of issues. Firstly, the issue of workload allocation needed to be specified with adequate time assigned to scholarship and leadership. These two aspects of teaching also needed to be properly defined, so that the skills and qualities they represented, clearly delineated teaching specialists from teaching-only roles. Quality was a particular concern, as over-reliance on student satisfaction surveys and graduate outcomes represented a narrow evaluation of teaching effectiveness. Further investigation and application of peer review and other strategies for assessing teaching quality needed to be undertaken and approved by the sector if teaching was to command the same respect as research. Clarification also needed to occur between scholarship and research. It was too early to tell whether the definition published by the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency in 2017 (TEQSA, 2017b) and its subsequent strategies for implementation (TEQSA, 2018), made the required impact on the Go8s. Probert (2013) warned against scholarship imitating research, which apart from signifying a backward step, would challenge whether teaching specialists were even relevant in Go8 academic workforces.

The findings of this thesis were predicated on whether the Go8s had sufficiently demonstrated that they valued teaching. The Go8s established centres and teams dedicated to teacher development and student learning, and the majority made provision in their promotion policies for teaching to be rewarded using similar, if not identical procedures, to teaching-research staff. This was in keeping with most other universities in the sector, but more notably in response to Government policy and regulation. Also, the Go8s demonstrated that they were

highly competitive in winning national teaching awards and grants. However, it was quite possible that such outcomes chiefly relied on the skills and dedication of individual staff who had a strong commitment to teaching and their students, given that not all academics wanted to be defined by their research (Bexley, et al., 2011).

The value ascribed to teaching specialist positions, was intended to showcase an elite group of academics committed to teaching quality and enhanced student learning. This was not supported either by the publicly available evidence on teaching workloads, or by the lack of evidence on opportunities for scholarship and leadership. What was missing or not available to public scrutiny was information on what each institution understood by “scholarship” and its application to teaching, or how teaching specialists assisted other staff in improving pedagogy. The decision by most Go8 institutions to adopt peer review, appeared to be a positive initiative in providing support and feedback on teaching, which in its summative form was promoted as informing promotion criteria. What was lacking, was a consortium-wide approach, which defined and benchmarked the integration of scholarship into teaching practice, adopted common procedures for peer review, and rewarded teaching by providing benefits equal those enjoyed by teaching-research staff. Such a unified approach would inform the sector that the Go8 as an entity, valued and supported quality teaching. Findings in Chapters 7 and 8 indicated that each Go8 institution acted independently, and with mixed results.

All of the above were necessary strategies to create a team of elite teachers. If scholarship and leadership were properly defined and implemented in the Go8s, it would dispel academic staff misgivings concerning 'boundaried' careers Bennett, et al., (2018). Staff would not face the prospect of low status and limited career options, thus consigning them to an academic under-class. Given that teaching specialists are a relatively new innovation in the

Go8s, it would be useful to know what staff in these roles have experienced in relation to the professionalisation of and support for teaching. Qualitative research examining teaching specialists' perceptions of their working conditions in Go8 universities, would provide a rich resource regarding the effectiveness of these positions and whether they deliver the benefits their institutions claim.

Appendices

Appendix 1



Jobs@UNSW



Jobs@UNSW

Applicant Login

Job Alert

Associate Dean (Education)

Job no: 495136
Work type: Continuing / Full time
Location: Sydney, NSW
Categories: Head of School / Director

Apply now

The Organisation

At UNSW, we pride ourselves on being a workplace where the best people come to do their best work. We aspire to be Australia's global university, improving and transforming lives through excellence in research, outstanding education and a commitment to advancing a just society.

The Faculty of Medicine has embarked on the most substantial investment in its history. One of the core principals of our vision is to educate the next generation of researchers, clinicians & educators within medicine. We have consistently embraced technological advancements to educate our students to provided them with the best learning experience. We invest significant funds every year to provide the best facilities and the significant expansion of the Randwick Medical precinct, this is an exciting time to be part of UNSW.

The Opportunity

The Associate Dean (Education) is an academic leadership role with overall strategic and operational responsibilities of the Faculty's education activities. You will be responsible for the provision of creative leadership in the development and implementation of innovative teaching and learning policies and strategies. Furthermore, you will be accountable for the effective strategic management of teaching and learning, and quality assurance in the Faculty's Education portfolio. You will collaborate with other senior members of the Faculty, for ensuring excellence in the Faculty's undergraduate and postgraduate programs.

