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Authors/Editors

BERLINGER, Edina, Associate Professor, Corvinus University of Budapest

BERÁCS, József, Professor, Kecskemét College and Corvinus University of Budapest

DEGTYAROVA, Irina, Postdoctoral Researcher, Dnipropetrovsk Regional Institute of Public Administration, National Academy for Public Administration under the President of Ukraine, Polish Rectors Foundation

DOMBI, Annamária, Doctoral student, Eötvös Lóránd University

DONATH, Liliana Eva, Professor, West University Timisoara

DYBAŚ, Magdalena, Chief Researcher, Educational Research Institute in Warsaw,

Polish Rectors Foundation

GUZI, Martin, Post-doctoral researcher, Masaryk University

HEGEDŰS, Roland, PhD student, University of Debrecen

HORVÁTH, László, PhD student, Eötvös Lóránd University

HUJÁK, Janka, PhD student, University of Pannonia

HVORECKY, Jozef, Professor, Vysoká škola manažmentu / City University of Seattle

IWINSKA, Julia, Strategic Planning Director, Central European University

KECZER, Gabriella, Associate Professor, University of Szeged

KERESZTY, Orsolya, Associate Professor, Eötvös Lóránd University

KESZEI, Ernő, Professor, former Vice-rector for science and research, Eötvös Lóránd University

KISS, Paszkál, Associate Professor, Károli Gáspár University of Reformed Church

KOLTÓI, Lilla, Doctoral candidate, Eötvös Lóránd University

KOVÁCS, Zsuzsa, Assistant Professor, Eötvös Lóránd University

KOVÁTS, Gergely, Senior Lecturer, Corvinus University of Budapest

M. CSÁSZÁR, Zsuzsa, Associate Professor, University of Pécs

MATEI, Liviu, Provost and Pro-rector, Central European University

MEGYERI, Krisztina, Assistant Professor, Corvinus University of Budapest

PACUSKA, Maria, Polish Rectors Foundation – Institute of Knowledge Society

ROHONCZI, Edit, University of West Hungary

TRAVELLER, Andrew G., Independent Researcher and Alumni, Erasmus Mundus Master in Research and Innovation in Higher Education

VLK, Aleš, Researcher, Tertiary Education and Research Institute

WOŹNICKI, Jerzy, Professor, Polish Rectors Foundation – Institute of Knowledge Society

WUSCHING, Tamás Á., PhD student, University of Pécs

Introduction

This volume comprises of selected papers that were originally presented at the first Central European Higher Education Cooperation (CEHEC) conference held in Budapest from 28-29 January 2015. The CEHEC was the first of a series of conferences organized at the initiative of the Center of International Higher Education Studies (CIHES) at Corvinus University of Budapest and Central European University (CEU), in collaboration with partners from the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia.

The conference series intends to bring together researchers and practitioners who share a systematic interest in promoting both the scholarly study and the practical advancement of higher education in the Central and Eastern European region. It aims at stimulating a discussion of significant trends and key issues in the region's higher education apart from enhancing academic collaboration and sharing of experience in higher education research and policy making.

This volume presents twenty articles by a group of contributors from Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Slovenia and Ukraine. The papers highlight some of the key issues that appear to be particularly relevant, or even specific in certain instances, to the region's higher education, as well as present country case studies. The specific issues approached are subsumed under larger topics such as university autonomy and governance, financing of higher education, internationalization and mobility, higher education reforms in a post-communist transition setting, challenges of massification and demographic trends, quality, access and teaching and learning. The detailed programme of the first conference and information about the authors is enclosed in the **Annex**.

We hope these papers will be an enjoyable read for all interested readers, and they will join to the next conference or other events related to this new initiative Central European Higher Education Cooperation (CEHEC).

Budapest, July 2015

József Berács – Julia Iwinska – Gergely Kováts –Liviu Matei
The Editors and Program Committee Members

GUZI, Martin

The Demand for Tertiary Education in Slovakia: Interests and fields of Study

Abstract.The Slovak higher education system has undergone fundamental changes since the fall of the Iron Curtain, through a series of reforms primarily focused on quantitative development. This enormous effort to increase participation in higher education has, however, not been accompanied by adequate emphasis on the quality of educational and research activities. Slovak universities occupy low positions in international rankings and attract only a small share of international students. The number of new students enrolled each year is falling due to unfavorable demographic development. Slovakia is one of the OECD countries in which the 19-year-old cohort is projected to shrink the most over the coming decade. We show that the drop in enrolment rates is accelerated by the outflow of students who choose to study abroad. Czech universities are the most popular foreign institutions among Slovak students, as they offer better quality and a closely related study language. The only sustainable strategy for the Slovak institutions is to enhance their academic environment.

1. Transformation of the higher education system

Since the collapse of the communist regime, higher education institutions (HEIs) in Slovakia have gone through a profound transformation. During the 1990s the state's traditional monopolistic role diminished, and emphasis was placed on academic and institutional autonomy. The new Higher Education Act passed in 1990 and the introduction of per capita funding in Czechoslovakia in 1991 were two major steps towards reestablishing the independence of universities (Koucky 2012). The Higher Education Act of 2002 introduced another set of radical changes in the allocation of funds to Higher Education in Slovakia and prompted the implementation of the Bologna Declaration and Institutions. The main focus of this higher education reform was quantitative development. Over the past two decades, the system of higher education in Slovakia has been expanded enormously, both in terms of numbers of students and institutions. In 1990 there were 13 public universities, most of which had been established in the 1940s and 50s. By 2014 the number of public HEIs had increased to 23 with the addition of13 new private HEIs. .[1] Many

Acknowledgements. This work was supported by the project “Employment of Best Young Scientists for International Cooperation Empowerment” (CZ.1.07/2.3.00/30.0037) co-financed from European Social Fund and the state budget of the Czech Republic. Author thanks participants of

new public universities were established in different regions in order to improve access to education and contribute to the development of these regions (Caplanova 2000). PPublic universities in Slovakia do not charge fees from students, and therefore they are heavily dependent on public finances. The amount of governmental spending allocated to Higher Education is however among the lowest in the European Union (based on Eurostat data it has never exceeded 1% of GDP). The private HEIs do charge tuition fees, but enroll a relatively small percentage of students (about 6% of all students in 2013).

The transformation of the higher education system in Slovakia occurred along witha rapidly growing demand for higher education. The result was that the HEIs' activities became increasingly narrowly focused on teaching and most research activities were transferred to the national Academy of Sciences. This expansion of higher education accompanied by a reduction in academic quality has resulted in greater numbers of low-ability students entering HEIs. Beblavy, Teteryatnikova and Thum (2015) construct a model to show this, and argue that under these circumstances, the weaker students are not motivated to study harder to catch up with more able students, and so the quality of higher education further declines.

In the next section we show that number of students enrolled in Slovak HEIs is decreasing and the trend is accelerated by the outflow of students who choose to study abroad. Czech universities are the most popular among Slovak students, as they offer better quality and a closely related language of study. The last section points to the future developments of higher education in Slovakia.

2. Demand for tertiary education

Before 1990, the education system was rigid and highly centralized. The communist system maintained extremely small returns on education for decades by enforcing the wage grid (Münich, Svejnar, and Terrell 2005). During that time, educational levels were on average relatively high but the structure of education was highly skewed towards vocational training and away from general academic education. Admission to universities was based on political considerations and admitted only a small share of the population. The proportion of population, aged 16 to 64 years, with tertiary education in Slovakia remained

CEHEC 2014 conference for their valuable comments and Annie Bartoň for language editing. All errors remaining in this text are the responsibility of the author.

[1] Comenius University is the oldest Slovak university and was established in 1919. Slovak law recognizes three types of HEIs: i) Universities, ii) Higher Education Institutions and iii) Professional Higher Education Institutions. An Accreditation Commission evaluates their activities every six years, considering research excellence, the number and quality of teaching staff, and technical infrastructure.

at 8% in the late 1990s, significantly below equivalent levels in the Western economies.[2] However, the economic transformation process created structural shifts in labour demand towards higher skills, and the expansion of higher education after 2000 helped to rapidly increase enrolment in higher education.

The share of tertiary educated labour force in Slovakia approached 18% in 2014 and similar developments have been observed in the Czech Republic (19%) and Hungary (20%), while only Poland stands substantially higher with 24%. Higher levels of educational attainment in Slovakia are strongly associated with high employment rates and better job opportunities (OECD 2013). The earnings premium for tertiary-educated workers is extremely high, which signals the shortage of highly educated workforce; OECD (2013) reports at least a 70% premium relative to upper secondary education in 2011. For these reasons it is sensible to expect high educational aspirations among young people in the coming years.

In Slovakia (and also in the Czech Republic) enrollment to a university is a sequential process in which students submit applications for their preferred university courses and are subsequently invited to participate in the relevant entrance examination.[3] The university ranks the students based on their performance in the admission test, and other achievements (e.g. grades from secondary school) and admits the best students to the course. If a student is accepted for more than one course, they may decide which course to enroll on.

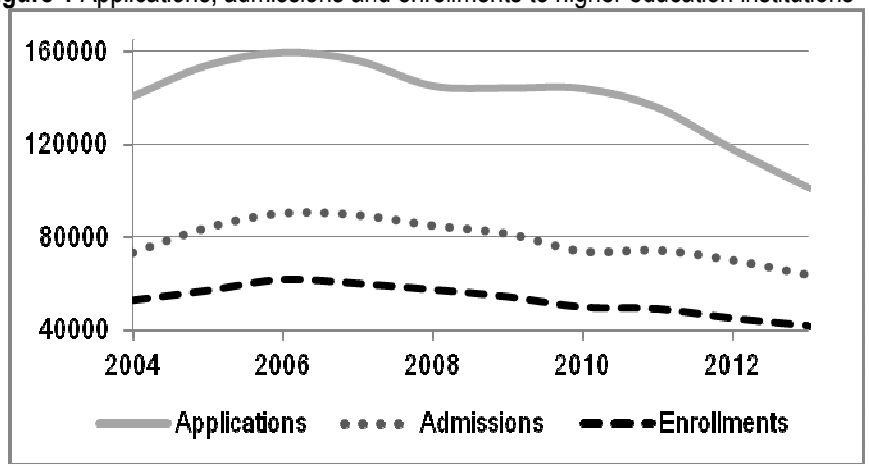
Figure 1 shows the total number of applications sent to HEIs, the number of admissions, and the number of new students enrolled in each year. The high number of applications is not surprising, since applicants usually apply simultaneously to several courses in order to increase their chances of admission. Likewise, universities are aware that students may choose to enrol in another institution or course, and so frequently accept more students than they have the capacity to teach. Hence, in Figure 1, the number of students admitted is higher than the number of newly enrolled students. The expansion of HEIs has considerably increased applicants' chances of being accepted. It also means that applicants send fewer applications to HEIs, and the criteria for admission are less demanding.

[2] See Eurostat database: Population with tertiary education attainment by sex and age (code: edat_lfse_07).

[3] Most universities allow both electronic and paper applications. The fee for the admission procedure in 2014/15 varies from 20 to 80 EUR per application, depending on the chosen field of study (medical fields charge the most).

The total number of applications sent to HEIs in the period 2006-2013 declined sharply from 160,000 to 101,000. More significant still is the drop in numbers of newly enrolled students, from above 60,000 to 42,000 over the same period. The largest force behind this trend is the shrinking cohort of prospective students (19 years old). In 2013 the total number of applicants in Slovakia was lower than the enrolling capacity of all HEIs, for the first time ever (ARRA 2014).

Figure 1 Applications, admissions and enrollments to higher education institutions



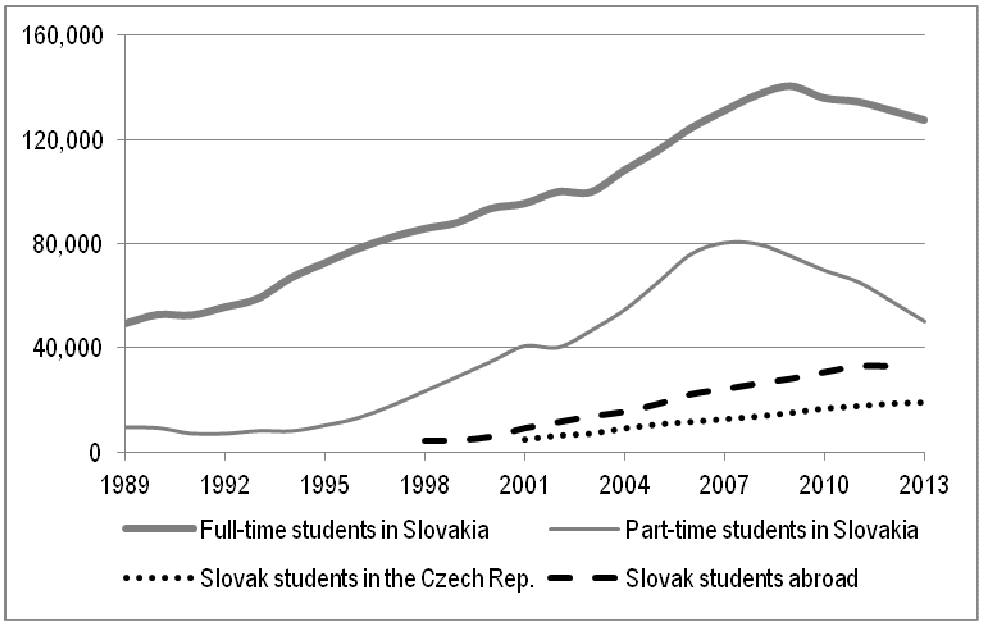
Source: Institute of Information and Forecasts in Education (UIPS)

3. Enrollment decisions

The total number of students enrolled in Slovak HEIs reached its peak in 2008, with more than 220,000 students; this was a remarkable increase from 60,000 in 1989. In Figure 2 we show the trend in enrollment by distinguishing between students enrolled in study programs on a full-time basis and those studying part-time. The latter option is largely preferred by older individuals pursuing further training, and combining work and study. Since 2006, numbers of part-time students have been falling, most likely because this type of study is not free, and the potential interest group has diminished over time. The decline in numbers of full-time students began in 2010 and has been accelerated by the outflow of students who choose to study abroad. Data on Slovak students studying abroad from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics illustrates an increasing trend; from 4,000 students enrolled at institutions abroad in the late '90s to over 33,000 students in 2012. Figure 2 further shows that more than half of these students study in the Czech Republic. The number of Slovak students at Czech universities increased from 4,700 in 2001 to 19,000 in 2013. The Czech Republic is a preferred location among emigrating Slovak students because it has an identical education system, with no tuition fees, and because the language proximity means that Slovak students are allowed to speak and write in their native language

throughout their studies at these universities. Most importantly, however, Czech universities are regularly included in international rankings (e.g. Charles University in Prague ranks among the top 300 universities in both ARWU and QS rankings), while no Slovak university appears in any of these lists.

Figure 2 Student enrollments



Source: UIPS, UIV and UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS)

Slovak HEIs also admit students from abroad, and in 2013 these comprised 7% of all newly enrolled students. Their numbers have grown steadily from 400 to over 3,000 in the last ten years, but as we illustrate here, the inflow of foreign students is much lower compared with the outflow of Slovak students. About one third of these foreign students are enrolled in medical or pharmaceutical courses, and the majority of them come from the Czech Republic (42% in 2013) or Ukraine (20%). Other nationalities (e.g. Greek, Serbian, and Norwegian) make up less than 5%.

The quality of HEIs is an important determinant for student mobility (Kahanec and Kralikova 2011). To contrast the quality of Slovak universities with its neighbouring countries we use data from the Webometrics Ranking of World Universities.[4] Table 1 shows that this ranking

[4] The Webometrics ranking claims to include all universities in the world and the database includes 33 Slovak institutions. The ranking is based on Web visibility and takes into account the volume of

includes two Slovak universities in the list of the top 1000 World Universities (the Comenius University is ranked 599th and the Slovak University of Technology is ranked 746th). For comparison, the Czech Republic has 10 universities in the top 1000 and one university in the top 100 (Charles University is ranked 96th). This comparison further reveals that all Slovakia's neighbouring countries have at least 3 universities each in the top 500. Taking a university's position in this ranking as an indicator of its quality, we argue that Slovak students have access to a number of better universities within a reasonable distance.

Table 1 Number of u universities listed in the top rankings

	SK	CZ	AT	PL	HU
Top 100	0	1	1	0	0
Top 500	0	4	4	3	3
Top 1000	2	10	8	12	6
Top 3000	10	19	17	53	15

Source: www.webometrics.info (accessed in March 2015)

The quality of HEIs however is not the most important factor in determining Slovak students' enrollment decisions. For illustration, 8 universities in Austria are listed among the top 1000, and the University of Vienna ranks 77th. There are also no tuition fees for Slovak students studying at Austrian universities, yet the influx of Slovak students to Austria has remained roughly constant and fluctuated between 930 and 1130 students over the last decade.[5] Therefore it seems likely that Czech universities have increasingly attracted Slovak students not only due to their quality, but also their cultural and linguistic proximity. Another advantage, although less substantial, is that the official recognition process in Slovakia is faster for Czech degrees than for degrees awarded from other country.

4. Future development

In recent years most OECD countries have seen a reduction in numbers of new students being enrolled in higher education, and over the coming decade applicant numbers to tertiary education are forecasted to diminish further (OECD 2009). According to OECD projections, the population of 18-24 year-olds in Slovakia will drop to 58% of its 2005 size by 2025. This drop is one of the largest among OECD countries (the same age group will reduce to 55% in Poland, to 67% in the Czech Republic and to 74% in Hungary).

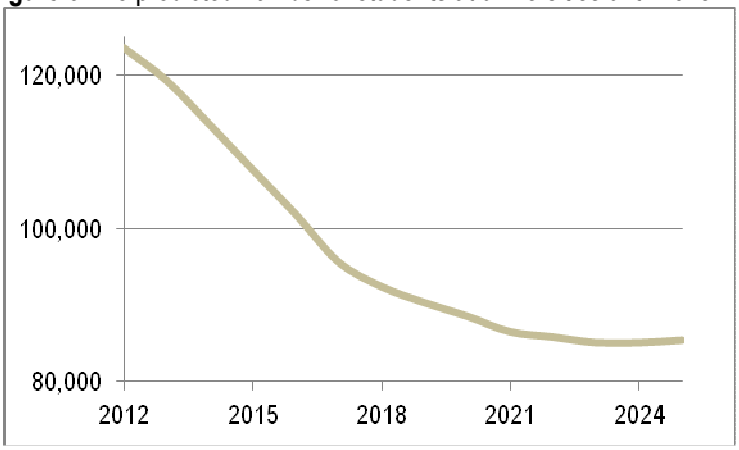
the Web contents and the visibility and impact of these web publications according to the number of external links. Aguillo et al (2010) confirm that there is high amount of similarities between the university rankings particularly when the comparison is limited to the European universities.

[5] Based on www.statcure.at (database called Students at public universities).

The size of younger age cohorts is important because it is a partial determinant of the number of applicants to higher education. Henrich and Kovacova (2013) observe that numbers of 19 year-olds in Slovakia have been shrinking since 2000 and, according to their predictions, this trend will continue until 2021. They state that the number of 19 year-olds in 2012 there were 72,300, and this figure will drop to 51,400 by 2021. They further estimate that the number of students at HEIs enrolled in the full-time study will decrease by approximately 30% between 2012 and 2015 (See Figure 3).

Intense competition for international students is very likely to have an effect on enrolment rates. Kahanec and Kralikova (2011) show that it is mainly the quality of higher education together with the availability of programs with English as the language of instruction that drive inflows of international students. The number of international students worldwide has grown strongly in the past decade and universities are developing strategies for their recruitment. For example, Czech universities actively recruit students in Slovakia and organize entrance exams in Slovak towns. The inflow of Slovak students to Czech universities arguably helps to stem falling enrolment numbers in the Czech Republic. The Slovak universities are in a worse position and even though the number of international students enrolled in Slovakia is also increasing, their absolute numbers remain very low. The inflow of students from abroad is not likely to compensate for the outflow of Slovak students in the foreseeable future.

Figure 3 The predicted number of students at universities until 2025



Source: Adapted from Henrich and Kovacova (2013)

5. Conclusions

Higher education is a key element in determining national economic performance. In this paper, we have explained that the declining number of students at Slovak HEIs can be attributed to demographic development and the outflow of students to study abroad. The

predictions we have cited illustrate that student enrolment rates will fall further in the next ten years. From the quantitative point of view, the Slovak higher education sector has already reached a level comparable to the average of other developed European countries. In order to win a larger share of students in the future, Slovak HEIs will have to address the quality of educational provision (for discussion see Beblavy and Kiss 2010).

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KESZEI, Ernő

Financing Universities in Post-Communist Countries – a Comparative Study

Abstract. A brief overview of the historical and legal framework is aimed to show that sufficient financing of universities has always been a public responsibility. As there are no available data on the comparison of financing research in different universities around the world, in this study, we elaborate some rough and preliminary but reliable data to make this comparison. It turns out that there are orders of magnitude differences between different regions of the world, resulting in a large geographical imbalance in financing scientific research at universities, with the least favourable situation in the post-communist countries. As a conclusion, we suggest that this imbalance should be amended substantially via concerted regional and national efforts.

1. Introduction

Funding of higher education has been the subject of many papers and books in the last decades (see e.g. citations in Woodhall 2007), but they typically focused on the aspect of education and general expenditures, not on scientific research conducted in the institutions. This contribution is based on a previous conference presentation (Keszei et al. 2014) and aims to reveal evidence showing a shocking geographical imbalance concerning research potential at traditional leading universities in different parts of the world.

Before going into details of budgetary data, we would like to recall some aspects of financing universities. A few of the early predecessors of modern universities were founded and managed by students, but the majority of them have been chartered by sovereigns and the pope as well. Sovereigns financially supported the institutions they have founded. Institutions founded by the Catholic Church benefited from the income of the properties of the Church or its religious orders. In most of the cases, universities also received donations either in form of land or other properties, or money to form an endowment. The Age of Enlightment and the Industrial Revolution increased the role of universities both in society and economy, thus they educated people to serve national states and the national industry. Growing institutions have received additional resources from the states to be able to fulfil their increased tasks. After a couple of centuries, during the Second Industrial Revolution, there was an increased need for engineers, medical doctors but also jurists, economists and other highly educated public servants. The “enlightened absolutism” of this era recognised the importance of universities, which resulted in a more state-determined government of the higher education institutions, but typically also in additional donation of

properties or endowment (or both) to cope up with the more rigorous standards prescribed by the state.

An interesting conceptual change also occurred in this period, which later became known as the idea of the Humboldtian university. According to this, universities are genuine research institutions with the unity of research and teaching. Academic freedom does not merely mean the freedom of teaching but also that of research, which allows furthering pure science. Another new idea was that universities should prepare students for a humanistic role to serve mankind but also the state. As a consequence, the state should be responsible to support both teaching and research at universities. With the new concept put into practice, there also emerged a need for the construction of new buildings, which was typically financed by the state. The state also supported universities by direct subsidies, as their former resources were not sufficient to cover the costs of functioning according to new needs. With this more direct financing mechanism; state administrations vindicated a more direct influence on the management of universities as well and challenged the sacred principle of "academic freedom". The typical situation that developed in Europe was that, until the late 20th century, direct state subsidy became the determining – if not the only – source of university budgets.

The post-WW2 period also marked a big change in the life of universities, which might be called "massification". This began in the USA immediately after the war and was followed somewhat later in Western Europe. However, the Soviet-allied Eastern European countries were almost untouched by this phenomenon during the Cold War period. Their universities have suffered great disadvantages during the last 60-70 years compared to other regions having traditional universities. Communist takeover of power after the Soviet occupation, at the end of 1940's resulted in a strict political and administrative control of the universities, and also in the confiscation of their properties and loss of their endowments. Academic freedom was replaced by total communist party control and completely state-budget dependent funding. In addition, research activity was rechanneled to newly formed research institutes of the Academies of Sciences following the Soviet model, and universities have been left with little research, and a very low research budget. (In most countries, this separation of research and teaching survived to a certain degree until today.)

Massification of higher education in this part of the world only occurred after the disintegration of the communist system. However, in addition to a great increase of the number of students, costs of scientific research have also increased in this period in a substantial way. Most of the countries cannot provide the necessary financial support for higher education, thus many alternative forms of financing have been put forward, and also implemented (see e.g. Salmi and Hauptman 2006, and Woodhall 2007). The recent global economic crisis, which stuck the post-Soviet countries heavily, further complicated this

situation; the great social demand for many other services to be financed by the state does not allow for sufficient support of higher education.

As it can be seen from the previous historical overview, higher education has always received support from the state, and it has been considered as public good. This is also reflected in many important documents like the Magna Charta Universitatis, or the Bologna Declaration. The first point in the Preamble of Magna Charta states that „at the approaching end of this millennium the future of mankind depends largely on cultural, scientific and technical development; and that this is built up in centres of culture, knowledge and research as represented by true universities". The main text also emphasizes – at several occurrences – the importance of research as an inherent part of university activity. Thus, a university cannot properly function if its scholars are not active in scientific research, and the future of mankind also depends on a healthy functioning of research universities.

Another important document dealing with the financing of higher education is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations. Its Article 13, Section 2) (c) tells that "[the States Parties to the Covenant recognize that, with a view to achieving the full realization of the right of everyone to education] higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular *by the progressive introduction of free education*" (UN 1976; italicized by the author). Of the 47 member countries of the EHEA, 43 have ratified this Covenant, except for Andorra, the Holy See, Moldova and the FYRM. While – in accordance to 2) (b) of the same Article – secondary education in almost all countries have been made free for anyone (even partly compulsory in most of the countries), the tendency in higher education seems to be the opposite, also in most of the EHEA countries. In the next section, we shall explore the financial situation of different traditional research universities focusing on their research potential.

2. Financing of traditional research universities

The vast literature available on higher education financing typically does not deal with funding research at the institutions, rather with different financing models concerning the *sources* of higher education budget. No wonder; as it is really difficult to find reliable data sources concerning research expenditures of the institutions. After some effort to find relevant data, we have opted for collecting available actual budget data of some traditional research universities that can be found on their websites. Basic facts about their students and staff, as well as their total budget is typically readily available, thus we decided to collect data on the number of educational-scientific staff, the number of students, and the total operating budget of the institutions.

A typical indicator when comparing the intensity of higher education financing in different countries is the expenditure per student in tertiary education. (See for e. g. OECD 2011.) However, this indicator is not necessarily related to the intensity of research, rather to the intensity of the educational activity. Therefore, we decided to compare research intensity of HEIs in different countries based on the yearly expenditure per academic-scientific staff member, which is easily available from the data. At traditional research-intensive universities, practically every academic staff member is expected to actively participate in high-level scientific research; thus this seems to be a suitable indicator to give information at least on the order of magnitude of universities expenditure for research. Preliminary data collection clearly indicated distinct regions from the point of view of this indicator at HEIs. We have selected traditional research universities present in international rankings, having the best rankings in their home countries, whose above mentioned data are listed in Table 1.