Job Search

Search for jobs

e.g. "Lecturer, Admin assistant"

Refine Search

Categories

- Academic Leadership (3)
- Administration (0)
- Associate Professor (3)
- Business Development / Industry Engagement (0)
- Estate / Facilities Management (0)
- Finance (0)
- Fundraising / Philanthropy (0)
- Head of School / Director (3)
- Human Resources (0)
- Information Technology (0)
- Laboratory Technician (0)
- Lecturer (16)
- Marketing / Communications (0)
- Professional Leadership (2)
- Professor (2)

The University of Queensland (<http://www.uq.edu.au/>)

UQ Jobs (<http://www.uq.edu.au/uqjobs>)

Senior Lecturer - Teaching Focused

Job no: 505621

Area: Faculty Of Engineering, Architecture & Info Tech

Salary (FTE): Academic Level C (\$115,131.95 - \$132,753.93)

Work type: Full Time - Continuing

Location: St Lucia, Brisbane

School of Information Technology and Electrical Engineering

Job reference number - 505621

It is an exciting time to get involved with the School of Information Technology and Electrical Engineering, located on UQ's St. Lucia campus. The School is ramping up its investment in teaching, research and engagement to create an inspiring, diverse and flexible workplace. The direction is backed by a bold, new strategic vision to ensure the School is at the forefront of meaningful research outcomes and pedagogy across its core impact areas of health, data, automation and energy. Boasting strong student enrolments in professionally accredited programs, combined with world-class researchers and facilities, the School is focused on strengthening its position in the global computer science and engineering communities. By attracting the brightest minds and fostering a truly innovative and collaborative work environment, the School will develop global solutions to contemporary issues and mentor the leaders of tomorrow. Details of the School may be accessed on its website at <http://www.itee.uq.edu.au/> (<http://www.itee.uq.edu.au/>)

The role

To engage, as a senior lecturer, in undergraduate and postgraduate teaching, postgraduate supervision, and further development of the School's undergraduate and postgraduate programs, as well as performing research, administrative and other activities associated with the School. As a teaching-focused member of staff, the holder of the position will make significant contributions to teaching and learning leadership in the school.

The person

We seek to appoint candidates with a strong track record in high quality teaching of courses in one or more areas in computing, design, and engineering. The successful candidates will be expected to have a connection with one of the school's research areas and contribute to the school community through leadership in teaching and learning and related service roles.

The University of Queensland values diversity and inclusion and actively encourages applications from those who bring diversity to the University. Please refer to the University's Diversity and Inclusion webpage (<https://staff.uq.edu.au/information-and-services/human-resources/diversity> (<https://staff.uq.edu.au/information-and-services/human-resources/diversity>)) for further information and points of contact if you require additional support.


This role is a full-time position; however flexible working arrangements may be negotiated.

Accessibility requirements and/or adjustments can be directed to the contact person listed in the job advertisement.

Remuneration

This is a full-time, continuing appointment at Academic level C. The remuneration package will be in the range \$115,131.95 - \$132,753.93 p.a., plus employer superannuation contributions of up to 17% (total package will be in the range \$134,704.38 - \$155,322.10 p.a.).

Position Description

 [505621_Senior_Lecturer.pdf](https://secure.dc2.pageuppeople.com/apply/TransferRichTextFile.ashx?sData=UFUtvIMhSIZifCMNJi0fZX_FTFp6D9kk-UrPo48IvnbIDC3tiTqQVdKsnm4n39NwvsxNM_aeQzbXL0L12F0EXIf2sM0yHFQdbZIPhYoj2cfNXqAD4acOM_uXnSCxENZf48SWQRS0xuuTlpN6EO5trGM97A%7e%7e) (https://secure.dc2.pageuppeople.com/apply/TransferRichTextFile.ashx?sData=UFUtvIMhSIZifCMNJi0fZX_FTFp6D9kk-UrPo48IvnbIDC3tiTqQVdKsnm4n39NwvsxNM_aeQzbXL0L12F0EXIf2sM0yHFQdbZIPhYoj2cfNXqAD4acOM_uXnSCxENZf48SWQRS0xuuTlpN6EO5trGM97A%7e%7e)

Enquiries

To discuss this role please contact Associate Professor Stephen Viller on +61 7 3365 or viller@itee.uq.edu.au.

To submit an application for this role, use the **Apply** button below. All applicants must supply the following documents: Resume and Cover letter (maximum 3 pages) addressing the Selection Criteria.

For information on completing the application process [click here](http://www.uq.edu.au/uqjobs/index.html?page=149386&pid=149313) (<http://www.uq.edu.au/uqjobs/index.html?page=149386&pid=149313>).