In the table, the first four columns contain the raw data, while the last three some derived figures. To calculate the above mentioned research intensity indicator, we first converted all budget data into Euros, and then divided it by the number of academic staff. For this conversion, we simply used the currency conversion factors at the medium rate of 2 September 2014. Another possibility was to use the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). However, it is typically calculated for a consumer basket of goods, which is not relevant for research expenditures. (It might be more closely related to the expenses spent for the research personnel, but it usually contributes to a smaller degree only of research expenditure, and research infrastructure along with materials used has usually the same price anywhere.) Concerning PPP, its relative value compared to the currency conversion varies between 0.6 and 1.5 in the countries included in this study, thus the maximum change even in the consumer basket of goods is roughly 2. As it will turn out, regional imbalances are even higher than this, thus they really indicate relevant differences in research intensity.

The normalised value (the column before the last) is obtained by normalising the budget per capita figures to the lowest value in the table, that of the Jagellonian University, Cracow. This value is then displayed in Figure 1. The last column contains the student/academic staff ratio, which – though considerably different in some cases – does not vary as much between different regions as the research intensity.

Table 1 Original data on budget, personnel and students, with some calculated data

University [1]	budget, million	currency	students	academic staff	M€ / staff [2]	M€ / staff normalized [3]	students /staff
Stanford	4 800	US $	15 877	2 043	1.77	57.1	7.8
Harvard	4 200	US $	21 000	2 400	1.32	42.5	8.8
MIT	2 909	US $	11 301	1 829	1.20	38.6	6.2
UPenn	6 600	US $	24 630	4 464	1.12	35.9	5.5
Princeton	1 518	US $	7 912	1 177	0.97	31.3	6.7
Columbia	3 460	US $	29 250	3 763	0.69	22.3	7.8
Yale	2 820	US $	12 109	4 140	0.51	16.5	2.9
UCB	2 160	US $	36 204	2 236	0.73	23.5	16.2
UCLA	5 900	US $	42 190	4 300	1.04	33.3	9.8
Tokyo	235 816	¥	28 113	2 558	0.67	21.5	11.0
Kyoto	202 124	¥	22 908	2 783	0.53	17.0	8.2
Singapore	4 821	S $	37 452	5 313	0.55	17.6	7.0
Taiwan	16 208	NT$	47 748	2 179	0.19	6.0	21.9
ULund	7475	SEK	33000	1961	0.43	13.8	16.8
Coppenhg	8 000	DKK	40 866	5 023	0.21	6.9	8.1
ETHZürich	1 512	CHF	18 178	4 925	0.25	8.2	3.7
UOxford	1 037	£	22 116	5 809	0.22	7.2	3.8
UCambridge	805	£	18 899	6 645	0.15	4.9	2.8
UParisSud	400	€	27 503	2 500	0.16	5.1	11.0
UHelsinki	670	€	35 189	4 681	0.14	4.6	7.5
GUFrankfurt	490	€	42 067	2 972	0.16	5.3	14.2
LMUMunich	1 000	€	50 542	5 248	0.19	6.1	9.6
FUBerlin	414	€	28 750	2 420	0.17	5.5	11.9
HUBerlin	338	€	33 540	1 999	0.17	5.4	16.8

RKUHdbg	624	€	31 535	5 419	0.12	3.7	5.8
UWien	522	€	91 898	6 900	0.076	2.4	13.3
ChUPrague	8 285	CZK	52 000	4 400	0.067	2.2	11.8
WarsawU	240	€	53 500	3 300	0.073	2.3	16.2
JUCracow	502	Zł	47 989	3 844	0.031	1.0	12.5
ELTE	24 320	Ft	25 899	2 225	0.036	1.2	11.6

[1] Full name of the university, the year of the data along with the URL of the original source are listed after footnote 3 (all accessed 2 September 2014)

[2] Budget data converted into € at the medium rate of 2 September 2014 prior to division by staff number

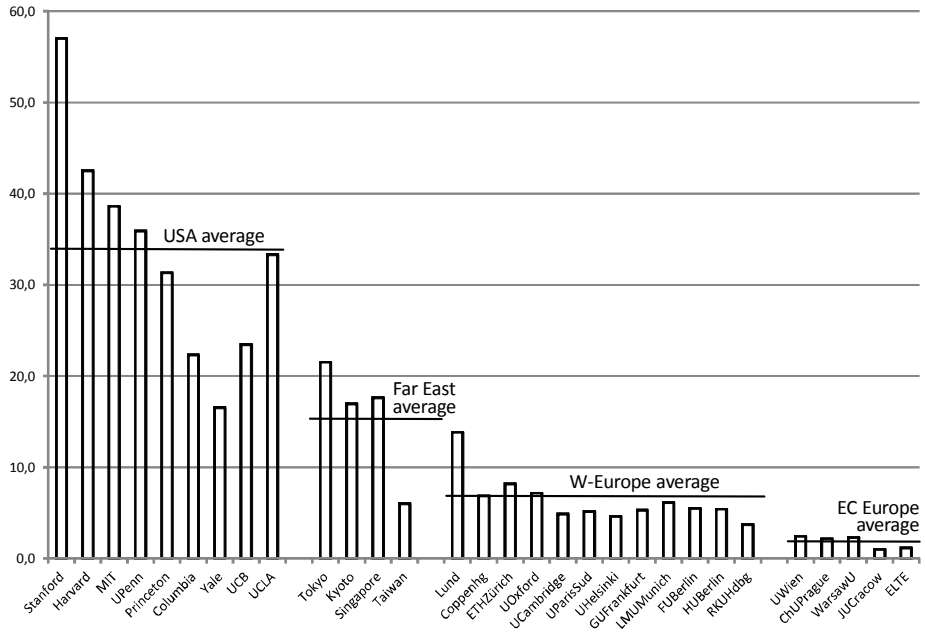
[3] Normalized to the smallest value in the table of the Jagellonian University Cracow

Stanford	Stanford University, Ca. 2013/14	http://facts.stanford.edu/pdf/StanfordFacts_2014.pdf
Harvard	Harvard University 2014	http://www.harvard.edu/harvard-glance
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology 2013	http://web.mit.edu/facts/faqs.html
UPenn	University of Pennsylvania 2014	http://www.upenn.edu/about/facts.php
Princeton	Princeton University 2013	http://www.princeton.edu/main/about/facts/
Columbia	Columbia University 2014	http://www.columbia.edu/node/55.html
Yale	Yale University 2013-14	http://oir.yale.edu/sites/default/files/FACTSHEET(2013-14).pdf
UCB	University of California, Berkeley 2013	http://www.berkeley.edu/about/fact.shtml
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles 2013	http://newsroom.ucla.edu/ucla-fast-facts
Tokyo	University of Tokyo 2013	http://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/about/index.html#a003
Kyoto	Kyoto University 2014	http://www.kyoto-u.ac.jp/contentarea/ja/issue/ku_eprofile/documents/2014/facts_2014.pdf
Singapore	National University of Singapore 2013	http://www.nus.edu.sg/about-nus/overview/corporate-information
Taiwan	National Taiwan University 2013	http://acct2013.cc.ntu.edu.tw/final-e.html
Coppenhg	Københavns Universitet 2013	http://introduction.ku.dk/facts_and_figures/
ETHZürich	ETH Zürich 2013	https://www.ethz.ch/en/the-eth-zurich.html
UOxford	University of Oxford 2013	http://www.ox.ac.uk/about/facts-and-figures/

UCambridge	University of Cambridge 2013	http://www.admin.cam.ac.uk/offices/planning/information/statistics/facts/poster2014.pdf
UParisSud	Université Paris-Sud 2013	http://www.u-psud.fr/fr/universite/chiffres-cles.html
UHelsinki	University of Helsinki 2013	http://www.helsinki.fi/annualreport2013/figures.html
GUFrankfurt	Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt 2013	http://www.uni-frankfurt.de/38072376/zahlen_fakten
LMUMunich	Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 2014	http://www.uni-muenchen.de/ueber_die_lmu/zahlen_fakten/index.html
FUBerlin	Freie Universität Berlin 2012	http://www.fu-berlin.de/universitaet/leitbegriffe/zahlen
HUBerlin	Humboldt-Universität Berlin 2014	https://www.hu-berlin.de/ueberblick/humboldt-universitaet-zu-berlin/daten-und-zahlen
RKUHdbg	Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 2014	http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/universitaet/statistik/
UWien	Universität Wien 2014	http://www.univie.ac.at/universitaet/zahlen-und-fakten/
ChUPrague	Charles University, Prague 2012	http://www.cuni.cz/UKEN-109.html
WarsawU	Warsaw University 2012	http://en.uw.edu.pl/about-university/facts-and-figures/
JUCracow	Jagellonian University Cracow 2013/14	http://www.uj.edu.pl/en/uniwersytet/statystyki
ELTE	Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest) 2014	http://www.elte.hu/kozerdeku

Looking at Figure 1, it is easy to see the striking regional imbalance. With respect to the research universities of the United States, their Eastern Asian counterparts have roughly *twice less*, those of Western Europe *five times less*, and Eastern Central European research universities *eighteen times less* yearly research expenditure. The great handicap of the ECE post-communist universities is obviously due to their historical heritage from the last 60 years. The missing research potential due to the communist policy could not be compensated yet by the modest infrastructural and budgetary investments made after the countries regained their independence and developed a democratic society and a market economy. In addition, the global economic crisis resulted in severe austerities in these countries, thus the financing gap for research in the higher education sector did not diminish recently.

Figure 1 Yearly budget per capita researcher normalised to the lowest value in Tab. 1, of the Jagellonian University Cracow, in different regions of the world. Acronyms identifying universities are explained after Tab. 1. Averages in different regions are indicated by the horizontal lines.



3. Conclusion and recommendations

From the preliminary data shown here, it is clear that the gap in R&D financing of the research universities between Eastern Central Europe and the rest of the world is enormous, and efforts should be made to lower this geographical imbalance. An analysis of the Hungarian financing of research at higher education institutions shows that there is a significant effect of the Social Renewal Operational Programme (SROP), within which Hungary allocated 107 billion HUF (the equivalent of some 350 million €) from the European Social Funds to support the development of the higher education system, and to strengthen the infrastructure and human resource capacities of higher education research

activity (SROP 2007-2013). These projects aimed at strengthening R&D capacities of HEIs to enhance their access to alternative sources of funding. This operative program can be considered as a success; R&D capacities of institutions have expanded, and a positive correlation was found between development measures and subsequent acquisition of third party funding (Hétfa 2013). The cited study stated: "The higher the support per academic staff [within these development measures], the higher the increase in acquiring other national and international R&D funds."

It is easy to conclude that European funds played a crucial role in strengthening Hungarian R&D capacities at higher education institutions, and that similar further measures would also have the same results, not only in Hungary but in all the post-communist countries in its neighbourhood. The research potential that still exists in these countries can be illustrated by their scientific output. Post-Soviet Central European countries produce about 4 % of the world's scientific publication, while their share in the European ERC research grants is merely 2.4 %. (Abbott–Schiermeier 2014). During the period 2008–2014 of the 7th Framework Program for Research and Technological Development of the ERA, the average amount of funding for consortia members (relative to population) from the new EU member states is dramatically lower (much less than 50%) than in the case of other member states (EC 2010). The rate of success is also smaller in new member states. However, despite of this low share, Framework Programs are and will be of great help for the post-Soviet countries in Eastern Europe.

A combined effort of the Max Planck Society and selected European universities and research organizations resulted in a white paper during the planning period of Horizon 2020 which called attention to an unbalanced regional competitiveness regarding research potentials throughout the ERA (MPS 2012). It states that "Europe is being held back by persistent disparities in its research and innovation capabilities which are the key to future prosperity. … Yet many EU countries and regions, often with distinguished traditions of achievement in science, lack the high quality research capacity adequate to the challenges of today and tomorrow." This initiative – which aims to give some priority to twinning and teaming projects with Eastern Central Europe institutions – have been endorsed by ERA for the new framework program Horizon 2020, and will hopefully contribute to the amelioration of research potential in this handicapped region.

However, European and other foreign sources alone cannot eliminate the huge R&D gap in this area. National authorities should realise this necessity and also contribute to an improvement both in the infrastructure and finance of research in higher education institutions. Beside direct subsidies, the legal framework should also be changed in a way that it should facilitate the development of the R&D, especially in the higher education institutions. For instance, a more favourable regulation of public procurement for the special needs of the R&D sector, and a higher education development strategy that builds

upon the synergies of possible funding sources; contrary to the present restrictions to avoid parallel financing of projects. The author is afraid that the "hidden resources" of higher education research are almost all exhausted by now. Thus, in order to maintain the research potential at the level what the traditions of these institutions would merit, a concerted effort of European and national initiatives is needed.

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KOVÁTS, Gergely

Recent Developments in the Autonomy and Governance of Higher Education Institutions in Hungary: the Introduction of the "Chancellor System"

Abstract. After the change of regime in 1989, Hungarian higher education started to return to its Humboldtian tradition. It was widely accepted that academic freedom could be guaranteed by high degree of institutional autonomy manifested especially in structures of self-governance and avoidance of direct state supervision/interventions. Attempts to introduce boards and other supervising bodies were successfully resisted until 2011. The new government coming into power in 2010, however, introduced new mechanisms of supervision and changed institutional governance and reduced institutional autonomy considerably. Changes in the selection of rectors, the appearance of state-appointed financial inspectors and the newly appointed Chancellors responsible for the finance, maintenance and administration of institutions are important milestones in this process. In the paper I review these developments focusing especially on the analysis of the „Chancellor system".

1. The ambivalent relationship between the state and the higher education sector in Hungary

In a series of interviews conducted in 2010 and 2011 among Hungarian deans and senior managers (Kováts 2012), the context of higher education was generally characterised by the malleability and unpredictability of the regulation. For example, one of the interviewee said:"The higher education system has been under constant reform for 20 years now. As I see it, it should be left alone for a while, although it's only my opinion. It might be of more use to society than its perpetual transformation. But now once more, which is going to rewrite the map of competition again, we'll have to be very sensible there." Another quotation: "Another thing is that the macro-environment is impossible to follow. So the constant changing of the rules of the game. The whole thing is not simply very exhausting to follow, but absolutely, it's not fair. Is it? Look, then you say: why should I take part in a game which is not fair? Well… So, this is very, very boring when you are forced into a process of such constant adaptation. Which you either live up to or not. You try to live up to it to the best of your knowledge. But it's difficult, well, difficult to live up to it."

The dominance of this perspective is not surprising if we consider that the interviews were conducted in 2010 and 2011, when the new government were beginning their term and brainstorming about the higher education policy. However, it is also true that between 1990 and 2015, for instance, Hungary had four substantially different higher education laws, which were supplemented by numerous legislative amendments and government decrees.

In my opinion, one possible reason for the permanent change is congestion, one of the defining attributes of Central- and Eastern-European countries. Following the change of regime, all the processes that had taken place gradually- in 20-30 years in developed Western countries- commenced at the same time in post-socialist countries. It is noticeable in Hungary as well that the massification of higher education, the attempts at the reform of funding and management, the transformation of the educational structure, etc. took place simultaneously. (*Fábri* 2004; *Semjén* 2004; *Derényi* 2009; *Polónyi* 2009) These processes occurred within the considerably unstable legal and normative frameworks of the change of the socio-economic regime, as a result of which there was no real possibility of a consistent implementation of mature higher education concepts. Thus, although changes occurred fast in the regulatory context (and often altered), in practice, already familiar solutions are proved to be dominant. The adjustment of the different elements of the higher education system has not taken place yet.

As a consequence, numerous higher education narratives co-exist simultaneously in the public discourse. One of them is the extensive reinvigoration of Humboldtian ideals. Referring to this, Scott aptly said that "so even after Communism ceased to exist, it continued to promote homogeneity" (*Scott* 2006:430) Although the higher education systems of the countries in the region have different (partly German, partly French) roots, the 40 years of Soviet influence proved to be a significant homogenising force, as a legacy of which significant co-movement can be seen in the countries of the region after the change of regime as well (*Reisz* 2003).

The Humboldtian ideal places the freedom (and unity) of education and research in its centre, which is provided by the state through guaranteeing the autonomy and academic freedom of higher education institutions. As these – in the social sciences in particular – were highly limited under the communist regime, the fulfilment of the Humboldtian ideal meant the transcendence of the Soviet model and in many countries – in Hungary as well – the return to the national model.

However, the legitimacy of the Humboldtian model is not only based on these two factors but also on the fact that Western-European universities have mostly been identified with this model. The belief that the institutionalisation of the autonomy and independence of the university guarantees the modernisation of Central-European universities and their approximating Western higher education is also rooted in this phenomenon (*Neave* 2003:25). Meanwhile, however, it is forgotten that – as we have seen – academic freedom is increasingly conditional even in the West; namely, it cannot be taken for granted but has to be fought for (*Henkel* 2007:96). Therefore, the attitude towards the Humboldtian model in Western higher education is significantly different from that in Central- and Eastern-European higher education: "at the very moment higher education in Central Europe successfully called upon the ghost of von Humboldt to cast out the demons of Party and Nomenklatura, so their colleagues in the West were summoned to exorcise the spectre of

the same gentleman, the better to assimilate Enterprise Culture, managerialism and the cash nexus into higher education" (*Neave* 2003:30) In other words: post-socialist countries are pursuing an idealised, perceived model (*Reisz* 2003). It is understandably why Scott writes that "the Humboldtian university exists in a purer form east of the Elbe" (*Scott* 2006:438).

Meanwhile, in the economy and other spheres of society, the (neo)liberal approach was significantly prevalent, in which the role of the state was reassessed and self-sufficiency as well as the increasing role of market mechanisms were more emphasised. Rhetorically (e.g. through the concept of the entrepreneurial university) as well as in regulation (e.g. attempts at introducing the tuition fee, the reform of the management system or the appearance of alternative funding concepts), this tendency appeared in higher education as well; although, I believe, it was unable to secure a dominant position.

Thus, there is a specific ambivalent relation within the beliefs about the role of the state in higher education: the post-Soviet legacy implies the desire for institutional autonomy and the refusal of state intervention. However, institutional autonomy also wants protection against the vulnerability of market relations, which, however, is provided by state regulation. Thus, in the Hungarian higher education, the desire for and refusal of a provident state (and state regulation) co-exist[1]. Paradoxically, the Humboldtian idea simultaneously becomes a "progressive" notion as well as one "preventing progress" as it can be considered to be the correction of the overcentralised Soviet model as well as the inhibitor of the (otherwise contradictorily judged) transformation processes taking place in Western-Europe facilitating a more significant social participation of institutions.

Even if there is a pro-market logic in higher education, which urges the "emancipation" of institutions and their taking responsibility as well as the extension of their space for manoeuvre and business actions, higher education was mainly envisioned in the modernising-idealising-traditionalist Humboldtian narrative. This narrative is reflected well by the Constitutional Court's explanatory statement about the unconstitutionality of the sections of the higher education law of 2005 on establishing the Financial Board[2]. According to this, it is against the freedom of education and research if such a board has

[1] The role of the state in Western-European higher education is changing; however, there, the process is not rooted in the distrust of the state, as it is in post-socialist Central-European countries.

[2] According to the original concept, the members of the Financial Board would have not been employed by the university. They would have been delegated by the university, the students and the government in a way that the members delegated by the educational government would have been in minority. (The rector is also a member.)

the authority to decide on the institutional strategy, and such freedom may only be ensured through a body consisting of only institutional members.[3]

The dominance of the Humboldtian idea is further promoted by the controversial nature of ideological control of the former regime, which made direct government control and interference undoubtedly delicate matters after 1990. Therefore, certain passivity on behalf of governments in this respect is not coincidental. In general, the government's activity may be manifested as micromanagement or as a focus on operative tasks; during which reporting becomes bureaucratic and strategic control is missing (e.g. no conscious development of long-term incentive systems, performance funding systems).

This evolution of higher education resulted in a controversial relationship with institutional autonomy. On one hand, higher education institutions required self-governance, high degree of freedom to change internal structures and the lack of direct interventions regarding the content of teaching and research, and the lack of strong reporting and accountability mechanisms (e.g. lack of external supervisory boards with decision making powers). On the other hand, strict regulations on the structure and processes of educational programmes (Bologna-process, enrolment), selection of institutional managers, funding processes and mechanisms as well as staffing (public servant status) were accepted.

This situation was partly reflected in a survey on institutional autonomy conducted by Estermann, Nokkala et al. (2011) among 28 countries. The authors defined four dimensions of institutional autonomy: organizational autonomy, financing autonomy, staffing autonomy and academic autonomy. In the survey it was found that Hungary was ranked on 24th in academic autonomy with a result of 47% because of strict limitations in selection of bachelor students and the determination of the number of students, and because of the obligations to accredit all programmes (while there is only one accepted accrediting agency). On the other hand, institutions have high freedom to determine the content of teaching and research programmes. In staffing autonomy, Hungary was ranked in the middle (17th place, 66%). Public servant status and the limitations stemming from it (e.g. on dismissals) deteriorated the position, which was counterbalanced by the freedom in promoting and compensating employees. Selection is only restricted in case of university professors where external conformation is required. Financial autonomy was really high in Hungary in 2010 (6th place, 71%) which was the result of the freedom to set tuition fees. Short planning cycles, limitations to rearranging budgets, the inability to request credits, and restrictions in property managements, however, restrain financial autonomy. Finally, in organizational autonomy Hungary was ranked 16th place (59%). Freedom to change internal structure and to found spin-offs was mentioned as positive characteristics in the

[3] Constitutional Court ruling 39/2006. (IX. 27.)

report, while restrictions in selecting the rector and the number of consecutive terms as well as limitations on the delegations of external members of Financial Boards decreased organizational autonomy. But how has the situation changed since 2010?

2. New government in 2010

In 2010 when the new government came into power it would have been difficult to predict how higher education would change. In contrast with economic policy, health care or social policy, education (including higher education) was almost completely omitted from the official governmental programme. Higher education appeared only in the chapter „It's high time to recover Hungarian economy" written by György Matolcsy[4] showing that higher education is treated mainly as vocational education subordinated to labour market.

Later, the so-called Széll Kálmán Plans (developed by the Ministry led by György Matolcsy) described higher education as a sector with „deformed structure". In addition, it was also perceived that „students graduated on fields useful for labour market" left the country. (SZKT 2011:23) The image of needlessly large and deformed higher education is reflected in the goal that „higher education should not motivate anybody to spend their young years in happy idleness." (SZKT 2011:25) To solve these problems, „the state has to return to the world of education" (SZKT 2011:24), and not just the educational structure should be determined on governmental level, but also the number of state funded student should be reduced. As higher education increases debts and causes costs, the plan aimed to withdrawn 88 billion HUF (cc. 300 million EUR) from the sector in the next three year (SZKT 2011). It was realized.

In the new governmental structure, higher education became marginalized. The former Ministry of Education dissolved into a superministry (currently called Ministry of Human Capacities) responsible for education, health care, culture, sport, social affairs, family affairs and religion. As a result, higher education had to fight for governmental and ministerial attention as well as for resources with other large social areas. This change in the structure reflected the intention that ministers should not act as a lobbyist for an area, but as an executor of governmental decisions. (Szalay 2011)

Between 2010 and 2013 higher education was the responsibility of a deputy secretary of state. Although higher education became independent from the state secretary of education in 2013, when a new state secretary was created, the fluctuation of (deputy) state secretaries of higher education remained high. Between 2010 and 2015 five persons occupied that position and four different concepts/strategies for higher education were developed. Three of them were elaborated after the acceptance of the new law on national higher education (in 2011).

[4] Later he became the State Minister of National Economy, and later the president of the Hungarian National Bank.

Moreover, in comparison with the previous practice, the role of Ministry of Human Capacities was limited considerably in making decisions in higher education. In questions related to funding, operations and property management as well as questions closely connected to these topics (such as number of state funded students), the interests of the Ministry of National Development and the Ministry of National Economy were prevalent. These ministries decided on the appointment of Chief Financial Directors, Internal Controllers and (Chief) Budget Supervisors (see later).

In 2010 a higher education concept described this division of labour desirable. Later however, in 2012, another concept suggested its reconsideration as the „ministry's capacity and possibilities as the maintainer of institutions were narrowed considerably." (NEFMI 2012:25)

The fragmented representation of higher education and the weakened position of the Ministry of Human Capacities decreased the ability of higher education to enforce its interests. It also increased the dependence of institutions from politics in general.

3. Changes in the institutional autonomy

The autonomy of institutions has been narrowed down from several aspects since the approval of the National Higher Education Act of 2011. In the area of education and research, admission quotas for each institution and educational areas were centrally set and the number of state-funded places of the most popular 16 programmes has been drastically cut.

In the domain of staffing autonomy the public employee system did not change, although public servants above age 65 were forced to retire which may have long-term effects in the future.

Between 2010 and 2013 the state support of higher education decreased by 29%. Only Greece reduced state funding of higher education with higher proportion in this period (-38%).[5] As a result between 2010 and 2012 the state funding of higher education as a percentage of GDP decreased from 0,8% to approximately 0,5% (OECD 2013) pushing Hungary to the last of OECD countries. However, decreasing state was not counterbalanced by the increase of financial autonomy so that institutions had the possibility to diversify their funding. On the contrary, the government started to tighten budgetary rules. Following the French practice, the position of (Chief) Budgetary Inspector was created in 2010. Inspectors (appointed by the minister of National Wealth) were responsible to control expenses and to increase savings by filtering out unjustifiable expenses. They had to look over and – if necessary – suspend institutional procurements

[5] see: http://www.eua.be/eua-work-and-policy-area/governance-autonomy-and-funding/public-funding-observatory-tool.aspx (downloaded 1 Nov 2013)

and payments. Inspectors were also expected to improve communication between the Ministry and the institutions. (Gárdos 2012) The position of budgetary inspector was abolished in 2014.

In addition, between 2011 and 2014, it was not the rector who appointed the Chief Financial Director and the internal controller, but the minister responsible for the budget. The appointment of Chief Financial Director by the minister institutionalized the shared leadership in higher education, which further relativized rectors' primary responsibility and their ability to intervene. This system was fulfilled by the introduction of the chancellors.

Organizational autonomy was further curtailed by additional modifications in the selection and appointment of academic leaders. Before 2011 the role of the Ministry of Education was to perform judicial review in the selection of rectors, and did not overwrite institutional preferences. If the selection procedure was all right, the minister confirmed the choice of institutions. The new higher education act limited the power of the Senate to suggest and express opinion. The right to select the new rector was transferred to the minister (which was reconsidered with the introduction of chancellors in 2014, see later). According to the Hungarian Rectors' Conference Hungarian higher education was the only example in this matter in Europe. The ministry indeed influenced the selection process in many institutions. For instance in some cases, the ministry selected those candidates who remained in minority during institutional votings (University of Debrecen, College of Kecskemét). In other cases the ministry repeated the whole application and selection process when candidates were not regarded adequate (University of Miskolc). In addition, age limitations and the number of consecutive terms were also modified which resulted in that many deans and rectors in office had to be replaced.

In 2005 and 2006 the Constitutional Court prevented the establishment of Financial Boards because these boards (consisting of many external members) would have made decisions on institutional strategy and the selection of rectors. This was considered as unconstitutional because it breached institutional autonomy. As a result Financial Boards were toned down granting the right to express its opinion, rather than to decide.

To evade a similar procedure (and result) of the Constitutional Court, the government modified the Constitution (Fundamental Law) in 2013 and restricted institutional autonomy. It is now declared that "Higher education institutions shall be autonomous in terms of the content and the methods of research and teaching; their organisation shall be regulated by an Act. The Government shall, within the framework of an Act, lay down the rules governing the management of public higher education institutions and shall supervise their management." (Article X paragraph 3)

It is worth noting that between 2011 and 2013 members of Financial Boards were almost exclusively delegated by ministries. In 2013, however, maintaining Financial Boards became optional, and institutions gained the right to choose the members.

Finally, other aspects of organizational autonomy were curtailed, too. From the 1990s institutional freedom to create new faculties or to change internal structures has been gradually increased (see Kováts 2012). The law in force in 2010 practically left to the institutions to define their own internal structures. Because of branding and market positioning reasons, many small faculties were created (e.g. the Faculty of Dentistry at the University of Szeged). Operating in a non-faculty structure was also possible in principle. The new Act on National Higher Education, however, started to classify institutions by the number and size of faculties. Especially the behaviour of institutions with narrow profiles was influenced because they were forced to maintain several faculties in order to keep their status of „university".

4. The introduction of the chancellor system

At the end of 2014 the introduction of the chancellor system brought an additional turn, which was implemented along with the restitution of the institutions' rights to elect their rectors. The position of budgetary inspectors in higher education institutions was also abolished.

According to the National Higher Education Act, the chancellor is in charge of the functioning of the institution: he is responsible "for the economic, financial, controlling, accounting, employment, legal, management and IT activities of the higher education institution, the asset management of the institution, including the matters of technology, institution utilization, operation, logistics, service, procurement and public procurement, and he directs its operation in this field" – moreover, he has the right of consent in the above areas. The chancellor is the employer of all the workers except for the instructors, researchers and teachers.

The institutions had no say in the selection of the chancellors; the procedure was carried out above their heads. The job application procedure was managed by the Ministry of Human Capacities, the appointment of the chancellor was performed by the Prime Minister; what is more, the chancellor is accountable to his employer, the Minister of Human Capacities. It is worth mentioning that the introduction of the chancellor system took place mostly with reference to the practice in Germany. It is undoubtable that the higher education regulations of numerous German Länder assign the position of the chancellor several duties and responsibilities similar to the Hungarian ones (e.g. in several places, the chancellor has a veto right in budget issues). But even if earlier it was indeed the Länder government or ministry that appointed the chancellors at the head of the institutions, whose duty was to represent the state within the institution, the state has withdrawn from the direct control of the institutions by now and increased their operational and financial autonomy. According to the German Länder regulations in force, nowadays chancellors are elected in many places by the board of instructors and students and/or the board of university and external stakeholders upon the proposal of the institution's rector or president. In all Länders, institutions have the possibility to influence the selection of the chancellor, and in

several of them (e.g. in Bavaria) the employer of the chancellor is the rector or president of the institution, and the state merely approves the appointment of the chancellor.

A similar practice is applied at the Hungarian Andrássy Gyula German Language University (a university with strong German ties), where the chancellor's appointment and dismissal is decided by the 11-member Senate composed of the rector, the deans, the head of the doctoral school and the representatives of students and instructors in the framework of a so-called "co-decision procedure" upon the proposal of the Rector's Council. In other words, the decision has to be approved by the University Council composed of the representatives of internal and external stakeholders. As it is described in the by-law of the institution: "The employer's rights above the chancellor are exercised by the rector; the rector may give orders to the chancellor."[6] (10§ paragraph 3)

Therefore, in contrast to the current Hungarian regulation, the German institutions have a major say in the choice of the chancellor's person. This shared leadership does not mean that the chancellor is entirely independent from the rector, but that the legitimacy of the chancellor is strong, irrespective of the rector's confidence in him, which is assured by the rules of the selection process. Since the chancellor is confirmed by external and internal stakeholders as well, the rector has to take the chancellor's position very seriously. However, in case of a conflict, the rector is able to enforce his will (for instance, he can give orders to the chancellor or propose his dismissal at the university boards), but then he bears all the liabilities. Therefore the chancellor is able to perform his duties properly and counterbalance the rector if he has the necessary internal support besides the external confirmation. The former derives from the fact that the institution itself takes part in the selection procedure.

The Hungarian practice diverges from this logic on two points significantly: on the one hand, there are no mechanisms to resolve conflicts between the chancellor and the academic leadership (rector), and on the other, the chancellor's external and internal legitimacy is uncertain, not to mention the strong tendencies inherent in the system to erode his internal legitimacy.

The risk of conflicts in higher education institutions may be reduced by the abundance of funding; that is, there can be no severe conflicts about distribution because the state pays all substantial expenses (as was the case in German higher education a few decades ago). However, in a system laden with financial tension, where the institution is forced to generate some of the funds necessary for its own maintenance, conflicts of distribution and cross-funding are bound to emerge. All of that reinforces the constraint to weigh every academic decision from an economic point of view as well. In theory, there are two ways to

[6] http://www.andrassyuni.eu/upload/File/OffizielleDokumente/Satzung11.12.2014.pdf (accessed: 6 Apr 2015)

go about that: on the one hand, it is possible to strengthen the integrated and simultaneous validation of economic and academic/professional points of view, that is, to reinforce and clearly define the financial responsibilities within the institution (e.g. by clarifying the professional and financial responsibilities of programme directors, heads of department, grant programme managers). The other possibility is to separate the two institutionally: with the introduction of the chancellor system, the rector is in charge of the academic activities, while the chancellor is responsible for the organization of the administration and the budget. The system thus established ensures that both academic and economic arguments are taken into consideration in each decision-making process. At the same time, it sparks conflict as well because the representation of these separate aspects are assigned to separate people, which means that conflicts in the system will inevitably escalate into conflicts between people (positions).

It may constitute a further source of conflict if the chancellor tries to place his people into certain positions. For the chancellor, it is logical to fulfil the positions of chief financial officers, HR managers and technical or IT managers with people whom he trusts. However, by doing so he pushes some people out of the administration who have worked at the institution for a long time and/or enjoy the confidence of the rector's management team.

Although the law stipulates that the chancellor "shall be required to observe his obligation to cooperate with the rector", there is no guarantee for that. In other words, the operation of the institution does not depend on guarantees, established procedures or a decision-making hierarchy regardless of individuals, but on the persons of the chancellor and the rector. There is a lack of mechanisms to help resolve conflicts between the chancellor and the rector: the rector is not the chancellor's employer, he cannot dismiss the chancellor or give orders to him if he does not agree with the chancellor's decisions, whereas the chancellor can impede the functioning of the institution for a long time. If conflicts persist for a long time or become more severe, the Minister needs to interfere. Thus, while conflict management depends on interpersonal cooperation, the institutions have no means to participate in the selection of the chancellor to test and to verify the "match".

The lack of conflict management procedures has been present not only in the chancellor system, but also in the system of Chief Financial Officers appointed by the government, so nothing crucial has changed compared to that. With the introduction of the chancellor system, it is the rector's "conflict management tool kit" that is being compromised at the most, since from now on the institutions will have no possibility to limit the government-appointed official's room for manoeuvre by reorganizing the administration. For it had happened in the past that an institution "outsourced" part of the administrative activities originally belonging to the Chief Financial Officer and re-assigned them in the rector's competence. However, not even then had there been room for the outsourcing of signature rights, which guaranteed the bargaining position of the Chief Financial Officer. With the introduction of the chancellor system, it is the possibilities of restructuring that are narrowed

down significantly because the latter now must be approved by the chancellor. The price of that is the deterioration of the organizational autonomy of the institutions and it will be harder to set up other types of institutional formations as well.

Another cornerstone of the operation of the chancellor system is the chancellor's legitimacy and acceptance. Without the latter, cooperation based on trust will become impossible, which is of key importance in the case of expert organizations because one can only make a deal with a chancellor without legitimation, but no mutual relations can be established without confidence.

The chancellor's internal acceptance is greatly impaired by the fact that the institutions have no say in his selection. That weakens the chancellor's internal acceptance by default while it relieves the institution from the responsibility of choice. It carries a risk for the government as well for it is basically the government that takes on all the responsibility of the appointment as well as of the financial stability of the institutions. Should any problem arise, it will be easy to blame it on the chancellor and/or the government.

Among the chancellors appointed at the end of 2014, there are several (university) insiders who can make up for their lack of internal legitimacy (see table 2 below).

Table 1 Summary of the chancellors' previous experience

	visible relationship to the ruling party*	previous relationship with the institution	experience in the higher education	experience in the business sector
yes, strong	9	8	12	17
yes, weak	4	3	0	4
no/not revealed	15	14	14	4
no information	1	4	3	4
total	**29**	**29**	**29**	**29**
explanation for „strong"	management position in public administration, member of parliament or member of local government (as a party delegate/member)	being employed for at least two years in the institution	(senior) management position in a higher education institution	being employed as a manager at a business organization for at least two years
explanation for „weak"	management position in public organizations	being employed for maximum two years in the institution		being employed as a manager at public organizations

Source: author's compilation based on **public CVs and news** as of 1 Jan 2015

At the same time, there may be tendencies within the institutions to continuously erode the chancellor's internal legitimacy. By the separation of financial and academic considerations, the rector (and all academic officials) will be freed from the constraint to weigh their decisions and proposals from an economic point of view because that is "what the chancellor is for". In an extreme case, the rector might represent the most absurd demands of instructors and researchers unscrupulously because refusing them and covering the costs of their implementation (in case of approval) are both the duties of the chancellor. If they are rejected, the rector might say that "he did all he could, but the chancellor was against it, there is nothing to do". The system established might breed a tendency for the rector (the academic leadership) to impair the chancellor's internal acceptance – along with the possibility of future cooperation – in order to strengthen his or her own internal legitimacy.

5. Conclusions

Despite the fact that the right of the institutions to elect their rectors was restored in 2014, the introduction of the chancellor system on the whole tends to preserve the low-level organizational and managerial autonomy of the institutions, especially because it reduces their ability and possibility to take responsibility. The chancellor system could be suitable for driving the efficiency of the utilization of resources (although the opportunities are limited due to high proportion of salary costs in institutional budgets), but it is unlikely to give an incentive to the institutions to find other sources of revenue.

The appearance of a chancellor acting independently from the rector disturbs the status quo established within the institution. If the institution has been unable to sort out the conflicts of interests within its walls and this has hampered the development of the institution, then the appearance of the chancellor will offer a chance to decide about so-far unresolved matters and to get out of the deadlock. However, the opposite scenario is also possible when by tipping off the internal balance, the chancellor, instead of contributing to the rationalization and consolidation of the institution, will aggravate and escalate conflicts. Whether the first scenario will happen or the second depends on the situation of the institution and the chancellor's legitimacy.

The lack of mechanisms for conflict management does not mean, of course, that the relationship between the chancellor and the rector is doomed to be bad. It means only that while the created structure favours the generation of conflicts (since it separates academic and economic considerations by position), it offers no solution to settle them. The system now established does not mean, either, that the chancellor will necessarily suffer from a lack of internal legitimacy, only that it will be continuously eroded by internal conflicts, which will lead either to disengagement or to the representation of institutional interests. However, it is questionable in both cases whether it is possible (if it has been ever proposed) to assure the continuous monitoring of the institutions by the government

through the chancellor system. In my opinion, it will increase the non-transparency of the relations of lobbying, hence the dependence of the institutions, thus making trust-building initiatives more difficult to carry out.

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MATEI, Liviu

Addressing Challenges in Higher Education in the Countries of Eastern Central Europe

Abstract. The countries of Eastern Central Europe are often considered to share important similarities in many areas, including higher education, to the point of representing a distinctive region on the global map. To date, however, there is no consistent corpus of research available that would expound what these similarities are about exactly, what is their origin, or their relevance for the efforts to advance higher education in the respective countries. This paper is intended to make a contribution both in a theoretical order, by identifying and scrutinizing briefly some of the key conceptual elements that could help understand whether it is legitimate and useful to talk about Eastern Central Europe as a "region", and also in a practical, policy perspective, by raising questions and putting forward recommendations regarding how to address challenges in higher education in this part of the world. The paper focuses on the following questions: What justifies a discussion about Eastern Central Europe as a region? Are there common challenges in higher education throughout the region at present? What are they and how could they be addressed?

1. Main questions to ask (and to answer)

The reality, or perhaps the myth, of a distinctive "Central Europe" has been scrutinized in a variety of scholarly endeavours, mainly during, or with reference to, the periods of the cold war and the post-communist transition (see for example Diamond and Plattner, 2001). Discussions about "Central Europe" have also extended, not surprisingly, to the realms of politics and policy, in particular in the context of the "transition" that the former communist countries of the region have experienced. This "transition" included efforts to escape the "East" (represented by the now defunct Soviet Union and the communist model of political regime) and integrate the "West" (most directly embodied institutionally by NATO and the European Union), with or without preserving old, or developing new, elements of specificity.

The concept of "Central Europe" remains blurry until today. For example, it may refer to countries, such as Austria, that are geographically (and also culturally, in some sense) in "Central Europe", but have a different recent history and political trajectory from the former communist countries. In the present paper, the concept of "Eastern Central Europe" is used referring specifically to the former communist countries of Central Europe.

Similar to other areas, higher education has been often considered in a regional ("Central European") perspective after the fall of the communist regimes, be it in scholarly contexts or for the purpose of informing actual or just envisaged efforts of transformation, or "reform". The belief in the relevance of the concept of "Central Europe" for the reform of higher education has been occasionally reflected in practical, concrete initiatives. To give

just an example, the author of this paper works at Central European University, a new model of higher education institution created in 1991 with the explicit purpose of serving exactly this region as a whole (although slightly differently defined), rather than a particular country or an indefinite global constituency.

Until today, many scholars, academics, university administrators, and even some policy makers, cultivate an interest in this region, although rather unsystematically and often with unconvincing results. In part, this situation could be explained by the fact that the very concepts of "Central" or "Eastern Central Europe" are confusing, once we look into aspects of substance that go beyond broad geographic-historical features. In a way, the central question here, which is not sufficiently answered as yet, is what makes Eastern Central Europe a useful concept for research in higher education and for the advancement of higher education on the ground? Or, in other words, why think about it, why consider at all the "region", rather than focusing on the institutional, national, and European levels, which we know are relevant (and we also know more or less why)? This question could be operationalized in different ways. For example, and this is what is discussed in this paper, one could try to identify common or similar challenges in higher education throughout the region. If it is indeed the case that common or similar challenges that are also specific to the entire region do exist, this will be an indication that there is indeed something special about it. From a more practical perspective, it will be important to see what are these challenges, and then how do we address them at present, or should address them. Another question here is whether any regional approach in *addressing* challenges (rather than just *understanding* them) would be possible, useful, or even necessary? Very importantly as well, we need to ask whose responsibility it is to address any challenges that we would identify and which are regionally relevant. In other words, when asking the question "how should we address challenges", we may need to make clear who "we" exactly is.

2. The value of an "experiential" perspective

These and other related questions need to be answered properly in order to provide actionable insight, promote and support practical action, if one is looking to make a difference by using a regional perspective. Three main sources of evidence or insight could, or perhaps need to be considered in search for the answers.

On the one hand, a significant corpus of scholarly literature about higher education in Eastern Central Europe is already available and it is slowly growing. This literature comprises discrete, but nevertheless important and useful contributions. Most often, they concentrate on particular aspects of or themes in the higher education reforms during the post-communist period: from governance to the privatisation of higher education, or from gender aspects to public policy models and practices. It is only very rarely, and also usually very briefly, that researchers have tried to deal with trans-regional communalities or specificities at a more general level, beyond the scope of particular, clearly defined topical

issues (see, for a very good illustration, Dakowska and Harmsen, 2015). Still, this existing corpus of research represents a good source to support an investigation into what makes the region a region when it comes to higher education.

A second source is represented by the experience and expertise of those who have exercised direct responsibilities in public policy and public administration areas related to higher education during these years. Part of this experience is studied and reflected in the scholarly literature mentioned above, produced by higher education researchers. In addition, individuals who had done work in public policy or administration themselves (such as former ministers of education, members of the high-level state bureaucracy, governmental higher education experts, etc.) have written about their experiences occasionally as well, whether they were also scholars or not. This is a more reduced volume of literature, and often neglected, although it is also informative and useful, including when it comes to the understanding of whether any "regional" policy approaches exist at all, what they involve, and how they work (or don't). The study by Keszei in the present volume is an excellent illustration, applied to the case of the university research funding in the region. The author builds in part on his direct experience as a policy actor in his capacity as the General Secretary of the National Bologna Committee in Hungary to shed light on the overall situation of the university research funding in the region and on its particular, region-specific challenges. Although not dedicated exclusively to the region, the volumes published after the two editions of the Bologna Researchers' Conference are excellent in combining scholarly research with well-elaborated papers by higher education policy makers reflecting systematically on their experiences under the banner of the Bologna Process (Curaj et all, 2012; Curaj et all, 2015).

A third source of available insight, also significantly underutilized, is the experience and expertise of university administrators from the region, starting with university rectors. It is not unusual, although rare, for university administrators to be able to share their experiences at the institutional level, mainly at various conferences in higher education and in related publications. Such accounts allow to scrutinize to what extent a regional perspective is at work at institutional level, whether common challenges and perhaps solutions can be indeed documented.

To summarize, of these three available sources of insight, one (scholarly research) is insufficient and non-systematic, and the other two, while also not particularly well developed are most often ignored. An argument could be made that, when it comes especially to addressing challenges in the region (rather than just studying them), the accumulated experience and expertise of policy makers and university administrators could be particularly relevant and useful. This is what could be called the "experiential" perspective. A network of higher education experts from Eastern Central Europe, as the one discussed and envisaged to be established at this 1st Central European Higher

Education Cooperation Conference, could benefit greatly by cultivating this particular type of perspective.

3. Why talk about "higher education in Eastern Central Europe"? Are there common or similar challenges throughout the region? What are they?

It is difficult to pinpoint with precision and in a comprehensive manner what makes Eastern Central Europe a distinctive region. If such an endeavour is at all possible, which is probably the case, it is something that remains to be accomplished. Common patterns and challenges in the region could nevertheless be identified, some of which appear to be region-specific. Moreover, it is possible to identify their origin or determining factors. They include: history, the geopolitical situation, and economic realities. History has an influence on higher education everywhere. What is relevant here is that this region has a particular history, with many shared characteristics. This includes the relatively recent common communist past, which had a serious impact on higher education models and practices; the even more recent post-communist transition, also impacting heavily on higher education; and also the more remote past. The territories of the contemporary Eastern Central European countries had been part of a few important empires (such as Habsburg, Tsarist, or Ottoman empires, followed by the "totalitarian empires" of the 20th centuries) or have been placed between these empires for long periods of time. This historical legacy continues to have implications for higher education until today in defining some of the main characteristics of the higher education systems in these countries, and also with regard to a number of particular challenges. There are also many similarities with regard to the geopolitical situation. Previously parts of the communist camp, all these countries are now defined as "new member states", given their recent accession to the European Union. As such, they share a number of similarities and common challenges, which include but are not limited to higher education. Finally, although differences exist, the economic situation throughout the countries of the region shows many common features at present and longer-term development paths with many elements of synchronism.

No consistent corpus of research or "wisdom" exists at present regarding what is common in the region or what is different, which could provide a complete answer to the question "why talk about Eastern Central Europe as a region in higher education?" Still, sufficient insight, including many discrete contributions, is already available suggesting not only that the question is an important one, but also that research perspectives and practical/policy concerns informed by a regional perspective are indeed pertinent and useful, whether they are more theoretically or rather more practically oriented. If a network of higher education experts dedicated to Eastern Central Europe is to be established, studying the elements of communality and specificity throughout the region could be an important endeavour to assume, and one that is at the same time doable. This is a very good area in which such a network could make a contribution.

If the region is indeed a region, are there any particular challenges that are common to its constitutive countries? If the answer to this question is positive, it would suggest that there might also be some value in coordinated regional efforts, or at least there will be value in trying to learn from others in the region who have faced or are facing similar challenges.

There are important challenges in higher education in the region that are relatively easy to recognize. Some of them are not particular to this part of the world, but others might be indeed quite specific. Some of the challenges all countries of the region are facing in higher education include the rankings, marketization, or funding, to name just a few. These are not new and not at all specific for the region, although in some cases, like funding of university research, they may take particular forms influenced by specific regional evolutions. Other challenges are also not that new, but they are rather specific to the region, such as the accentuated instability of national policies and regulations, or challenges arising from the need to overcome specific and similar path dependencies having to do with the communist past (such as in university governance). There are also new challenges, however, which deserve particular attention. They include sharply declining demographic trends (more accentuated in the region than in other parts of Europe); the corrosion of older public policy narratives and the emergence of new policy narratives that are less supportive for higher education (some of which originate in this very region); and, relatedly, attempts at proposing models from within the region rather than following models ("global" or just coming from elsewhere), even when these new models might be less supportive of effective higher education than those they are trying to replace or distance from.

New demographic trends are reflected primarily in a shrinking population due to negative natural growth and migration. They started to affect higher education in the region at the beginning of the new millennium. The 2015 Trends report (Sursock, 2015) indicates that it is exactly in the countries of the region where these trends are most severely felt. Universities surveyed in this study from Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia report that they have been seriously affected by negative demographic trends at a rate between 57% and 83%. This rate is only between 18% and 29% in Western European countries such as France, Spain, Italy, or Ireland. The combination of a bad economic situation with negative demographic evolutions makes the situation in Eastern Central Europe particularly challenging for universities.

Another recent challenge that might be particularly relevant for this region has to do with changing public policy narratives. For several decades, powerful policy narratives, such as the knowledge society and the European integration, have helped to mobilize high level of support for higher education both among politicians and policy makers, and among the general public. The times are changing now, and rather in the reverse direction. I have analysed elsewhere (Matei, 2015) how these narratives have worked in the recent past and how they are currently changing. In short, the knowledge society narrative nurtured the belief that economic and social development is to be based on knowledge, that

advancement and competitiveness at national level are to be based on knowledge as well. Given its central role with regard to the production and transmission of knowledge, higher education acquired a central place in the economic and policy discourse of most countries and regions of the world, including Easter Central Europe. A consensus emerged in favour of the idea that more, better and higher levels of higher education are good, in fact necessary, and that the state should support higher education (higher enrolments, more research, etc.) for this reason. One can ask whether this commitment expressed in the discourse regarding higher education based on the knowledge society narrative has been put in practice, but there is no doubt that it has created a favourable political and public policy environment for higher education.

The European integration narrative promoted another belief, or set of beliefs: a more and better integrated Europe is good, and higher education is key to it because it allows to produce and use the knowledge that would make Europe more competitive (even the most competitive knowledge society in the world, according to the initial goals of the EU Lisbon Strategy), but also because higher education could contribute to building a more integrated Europe, perhaps both a European ethos and a European demos, along with a European common market, through student and academic staff mobility, common standards and models, and joint educational and research projects across the EU. Large projects were started influenced by these two narratives, including the projects of an integrated European Higher Education Area or that of the European Research Area, projects related to mobility (*e.g.* Erasmus) or research (*e.g.* the EU framework programs or the Horizon 2020). The countries of Eastern Central Europe shared these narratives and took part in these processes and projects, with major consequences for their higher education systems. It is also important to note that these two policy narratives and the accompanying projects and institutional developments in Europe have contributed to create a relatively stable and predictive framework for the evolution of higher education in the region during almost two decades, providing a relative clarity of direction and also of means. Now times are changing, and the change sometimes comes from within the region itself. The force of the belief in the social-economic relevance of knowledge is corroding in the region. The European integration process is now basically stalled and the ideal of a larger and more integrated Europe is contested, quite hotly in some of the countries of the region, with some leading politicians even denouncing “Brussels” as a new colonial monster. This, in turn, affects the policy environment with regard to higher education. Political leaders from the region now openly state that we don’t need more knowledge, or higher educated young people, but more manual workers, because economic competitiveness is to be based in their views on manual labour and not on advanced knowledge. They say we need fewer, not more students, and, in general, less - and not more higher education. Some of them also state that our model of economic and social development should be based on the experiences of Russia, China, and Turkey, and not on a Western European model. There

is a move away from Europe at the level of discourse, but also in practical terms, for example based on less or no attention to new Bologna developments. This situation requires a longer analysis. The short presentation here might be sufficient, however, to argue that a new challenge is emerging in the region: the future of higher education becomes uncertain, given the corrosion of powerful older policy narratives and the emergence of changing, unclear and sometimes adverse new narratives. It is becoming unclear where higher education in the region is heading to. We may well be at the beginning of a new era and perhaps we start walking into an uncharted and unpredictable territory for higher education in Eastern Central Europe.

It can be argued that, historically, the countries of the region have followed models (Western models) in higher education, rather than creating or proposing their own, home-grown models. Is this situation changing at present? We have seen in the period of post-communist transition Western models being adopted (and also adapted), whether they were about governance, curricula and organisation of programs of studies, policy and management models, etc. Could it be the case that some shift is being made currently towards proposing models? The discussion above about new policy narratives indicates developments that originate indeed in the region, and not in Western Europe. It is not clear whether such a change has indeed taken place. It could also be that some new models are not created in the region but imported from the East, like the new, restrictive models of governance and university autonomy being introduced in Hungary. The more general question regarding following models or creating models remains nevertheless a pertinent one. Another possible endeavour for an Eastern Central European network of higher education experts could be to look into what models are being used, where they come from, are they good, bad or even dangerous, what works better.