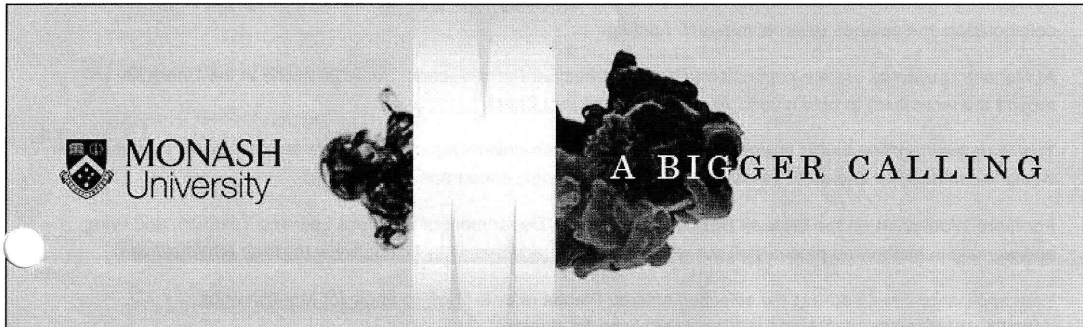


JOBS AT MONASH ([HTTPS://WWW.MONASH.EDU/JOBS/](https://www.monash.edu/jobs/))

Applicant login (<https://secure.dc2.pageuppeople.com/apply/513/aw/applicationForm/default.asp>)

Job alert (<http://careers.pageuppeople.com/513/cw/en/subscribe>)

New Search (<http://careers.pageuppeople.com/513/cw/en/listing>)



Senior Lecturer (Education-Focused), Business Law and Taxation

Job No: 586618

Location: Caulfield or Clayton campus

Employment Type: Full-time

Duration: Continuing appointment

Remuneration: \$119,072 - \$137,298 pa Level C (plus 17% employer superannuation)

- **Be inspired, every day**
- **Drive your own learning at one of the world's top 80 universities**
- **Take your career in exciting, rewarding directions**

Everyone needs a platform to launch a satisfying career. At Monash, we give you the space and support to take your career in all kinds of exciting new directions. You'll have access to quality research, infrastructure and learning facilities, opportunities to collaborate internationally, as well as the grants you'll need to publish your work. We're a university full of energetic and enthusiastic minds, driven to challenge what's expected, expand what we know, and learn from other inspiring, empowering thinkers.

The Opportunity

The Department of Business Law and Taxation (BLT) is a leading business law department and part of the Monash Business School. It has a comprehensive teaching and research program that focuses on the many dimensions of commercial, business and taxation law both locally and internationally. We are recruiting a Level C Education Focused Academic to lead the design and delivery of education in the Department, and will take on the role of Director of Education for the Department.

BLT is one of seven departments in the Monash Business School, awarded with the esteemed 'triple crown' accreditation of AACSB, EQUIS and AMBA placing us in the top 1% of Business Schools in the World! The discipline of Law at Monash University was also awarded the highest possible (5-star) rating in the latest Excellence in Research for Australia Report.

<http://careers.pageuppeople.com/513/cw/en/job/586618/senior-lecturer-educationfocused-b...> 19/12/2018



Recruitment system login

Associate Lecturer (Education Focused)

- Up to three Education Focused Opportunities in the School of Computer Science
- Full-time, Fixed term for 3 years, Located at Camperdown Campus
- Base Salary: \$73k-\$98k plus leave loading and a generous employer's contribution to superannuation.

School of Computer Science
Faculty Engineering and Information Technologies
Reference no. 2364/1118F

- **Up to three Education Focused Opportunities in the School of Computer Science**
- **Full-time, Fixed term for 3 years, Located at Camperdown Campus**
- **Base Salary: \$73k-\$98k plus leave loading and a generous employer's contribution to superannuation.**

About the opportunity

Education-focused is a specialised category of academic engagement reserved for talented educators with a passion for, and demonstrated excellence in, pedagogical practice and design.

As an Associate Lecturer (Education-focused) you'll contribute to the teaching and learning efforts within the School while working with the support and guidance of more senior academic staff to develop your education proficiency. In this role you will dedicate the majority of your contribution to education (up to 70% - or 80% by mutual agreement - of your academic workload allocation with the remaining 20% on school related curriculum activities and leadership).

<https://sydney.nga.net.au/cp/index.cfm?event=jobs.checkJobDetailsNewAppl...> 20/12/2018

Appendix 2

Chief Executive Officer by University and Name, Title, Years of Service and Strategic Plan.