4. How do/should we address challenges in higher education in Eastern Central Europe? Who is "we"?

The reflection regarding whose responsibly it is to address challenges in higher education appears to be as yet underdeveloped in Eastern Central Europe. Traditionally, it is understood ("expected") that the main responsibility with regard to basically everything in higher education resides with the State. It should be recognized that there are different responsibilities at different levels (system level or institution, for example), and that various actors and stakeholders have to assume different responsibilities. This includes for sure public authorities and policy makers at national, but also at local level. It also includes members of the university leadership and other university representatives as well. Across the region (but with exceptions), it appears that there is not enough engagement and participation of university leaders in policy making. The prevailing attitude is rather "comply" (with directives from the top) or "lament" about the lack of State support, or about the strong hand of the same evil State. Is it possible to overcome this situation? Would it be possible to stimulate more involvement of universities and university leaders themselves,

assuming that such involvement would help in better addressing regional challenges? Are there institutional arrangements that could help at national level, such as rectors' councils (inactive in some countries of the region and very weak in others), or perhaps national higher education councils)? Is it conceivable and would it be effective to put in place trans-regional initiatives that would stimulate institutional participation? These are possible avenues to pursue.

Another question to be asked when trying to clarify who should address challenges in Eastern Central Europe is about any remaining role for international intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations in the region. Some of them, like the World Bank or the Open Society Foundations, to give just two examples, played a key role during the early transition in higher education. By now, they have basically left the region.

The question how to address challenges in higher education in Eastern Central Europe is obviously a complex one. It could be stated that the European policy framework remains potentially extremely useful. Universities in the region should continue to seek to take advantage of this framework, despite pressure from the State in some countries to move away from the European model or ideal. What Europe can offer is significant funding, but also other resources, including possibilities for trans-European cooperation, information and data on current realities and trends, access to professional expertise, instruments, mechanisms, tools, or useful pan-European platforms (such as for quality assurance), etc. Institutional cooperation possibilities, in turn, be they bi-lateral or multilateral, represent a source for generation of new ideas and also operational opportunities for institutions from Eastern Central Europe. Apart from defined resources and operational opportunities, the European policy framework for higher education created a new possibility for universities to assume more freedom, including freedom from their governments. The Bologna Process, for example, helped to loosen the strong grip on universities of the State/national public authorities, and this is highly relevant for our part of the world, which has a long history of repressed freedoms, including in higher education. Universities should attempt to take advantage of these new possibilities to exercise freedom (mainly in form of university autonomy, on all its relevant dimensions), even in face of governments and politicians that are trying recently to limit this space again. More direct participation and engagement of higher education institutions appears to be an important means to use in pursuing the objective of addressing challenges in the region.

There are other means or approaches, possibly related, that could be considered as well. One of them has to do with institutional and policy innovation. We have seen, for example, that universities in countries like Poland, working in partnerships within the sector but also with others outside higher education, have been able to create innovative mechanisms and policies in support of internationalisation and have been able to overcome in this way the dismal attitude and lack of involvement of the central State authorities in this area.

One last comment about public support for higher education, which is not to be taken for granted anymore. Universities in the region do very little (many of them basically nothing) to cultivate and sustain public support. It would be important to promote awareness among universities regarding this matter and also dedicated and effective practical action to address it.

5. Conclusion

If the realities and challenges discussed in this paper are real, is there hope for higher education in Eastern Central Europe? While the current situation can give ground to a certain degree of pessimism, there are also important reasons to maintain a commitment to developing and improving higher education in the region. There are many ways in which this could be envisaged and put in practice; there are many actors and stakeholders involved, as there are many particular, local and national issues. At the same time, it appears that there are also regional specificities, and indeed regional challenges. One particular way to address them might be through regional initiatives and certain efforts at regional coordination. A standing conference on higher education in Eastern Central Europe and a dedicated network of experts for this region appear to be an interesting and promising experiment in this context.

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VLK, Aleš

Challenges for Modern Universities: Finding the Balance Between Teaching, Research and Third Role

Abstract. Universities in Europe have been dealing with various obstacles since their foundation in the middle ages. Apart from the four decades of their exposure to totalitarian regimes, universities in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have faced similar challenges as their Western European counterparts. In general, the main mission of a modern university consists of teaching, research and its "third role". In the following text, the main developments and challenges in each area faced by institutions in the Czech Republic are discussed. The conclusion is that it is becoming increasingly difficult (or even impossible) for a contemporary university (mainly public) to meet all the expectations and requirements it should fulfill.

1. Introduction

Traditional universities in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have been overcoming many obstacles during their history. Some challenges have been very similar to those faced by their Western European counterparts such as incorporating research, dealing with massification, implementing the Bologna system, finding its role as a regional player or becoming a part of the innovation system. However, some of the changes that were experienced by Western European higher education systems gradually and over several decades have been implemented in the CEE countries at a considerably rapid pace, within a much shorter period or withinonly in a few decades. .

Other challenges were rather unique due to political factors – mainly CEE being a part of the communist system and facing the transformation from a totalitarian regime into democracy. In all the CEE countries, which underwent fundamental changes in their political system after the fall of communism, higher education institutions faced the challenge to:

- change their governance and management structures to more democratic ones that would allow more autonomous behavior;
- change their curricula to match the transformation from socialist economies to market economies;
- change their mission from mainly teaching-oriented to incorporate research; and
- compete with a new sector of private higher education institutions of varying kinds

(Westerheijden – Sorensen 1999:13).

In this paper, the Czech Republic is taken as an example of a Central and Eastern European country that left a centralized communist regime after 1989 and radically changed its whole political system. This change has been reflected in all policy areas including higher education (HE). First, general goals and the mission of a traditional university in a modern society are described. Second, the most pressing demands in higher education in general are discussed in order to demonstrate how dynamic is the contemporary environment surrounding a higher education institution (HEI)[1]. The main part of this contribution discusses specific challenges of the Czech higher education system taking into account each of its missions – teaching, research, and the "third role". In the final part, it is argued that it seems increasingly difficult for a university to meet its traditional as well as modern mission, and at the same time to deal with issues such as accountability, societal relevance, efficiency or effectiveness. As Neave puts it: "*Can one have both quality and width and more especially so when more customers want traditional quality and excellence but are no longer prepared to pay the previously going rate*?" comparing contemporary higher education with the legendary Whitechapel tailor facing an age-old dilemma (Neave 1994:115). In other words: Is it possible for a modern higher education institution surrounded by rapidly changing environment to fulfill its mission and to meet expectations that are imposed upon it?

2. Goals and Mission of Higher Education

Traditional medieval universities have been linked with wisdom and knowledge. Their original goal was to search for the truth and maintain knowledge (Maassen 1997). Development of knowledge took place by teaching, and it still remains the most important mission of today's universities. Research became an integral part of a university mission in 1809 when Wilhelm von Humboldt founded the Berlin University. A third mission of universities started to be shaped after the World War II. The relationship between the state and universities changed, and universities became a tool to help achieve various governmental policies. Universities were supposed to contribute to economic and social needs of a society as a whole (Neave 1985; Fulton 1992). Regarding the "third role" of universities, their regional involvement, technology transfer, and support of innovation process and other important roles can also be discussed nowadays.

The reasons for establishing the European universities (mainly the public ones) and still predominantly being financed by public money have been more or less stable. However, the relationship between the state and higher education institutions has changed.

[1] Terms "university" and "higher education institution (HEI)" are used in this text as equivalent. These represent an institution with higher academic profile offering at least bachelor and master's degree and involved in research as an integral part of its mission.

Nowadays we can say that "*the central and historic value in the relationship between higher education and government underwent major revision during the decade of reconstruction. The relationship with public authorities is now not merely contractual but also conditional, short term and subject to meeting explicit cost and performance targets, regularly assessed and revised in the light of that assessment*." (Neave 1995: 390). Not only the relationship between the state and a university has changed, but demands put on universities have altered as well.

3. Demands on Higher Education

During the last few decades, traditional higher education systems have been gradually put under pressure to meet increasing society demands in general. For example, Clark (1997) lists three major sets of demands that can be identified in higher education:

- Demand for greater access to higher education;
- Higher qualifications and positions on the labor market requiring a university degree;
- Governments as well as other stakeholders expecting more efficient behavior from traditional higher education providers; better results should be achieved for less.

Concerning the second set, Mazzarol and Soutar (2001) stress out the fact that the increased demand for higher education has also been driven by the expectation that a higher degree would advance the social and economic status of a graduate. The third demand – more efficient behavior – has evolved gradually. An important shift started to take place in mid 1980s in connection with governmental effort to reduce public expenditures. Concepts such as output, productivity and costs were introduced into academia (Neave 1994).

Van der Wende (2003) distinguishes two main global demands in the higher education context. The first one is caused by a growing need for a wider access to higher education. The number of higher education students worldwide is predicted to grow from 97 million in 2000 to 263 million in 2025 (Böhm et al. 2002). The second global trend can be associated with the transition from post-industrial to knowledge economies, combined in Western countries (CEE countries as well) with an aging population. More diversified and flexible modes of providing higher education are needed including lifelong learning, corporate training, etc.

In the European context, there are also specific factors related to the European Communities and later to the European Union (EU). Higher education has been receiving increasing attention from the European Commission as a tool to facilitate the European integration (Neave 1995). Since the late 1990s, two major developments have been shaping reforms in the European higher education systems. First, the Bologna declaration (1999) followed by the Bologna process, and second, the EU's Lisbon Strategy (2000)

aimed at making the HE systems part of the knowledge-based economies (Enders et al. 2011).

As a result of various external factors, including policies on either national or EU levels, a modern university located in Europe has been recently facing at least the following challenges in general:

- Absorbing an increasing number of students while the student body becomes more and more heterogeneous in terms of student background, abilities and expectations;
- Maintaining the social function of the HE within the society;
- Keeping the quality of teaching;
- Attracting more fee-paying international students in order to compensate for the decline of domestic student body;
- Meeting rapidly changing requirements of employees;
- Achieving excellence in research;
- Increasing the knowledge transfer and commercialization of research outputs;
- Demonstrating efficiency.

4. Facing the Challenges in the Czech Republic

The Czech higher education system consists of the following at the beginning of 2015:

- 26 public higher education institutions, dominantly funded by the Ministry of Education;
- 2 state higher education institutions (University of Defense and Police Academy);
- 43 private higher education institutions (the number changes every year).

The public higher education institutions are the major players. The private HE sector caters for approximately 12 percent of the overall student population. Higher education institutions in the Czech Republic differ in size and profile ranging from small and highly selective academies of arts and small private and regional institutions established in the last decade, through medium-sized agricultural and technical HEIs focused on a limited number of fields, to big, broad-profile universities with even as much as 17 faculties and almost 50, 000 students such as the Charles University in Prague. In the academic year of 2013/14, the total number of students was 396 673 out of which approximately 88 percent studied at the public and state HE institutions[2].

[2] An up-dated number verified in the students register.

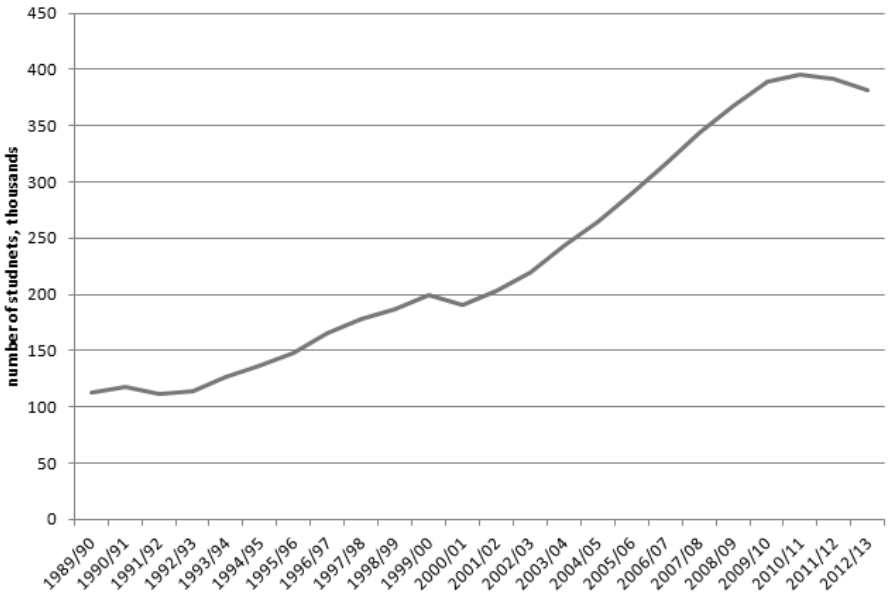
4.1. Teaching

Teaching remains the core of the Czech higher education institutions' mission; however, various pressures are being imposed on it including new teaching methods, new modes of delivery, students with heterogeneous expectations and needs on the one hand, and demographic decline, stagnation of public budgets, stress on scientific outputs on the other. The existing higher education policy (mainly the system of student funding), changes in the research and development (R&D) system together with external developments (mainly the demographic decline) have influenced the behavior of individual institutions with respect to their teaching mission.

The overall number of students within the Czech HE system has been growing steadily over the last twenty years mainly as a consequence of its model of funding. The funding of institutions has been based mainly on the number of students (yet a financial demand of various study fields is reflected in the formula) resulting in a very simple logic – the more students are enrolled, the more money the institution gets. The funding system at the time of its introduction also responded to the effort to increase the number of students participating in the tertiary education in general, as their number had been rather low compared to other EC or OECD countries.

As the figure below suggests, the total number of HE students reached almost 400,000 in the academic year of 2011/2012 – making it fourfold increase in comparison with 1989/1990.

Figure 1 The overall number of students within the Czech HE system



Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports

In order to increase the number of enrolled students, the admission criteria have been eased in many study fields. In many cases, institutions or individual faculties decided to offer study places to almost everyone who applies, developing an "extended admission process policy" where admission criteria are replaced by first-year courses and exams.

Simultaneously with the growing number of students within the HE system, the share of applicants accepted for at least one of the chosen study programs was also growing. While in 1999 the share of accepted applicants was around 40 percent, it reached 70 percent in 2009.

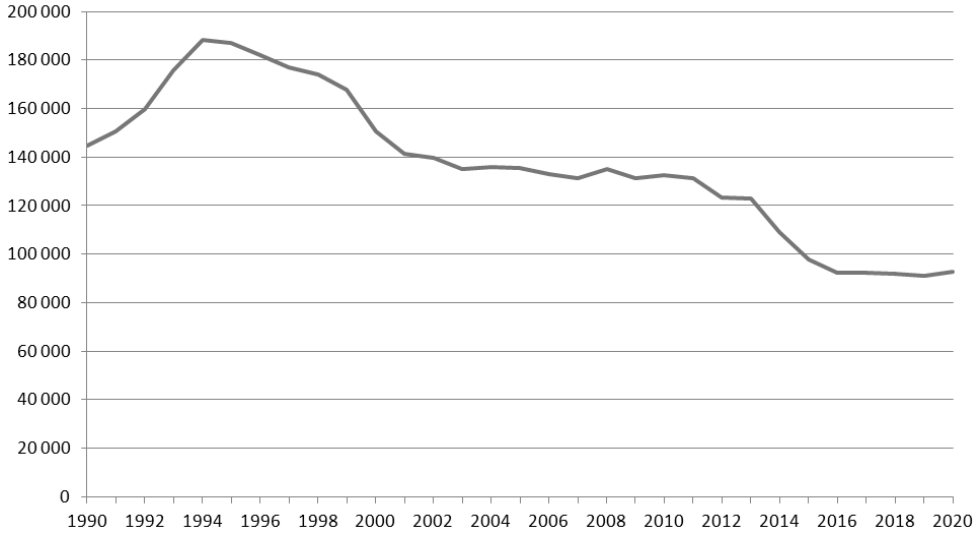
Reflecting the above mentioned numbers, it is apparent that the Czech Republic experienced a shift from mass into universal higher education. According to Trow (1972), mass higher education is usually considered when it contains at least 15 percent of the relevant age cohort and universal when at least 50 percent of the age cohort participates. Neave (1994) highlights the fact that higher education in Western Europe reached mass status in 1970s and certain countries (among them France, Germany and Italy) moved towards universal access 20 years later.

A larger number of students at the HE institutions logically meant more heterogeneous student body with various backgrounds, abilities and expectations. Many academics,

mainly in technical fields, stated that the level of knowledge of an average student entering study programs decreased dramatically compared to students two decades earlier. At the same time, again as an inevitable consequence of a larger number of students, the drop-out rate has increased, namely in the first and second year of undergraduate studies. For example, out of the 111,831 students who started their bachelor's studies in a particular study program in 2009, only 46,719 finished within four years (a standard duration plus one extra year) representing approx. 42 percent[3]. However, it must be stressed out that faculties and study programs differ significantly in their respective drop-out rates.

A demographic decline and corresponding governmental funding policy caused significant changes around 2010/2011. While the number of 19 year olds (and high school graduates) stayed relatively stable over the 2000's, starting from 2011, the demographic decline has become one of the biggest challenges for the Czech HEIs.

Figure 2 Number of 19 year olds in the Czech Republic 1990-2020, history and prediction



Source: Czech Statistical Office

The decreasing number of 19 year olds in the population in the coming years together with the existing funding policy (a significant part of the budget is still based on the number of students) will have a dramatic impact on the public as well as private higher education institutions in the Czech Republic. As both types of institutions are dependent on the number of students (either through the funding formula or the tuition), the search or even

[3] Source of data: Students register administered by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports.

"hunt" for students will be essential for their functioning or even for their very existence. The level of entrance exams (if there are still any) or level of requirements at various courses will have to be undoubtedly eased even more.

Despite the fact that the current Czech higher education system can be described as a universal one, the majority of actors (mainly teachers) still see (or wish to see) it to be elite. Unfortunately, the structure of the HE system, which was in fact originally designed for elite education, has changed. For example, authors of the OECD Country Note (2006) state that "*public university sector is formally undifferentiated, driven by a traditional Humboldtian vision, highly autonomous, self-governing and characterized by strenuous academic career requirements*" (File et al. 2006:16).

4.2. Research

In the existing conditions, more attention is paid to research rather than teaching at the Czech universities in general. First of all, scientific outcomes are reflected not only in research funding, but also increasingly in the HE funding as well as in the accreditation process.

Starting from 2010, elements of "quality-based" funding have been introduced alongside the per capita funding reflecting the research performance, student international mobility and unemployment rates of graduates now. The rate between the per capita versus quality-based element is 76:24 in 2015 with the latter pillar growing steadily since its introduction

The current accreditation process, which also serves as the main external quality assurance tool in the Czech HE, reflects the quality of teaching to a limited extent only. The main criteria for accreditation and reaccreditation of a study program are the qualification structure of teaching staff and their research performance.

This results in the academics being under pressure to do research and publish and increase their academic qualification (doctor, docent, professor); as this generates direct resources for the institution (through both teaching and research funding) and contributes to maintaining the accreditation requirements. At the same time, some institutions compensate for the lack of students by increased volume of research. At certain faculties or departments, research grants already constitute a very significant part of their institutional budgets.

Distinctive research performance is also required as part of the sustainability criteria of R&D centers built with contribution of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) in the last EU programming period of 2007-2013. Out of 48 research centers financed by the EU Structural Funds, 28 are located at public universities[4]. Within the internal structure of

[4] For more information please see: http://www.opvavpi.cz/

universities and faculties, people with scientific outcomes have been moved into the above mentioned research centers, which might affect the "teaching" role of the institutions to a great extent resulting in the reduction of funding.

4.3. The Third Role

The "third role" of the university sector has been repeatedly stressed out especially in connection with entrepreneurship, cooperation with business, technology transfer and commercialization of scientific knowledge.

With the exception of a few rather extracurricular activities, study programs aiming at encouraging entrepreneurship or developing entrepreneurial skills have been rare so far – mainly due to the accreditation requirements which are based on scientific criteria as mentioned above. At the same time, these courses would require external staff with relevant experience, which is not that typical for the existing HE setting, again partly due to the accreditation rules.

Cooperation with business, technology transfer and commercialization of scientific knowledge represent areas identified in regional and national policy papers as those that are not being developed efficiently. A few projects at the regional and national level have been implemented in order to foster activities in those fields, yet no significant change has been achieved.

First of all, individual or institutional achievements in those areas are not "rewarded" in academia as they do not contribute to academic career development. Secondly, there are many legislative obstacles in case a public institution wants to commercialize its scientific knowledge efficiently and according to the law. To name only few regulations that should be taken into account: labor code, civil code, intellectual property rights, state aid rules, etc. Finally, one has to take into account especially the updated state aid rules on the EU level which have been in force since 2014[5]. Those rules, among other principles, set a limit to economic activities (for example contract research) carried out on the infrastructure fully funded from a public (state) budget. The infrastructure capacity used for economic activities should not exceed 20 percent.

5. Conclusions

Although teaching is still considered to be the core mission of a modern university, it seems that it is becoming increasingly difficult to meet the expectations of all relevant stakeholders. Due to the changes in the state – university relationship and pressures on the public budgets, mainly public universities are expected to demonstrate accountability,

[5] More details at http://ec.europa.eu/competition/state_aid/overview/index_en.html

efficiency and effectiveness. They should also maintain the quality of teaching and guarantee a minimal level of knowledge and skills of graduates to their potential employers. The decreasing number of students and heterogeneous student body within the existing HE structure in the Czech Republic makes it all together almost impossible.

Furthermore, the main emphasis is put on the research and research outcomes at the institutional as well as at individual level. As a result, at many institutions of rather average quality or with little ambition to be a "research university", academics are forced to do research of disputable quality and publish as much as possible. Inevitably, teaching is very often neglected, and students are the last ones to receive attention as long as they bring the funding in.

Finally, the same academics – struggling to do research and trying to cope with the changing background, knowledge as well as motivation of students – are expected to cooperate with business, transfer technologies and commercialize their scientific knowledge. However, these activities require a different approach, new support services and rather flexible environment. In many cases, despite vocal proclamations and numerous strategies and policy papers, it is almost impossible to turn a relevant idea of an academic into a successful product without the risk of breaching some of the internal rules, national or EU regulations.

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WOŹNICKI, Jerzy – DEGTYAROVA, Iryna – PACUSKA, Maria

Regulatory Requirements Towards Higher Education System Reforms: The Polish Case

Abstract. The main goal of the article is to discuss regulatory requirements towards higher education system (HES) reforms leading to a deregulated system with reference to HES in Poland. This article refers to selected recommendations developed within the PRF&IKS project “Deregulation in Higher Education". First, the authors present the scope of the needed regulation together with justification of the necessary state interference in the functioning of the HES. Second, cases of overregulated versus deregulated higher education institutions are discussed. Subsequently, authors examine relationship between HEIs autonomy, regulation and the volume of the Law. Article ends with recommendations of regulatory character suggesting the expected role of regulations.

1. Introduction

Important premises for the appropriate regulation process of higher education systems (HES) in Europe are provided in the European Union document “*Council conclusions on the modernization of higher education*” (2011). The conclusions identified *“the need to reform further the governance and financing structures of universities allowing for greater autonomy and accountability, so as to facilitate a more diversified revenue stream and more effective collaboration with the business world and to equip universities to participate in the knowledge triangle on a global scale”* (Council conclusions 2011:2). Strengthening the knowledge triangle between education, research and innovation is perceived as a key condition for enabling higher education to contribute to jobs and growth and for enhancing its international attractiveness. It requires greater and - possibly - diversified autonomy.

The main goal of this article is to discuss regulatory requirements towards HES reforms leading to a deregulated system with reference to higher education in Poland. This article refers to selected recommendations (concerning regulatory issues) developed within the recently completed project entitled “Deregulation in Higher Education" conducted by the think tank -Polish Rectors Foundation - Institute of Knowledge Society (PRF&IKS)[1]. Due to the limitations of space of this paper, other issues - primarily with regard to the concept of deregulation - were not elaborated in this paper.

The Project “Deregulation in Higher Education" can be perceived as a pioneer in the bibliography on higher education in Poland, and was founded with the intention of reversing the alarming trends in the process of regulating the system. Over the last years,

universities have been subjected to increasing pressure of a regulating character and, as a result, the scope of higher education regulations has significantly and alarmingly increased.

We support the idea of the need to reverse these trends by adopting new cultural, substantive and methodological assumptions for regulation in the process of the lawmaking with regard to higher education. The basic dilemma, however, concerns which issues should be regulated by law, in particular as far as the institutional model of the university and its relationships with internal and external stakeholders are concerned. Another important question is how these regulations should be formulated.

What is the result of 100 years of experience in matters of legislative activity of higher education in Poland? Why is it so easy to introduce overregulation? What examples of overregulation it is possible to point out? These are the issues of significant importance. This article will attempt to answer, at least to some extent, these questions as well.

We will present some comments on regulatory principles in the system of higher education and point out main areas for regulation. The regulations may, however, lead to over-regulation. In that case, deregulation becomes necessary. Subsequently, the relationship between HEI's autonomy, regulation and the volume of the Law will be discussed. At the end recommendations of regulatory character will be discussed. The formulated theses only outline the issue, no detailed discussion on specific articles of the Polish act Law on Higher Education is proposed. Therefore, the conclusions and comments presented will be largely of a universal character.

2. Main areas for regulation

In the process of lawmaking, legislators should pay attention to the link between the scope of regulation and university autonomy being not only fundamental, but also of constitutional value. Another important value connected with the idea of deregulation is trust which has great importance also outside academia. It entails the context of the requirements of the state and development of social capital. Serious deficiencies in this area constitute major barriers to development.

An important question in this context is: what can be deregulated and how much regulation is needed in our higher education institutions? We opt only for selective deregulation because obviously HES should be regulated to some extent.

It is possible to indicate several examples of necessary regulations:

- Establishment of a university requires a decision of the competent public authority or granting permission in a suitable form by the competent authority of the state.
- Tertiary education is carried out after obtaining the accreditation of the competent authority designated by law.

Main areas for regulation are related to the function of the law. Law (basically):

- fulfils the requirements of the constitutional delegations, determines the principle of autonomy of universities and their rights, as well as the principles of supervision and control;
- defines scope of power of minister and higher education administration; defines what is an university, how it is created, and by which entities, as well as the nature of the relationship of university-student;
- sets out basic tasks and types of institutions and their bodies indicating their composition and appointment rules, as well as the systemic principles of financing HEIs;
- specifies rights and guarantees freedoms, human resources issues (including employment and social services), and obligations of the parties in the HES, including: rules, procedures and tools of public policy towards the university (the role of the market in the context of financing).

Furthermore, the law refers as well to the international context to the necessary extent and in some countries establishes representative bodies on the system level, including conferences of rectors, accreditation committee(s), and student organizations (PhD students as well).

3. Possible effects of regulation: overregulated versus deregulated HEI

Let us discuss some consequences of regulations for a model of a higher education institution: in case of an overregulated system and in a deregulated system.

An overregulated HEI is subject not only to the regulatory and supervisory power of the minister responsible for HE, but also to his/her managing power, including the so called micromanagement. The state is responsible for a HEI's budget. A HEI is to follow the etatism-based HE model (state control).

Apart from that, in "overregulated" HEI:

- all academic staff members representing particular groups have nearly unified salaries throughout the whole institution and even whole country,
- the ministry strictly specifies the overall wage fund (the minister's consent is required in case of employment of the new staff),
- a HEI's autonomy is marginalized.

In Poland this model functioned in the communist era when there were also instances of more strict regulation than in the example quoted above.

On the other hand, "deregulated" HEI has greater institutional autonomy, independence of remuneration policy, at the same time bearing full responsibility for its fiscal discipline. This model reflects the main trends in development of HE systems worldwide. It is worth noticing that deregulation limits the liability of the state and provides more favourable competition rules from the point of view of the HES development.

4. HEIs autonomy and the volume of the Law

Regulations must respect institutional autonomy. The autonomy of a HEI is of constitutional character. Given the fundamental significance of autonomy in the area of higher education, the scope of institutional autonomy has to be an important indicator defining various HEI models.

Relationship between HEIs autonomy and the volume of the Law is as follows. There is a belief that the shorter law implies more autonomy for universities. Shorter law has an important value; however neither Polish practice over the last 100 years of legislation nor substantive analysis of this issue does not enable to clearly confirm this thesis (Woźnicki 2013a). Moreover, a longer Act may result from the need for statutory warranties limiting the power of the Minister, including limitations concerning arbitrary allocation of public funding. Sometimes, in case of overregulated system, in order to achieve deregulation effect, longer version of the Act may be even required.

We can therefore conclude that the aim is to reduce the scope of public intervention in the activities of autonomous universities rather than to minimize the volume of the Act Consequently, it is not desirable to propose to pass a short act. We should introduce acts providing HEIs with autonomy, despite the necessity of preparing a more precise, and consequently, a more extensive regulation.

EUA study „University Autonomy in Europe" takes into account 4 criteria of HEIs autonomy (see: Table 1):

- Organisational Autonomy for which the key element is executive leadership;
- Financial autonomy depending mainly on allocation of public funding;
- Staffing autonomy which is based on autonomy concerning recruitment of staff;
- Academic autonomy – of which the most important aspect is an overall number of students.

Table 1 Criteria of HEIs autonomy, considered in EUA Study „University Autonomy in Europe"

Organisational Autonomy	Financial autonomy
• **Executive leadership** • **Internal academic structures** • **Creating legal entities** • **Governing bodies**	• Allocation of public funding • Keeping surplus on public funding • Borrowing money • Ownership of land and buildings • Students' financial contributions
Staffing autonomy	**Academic Autonomy**
• **Recruitment of staff** • **Staff salaries** • **Dismissal of staff** • **Staff promotions**	• Overall student numbers • Admission mechanisms • Introduction and termination of degree programmes • Language of instruction • Quality assurance mechanisms and providers • Designing academic content

Source: own study based on EUA Project website "University Autonomy in Europe" http://www.university-au-tonomy.eu/ (access date 10.04.2013).

Higher education in Poland has a moderate degree of autonomy. Thanks to EUA study we can compare the autonomy of Polish HEIs to the general situation in Europe. Poland is generally in the middle in regard to all 4 criteria (see: table 2). Therefore, it has still some capacity to improve, that is to increase – by means of selective deregulation – the scope of autonomy of Polish HEIs within the system of higher education. In order to achieve this, we should analyse in a more detailed way the scores of Poland by each category in view to establish issues to be regulated and issues to be deregulated. Similar analysis is recommended to be conducted in other countries.

Taking into account other member countries of the Visegrád Group, Czech Republic apart from staffing autonomy, is below European average in other categories, like Slovakia and Hungary. In case of the latter two, they rank well with regard to financial autonomy.

Table 2 Ranks of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary according to the level of autonomy they have in each of four autonomy areas in comparison to 29 European Countries .The site mostly describes the state of university autonomy in late 2010

	Poland	Czech Republic	Slovakia	Hungary
organisational	14th	23th	26th	17th
financial	19th	22th	7th	6th
staffing	12th	3th	24th	17th
academic	15th	22th	18th	24th

Source: own study based on EUA Project website "University Autonomy in Europe" http://www.university-au-tonomy.eu/ (access date 10.04.2013).

5. Guidelines for the regulation

In the light of EUA project it is possible to indicate some examples of areas requiring regulation and some which should have more institutional autonomy in higher education (see: Table 3).

Table 3 Examples of areas requiring more and less regulation in higher education.

ISSUES TO BE REGULATED	ISSUES TO BE LESS REGULATED
Minister's activity	HEIs functioning and organisation
Student affairs	Doctoral studies
State funding	Fund distribution within a HEI
Economic activities	Scientific research
Supervision and reporting	Human resources policies

Source: author's study.

Undoubtedly, the minister's activity requires regulation. Unlike in case of HEIs functioning, their organization need to be altered, yet generally more autonomy is required. It seems that student affairs need to be regulated rather than doctoral studies, which should be less regulated. Regulations should be applied in case of state funding, as it is the minister's of finance statutory responsibility, with the fund distribution to be less regulated within HEIs. Moreover, HEIs' economic activity is supposed to be regulated, as it may be a sensitive

area in which pathologies might be developed, consequently affecting the authority of HEIs. However, it seems advisable to avoid over-regulation of research-related issues. Supervision and reporting should be regulated in view of supervision and transparency requirements; also, it would be reasonable to decrease reporting requirements. On the other hand, staffing policy needs to be less regulated based on institutional autonomy principle.

Polish Law on Higher Education - Act from 2005 can serve as an example of respect for university autonomy. Act excluded state-owned HEIs from the so called state budget sphere, but with public funding guarantees for HEIs. In particular, this meant that the minister of finance did not specify the overall wage fund. As a consequence, each HEI was free to decide the part of the fund that would be allocated for wages and salaries. Nevertheless, amendments of the Act (2011, 2014) introduced some overregulations towards HES.

Generally, it can be stated that transparency requirements and those related to the provision of rights should be subject to regulation; those issues are crucial. Undoubtedly, in higher education certain rights, in particular the rights of an individual, have to be respected. The rules of verification and developing outcomes – according to the principles of supervision – have to be implied by a suitable regulation. However, the methods and ways of achieving the outcomes, as well as procedures, should be less regulated (see: table 4).

Table 4 Guidelines for the regulation

TO REGULATE	TO RENDER MORE AUTONOMOUS
Transparency requirements	*The methods and ways of achieving the outcomes (procedures, structures, invoices…)*
Rights provision issues	
Rules of how to verify the outcomes	
Principles of supervision	

Source: author's study.

Besides, all regulatory acts concerning higher education should be constructed according to principles of "good legislation". Higher education represents a kind of democratic system.

Hence, we should harmonize democracy and system. So good legislation should be based on three fundamental issues:

- procedures,
- outcomes,
- and the principle of participation in decision-making processes (not only in discussing proposals, drafts, etc.).

In Poland until recently the first element (procedures) prevailed, however introduction of NCBiR (National Centre for Research and Development), NCN (National Science Centre), KRK (National Qualifications Framework) freed the second sphere (outcomes). As regards the actual implementation of the third issue (participative decision-making process), it requires partnership of public authorities with a representative social partner, a competent and responsible body. Such kind of partnership would enhance principles of "good legislation" as an essential value in higher education and science.

Good legislation should also take into account:

- principle of subsidiarity, proportionality, predictability and continuity of the rules,
- communication and cooperation between public HE authority bodies with representatives of academic institutions and scientific community.

It is worth remembering that in order to conduct successful deregulation of higher education we need a „good legislation". Principles presented here are of fundamental character.

6. Recommendations and conclusions

As a result of the project "Deregulation in Higher Education" selected strategic recommendations have been formulated for the legislative activities in the field of HE in Poland till 2020: recommendations concerning the constitutional foundations of higher education, recommendations of the regulatory nature – the expected role of regulation, deregulation recommendations of the systemic nature (Woźnicki 2015). Selected recommendations of regulatory character will be discussed here.

Regulations are indispensable for the system, they serve as:

- a framework of the system and definition of the scope of institutional autonomy;
- a guarantee of rights and freedoms and risk management instruments (staff, students, graduate students) as well as a means of fighting against pathologies;
- an essential source of control and supervisory powers;

- a source of (civil and administrative) relations in higher education (student vs. institutions);
- a mean of fixing the market as a regulator;
- a source of economic rules and financial discipline (strict liability, income, expenses, management control, etc.).

Moreover, regulations constitute the foundation of the "legal" HEI in the state of law and source of statutory delegations. Regulations serve as well as a source of identity and legitimacy of the institutions such as Polish Central Council of Science and Higher Education, rectors' conferences, accreditation committee(s), students' parliament and doctoral students' representation.

On the one hand, limited regulation should concern many issues, among which the Minister's regulations (directives – so called executive acts) and currently applied rules of financing HEIs from public funds, as well as the principles of cost accounting which requires some areas of flexibility. On the other hand, good legislation is not supposed to violate certain principles:

- the scope of autonomy and responsibility of HEIs should be closely correlated. The more autonomy, the more responsibility of HEIs is expected.
- the Minister should have at his/her disposal certain instruments of supervision, specified in terms of scope and mode, and strictly derived from the provisions of the Act. The transparency of the minister's activities, as well as HEIs transparency, is of unquestionable value in the system of higher education.
- The statute of a HEI has to be perceived as a sign of a HEI's autonomy – the reference in terms of legal provisions, embracing a growing scope of academic issues.

In Poland we postulate to carry out the process of new Law on Higher Education to be put into practice till 2020. Taking into account that so far few publications have discussed these issues, regulatory requirements towards HES reforms might be examined in some other countries as well.

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DEGTYAROVA, Iryna – DYBAŚ, Magdalena

The Values, Motivation and Objectives of Polish-Ukrainian Academic Cooperation

Abstract. This paper presents selected results of the research project "Analysis of selected examples of cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian HEIs based on the comparison of higher education systems. Conclusions and recommendations" conducted by Polish Rectors Foundation (PRF) together with institutional partners. The aim of the project is the identification, diagnosis and analysis of selected conditions in R&D cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian universities, as well as the learning experience from the institutions and individuals who initiated bilateral scientific projects. The objectives of cooperation, its perception, main motivators and facilitating factors are studied and presented in the article.

1. Introduction: The research of Polish-Ukrainian academic cooperation: project overview

Ukrainian universities have always had a wide range of academic contacts and collaboration with partner institutions from Poland. During the past decades the development of Polish-Ukrainian partnership has been accelerated within the European Higher Education Area and due to the trends of internationalization (Europeanization) in higher education and science. Moreover, Poland and Ukraine have got very close geopolitical ties, mutually beneficial economic and social partnerships and cooperation ties. Poland was one of the first countries to recognize the independence of Ukraine. The European integration perspective following by the signing of the Association agreement gives a new impetus to the development of bilateral relations between Ukraine and European countries, particularly facilitating Polish-Ukrainian partnership in the field of education and science, which have become of a more strategic character with more institutionalized cooperation between both the sides.

Poland is a more than friendly state, but a unique partner of Ukraine in different fields, Poles believe they have a special message to convey to Ukraine who are struggling for liberty and civil rights. Relationship between Poland and Ukraine are shrouded with a special spirit of *kinship of Slavic souls*, and it is very important to study the perception and attitudes to mutual activities and their benefits, as well as influence the development of higher education and science in both countries. This idea became a purpose of the Polish-Ukrainian project entitled *"Analysis of selected examples of cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian HEIs based on the comparison of higher education systems: Conclusions and recommendations",* which was developed and conducted by the think-tank Polish

Rectors Foundation-Institute of Knowledge Society together with partner institutions from Poland (Conference of Rectors of Academic Schools in Poland, CRASP; National Council of Science and Higher Education in Poland, NCSHEP) and Ukraine (Union of Rectors of Higher Education Institutions in Ukraine, URHEIU), as well as team of experts and other partner institutions. The main idea was to support the efforts to intensify cooperation between universities in both countries, and to establish - in areas other than education of students - close partnerships between CRASP and URHEIU and giving it a strategic character.

The aim of the project was an identification, diagnosis and analysis of selected conditions of cooperation in R&D between Polish and Ukrainian universities in the context of higher education systems development, based on the long-term academic practice, as well as learning experience from the institutions and individuals who conducted international scientific projects; study the objectives and mechanisms of establishing of cooperation, main areas of cooperation, barriers and facilitating factors; and finally to work-out recommendations to be implemented on the systemic and institutional level to facilitate cooperation in R&D. The project is an important step in the search for the best solutions and best practices for intensified cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian universities.

For the successful and long-term development of international academic cooperation it is crucial to define the system of values, facilitating factors and psychological motivation of its participants. It requires a synergistic fusion of all the factors, both objective (systemic and institutional prerequisites and conditions) and subjective (sphere of communication, individual interactions). In the present study, we decided to focus on this particular issue.

2. Research methodology and selected findings

The project has accumulated general information about the experiences of existing cooperation. Polish and Ukrainian universities have been more actively involved in the teaching and research of international cooperation[1]. This is a key determinant of their development and the development of higher education systems. A Polish-Ukrainian academic cooperation is of particular importance, for geopolitical, historical and cultural reasons; is. Intensifying efforts in this area and giving a strategic nature to this co-operation is our common goal. The completed project will greatly help to achieve this goal.

The research was designed to be carried out in two parts: part I was an introductory research and the part II was a qualitative one. First, an introductory analysis was made, a specially designed survey was sent to HEIs in Poland (125) and Ukraine (153), selected examples of bilateral cooperation were identified (43 HEIs and 80 cases in Poland, 46 HEIs

[1] The authors have used the survey materials and recordings in presenting this paper.

and 65 cases in Ukraine) and analyzed. Then, in the second part of the project 16 in-depth interviews (IDI) were conducted with selected partner institutions (8 Polish and 8 Ukrainian). Respondents were chosen to be initiators, participants, authorities. Next step was the analysis of the research results during two public debates in Poland (National Council of Science and Higher Education), harmonization and consolidation of the experts' materials to develop a final version of project report. Multidimensional research of Polish and Ukrainian academic cooperation has provided a good basis for the development of conclusions and recommendations referring to promoting bilateral research activities. The project resulted in a final report, which will benefit the two countries at the ministerial level, conferences of rectors and research community. The research proved that Polish-Ukrainian cooperation has more individual dimension, than institutionalized processes and involves synergetic activity of the university authorities, departments and institutes and academics.

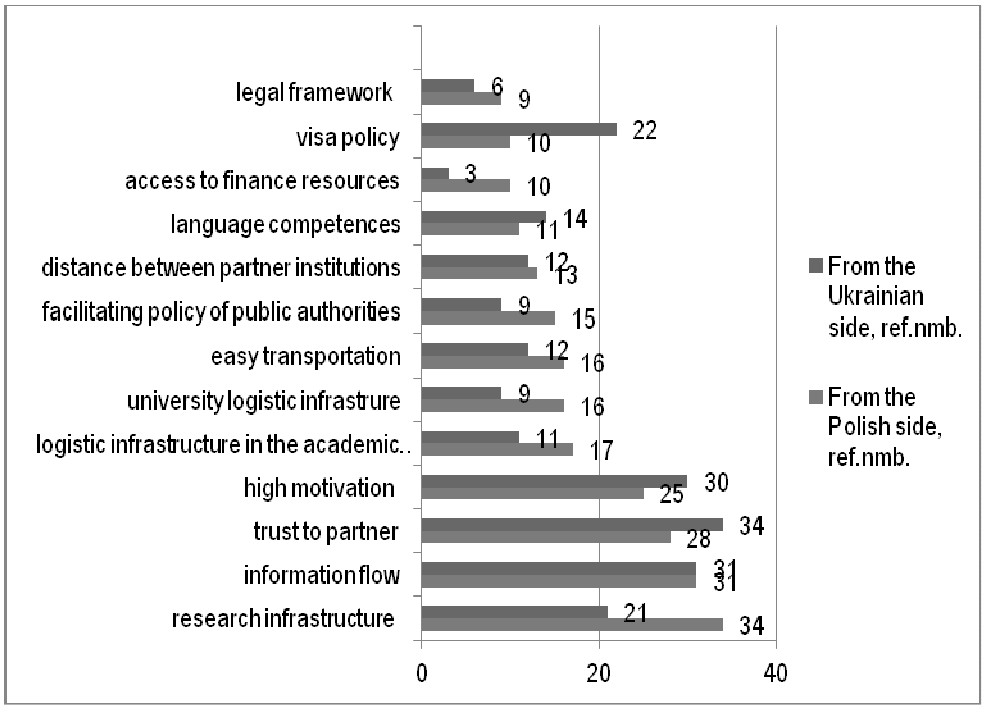
3. Motivations and facilitating factors for bilateral academic collaboration

Cooperation of Ukrainian and Polish universities is not a rare phenomenon. As our survey showed, different initiatives of varying scope and potential, with more or less intensity are run by a number of universities, and the history of cooperation has counted, in some cases, a dozen or so years. It is high time to summarize the effects and study motivation of Polish and Ukrainian universities, or Polish and Ukrainian academics.

Motivators and facilitators for the international cooperation is the answer to the question "WHY do the sides/institutions/individuals collaborate?" "WHAT MOTIVATION do the partners have in the development of the academic partnerships with each other and undertaking of joint research activities?" "Are there any unique and particular conditions in the collaboration between Ukrainian and Polish scientists?"

General overview of the factors, facilitating Polish and Ukrainian academic collaboration is presented in the Figure 1.

Figure 1 Factors, facilitating collaboration of Polish and Ukrainian academic partners



Source: survey and individual interviews conducted with the respondents from the Polish and Ukrainian universities

Motivating factors can be grouped into 2 main categories:

- general motivations, in a global context: internationalization and the universalization of science and higher education. General issues within the development of the European higher education and research area.
- particular motivators, local Polish-Ukrainian context: the major factors are connected with the Polish-Ukrainian historical and cultural ties (spiritual and cultural aspects, historical past, the common characteristics of the higher education systems in communist times), current Polish lobby in the EU for Ukraine, openness and readiness of the Polish partners to support Ukraine's academic activities, long-lasting and systemic cooperation.

Table 1 Major factors motivating Polish and Ukrainian collaboration

Motivation from the Polish side	Motivation from the Ukrainian side
Ukraine is a reservoir of interesting research problems and scientific capabilities	cooperation is the possibility of scientific communication
the possibility of internationalization of research, participation in prestigious scientific events, promote networking, publishing in highly ranked journals	the exchange of scientific ideas, experience and the ability to teach and learn
making interesting, weighty, crucial researches	discovering a new field for the study, analysis of best practices in various areas of social and economic activities
working together leads to mutual understanding, breaking stereotypes, building relationships	professional development of researchers
Ukrainians are perceived as an open, welcoming and friendly nation. Poles are eager to help for mutual sympathy, trust and desire to establish cooperation	improving teaching practices and the introduction of new forms of education of students, improving the quality of education and research, and the competitiveness of individuals and universities
the sense of community in cultural, historical and geopolitical aspects	high technological and laboratory conditions, modern research infrastructure for conducting research projects, that is not available in Ukraine
sense of responsibility and the need, or even to support Ukraine and Ukrainian scientists, support the pro-European attitudes	positive perception of Poles as close nation, Slavic relatives

Source: survey and individual interviews conducted with the respondents from the Polish and Ukrainian universities

Respondents prove that scientific development is motivated by the following:

> *What is important? Good relations between people, supporters of friendship between the two countries, common goals, no language barrier, the desire to do something useful in life, optimism and a sense of humor, as well as little financial*

support - it will be sufficient for the effective cooperation between the Polish and Ukraine

The human factor, professional scientific interest – are the prerequisites of international cooperation. International collaboration enriches all of us and we have something that we want to show and what we want to teach

Sometimes we think we are very different, and sometimes - quite the contrary. But one thing I know for sure: we have something to exchange with each other

As Polish respondents emphasized, working together, regardless of the undertaken topics, they lead mutual understanding to break stereotypes and building partnerships. Perhaps their results are not only in a scientific field, but also be a valuable contribution to the development of Polish-Ukrainian relations and to support Ukraine in its development, which is also promoted by foreign colleagues.

Productive development of international cooperation between Poland and Ukraine is the best result of mental-historical conditions and manifestation of global trends, including trends in the internationalization of education, science and research, the integration of national systems of education and research into the European Research Area. But at the center of all bilateral cooperation projects there is a human, an individual, a scientist, and it is his desire and motivation to develop is going to be the main factor which encourages scientists to search for partners with similar interests in order to develop scientific and international co-operation with them.

The human factor, professional scientific interest – these are factors that international cooperation depends on. International collaboration enriches all of us and we have something that we want to show and what we want to teach.

In the XXIst century professional dialogue and communication have become more open and free, it is an integral part of the scientific realm. Modern information society is characterized by high development dynamics. This applies to specific areas of research. However, without exception, all respondents emphasized that the development of science is possible only with effective professional communication and exchange of experiences, views and ideas with colleagues.

It is important to not only communicate [...] ideas emerging with a cup of coffee require detailed analysis. With a common discussion, to develop joint scientific reports, we are looking for solutions to problems.

Dynamic development of science requires new approaches to the organization of work and conducting research. Changes are happening in the system of relations in the fields of science, including the relationships between people. Polish-Ukrainian cooperation is

conducted today within a process of scientific communication that promotes integration into the global scientific community.

The Will and willingness to cooperate is also dictated by a sense of the cultural community of the two countries and the so-called "Slavic soul." Ukrainians are perceived as a nation open, welcoming, friendly and eager to help. Such attitudes inspire mutual sympathy, trust and interest in cooperation. Many respondents pointed out that cooperation with Ukraine looks like completely different, than any other Polish and Western Europe, which are characterized by a greater personal distance and focus only on the scientific contacts.

> *This is what we have identified as "Slavic soul." Poles communicate with Ukrainians easier than with someone from the West. This is another way of functioning. Quite quicker we manage to establish such contacts of different character with colleagues from the East than in the West.*
>
> *Ukrainians are Slavs, therefore, we have the same roots, so we are closely interconnected by our background.*

4. Objectives of Polish-Ukrainian academic cooperation

Objectives in the international cooperation are considered within the answer to the question “WHAT FOR is the collaboration developed?”, “WHAT PURPOSE do the partners have in initiating joint activities?” Objectives are very close to motivating factors; particularly scientific development of individual researchers is both the facilitator and objective. While setting up cooperation, the partners are intended on the development of their institutions (chairs, labs, departments, units) and enriching professional communication.

Talking about particular practical objectives, we found the most frequent ones: conducting and implementing joint research projects, joint publications, organizing conferences and seminars.

Scientific development is one of the most valuable important reasons and objectives for joint activities. The possibility to conduct research is of great importance for the Polish historians, political analysts and their Ukrainian colleagues. The respondents prove that *‘the main idea of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation is the introduction of new knowledge to Ukrainian universities, new methods to solve problems, exchange of scientific ideas’ (citation of the interviewed person).*

> *The research on the Second Polish Republic began as early as the 70s and 80s, but they were a little on one run. In the 90s there were new opportunities for access to the sources, looks on both sides, there was no censorship, no interference - this is probably the most beautiful thing for the researcher.*
>
> *Sometimes we think we are very different, and sometimes - quite the contrary. But one thing I know for sure: we have something to exchange with each other*

What does the opportunity to communicate and collaborate with their Polish colleagues bring to the Ukrainian researchers?

> *Firstly, the exchange of scientific ideas and experiences, it is easier to learn and learn something:*

The research problems that interest Polish and Ukrainian colleagues requires deeper analysis of approaches and understanding of the issues. And awareness of these differences of interests is also a scientific interest because it allows scientists to better understand the diversity of approaches to learning in Ukraine and in Poland. It is a matter of practical interest.

The common history plays ambivalent role in Polish-Ukrainian relations. In the field of science, however, it plays a positive role, above all, not only as an object of study. Changes to the border between the two countries and the political decisions (for example, "the Vistula Operation") have forced many Poles and Ukrainians to migrate or change their nationality. Some institutions functioning in Lviv, for example, after the II World War moved in whole or sent to the newly formed or pre-existing institutions on Polish territory. Other institutions important for Polish scholars, such as archives, remained in Ukraine. Family relationships and institutional Polish scholars tend to establish scientific contacts in Ukraine.

Secondly, the cooperation opens up a new field for research in the fields of history and ethnography, both in relation to the common and independent historical periods. Scientists are interested in the protection of historical and cultural landscape of regional development and the local economy (for example, Polish archaeological excavations in Dnepropetrovsk Kodak fortress, protection of historical and cultural landscape for the development of regional characteristics and the local economy, the international research project "Atlas of ethno-linguistic Pobuzhya") .

There is an opportunity to carry out *in-depth comparative studies* (e.g. the study of totalitarianism in postwar Europe, "Reconstruction of the ancient traditional folk spiritual culture as part of the Middle Polissia joint Slavic linguistic and cultural area").

> *When selecting topics for joint research, we try as much as possible to take into account / reconcile the Polish colleagues' interests, as well as our research interests ... We publish materials that have not been widely available before. This close cooperation is a real enrichment*.

Third, *analysis of best practices* in various areas of economic and social activity can improve what is already working in Ukraine, but also offers new solutions to some practical problems that exist in the area of public life or in science, drawing on experience from Polish ("Access to tourist infrastructure m. Lviv. Monitoring for disabled people ").

Fourth, *conducting basic and applied research* using a unique research and test equipment which is not available in Ukraine. Polish partners offer such opportunities to Ukrainian colleagues.

> *It is important that the Poles have an excellent laboratory base, as with us in recent years, laboratory equipment in general is not growing. Modern equipment, including certified laboratories, provide challenging work and meet the requirements of the modern ways of research.*

Fifth, it is about *improving teaching practices* and the introduction of new methods for teaching students, and thus improvement of the quality of education and research and the competitiveness of the university:

> *Active cooperation with Polish colleagues contributed to the development of our research and teaching experience has enabled a better quality approach to the study of education in other countries, as well as to determine the prospects for the Ukrainian education.*

Finally, *the importance of individual professional development* of researchers and enhancement of their skills.

> *New experiences, meeting new people, new experiences ... all these contribute to the fact that we become more mobile and socially active*

Ukrainian scientists say that cooperation with Polish colleagues opens access to information of various kinds: information about their experiences, which is a lesson for us; of scientific competitions and scholarships; about potential partners and sources of funding.

According to the scientists, who conduct joint projects, the more partners are focused on achieving results and particular outcomes and the more they understand thethe aims and content of their cooperation, the partnerships between Ukraine and Poland become more efficient and productive.