Chief Executive Office by University and Name	Title	Years of service	Strategic Plan
Monash University			
Malcolm Ian Logan	Vice-Chancellor Vice-Chancellor and President	1987 - 1992 1993 - 1996	<i>Strategy for the Future (Monash, 1987)</i>
David Antony Robinson	Vice-Chancellor and President	1997 - 2002	<i>Leading the Way. The Monash Plan 1998 – 2003 (Monash, 1988)</i>
Peter LePoer Darvall	Vice-Chancellor and President	2002 - 2003	<i>Leading the Way - Monash 2020 Monash and its Future (Monash, 2001)</i>
Richard Graeme Larkins	Vice-Chancellor and President	2003 - 2009	<i>Excellence and Diversity Strategic Framework - 2004-2008 (Monash, 2004)</i> <i>Monash Strategic Directions 2025 (Monash, 2005a)</i>
Edward Byrne	Vice-Chancellor and President	2009 - 2014	<i>Strategic Priorities 2009–2013 (Monash 2008)</i>
Margaret Gardner	President and Vice-Chancellor	2014 -	<i>Focus Monash Strategic Plan 2015-2020 (Monash, 2015)</i>
The Australian National University			
Lawrence Walter Nichol	Vice-Chancellor	1988 - 1993	<i>Commitment to change: Strategic Plan 1988-1992 (ANU, 1988)</i>
Richard Deane Terrell	Vice-Chancellor	1994 - 2000	<i>Strategic Plan 1995- 2004 (ANU, 1995)</i>
Ian Chubb	Vice-Chancellor	2001 - 2011	<i>ANU to 2005 (ANU, 2001)</i> <i>ANU by 2010 (ANU, 2005)</i>
Professor Ian Young	Vice-Chancellor	2011 - 2016	<i>ANU by 2020 (ANU, 2011)</i>
Brian Paul Schmidt	Vice-Chancellor	2016 -	<i>ANU Strategic Plan 2017-2021 (ANU, 2017)</i> <i>ANU Strategic Plan 2018-2021 (ANU, 2018a)</i> <i>ANU Strategic Plan 2019-2022 (ANU, 2019a)</i> <i>ANU Strategic Plan 2020-2023 (ANU, 2019b)</i>
The University of Adelaide			
Kevin Marjoribanks	Vice-Chancellor	1987 - 1993	<i>Strategic Plan 1987 (Adelaide, 1987)</i> <i>Strategic Plan 1989 (Adelaide, 1989)</i>
Gavin Brown	Vice-Chancellor	1994 - 1996	<i>Adelaide. The University Plan 1994-2000 (Adelaide, 1994)</i>
Mary Josephine O’Kane	Vice-Chancellor	1996 - 2001	<i>Strategic Plan 1997 - 2002</i>
Clifford Blake	Vice-Chancellor	2001 - 2002	

Chief Executive Office by University and Name	Title	Years of service	Strategic Plan
James McWha	Vice-Chancellor and President	2002 - 2012	<i>Future Directions University Strategic Plan 2004-2008</i> (Adelaide, 2004) <i>Building a Great Research University The University of Adelaide Strategic Plan 2008-2012</i> (Adelaide, 2008)
Warren Bebbington	Vice-Chancellor and President	2012 - 2018	<i>Beacon of Enlightenment Strategic Plan 2013- 2023</i> (Adelaide, 2013)
Peter David Rathjen	Vice-Chancellor and President	2018 -	<i>Strategic Plan. Future Making</i> (Adelaide, 2018)
<i>The University of Melbourne</i>			
David Geoffrey Penington	Vice-Chancellor	1988 - 1995	<i>Looking to the Future. The Strategic Plan for The University of Melbourne (1988)</i> (Melbourne, 1988) <i>Building on Quality Strategic Plan 1994-1996</i> (Melbourne, 1994)
Alan David Gilbert	Vice-Chancellor	1996 - 2004	<i>Strategic Plan Perspective 2000</i> (Melbourne, 1996)
Kwong Chiu Lee Dow	Vice-Chancellor	2004 - 2005	
Glyn Conrad Davis	Vice-Chancellor	2005 - 2018	<i>Growing Esteem: The University of Melbourne Strategic Plan 2005</i> (Melbourne, 2005) <i>Growing Esteem: The University of Melbourne Strategic Plan 2005 2010</i> (Melbourne, 2010) <i>Growing Esteem: The University of Melbourne Strategic Plan 2015-2020</i> (Melbourne, 2015)
Duncan Maskell	Vice-Chancellor	2018 -	
<i>University of New South Wales</i>			
Lindsay Michael Birt	Vice-Chancellor	1981 – 1992	<i>The University Part I of the Corporate Plan of the University of New South Wales (1988)</i> (UNSW, 1988)
John Rodney Niland	Vice-Chancellor	1992 - 2002	<i>UNSW Strategic Plan 1995-98</i> (UNSW, 1995)
Wyatt R Hume	Vice-Chancellor	2002 - 2004	(UNSW, 1999)
Mark Sebastian Wainwright	Vice-Chancellor	2004 - 2006	<i>Strategic Plan 2005</i> (UNSW, 2005a)
Fred G Hilmer	President and Vice-Chancellor	2006 - 2015	<i>B2B Blueprint to Beyond 2010 - UNSW Strategic Intent</i> (UNSW, 2008) <i>B2B Blueprint to Beyond: UNSW Strategic Intent</i> (UNSW, 2011)
Ian Jacobs	President and Vice-Chancellor	2015 -	<i>UNSW 2025 Strategy</i> (UNSW, 2015)
<i>University of Queensland</i>			
Brian Wilson	Vice-Chancellor	1979 - 1996	<i>Strategic Plan 1992 – 1996</i> (Queensland, 1991)