> *The ideas and desire of both universities to find partners for cooperation is a very important condition for successful cooperation. If the university wants to find a partner, it will find!*

> *The prerequisite of cooperation is the desire to find partners who will focus activities on outcomes (you can sign a formal agreement and you do not perform).*

Respondents emphasized that the partners really aspire to achieve results in cooperation, focus on the aspects of quality, not the quantity or political issues and benefits. There should be a clear vision of cooperation formats and concretization of its scope and objectives, and what is important, it must be determined by a distribution of responsibilities with deadlines. Then the parties are ready for common solutions to problems. Then we can

talk about the priorities of such cooperation and the role of individuals and all the institutions as a whole.

5. Conclusions

The Polish and Ukrainian scientists have been collaborating as they were motivated by a desire for professional development. Mutual research interests allow them to raise and develop interesting unexplored research problems, often those that are of particular importance for both countries, for example relating to their common history and heritage. Both sides find the cooperation between Poland and Ukraine crucial and extremely important for academic development.

Global trends of the internationalization of science and education and development of the European Higher Education Area and the European Research Area have boosted the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation at the level of individual researchers and HEIs, as well as in different institutionalized forms. But a major facilitating factor is subjective, individual-private.

For the Ukrainian universities, regardless of which region they are located, cooperation with Polish partners is a priority in their international academic activities. The major facilitators for the bilateral partnerships do not have institutional specificity: the concept of Slavic soul, positive attitudes to the partners, easy and confident communication, mutual understanding and trust, readiness to set up joint activities.

What is of an important value is that scientific cooperation can contribute not only to the development of science, changes in the academic culture, but also to building a democratic and open society, introducing European standards and academic values, as well as expanding the academic boundaries and creating strategic partnerships between our countries. Then both partners should use the potential of uniqueness of Polish-Ukrainian relationships and promote them at different levels: academic communities, universities, public authorities responsible for higher education and research. The individual motivation of researchers and institutional capacity of Polish and Ukrainian partners should be strengthened constantly by flexible and beneficial public policy, appropriate financial and legal support of particular actions, e.g. in setting up joint consortia for Horizon2020, Erasmus+, etc., and the project “Polish Erasmus for Ukraine” is one of the latest best practices at the intergovernmental level to prove it. The outcomes of the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation are of mutual value, which could be measured quantitatively and qualitatively, and good practices should be disseminated and popularized in both countries.

DONATH, Liliana Eva

Knowledge or Competence Based Higher Education

Abstract. Universities are regarded as specific organizations offering education, research and artistic creation at the highest level, being granted a special place within the community by supporting its cultural and social development. On the other hand, under financial and demographic constraints, universities are treated as quasi public entities, rendering educational services under the constraints induced by the labour market requirements. Therefore, universities must adjust their mission statement, their objectives and strategies to a demanding competitive education environment, on one hand and adopt the new public management principles, on the other hand. Under these circumstances, this paper tries to find out whether higher education should be knowledge or strictly competence driven according to the immediate labour market demand.

1. Introduction

Universities are regarded as higher education institutions that provide knowledge to the society, the students being considered as the immediate beneficiaries of higher education. To fulfil their mission statement, universities transfer understanding of academic theories, methods and knowledge, contribute to the cultural enhancement and personality and prepare students for future work, by endowing them with the necessary tools for their future profession. Universities intend to enhance students' critical and sceptical thinking thus fostering research abilities, as well as entrepreneurial skills.

Presently, higher education must face a new educational framework initiated by The Bologna process, characterized by: mass education (universities do not address only an elite), diversity (universities accommodate a large number of non-traditional and international students, competition (are competing to attract students), employment (curricula is required to be aligned with labour market competences), extensive information (requiring information selection and management) (Teichler U., 2005).

The public interest in the *employability and effectiveness* of higher education has grown over the years in Europe as a consequence of *higher education expansion*, graduates being expected to meet the labour market dynamic in terms of skills and competences. From this perspective, the time frame spent studying should be *as short as possible* explaining the considerable number of bachelor study programs that try to accommodate as many students as possible. The question that can be raised at this point is, whether the economy can absorb large cohorts of graduates (over-education) and, if not, to what extent the acquired competences are useful for the regional or global labour

market? Moreover, in the event that the number of graduates is higher than the labour market demand to what extent graduates can be converted so the invested amounts in tertiary education shouldn't be wasted?

From another perspective, the Lisbon process calls for competitiveness and knowledge enhancement in Europe. Such an approach is effective only if universities focus on knowledge, innovation and creativity that require a longer time frame for study and research (cf. in the *Lisbon Process*).

Research outcome is expected to create added value allowing knowledge productivity transfer for businesses and society. But, to be scientifically competitive, research demands large amounts of public and private money to be invested in equipment and human resource. It is also acknowledged that research is risky and the outcome not always relevant. Nevertheless, acquiring more knowledge, education and culture is useful on a medium and long term allowing graduates more flexibility and adjustment to the labour market. As statistics show, in countries that invest in long and lifelong learning, the knowledge index is higher, wellbeing is improved triggering the growth of GDP/capita.

But, the effectiveness of the academic process is often hampered by the pressure of an over-bureaucratic accreditation, evaluation and overwhelming criteria that universities go through in order to prove the effectiveness of the education and research activities.

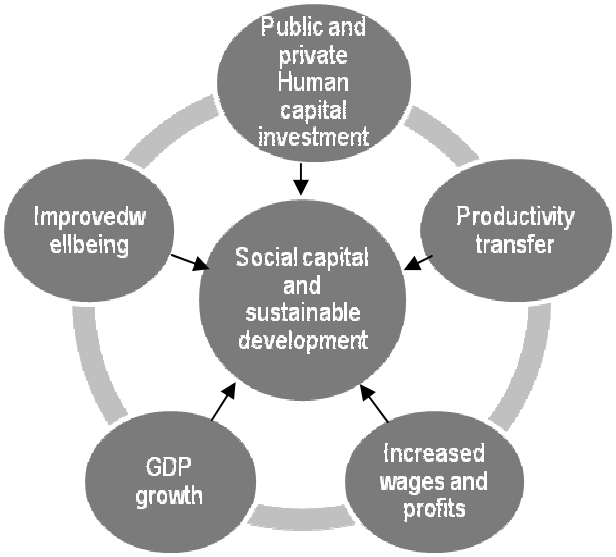
2. Setting the stage. A comparative analyses of education in EU countries

Higher or tertiary education is part of the human capital investment reflected in individual pecuniary (wages, profit, etc.) and non pecuniary benefits (wellbeing, life satisfaction) and translates into the quality of the social capital of the community at large (OECD, 2001).

Therefore, policy makers and households are willing to invest considerable amounts in order to improve education and consequently well being (Graphs no.1 and 2). Policymakers, on one hand, are aware of the productivity transfer effect of public spending on education whilst households are willing to increase their revenue and wellbeing (Donath L., Gheorghioiu A. 2014).

The productivity transfer effect is essential, meaning that the governmental expenditure invested in education is reflected in the level of productivity, profit and the increase of the GDP/capita and the individual and social wellbeing. Further on, circular effects occur, larger amounts being invested in human capital (Figure no.1)

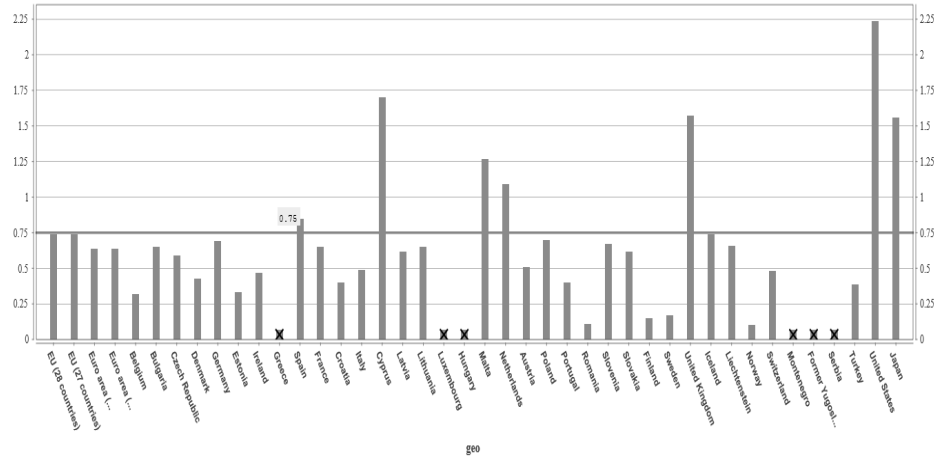
Figure 1 The circular flow of human capital investments



EU countries adopt various education funding systems, according the level of the GDP, the structure of the economy, education policies, employability, short and long term priorities.

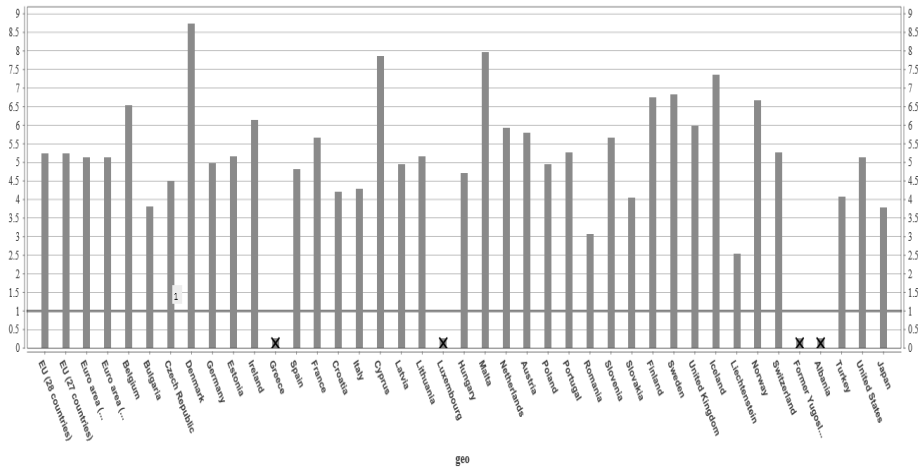
There are countries that encourage private investments in education (mainly the Anglo Saxon countries), or public funding (The Scandinavian countries) as shown in the graphs bellow.

Graph 1 Percentage of GDP for private funding of education



Source: Eurostat

Graph 2 Percentage of GDP for public expenditure on education

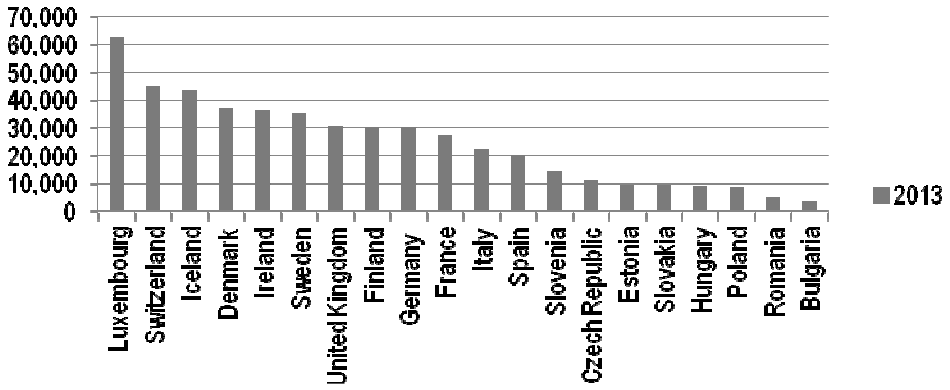


Source: Eurostat

According to Graph no.1, the private spending on education in Romania is at a very low level (and not sufficiently compensated by public funding to allow large access to higher education) given the considerable share of low earners, while the low level of private spending in the Scandinavian countries is compensated by significant public expenditure on education.

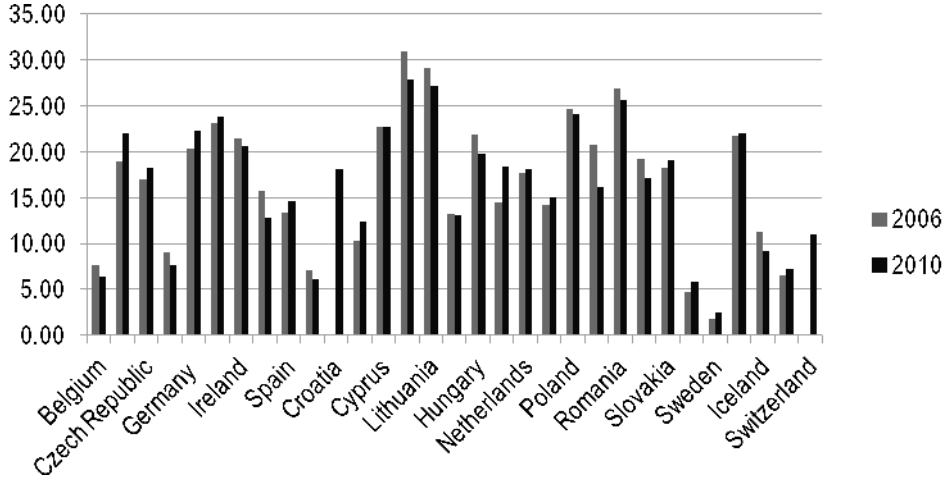
But, there are several other determinants to be considered, such as the GDP/capita, the low-wage earners as a share of all employees (excluding apprentices) and the income inequality (Graphs no.3, 4, 5).

Graph 3 GDP/capita in the EU selected countries



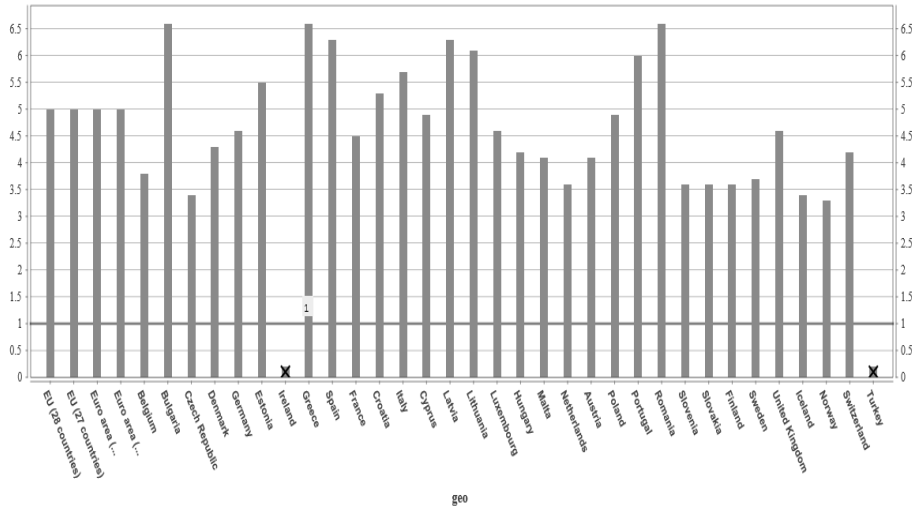
Source: Eurostat

Graph 4 Low-wage earners as a proportion of all employees (excluding apprentices) - more than 10 employees



Source: Eurostat

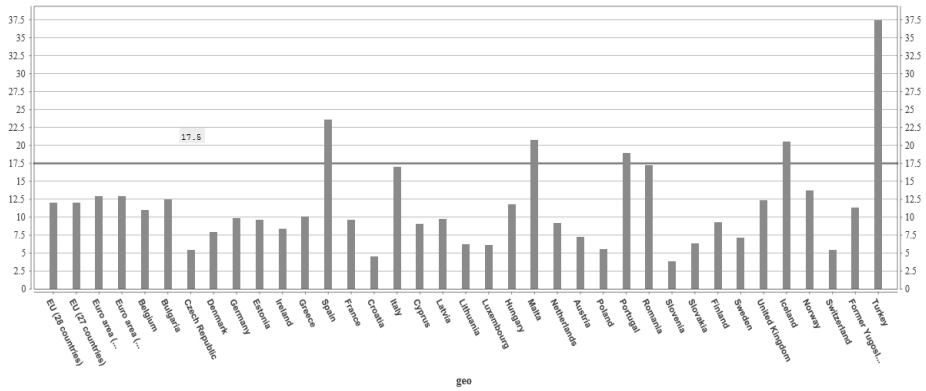
Graph 5 Inequality of income distribution 20% highest/20% lowest (highest quintile)



Source: Eurostat

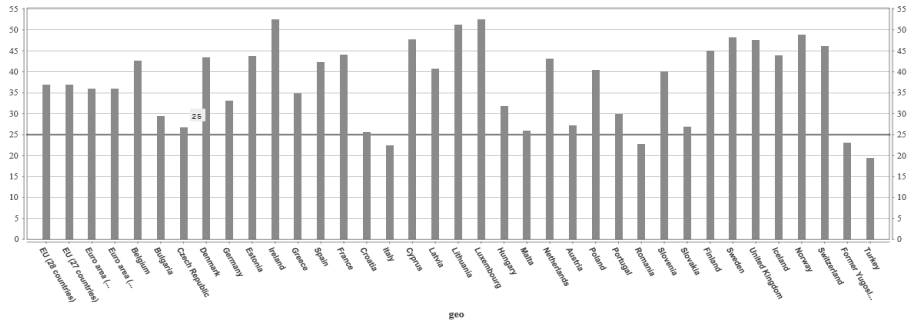
Consequently, as Graph no.7 shows, in Romania about 20% of the population attains higher education. Beside the above mentioned determinants, decreasing population, emigration and early drop-outs contribute to a certain extent to the low percentage of students.

Graph 6 Early leavers from education



Source: Eurostat

Graph 7 Students enrolled in tertiary education (% of the population)



Source: Eurostat

3. Challenges of higher education

The structural options for higher education consider the types of institutions and programs, intra and inter institutional diversity (Universities and applied sciences), flat or steep "vertical" quality/reputation differences, and bachelor master structure.

The most frequent questions that are raised are whether higher education is moving towards an elite knowledge society or a mass knowledge society?

Under these circumstances the curricula meets the following alternatives: knowledge based/academic vs. skills, research reflections vs. professional problem-solving, theoretical" vs. applied approach, specific vs. general. On another level, the curricula must deal with transfer of (academic) knowledge to professional work assignments ("problem-solving activities"), development of typical working styles (e.g. working under pressure, working independently without clear assignments), development of typical working values ("loyalty", "achievement orientation"), social skills ("leadership", "team work", etc.), supplementary knowledge (foreign languages, ICT, organisational knowledge, etc.), context awareness ("adaptation", "reflection", "risk tasking", etc.), earning to manage one's own career (Teichler U., 2005).

Therefore, higher education institutions may become subordinated universities that stress on the practical skills, "ivory tower" autonomous university, and the knowledgeable, reflective university.

Considering the latest evolution in the Romanian academic system and the gaps that should be filled in the education, economic/incentive regime/innovation/ICT in order to improve the knowledge index (Table no.1)

Under these circumstances, decision makers should reconsider the organisation and approach of the higher education, the requirements of companies, to enhance research and become internationally competitive.

Table 1 KEI and KI index (2012)

Rank	Country	KEI	KI	Economic Incentive Regime	Innovation	Education	ICT
1	Sweden	9.43	9.38	9.58	9.74	8.92	9.49
2	Finland	9.33	9.22	9.65	9.66	8.77	9.22
5	Norway	9.11	8.99	9.47	9.01	9.43	8.53
8	Germany	8.90	8.83	9.10	9.11	8.20	9.17
14	United Kingdom	8.76	8.61	9.20	9.12	7.27	9.45
24	France	8.21	8.36	7.76	8.66	8.26	8.16
27	Hungary	8.02	7.93	8.28	8.15	8.42	7.23
31	Malta	7.88	7.53	8.94	7.94	6.86	7.80
34	Portugal	7.61	7.34	8.42	7.62	6.99	7.41
37	Latvia	7.41	7.15	8.21	6.56	7.73	7.16
39	Croatia	7.29	7.27	7.35	7.66	6.15	8.00
44	Romania	6.82	6.63	7.39	6.14	7.55	6.19
45	Bulgaria	6.80	6.61	7.35	6.94	6.25	6.66

Source: The World Bank

4. Reshaping higher education

During the last 25 years, the number of higher education universities grew in the public and private sector as well (UEFISCDI, 2013) and instead of triggering competition to reach higher standards only contributed to lowering the quality of higher education.

Presently, the major gap is the absence of applied science universities, concentrating on the practical skills of the students; all the existing universities are declared knowledge based institutions incorporating research in their mission statement. Moreover, the insignificant allocations of public research funds (0, 2% of the GDP) and the few private research projects put comprehensive universities under pressure, because their mission to create knowledge cannot be fulfilled.

The main determinant of this evolution is the massification of higher education, lack of selection admission exams, the underfunding of education, etc.

The legislative changes have enforced tighter accreditation criteria that, partly, explain the decreasing number of universities. In addition, the demographic pressure (decrease of the population, emigration, etc), the evolution of the economic structure and the inadequate

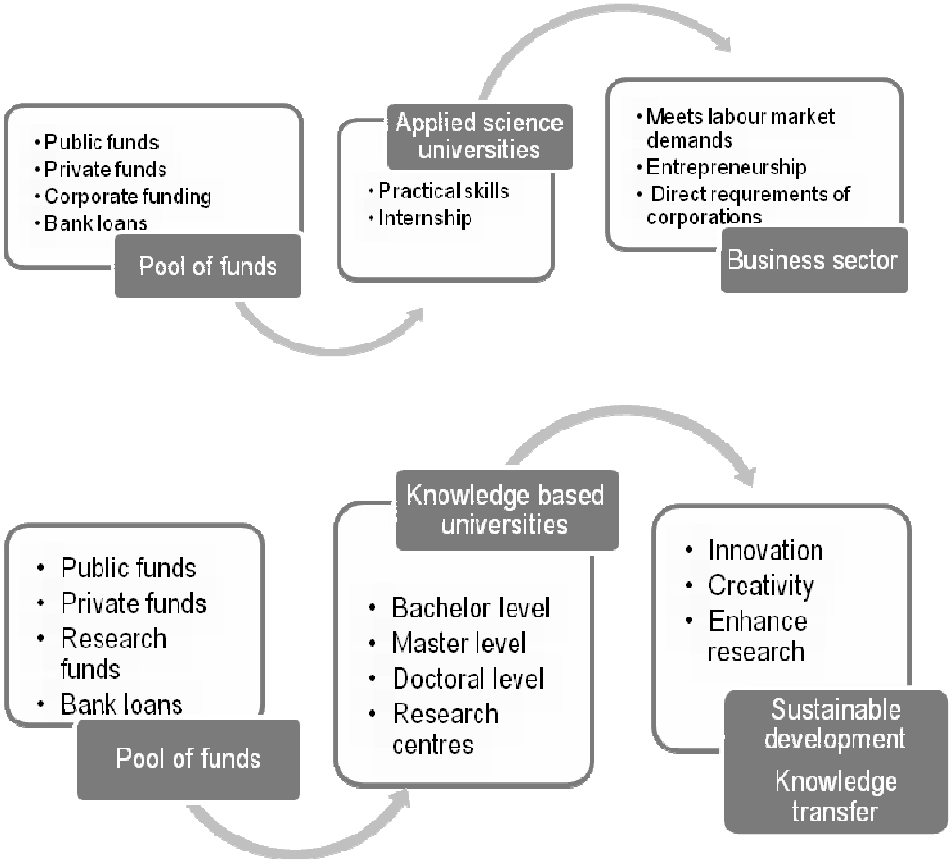
funding put pressure, forcing universities and decision makers to reconsider the organisation of higher education.

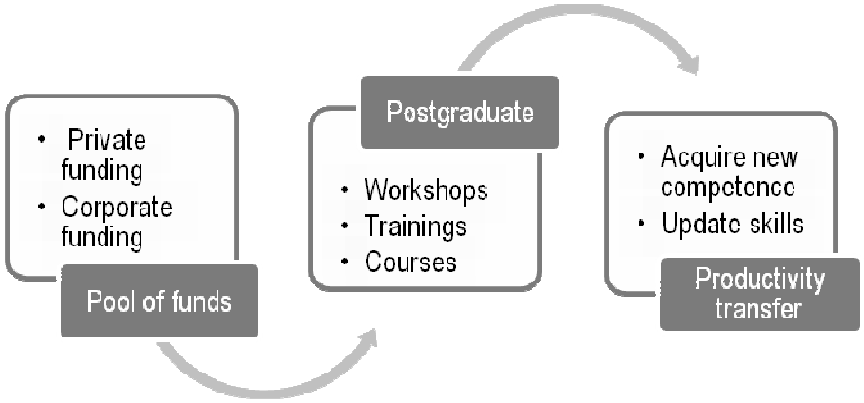
In our opinion, the reformation of the Romanian higher education means adjustments to meet the competence demand on the labour market and to foster innovation required by a sustainable development.

Therefore, tertiary education should be organised on two levels:

- Applied universities that mostly concentrate on providing the necessary practical skills and fostering improved competence and entrepreneurship.
- Knowledge based universities that focus on research and innovation.

Figure 2 Alternative learning cycles





5. Conclusions

Human capital investments and specifically education has been identified as the main source of sustainable development of the economy and the society.

Given the dynamics of labour market and the globalisation that includes labour mobility, the main issue that should prevail in discussing the fundamentals of education is whether the higher education should be knowledge based or competence based.

On one hand, it is obvious that companies are demanding specific skills, but on the other hand, universities cannot afford to comply and prepare small number of students to meet specific labour demands, and on the other hand their mission is to create knowledge and contribute to the productivity transfer. They are designed to be the drivers of the society, encouraging creative thinking, innovation, and multiculturalism and shaping behaviour.

The issue is ever more important for the case of the Romanian higher education system, given the constant reformation and changes it went through during the last 25 years.

Given the present state of the economy and of the society, the paper tries to fundament the idea that the higher education in Romania should be built on two pillars: i.e. knowledge based universities heavily relying on research and applied science universities strictly pursuing the practical skills and competence of the graduates. Knowledge based universities can also organise, on demand, postgraduate programs to update competences.

The two pillar higher education system would better contribute to the human resource needs of sustainable development and would use public and private funds more effectively.

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DOMBI, Annamária – KOLTÓI, Lilla – KISS, Paszkál

University Degree: a Key to Success? – An Analysis of Social Representation

Abstract. In recent years we have experienced major changes in Hungarian higher education. Many of these changes affected admission rates and conditions. There have been social debates about the ways of financing higher education and about the desired proportion of graduates in a certain generation. Behind all these social issues there are personal questions that many young people would ask: Is the university a wished pathway to success? The focus in our research is to explore the social representation of success. What do people think about success in Hungary and how they connect this to university graduation? Our representative national sample involved 1500 persons between 18 and 34 and we analyzed 174 person's word associations with significantly different family backgrounds. The results show that there are notable differences between groups' associations.