Chief Executive Office by University and Name	Title	Years of service	Strategic Plan
John A. Hay	Vice-Chancellor (UNSW)	1996 – 2007	<i>Strategic Plans: 1998-2002; 2000 – 2004; 2000- 2006; 2003 – 2007; 2004 – 2008; 2005 – 2009; 2006- 2010; 2007 – 2011 (Queensland, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007)</i>
Paul Greenfield	Vice-Chancellor	2008 – 2012	<i>Strategic Plans: 2009–2013; 2010-2014; 2011–2015 (Queensland, 2008, 2010, 2011)</i>
Deborah Terry (Acting)	Vice-Chancellor	2012 - 2012	
Peter Høj	Vice-Chancellor and President	2012 -	<i>Strategic Plan 2013-2017 (Queensland, 2013)</i> <i>Strategic Plan 2018-2021 (Queensland, 2018a)</i>
University of Sydney			
Donald McNicol	Vice-Chancellor	1990 - 1996	<i>The University Plan, 1994–2004</i>
Derek John Anderson (acting)	Vice-Chancellor	1996 - 1996	
Gavin Brown	Vice-Chancellor	1996 - 2008	<i>Strategic Directions 2006-2010</i> <i>Strategic Plan 2007 – 2010</i>
Michael Spence	Vice-Chancellor	2008 -	<i>The University of Sydney Green Paper 2011 – 2015</i> <i>The University of Sydney White Paper 2011 – 2015</i> <i>Strategic Plan 2011 – 2016 (17 Strategies)</i> <i>Strategic Plan 2016 - 2020</i>
University of Western Australia			
Faye Gale	Vice-Chancellor	1990 - 1997	<i>University of Western Australia Strategic Plan 1992 (UWA 1992)</i>
Deryck. M. Schreuder	Vice-Chancellor	1998 - 2003	<i>UWA Strategic Plan: A Leading University (1999) (UWA, 1999)</i> <i>UWA Strategic Plan 2001 (UWA, 2001)</i>
Alan D. Robson	Vice-Chancellor	2004 - 2011	<i>Strategic Directions 2004 (UWA, 2004)</i> <i>Strategic Plan. Achieving International Excellence (UWA, 2007)</i> <i>Strategic Directions 2009 – 2013 (UWA, 2009)</i>
Paul Johnson	Vice-Chancellor	2011 - 2017	<i>UWA 2020 Vision Strategic Plan 2014-2020 (UWA, 2014)</i>
Dawn Freshwater	Vice-Chancellor	2017 - 2020	<i>UWA 2030 (UWA, 2019b)</i>

Appendix 3

Australian Awards for University Teaching (AAUT) Recipients by Year and AAUT Category, Group of Eight Universities and All Other Table A Provider Universities.