1. Introduction

The focus in our study is on the social representations of success among young people. As a theoretical background we refer to social mobility theories (e. g. Di Maggio 1982), success perception studies (e. g. Szabó 2012) and the social representation theory of Moscovici (1981).

1.1. Social mobility and school system

Family background proves to be an important mediator between success and educational experience. Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction (1978) states that the school system rewards and increases the advantages of students with a good socio-economical background. Following this logic, inequity is reproduced from generation to generation. In this theory, cultural capital has three subtypes: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital is, for instance, socialization, culture and tradition; objectified cultural capital includes books, technical instruments. Institutionalized cultural capital consists of achieved status and qualifications.

Accordingly the competences acquired at the family can support the successful further education and the lack of these can obstruct the individual in his progression in the educational system.

Boudon (1974) builds up a similar theory. The school system is not the reason of the existing social distances but it widens the gap between the individuals with different social background and the students make a rational decision when they choose to study further.

Di Maggio (1982) prefers an alternate point of view. In his mobility theory the school system can compensate for the difficulties due to a disadvantageous familial background and the students with lower socio-economic status can profit from the benefits provided by the system. De Graaf et al (2000) verified the mobility theory. They found that reading practice of the parents affects children's success instead of the parental beaux arts participation in Netherlands.

The social dimension has been an important principle of the Bologna Process since 2001. This central dimension means that every student has the same access to higher education; moreover it is important to support them to finance their studies (e. g. with scholarships) (Csekei 2008).

Inclusive educational system means that the students with higher status are not overrepresented, while exclusive educational system is its opposite. According to the EUROSTUDENT IV research, most of the examined countries are in a temporary state. Finland, Ireland, Switzerland, Ireland and Netherlands are considered as countries of inclusive educational system. Romania, Slovakia, Croatia and Turkey belong to countries of exclusive educational system (Kiss 2012).

The decision of participation in higher education has a great significance because it determines the further 3-5 years. The first academic degree affects the further life style, identity and possibilities in the labor market. Kiss (2008) confirmed that the decision on participating in higher education is determined by social background, individual demand level and school performance.

During the transition from the Bachelor to Master level at the entrance there are selective effects experienced. The entrance to the Master level is easier for male students, for students whose parents or at least one of them has an academic degree, and for those who finished their middle level studies in a secondary grammar school (Veroszta 2012).

1.2. Social representation theory

In Mocovici's (1961/1981) social representation theory the emphasis is placed on the communication of the community. The members elaborate common meanings through communicating and help to understand the world, and through this they provide a reference frame for the behavior. These representations match to the past myths and beliefs.

The representations may effect on motivations and individual aspirations and appoints the topics of conversations and thoughts. According to our paper these can play an important role in the examinations of the image of higher education.

Social representation separates from the individual cognitive schemes, and can be traced in the process created by two different mechanisms. Unlike the individual processes of cognition they are created in the social representations of interpersonal processes, so they cannot be examined within the individual (Kiss 2009).

The organization of social representation is specific, there is a central core surrounded by peripheral elements that have different distances from the central core. The central core contains the consensual beliefs that show the integrated standpoint. The peripheral elements give supplement of the representations in which the differences between the groups can be observed. The peripheral elements can clarify the meaning of the representation (Moscovici 1981).

Researching in the theoretical framework of social representation theory the individual's social background has an important role because the representations about success in the family can provide motivations to learn, career aspirations. If no one has a college degree from generations this goal as further progress is not the part of the common knowledge and couldn't be an achievable goal for the descendant.

1.3. What does success mean? Success perceptions in Hungary

The first deeper examination of the topic of success was implemented by Ichhieser (1943). His complex approach reflects the attribution of success and distinguished between skills and external factors. In his model, self-awareness, self-esteem, social factors and the dominant success-ideologies are very important.

In various studies operationalization of success appears as anachievable goal that is determined by motivation just like as stereotypes about successful people that can be inspiration for the different generations. Success can be the indicator of the actual performance. The social representations of success in a community may define what we think about it and in this way what can become a possible goal.

Results from an assessment of a Hungarian adolescent (16-17 years old) sample showed that the representation of success is highly determined by money and fame. Self-realization was not so important. These young respondents perceived the successful individual as active, enduring, confident and decisive. Professions associated to success required an academic degree (Szabó 2012). The research of Gallup Institute in 1998 reveald that the respondents thought appropriate networks as the key of success (Szabó 2012). Good relationships were considered important by adolescent respondents in another study (Szabó 2007) too.

Váriné és Solymosi (1999) explored that the image of a typical successful individual was more negative than the image of a personally known successful individual. The data collected from representatives of different professions show that the auto-stereotypes play role in the success realizations. The important part of the success perception is the economic factor.

As for mobility it is important to know teachers' thoughts about successful students. Szabó's (2012) stereotype research revealed that in case of the successful students the positive properties are the key factors but competitive behavior is important too. The

adolescent respondents also believe that good school performance and intellectual abilities are indispensable for a successful life.

2. Method

The central question of our research is: What do members of different social groups associate with the term 'success' and what is the valence of these associations and which topics are mentioned by the respondents. We distinguished the categories of respondents by their parental educational background.

We had a national representative sample of young people between 18 and 34. The data we used as a part of a wider study what was a mutual project of ELTE University and the Hungarian Educational Authority in 2014. The data collection was implemented through personal interviews. The respondents were asked to associate a keyword to success and to specify the first three words. In our study we examined closely the first of these three words.

In the table below the group formation we use for later comparison can be seen. In order to maximize the parental background the basic idea of group formation was the same parental educational level. So in our sample there were 174 responders (50.8% male), contained 141 associations because of missing answers. We found it important to specify the family background as the educational level of both parents instead of the traditional method measuring only the fathers' educational level.

Table 1 Grouping of responders links to parental educational background

Lower educational parental background	Medium educational parental background	Higher educational parental background
Mother and father -less than primary education	Mother and father- secondary vocational school	Mother and father- college degree
Mother and father -primary education	Mother and father- secondary grammar school	Mother and father- college degree- university degree
Mother and father – vocational school	Mother and father- higher vocational education	Mother and father- PhD
N=103	N=55	N=16

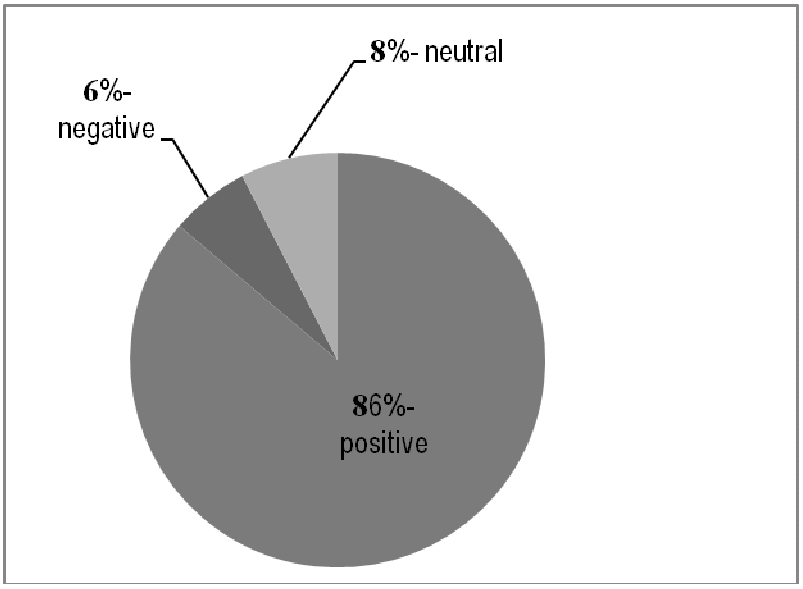
In the present study the focus was on the parental educational background, however, this factor correlates with the economic and generally with socio-economic status.

3. Results

As first step, we merged the associated words of similar or same meanings (e. g. money-lot of money, work-workplace). Among the answers we found high variability of words; for instance, in the tested sample the most common word *"work"*, covered the 8,5% of all answers. In addition many answers related to *"money"* (7,1%), and *"knowledge"* (5,6%).

The responders were also asked to judge whether the mentioned words were positive, negative or neutral. The diagram below shows that the valance of associations in the highest proportions was positive, but some of the words were judged as negative or neutral, as well.

Figure 1 The valance of the success assotiations according to the responders



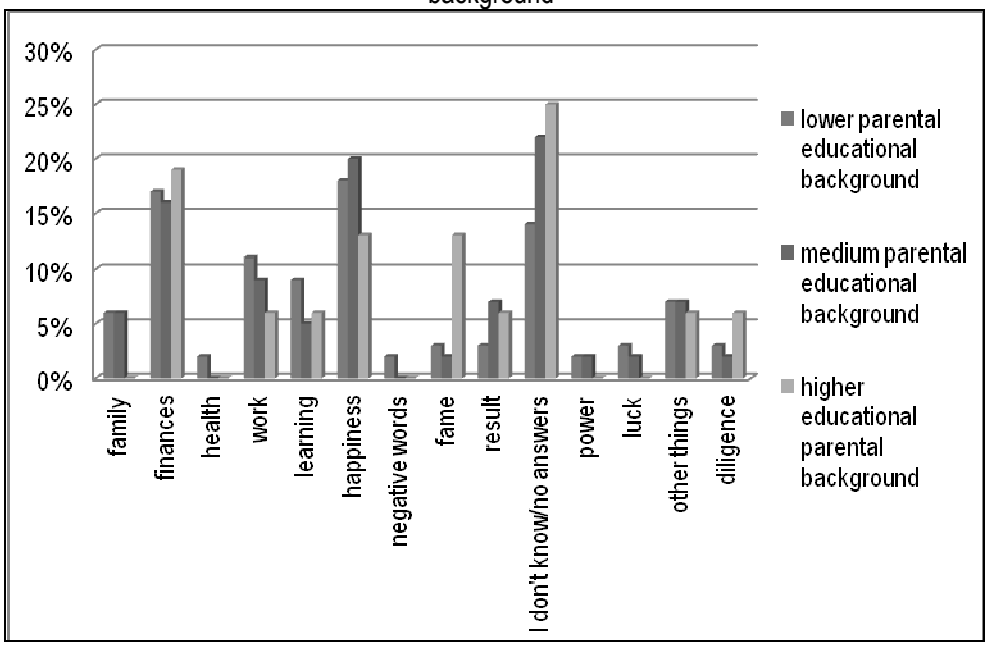
In the second step of our study, we created 14 categories paying attention to their meanings because of the diversity of the answers.

We used these categories: family (e.g. children, grandchildren), finances (e.g. money, income), health, and learning (e.g. intellect, good exam, happiness (e.g. joy satisfaction), negative words (e.g. unattainable), and fame (e.g. public appearance), and result (e.g. do something well), work, power, luck, diligence (e.g. work for it), others (e.g. summer holiday), "I don't know answers/ no answers". (In this case forming categories *"negative words"* is not necessarily equivalent with the sum of words judged negative by the responders).

In the group with lower educated parents 18% of associations belong to the category of happiness, 17% of finances, 11% of work and 9% of learning. Among the responders with medium level educated parents the most frequently mentioned category was also *"happiness"* (20%), it was followed by *"finances"* (16%), *"work"* (8%) then "learning" (5%). We can observe that the order of the categories is identical in the first two groups; we can found difference in the proportions of percentage of the associated words. The order is different in the third group (responders with higher parental educational background). In their case the first place was occupied by the "*finance"* category with 19%, *"fame"* and *"happiness"* followed it with 13%. *"Work", "learning", "result"* and *"diligence"* scored 6% as we can see it in the diagram below.

The category of "*health"* meant different aspects in the groups: it appeared exclusively in the lower educated parents' children's group. The category of *"fame"* was not present in the "medium educated parental group". The number of categories or the heterogeneity of associations was the lowest in the third group (responders with higher educational parental background). It is remarkable that in their case words of the categories of "family", "health", "power" and "luck" were not present. Apart from the attributions of valance of the words, following the meanings we created a category for the *"negative"* expression (e. g. unattainable). This category appeared only in the group with lower educated parents.

Figure 2 Dispersion of success associations according to responders with different background



Denying answers, “I don’t answers” was common in our three groups; which is not rare in similar research methods. Proportionally, most answers were derived from the group with lower parental educational background.

4. Discussion

Related to success at the first glance it may seem surprising and unusual that among the associations there are words with negative meanings. The responders in the group with lower parental educational background judged their associations in 12,4% as negative, this ratio in the “medium” group is 1,9% and 6,3% in the third group. We can conclude from this that the success may be represented as unattainable. We emphasize that the category of *“luck”* is not present in the group with higher parental educational background. The *“negative words”* category did not appea in their group.

These results are consistent with the perceptions of counter selection in Hungary (Hunyady 2012). These concepts refer to the feeling that a group does not exploit their possibilities; moreover it is a waste of human resource. Consequently, the development of the group remains under the optimal level. At an individual level the perception is that high status positions are not filled with the most competent persons.

The attributes of a successful person (money, work, learning) found in previous studies were also present in our results. From the respect of social mobility it is an important data that the learning – success associations appeared with the highest proportion in the group with the lower educational parental background.

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KOLTÓI, Lilla – DOMBI, Annamária – KISS, Paszkál

What Do Conscious Citizens See? – Role of Higher Education in Setting Social Priorities

Abstract. Higher education is an important factor in the process of becoming a conscious citizen. In our research we examine the role of higher education in developing students' political competence, and in forming the public engagement of the future elite. According to our survey results in a national representative sample (N=1500) graduation correlates positively with the components of political expertise such as media use, civic interest, civic knowledge. Political expertise in turn determines the perceptions of the societal role of higher education: graduated people think that universities play more important role in social and cultural life than less qualified persons. Our research results prove that higher education is one of the key factors in developing civic competencies and civic engagement.

1. Introduction

Modern democratic societies base their operation on well-informed, conscious citizens who influence public life through the act of voting. In certain periods citizens express their political will, and choose between competing political candidates according to their values, trust in different political parties or political leaders, and according to their perception of political achievement. Citizens have different direct or indirect tools to affect political life, so public opinion influences the political decisions and political acts. That is why we regard it very important to define the exact indicators of being a well-informed citizen. In some studies this kind of civic knowledge or attitude is defined as political competence, political expertise or civic competence.

The role of higher education in forming conscious, well-informed citizens is evident. On the one hand, the mission of higher education institutions often meets the wider societal expectation about universities role in training the future elite. Nowadays the focus is on the acquisition of the necessary knowledge and competences, and not on status. So it is widely agreed that higher education should develop those skills and competences which help young people to become intellectuals and responsible, well-informed citizens besides the development of students' professional knowledge, specific competences. On the other hand it is worth considering how higher education contributes to the development of political expertise, its effects besides personal, cultural and socioeconomical factors. Our research aim was to show the effect of higher education on political expertise. First we define the indicators of political expertise, and then we examine the effect of higher education in the fields of political interest, political trust, media use and setting local priorities.

2. Role of Higher Education in developing students' political expertise

According to student socialization theories, higher education helps students to be conscious citizens. Their general aim is to train students so that they could actively take part in social processes, public life, they could form and express their opinion about societal, national or public issues. In this way higher education helps students in becoming members of the societal elite and becoming intellectuals. According to Bourdieu's theory of capital, the dominant view of the elite is transmitted by universities, so students can obtain and internalize the necessary values, norms, behaviours and competences so as to become a member of the elite (Bourdieu 1986). In Bourdieu's theory, social class position reflects the four, interconnected forms of capitals: economic, social, cultural and symbolic. The individuals inherit different amounts of capital, and the amounts of capitals are often reproduced. However, higher education increases economic, social and cultural capital, and indirectly enhances symbolic capital, as well (Williams and Filippakou 2010).

Universities not only develop civic skills and competences but also increase resources which are necessary to political activity, and reduce the costs of participation. The members of resourceful, highly educated groups are more inclined to participate in what?(Tenn 2007). Dee (2004) identified two main channels through which education affects political participation. On the one hand, higher education develops cognitive skills, thus making it easier to process complex information, to make decisions and to cope with the bureaucratic difficulties. On the other hand, education can enhance the value of participation with its "democratic enlightenment", can form the students' democratic attitudes. Hillygus (2005) posits that besides the development of necessary skills and knowledge higher education improves the individual's position in the social network. Highly qualified individuals have bigger chance to get in a favourable, important position than the individuals with lower qualification. Burden (2009) compares the relationship of education with political participation and with political knowledge. According to his results the relation of education and participation is dynamic (the higher the level of education, the more active is the participation), but the relation of education with political knowledge is static due to the changes in the role and nature of political knowledge.

There are several research results which prove that the level of formal education enhances the political participation (e.g. tendencies to vote, civic activities), widens political knowledge, and strengthens democratic attitudes (Berinsky and Lenz 2011; Highton 2009; Hillygus 2005; Dee 2004). Education is regarded the strongest predictor of political participation, as it is stated in the often cited study of Verba and his colleagues. According to their empirical study qualification is the one and the most potent predictor of political activity, and education not only increases participation, but also develops civic skills, especially those which are necessary to communicate one's concerns (Verba et al. 1995). Although the strong effect of education on political participation, attitudes and knowledge is

agreed, the nature of this relation is often debated. There are various views about how and why education affects political participation, political knowledge, etc.

2.1. Different views about the relation of education and political activity

The relation of education and political activity is believed to be linear and additive by some scholars because participation is facilitated through the acquisition of cognitive abilities and development of civic competences (Kam and Palmer 2008). But this linear relationship was questioned by some empirical studies. One of the most interesting problems concerning the effect of education on political activity is known as Brody's puzzle (Berinsky and Lenz 2011; Burden 2009; Hillygus 2005). In 1978 Brody identified a puzzle: political participation failed to increase with the rising level of education in the USA. So the question is if education develops civic competence and political knowledge that promotes political activity, then the increased levels of tertiary education should have led to gains in political participation with the same rate (Berinsky and Lenz, 2011). Burden (2009) suggests a new solution to Brody's puzzle. He thinks that there are some factors which must be taken into consideration in connection with political activity. Education has different magnitutude of effects on participation than it used to have some decades ago, because both education and politics changed. Moreover the party identification, elite mobilization decreased, and there was a replacement of more participatory cohorts with less participatory ones. These factors could decrease the effect of education.

There are two types of concepts about education level and its affects on participation. Berinsky and Lenz (2011) terms them as traditional and revisionist views. Kam and Palmer (2008) identify these views as "education as cause" and "education as proxy". The traditional view emphasises the direct relation of education with political activity or knowledge. According to some research results (e.g. Dee 2004; Milligan et al. 2004; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996) education has a strong and direct effect on political activity and participation not only in higher education but also in secondary education. The revisionist view expects a proxy variable in the background which mediates the relationship of education and political activity. The proxy variable is supposed to have an impact on political activity before entering higher education (e.g. Highton 2009; Kam and Palmer 2008; Hillygus 2005). The most often examined proxies are intelligence, cognitive abilities, and the socioeconomical status of the family.

2.2. Effects of higher education on students' political expertise in the light of empirical data

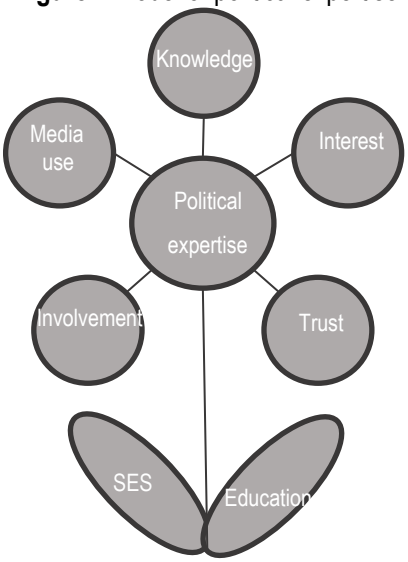
The NSSE (National Survey of Student Engagement) survey assesses students' engagement every year. A subscale of it measures the students' civic engagement. The results show the effect of higher education on students' civic engagement: seniors informed themselves about state, national and global issues and discussed these issues much more frequently with others than first year students during the past school year. However, their perceived awareness about state, national and global issues was just slightly higher than the first year students' perceived awareness (NSSE 2014). In the Circle survey of informed political participation of young Canadians and Americans the variable of political knowledge correlated with education (Milner 2008).

3. Model of political expertise

We based our research model on Fiske's (1990) concept of political expertise. Political expertise is accumulated knowledge; it includes "well-structured organized concepts", schemas (Fiske et al. 1990:32). Besides accurate political knowledge political expertise consists of media exposure, political interest, political behaviour (e.g. voting, campaign participation, discussions about politics), political self-concept and education. Goren (1997) defines political expertise as a high level ability which enables the individual to process political information and turn it into organized political knowledge stored in the long-term memory. Those who are highly expertized in political issues have a large store of factual and associational knowledge, and they can use the knowledge in manipulation of the political information stored in long-term memory and information coming from the immediate environment. Goren (1997) points to the "political expertise hypothesis" which states that political experts rely much more on their core principles to express their preferences.

In our previous research (Koltói and Kiss, 2011) we set up a model with several components of political expertise. The components were the following: political knowledge, political interest, political trust, media use and political involvement. These components are affected by education and the students' socioeconomical status.

Figure 1 Model of political expertise



The components of the model:

- **Political knowledge:** Political knowledge has a positive effect on political activity. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) regard the level of political knowledge as the best predictor of being politically active. Political knowledge is often measured with direct questions about political issues. There are three types of direct questions: 1. questions about governance and mechanism of politics; 2. questions about political events; 3. questions about past events, history (Jennings 1996). Grönlund and Milner (2006) emphasize that information becomes knowledge in case the individual can process it.
- **Political interest:** This component shows the individual's motivation, and discloses the passive exposure to political information.
- **Political trust:** Trust toward institutions reflects the belief whether the institution operates according to normative expectations. Political distrust can be interpreted as a critique of the operation of the institute (Moy et al. 2005).
- **Media use:** It is well known from empirical studies that newspaper reading and watching television news are positively related to political knowledge and political activity (Milner 2008). Putnam's "time displacement hypothesis" posits that heavy television watching distracts the individual from political and social activity (Zuniga et al. 2012). On the other hand researches concerning the new types of media, the

social media show that there are different types of media consumption (Shah et al. 2001). Using television or the internet for acquisition information is in positive correlation with political activity, while using television or internet for entertainment is in negative relation with participation (Zuniga et al, 2012).

- **Involvement:** It is not clearly defined what is meant by involvement. There are active forms of being involved such as voting, taking part in the community or in local activities, and there are less active forms, for example being a member of a party or community but never attending the meetings (Quintelier 2008).

According to our research results, higher education has a significant effect on political expertise, especially on media use, but the impact on political involvement, political interest and political trust was also significant (Koltói and Kiss, 2011).

4. Research aims and methods

Our research aim was to show how higher education broadens the students mind, make them more competent in public issues, to examine the effect of higher education in becoming a political expert. We wanted to show the effect of higher education on political knowledge, political interest, trust, media use and setting local priorities. We analysed the data collected by Eötvös Lorand University, Faculty of Education and Psychology in cooperation with the Educational Authority about the social representations of science and higher education. A representative national sample of young people aged 18-34 (N=1500) was surveyed in this research. The items of the survey were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale.

Our hypotheses were the following:

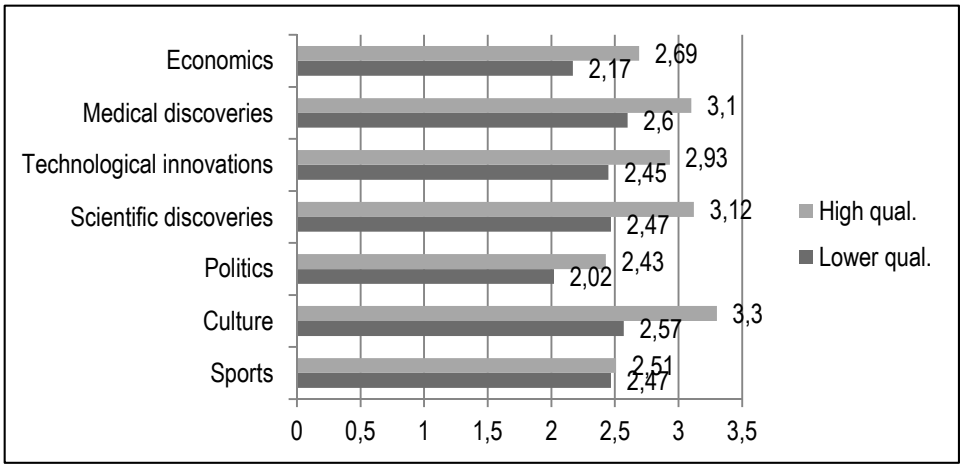
- *Hypothesis 1*: Graduated young people are more interested in and well-informed about politics, science and culture.
- *Hypothesis 2*: Graduated young people use media for information acquisition more frequently.
- *Hypothesis 3*: Graduated young people's trust toward political institutions is higher.
- *Hypothesis 4*: Graduated young people regard a HEI as more important.

5. Results

To examine the effect of higher education we formed two groups of young people considering their highest level of completed education: young people with university or college degree and young people with lower qualifications. The comparison of the results of the groups can show the added value of higher education.

5.1. Interest

Figure 2 The level of interest in different topics according to qualification



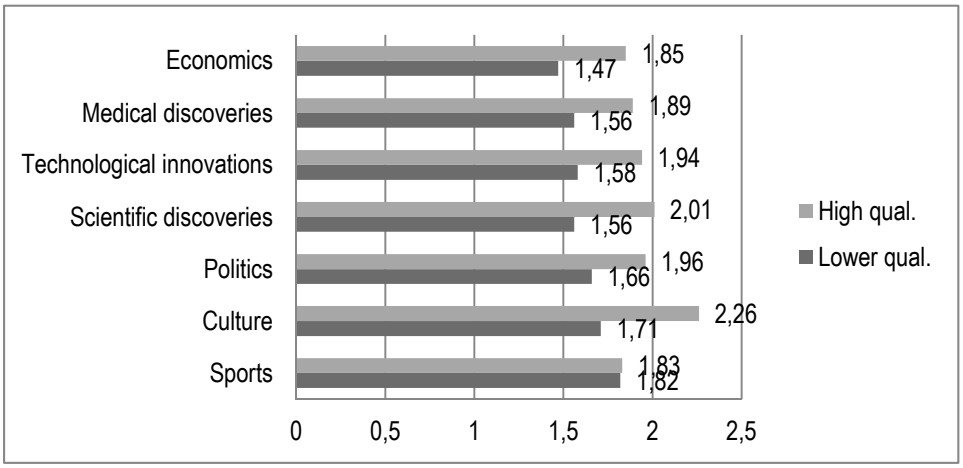
The young people are not really interested in the given topics (mean = 2,57; st. dev. = ,672). According to our results (Fig. 2) culture is the most interesting topic for the young, but the level of interest is not very high (mean = 2,93; st. dev. = ,854), and politics proved to be the least interesting field for them (mean = 2,22; st. dev. = ,916).