Year & AAUT Category	Group of Eight Universities	All other Table A Provider Universities
2018		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	Monash x 2; UQ x 2 (4)	Bond; UTS (2)
Awards for Programs that Enhance learning	UWA (1)	Griffith; ECU x 2; Murdoch; Bond (5)
2017		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	ANU x 5; Monash x 2; UQ x 2; UWA (10)	QUT; Swinburne x 2; Newcastle; WSU; Deakin (6)
Awards for Programs that Enhance learning	UQ; Melbourne; Monash (3)	Murdoch; Wollongong; Macquarie; Griffith x 2; ECU (6)
2016		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	UQ; Adelaide; ANU x 2 (4)	Curtin x 2; ECU x 2; Deakin x 2; UniSA; Griffith x 2; QUT; UTS; Swinburne; WSU (13)
Awards for Programs that Enhance learning	UQ x 2 (2)	Tasmania; FU; USQ; Curtin x 2; QUT x 2; Wollongong; JCU; Flinders (10)
2015		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	UQ x 2; ANU x 2; Sydney; UNSW; Monash (7)	Deakin x 2; Griffith x 2; ECU (5)
Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning	Monash; Sydney; UWA (3)	QUT x 2; Tasmania; UND (4)
2014		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	ANU; UNSW x 2; Sydney; UQ x 2 (6)	Newcastle; UNE; WSU; CQU; Griffith; QUT x 2; Deakin; Murdoch (9)
Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning	UNSW; UQ (2)	CSU; Newcastle; Griffith x 2; Murdoch; Curtin (6)
2013		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	UQ x 2; Adelaide; ANU (4)	UTS; WSU; Deakin; FU; QUT; Curtin; UniSA; Tasmania (8)
Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning	UWA (1)	CQU; Griffith; JCU; QUT; Curtin, UND; UniSA, Tasmania (8)
2012		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	Adelaide; Sydney; UNSW (3)	CQU; Griffith; WSU; Curtin; Tasmania; Newcastle; Macquarie (7)
Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning	ANU; UQ; UNSW; Monash (4)	Curtin; JCU; Tasmania; Flinders; Macquarie; QUT (6)
2011		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	Melbourne x 2; UQ x 2; UWA; Sydney; Monash (7)	Griffith; Deakin x 2; QUT x 3; Curtin x 3; Bond; WSU x 3; Newcastle (14)

Year & AAUT Category	Group of Eight Universities	All other Table A Provider Universities
Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning	Melbourne; UQ; Sydney; UWA (4)	Macquarie; Sunshine Coast; Deakin; UNE; CDU; Griffith (7)
2010		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	Monash; UQ x 2; Adelaide; ANU x 2; UWA; UNSW (8)	Newcastle x 3; WSU; Curtin x 3; Griffith x 2; QUT x 3; CDU (13)
Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning	QUT x 2; UQ; UWA (4)	WSU; Victoria; Curtin; Swinburne; Wollongong; Macquarie (6)
2009		
Awards for Teaching Excellence	UWA x 2; ANU; Monash x 2; UQ x 2; Melbourne (8)	UniSA; RMIT; Griffith; Curtin; QUT x 3; Deakin; Murdoch; WSU x 2; ACU (12)
Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning	ANU x 3; Melbourne; Monash x 2; UQ (6)	Curtin; QUT; CSU; Griffith; JCU (5)
TOTAL	91 (62.3%)	146 (61.6%)

Appendix 4

Group of Eight Universities by Staff Development, Teaching Support Centres and Networks, Peer Review of Teaching, Promotion Policies and Awards and Grants.

Staff Development	Peer Review of Teaching	Teaching Support Centres and Networks	Awards and Grants	Promotion Policies
Monash University				
Monash Education Academy Modules: MEA Engage & MEA Advance (Monash, 2020b)	Peer Review of Teaching at Monash (Monash, 2020e)	Monash Education Academy (MEA) (Monash 2020c) Monash Warwick Alliance Education Exchange Scheme (Monash, 2020d)	Vice-Chancellor's Education Excellence Awards Small Grants Scheme MEA Travel Grants Inter-Faculty Transformation Grant (Monash, 2020f)	Education Performance Standards Framework (Monash, 2019a) Academic Promotion: Level C-E Procedure (Monash (2019b))
The Australian National University				
ANU Educational Fellowship Scheme (EFS) (ANU, 2019c) Teaching and Learning at ANU: Foundations (ANU, 2020a)	Peer to Peer Observation Program (ANU, 2020b)	Centre for Higher Education, Learning and Teaching (ANU, 2020c) ANU Educational Researcher Network (ANU, 2020e)	ANU Vice-Chancellor's Awards for Excellence in Education ANU Vice-Chancellor's Teaching Enhancement Grants (ANU, 2020d)	Policy: Academic promotion (ANU, 2018c) Procedure: Academic promotion (ANU, 2019d)
The University of Adelaide				
Teaching Resources (Adelaide, 2020a) Adelaide Development Program for Educators and Professionals who Teach (Adelaide, 2020b)	Peer Assisted Reflection & Development Program (Adelaide, 2020d) Teaching Review Program (Adelaide, 2020e)	The Adelaide Education Academy (Adelaide, 2019c) Higher Education Research Group at Adelaide (Adelaide, 2019d) Communities of Practice (Adelaide, 2020c)	Commendations for the Enhancement and Innovation of Student Learning Stephen Cole the Elder Awards for Excellence in Teaching Faculty Teaching Awards (Adelaide, 2020f)	Staff Development, Performance and Promotions Policy and Procedures Academic Promotions Procedure (Adelaide, 2019b)

Staff Development	Peer Review of Teaching	Teaching Support Centres and Networks	Awards and Grants	Promotion Policies
			Learning Enhancement and Innovation Grants (Adelaide, 2020g)	
The University of Melbourne				
Graduate Certificate in University Teaching	Melbourne Peer Review of Teaching Program (summative)	The Melbourne Academy	Barbara Falk Award for Teaching Excellence	Academic, Appointment and Performance Policy (Melbourne, 2018a)
Melbourne Teaching Certificate	Faculty/School Review of Teaching Program (formative) Melbourne (2020b)	Melbourne Centre for the Study of Higher Education	David White Award for Teaching Excellence	Categories of Employment Procedure (Melbourne, 2009)
Melbourne Teaching Certificate for Sessional Teachers (Melbourne, 2020b)		The Williams Centre for Learning Advancement.	Edward Brown Award for Teaching Excellence	Academic Career Benchmarks and Indicators (Melbourne, 2019e)
		Learning Environments	Norman Curry Award for Innovation and Excellence in Educational Programs Melbourne (2020c)	
		Engineering Learning Unit (Melbourne, 2020a).	Learning and Teaching Initiative Grant Scheme (Melbourne, 2020d)	
The University of New South Wales				
Professional Development programs:	Introduction of Peer Review of Teaching for promotion and UNSW Teaching Awards. (UNSW, 2020b)	Scientia Education Academy (SEA)	UNSW Awards for Teaching Excellence (UNSW, 2020e)	Academic Promotions Policy (UNSW, 2020f)
Beginning to Teach		SEA Fellows (UNSW, 2020c)	Excellence and Awards in Supervision (UNSW, 2020f)	Academic Promotions Procedure (UNSW, 2020h)
Foundations of University Learning and Teaching		Pro Vice-Chancellor (Education)Service Teams:		
Graduate Certificate in University Learning and Teaching		Academic Development Services	UNSW Scientia Education Investment Fund Program (UNSW, 2020g)	Academic Expectations Framework (UNSW, 2019i)
Master of Education (Higher		Curriculum Design Services		
		Digital Assessment		
		Educational Delivery		

Staff Development	Peer Review of Teaching	Teaching Support Centres and Networks	Awards and Grants	Promotion Policies
Education) (UNSW, 2020a)		Services EF (Education Focussed) Career Development Team EF Communities of Practice (UNSW, 2020d)		
The University of Queensland				
Teaching @ UQ Program Tutors@UQ Graduate Teaching Associates (Queensland, 2020a)	Peer observation (Queensland, 2018b)	Institute for Learning and Teaching Innovation (Queensland, 2020f) College of Peer Observers (Queensland, 2019d) UQ Learning and Teaching Focused Network (Queensland, 2019e) eLearning Systems and Support (Queensland, 2019f) Science of Learning Research Centre (Queensland, 2020b)	UQ Awards for Teaching Excellence UQ Awards for Programs that Enhance Learning UQ Teaching Awards (3 categories) UQ Teaching Innovation Grants UQ Early Career Educational Research Grants UQ New Staff Start-up Grants (Queensland, 2020c)	Criteria for Academic Performance Policy (Queensland, 2019g) Guidelines on Evidencing Academic Achievement (Queensland, 2019c) Promotion of Academic Staff Levels A - D (Queensland, 2020j) Promotion to Professor (Queensland, 2020k)
The University of Sydney				

Staff Development	Peer Review of Teaching	Teaching Support Centres and Networks	Awards and Grants	Promotion Policies
<p>Graduate Certificate in Educational Studies (Higher Education) (Sydney, 2020a)</p> <p>The Sydney Educational Fellowship Program (Sydney, 2020b)</p>	<p>Peer Review of Teaching (Sydney, 2019a)</p>	<p>Academic Enrichment Learning Centre (2019b)</p> <p>Education Innovation Team (Sydney, 2019e)</p> <p>Teaching@Sydney blog, website and newsletter for teaching staff (Sydney, 2019f)</p>	<p>Vice-Chancellor Awards (3 separate awards)</p> <p>Strategic Education Grants (Sydney, 2019g)</p>	<p>Academic Promotions Procedures 2015 (Sydney, 2017)</p> <p>Academic Promotions Policy 2015 (Sydney, 2019h)</p>
The University of Western Australia				
<p>Academy Fellowship Scheme (UWA, 2020a)</p>	<p>Peer observation of teaching (UWA, 2012)</p>	<p>Education Enhancement Unit (UWA, 2020b)</p>	<p>UWA Excellence in teaching Awards (UWA, 2019a)</p>	<p>University-Wide Standard Descriptors: Winthrop Professor Level E (Professorial Fellow (Teaching and Learning) (UWA, 2017b)</p> <p>Academic Staff Promotion – Policy & Procedures (staff access only) (UWA, 2019c)</p>

Appendix 5

Employment advertisements by Month, Group of Eight University, Teaching specialist position and Classification Level, March 2018 – February 2019.

Month	Group of Eight University	Teaching Specialist Position	Classification Level
March 2018	Melbourne	Specialist: Simulation Education (Teaching Specialist) - Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences	B
	Monash	Associate Professor (Computer Science.) Education Focused (Level D - 5 years fixed-term position).	D
	Queensland	Multiple Teaching-focused positions) in Faculty of Medicine	B
April 2018	Monash	Lecturer (Education-Focused) Department of Social Work (Level B)	B
	Queensland	Associate Lecturer in Strategy (Teaching Focused)	A
		Clinical Skills Educator (Education Focused)	A
		Lead Clinical Educator (Clinical Skills & Simulation) (Teaching Focused) (X2)	A
		Lecturer in Tourism (Teaching Focused)	B
		Lecturer in Marketing (Teaching Focused)	B
Director Interprofessional Education (Teaching Focussed)	D or E		
	Sydney	Lecturer Educational Innovation Team, DVC Education	B
May 2018	Queensland	Lecturer in Management – Teaching Focused (X2)	B
June 2018	Queensland	Lecturer in Tourism (Teaching Focused)	B
		Lecturer in Marketing (Teaching Focused)	B
July 2018	Monash	Senior Lecturer (Education Focused) Engineering/Chemical Engineering	C
	Queensland	Associate Lecturer Business, Corporate and Tax Law – (Teaching focused)	A
August	Sydney	Lecturer for Hornsby Academic General Practice (Education Focused)	C
September	Queensland	Lecturer in Mathematics or Statistics (Teaching-Focused) (X2)	B
October	Melbourne	Teaching Specialist Screen Studies	A
		Teaching Specialist Creative Writing	A
		Lecturer in Science Education	B
	Queensland	Senior Lecturer in Clinical Medicine (Teaching Focused)	C
	Sydney	Lecturer – Education Focussed – Science	B
		Education Focussed Academic Positions – Engineering & Information Technology (X2)	A
November 2018	Melbourne	Teaching Specialist – periodic (German)	A
	Monash	Associate Professor/Senior Lecturer (Chemical Engineering)	C/D
		Lecturer (Education Focused)	B
	Sydney	Interdisciplinary Lecturer/ Senior Lecturer (Education-focused)	B/C
		Associate Lecturer (Education Focused), Spanish and Latin American Studies	A

Month	Group of Eight University	Teaching Specialist Position	Classification Level
December 2018	Monash	Lecturer (Education-focused) School of Chemistry	B
		Lecturer (Education-focused) School of Biological Sciences	B
		Lecturer/Senior Lecturer, Financial Mathematics (School of Mathematical Sciences)	C
		Lecturer (Education-focused) School of Business Law & Taxation)	C
	Queensland	Academic Lead for Staff Development (Level C/D)	C/D
		Tutorial Fellows – Finance (Teaching-focused) (Level A)	A
	Sydney	Associate Lecturer (Education Focused) School of Life and Environmental Sciences	A
		Associate Lecturers (Education Focused), School of Computer Science (X3)	A
		Associate Lecturers (Education Focused) School of Civil Engineering (X2)	A/B
January 2019	Monash	Senior Lecturer (Education Focused), Business Law and Taxation	C
		Lecturer (Education Focused) School of Biological Sciences	B
	Queensland	Senior Lecturer (Teaching Focused) School of Information Technology and Electrical Engineering	C
	Sydney	Associate Lecturer (Education-Focused) (X3)	A
		Education Focused academic Positions (X2)	A/B
		Multiple positions Associate Lecturer (Education-Focused)	A
February	Queensland	Senior Lecturer or Lecturer in Strategy and Entrepreneurship (Teaching Focused)	B/C
	Sydney	Associate Lecturer (Education Focused) in Writing Studies	A

Sources: Adelaide (2020i); ANU (2020); Melbourne, 2020f; Monash, 2020g; Queensland, 2020l; Sydney, 2020b; UNSW, 2020i; UWA, 2020c).

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