We checked the difference of the two groups, and we found that graduated young people were significantly more interested in every field except for sport according to T-Test (p's < ,000). In case of sport there was no significant difference between the groups.

5.2. Being well-informed

In Figure 3 it can be seen that our sample's perception of the level of being well-informed is rather negative. According to their self-perceptions the young people are the best-informed in the field of culture (mean = 1,98; st. dev. = ,600), and they are the least-informed in the field of economics (mean = 1,66; st. dev. = ,611). Young people do not really have information about the given fields in their opinions.

Figure 3 The level of being well-informed according to qualification



We compered the results of the two groups. According to the results of T-Test (p's < ,000) graduated young people are significantly better-informed in every topic except for sports.

5.3. Media consumption

We asked the responders about the frequency of their media use. They do not use media really frequently (mean = 1,62; st. dev. = ,34). Watching television was the most frequent form of media use (mean = 2,86; st. dev. = ,398), while watching TV on mobile phones was the least frequent form (mean = 1,01; st. dev. = ,222). We performed factor analysis on the data to identify the types of media use. We got four factors of media use:

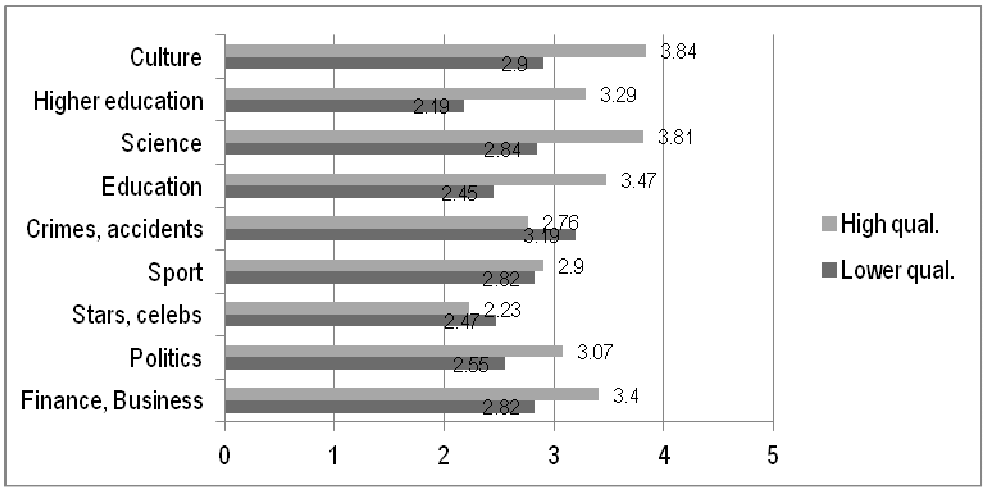
- Using computers (25,3% of the total variance)
- Using mobile phones for the internet (23,8% of the total variance)
- Traditional media consumption: TV, radio, newspaper (7,8% of the total variance)
- Watching TV on computers or mobiles (7,7% of the total variance)

Our results indicate that the new forms of media use explain the bigger part of the individual differences. It seems that graduated young people use the modern devices more often, so we checked it with T-Test. According to it graduated persons use computers, mobiles and watch TV on computers and mobile phones significantly more times (p's < ,000) than young people with lower qualification..

We examined what kind of topics the young consume. In average young people consume cultural topics in the highest rate (mean = 3,34; st. dev. = 1,18), and they consume topics

about stars and celebs in the lowest rate (mean = 2,35; st. dev. = 1,22). Taking all the given topics into account crimes, accidents and stars, celebs attract more young people with lower qualification, while the other topics interest young people with high qualification more.

Figure 4 Topics of media consumption according to qualification



We performed factor analysis on the topics of media consumption, and we got three factors of topics of media consumption:

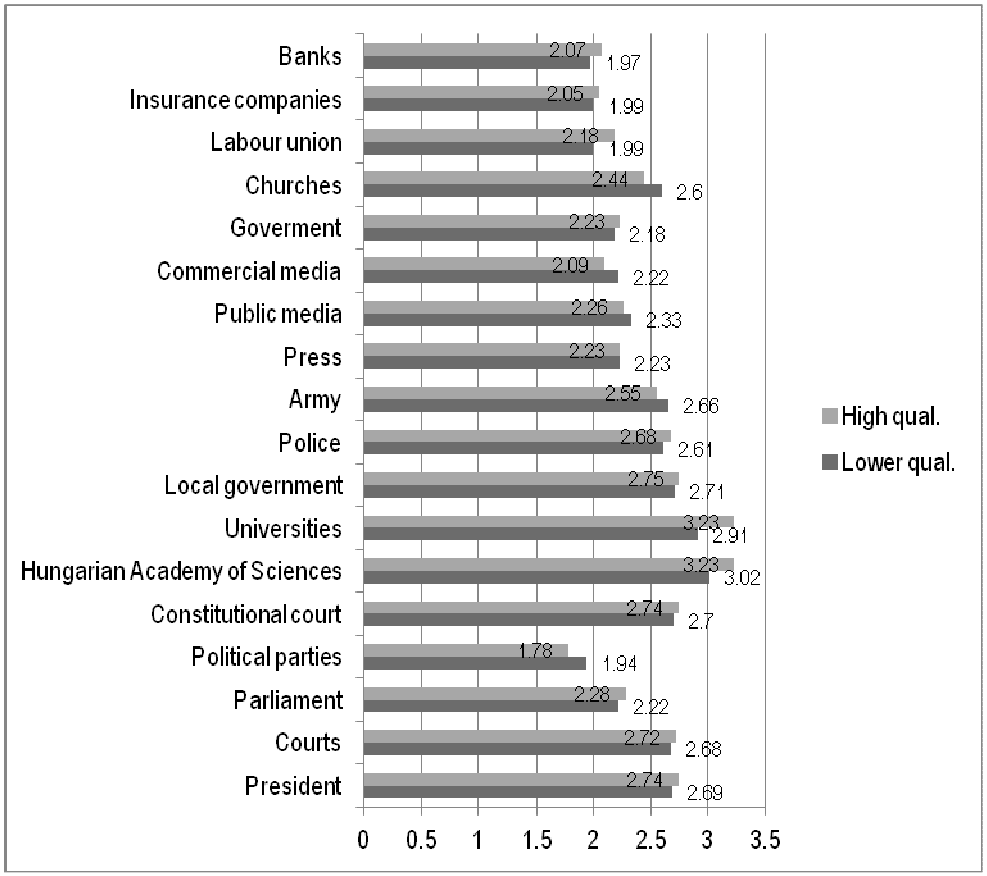
- Political – financial issues (explains 32% of the total variance)
- Scientific and cultural issues (explains 20,4% of the total variance)
- Tabloid (explains 16,4% of the total variance)

Graduated persons were significantly more interested in political – financial, scientific and cultural issues. Responders with lower qualification were significantly more interested in tabloid according to T-Test (p's < ,000). So we suppose that graduated young people use media for acquiring information and not for entertainment.

5.4. Trust

The level of trust in the sample is medium (mean = 2,42; st. dev. = ,650). The young trust in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the most (mean = 3,09; st. dev. = 1,00), however universities seem to be trustworthy institutions, as well (mean = 3,02, st. dev. = ,865). They trust in political parties the least (mean = 1,9; st. dev. = ,898), but banks, insurance companies and labour unions do not belong to those institutes in which young people trust.

Figure 5 The level of trust according to qualification



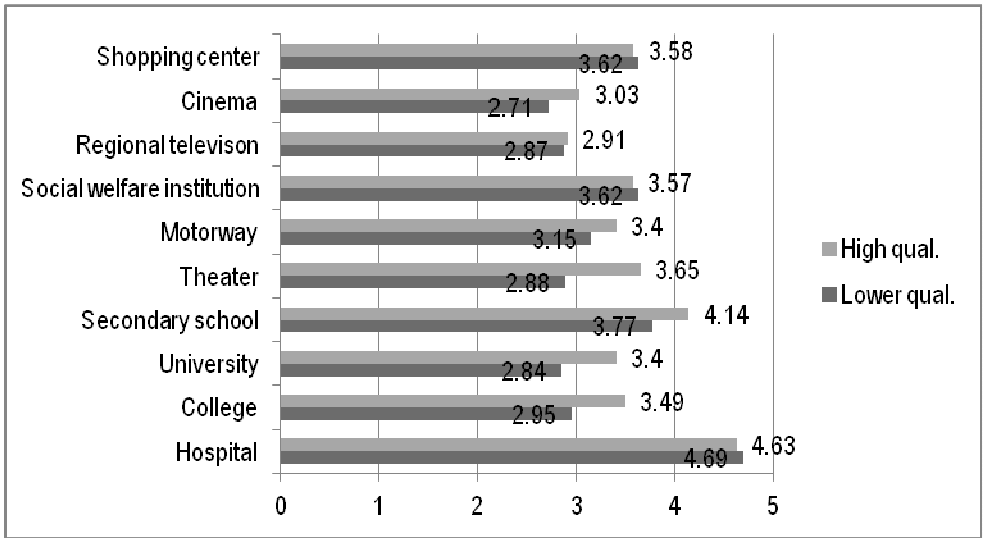
According to T-test graduated young people trust significantly more in universities, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Constitutional court and the labour unions, and they trust significantly less in political parties than young people with lower qualifications (p's < ,000).

5.5. The perceived value of local institutions

The responders were asked about the importance of having different institutions in their town. They had to rate the importance of higher education institutions (i. e. college and university) among such institutes as hospital, secondary school or theatre (Fig. 7). Hospital proved to be the most important local institution (mean = 4,63; st. dev. = ,739), it got much higher ratings than the other institutions. Secondary school (mean = 3,92; st. dev. = 1,19)

and social welfare institution (mean = 3,58; st. dev. = 1,27) were also very important. University is one of the least important local institutions according to the responders (mean = 3,06; st. dev. = 1,29), just regional television (mean = 2,91; st. dev. = 1,35) and cinema (mean = 2,88; st.dev. = 1,33) got lower ratings. College was considered to be more important than the university (mean = 3,17; st. dev. = 1,28).

Figure 6 The value of local institutions according to qualification

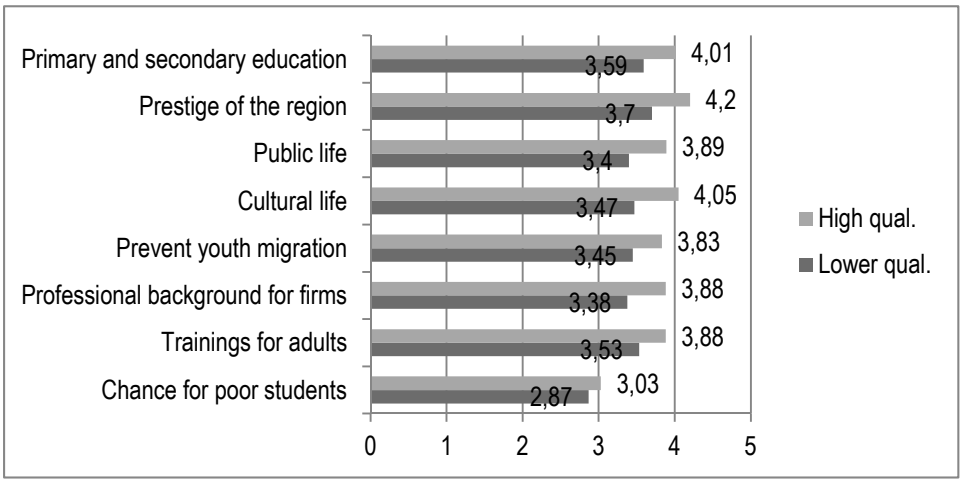


We checked the differences of the two groups regarding the value of the given local institutions. Graduated persons consider college, university and theatre significantly more important according to the results of T-Test (p's < ,000).

5.6. The perceived importance of a local higher education institution

In the survey the young people were asked about what kind of advantages they perceive of having a higher education institution in local settings.

Figure 7 The advantage of having a local higher education institution according to qualification



According to the results the greatest advantage of having a higher education institution in local settings is that it increases the reputation of the region. However, the responders rated the other reasons positively, as well. Higher education mostly increases the level of secondary education, enriches the cultural life and ensures the adult training in the responders' opinion.

There are significant differences between the two groups according to T-Test (p's < ,000). Graduated young people regarded the given reasons more positively than the young with lower qualification except for the reason of giving a chance for the poor students. In this case the difference was not significant.

6. Conclusion

In this study we assessed the young people's political expertise and the role of higher education in becoming a political expert. Young people are only moderately informed about politics according to our results. The data shows that their interest, knowledge and media consumption of political issues is not very high. Our results prove a significant effect of higher education on political expertise; graduated young people use computers and mobiles more often and they are more interested in several fields, perhaps this is the reason they are better-informed. Therefore they are more conscious about civic affairs. Higher education develops the students' civic competences, increases political knowledge,

forms the value orientation and promotes the use of the most modern info-communicational tools. Besides it we can conclude from the results of media use that higher education develops directly and indirectly those cognitive, communicational competences which are needed to become a well-informed, conscious citizen.

The young people consider higher education quite important, but not as one of the most important institutions in regional life. On the other hand they perceive a lot of advantages of having a higher education institution in local settings. Higher educational institutions are perceived to enhance the reputation of the region, have positive effects on education, cultural and public life.

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HEGEDŰS, Roland

Connection Between Educational Mobility and Higher Education Institutions

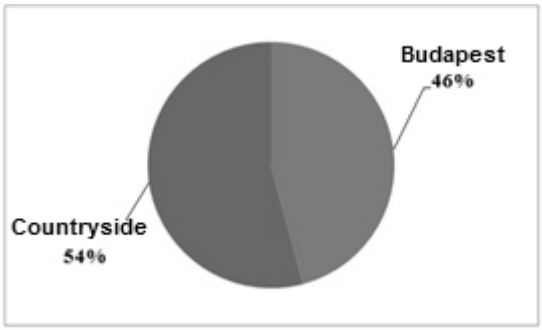
Abstract. In my paper I have put special emphasis on the regional relationship systems of Budapest based on the 2012 DPR (Hungarian Graduate Tracking System) database. In the case of 'the residency in the age of 14,' small towns are also presented but workplaces, towns being in a higher position in the settlement hierarchy are dominant. Among the institutions, the movement of students graduated from NUPS to rural areas stands out, which can be attributed to civil service jobs all over the country. Furthermore, the high percentage of employment of Eötvös Loránd University and BUTE graduate students in the county seats is striking too. An extra point in this paper refers to the medical education in Hungary. We can say that countryside has lost its graduates.

1. Introduction and literature review

This article discusses students and graduates mobility in particular in the capital's higher educational institutions. In addition it also discusses certain aspects of medical education in Hungary. I researched Hungarian Graduate Tracking System from 2012. I analyzed the settlements from where students came from and places where they found employment after graduation. I analyzed the different catchment areas of higher education institutions. These institutions have an effect on the place or region where they are located.

There are catchment areas of settlement across the country. These catchment areas have an effect on each other (Beluszky 1981). These effects are different; many things affect for example the education, factory, health system etc (Bujdosó 2004). The catchment areas of the countryside universities extend only in their own region and the neighboring county. Students who attended elite high schools are more likely to opt for the capital's higher education institutions over those places where there are no reputable universities (Polónyi 2012). There is a very special higher educational system in Hungary. If taken together as a combined figure, more higher education institutions exist in the countryside. However, the established and reputable institutions are mainly in the capital (Rechnitzer 2009). Nearly 50% of students choose the capital's higher education institutions in Hungary.

Figure 1 Student's place of study in Hungarian higher education



Source: School yearbook 2011/2012

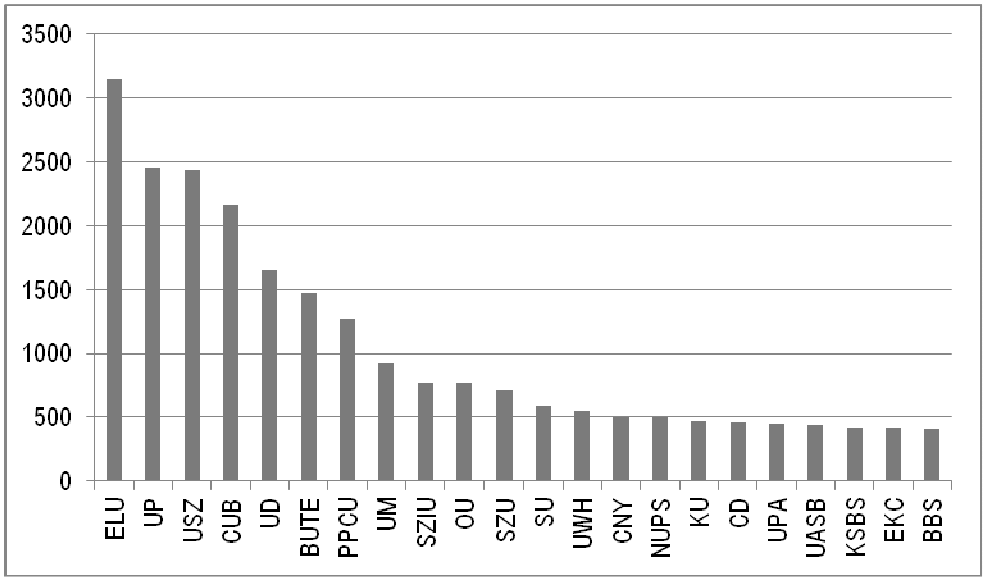
There is research in Hungary that deals with the catchment area of higher education institutions. University of Debrecen, for example, has effects on the Northern Great Plain (Teperics 2002, 2012). University of Pécs has a catchment area in the Southern Transdanubia region and the Western part of the country (M. Császár - Németh 2006). This area became smaller to 2013 than it had been in 2003 (M. Császár - Wusching 2014). Finally I need to mention a research in the Western Transdanubia region that is about catchment areas of higher education too. Outcomes are similar to that was previously seen (extend own region, low student's number outside the country etc.) (Rechnitzer - Smahó 2007).

Educational mobility is significant in Hungary as graduate's mobility. The target settlement is the capital and the Central Hungary region, and other county regions cannot compete with Budapest (Nyüsti - Ceglédi 2013). Graduates of universities in the rural areas also prefer to work in the capital, if they can secure employment (Hegedűs 2014). The graduates go up to higher level in urban hierarchy, because they do not find adequate work in small towns and villages (Bujdosó 2004). The big problem is the "spillover effect", which means that the countryside looses its graduates (Varga 1998). We know from Dutch research that graduates have more significant mobility than men with lower education (Hensen - Vries- Cörvers 2009).

2. About the database

What can be found in the database? In the database there are 24889 questionnaires from 32 higher education institutions. These people graduated in 2007, 2009 and 2011. I used two pieces of information from this database: the residence of the person when they were 14-year-old and the residence of their workplace. The first chart shows how many questionnaires were returned from different institutions.

Figure 2 Number of Questionnaires of higher education



The return rate was 15%. Pázmány Péter Catholic University (PPCU) has the highest rate of return- 45%. Most of the questionnaires came back from Eötvös Loránd University (ELU), in spite of the fact that this university had most of the students. University of Debrecen (UD) has the greatest number of university students, but in spite of this fact they sent back the least number of questionnaires. The other higher education institution, which also has a high number of students, but the number of the returned questionnaires is lower, is Budapest Business School (BBS).

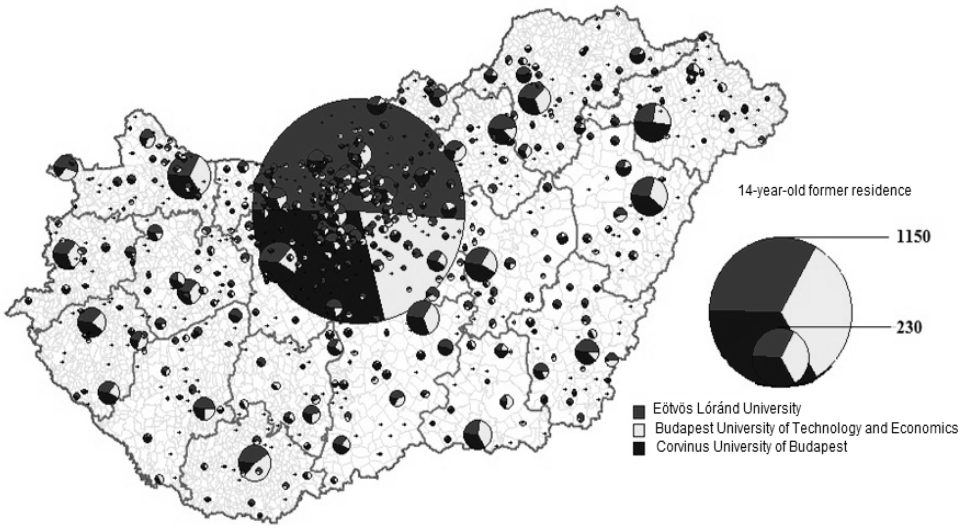
3. Methodology

The Hungarian Graduate Tracking System database is from 2012. The SPSS program was used to make cross table analysis with the data of place of residence at the age of 14 years, the current residence related to the workplace and the Hungarian higher education institution. I drew a map presenting the results; it can help in explaining the differences. This database is indeed adequate because it contains detailed information about the place of residence and not about subregions or regions. Therefore a detailed map indicating what is more adequate (Híves 1994). Next, I am going to present two groups, the first includes the large institutions of higher education in Budapest, the other group includes the special higher education institutions. There is an extra point in my article about the Hungarian medical education and medical universities. The groups took into account the student numbers, the number of returned questionnaires and Ildikó Hrubos's higher education typology (Hrubos 2012).

4. Results

The first group is about the huge higher education institutions in the capital city. This map presents Eötvös Loránd University (ELU), Corvinus University of Budapest (CUB) and Budapest University of Technology and Economics (BUTE). This slide shows that students who have chosen one of the great higher education institutions of Budapest and which settlements they come from. The bigger round on the settlements means greater students number who went to capital's greater universities and we can see the rate in the round among the analyzed universities.

Figure 3 The residence of the student (at the age of 14) from Budapest's largest institutions of higher education

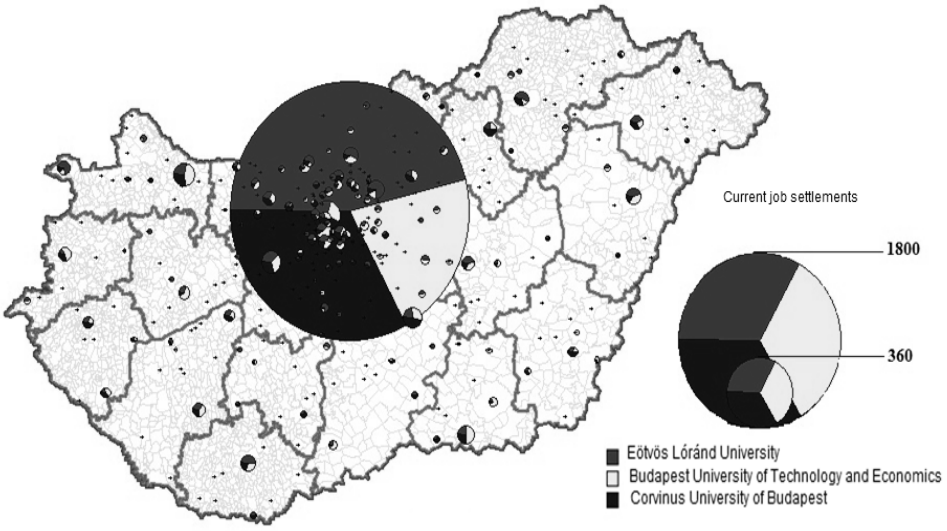


You can see in the picture the students of Budapest studying in the largest higher educational institutions in the capital and in the largest towns and county seats. Eötvös Loránd University has the largest proportion with more than 50% Corvinus University of Budapest has the second largest proportion and Budapest University of Technology and Economics has the smallest proportion. The majority of students come from Székesfehérvár and Győr. Székesfehérvár is close to the capital, and there is not an important institution of higher education. Győr is far away from the capital, but there is good public transport, it has a university, but it does not offer a great variety of training. If you look at the cities you can see where classical universities work (Debrecen, Szeged, Pécs). The largest proportion of Budapest University of Technology and Economics is in Pécs. Eötvös Loránd University has not a big dominance in Szeged and Debrecen. Corvinus

University of Budapest has a higher proportion in Zalaegerszeg, Szolnok, Eger and Nyíregyháza. We can see that most of the students who come from small villages will never go back there.

In the slide you can find the residence of the current workplace of the students from the three institutions of higher education. The rate has changed in the capital. The rate of Budapest Univesity of Technology and Economics and Corvinus University of Budapest has increased.

Figure 4 The workplace settlements of graduates from Budapest's largest institutions of higher education

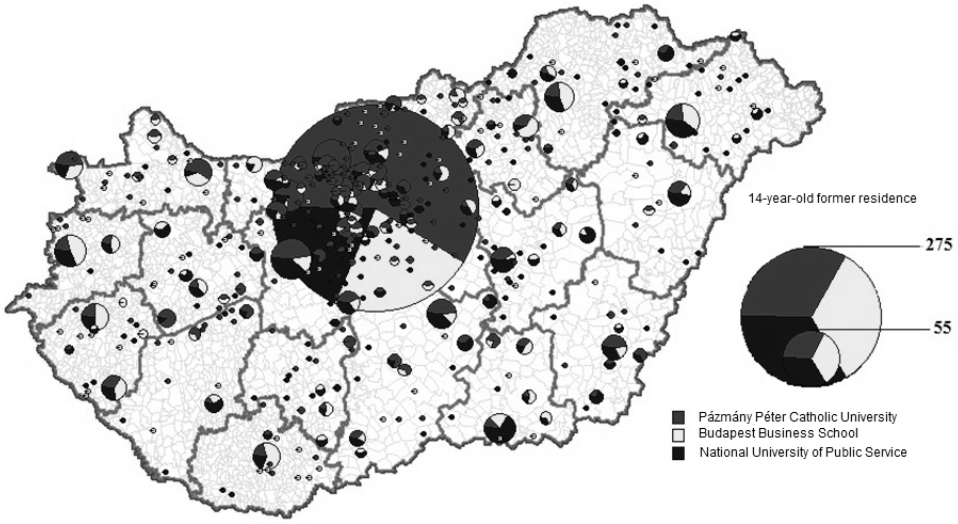


Many students did not go back to their settlements and hence we can not find smaller settlements on the map. Only the larger towns and county seats are visible. High graduate rate can be characterized in Győr, Székesfehérvár and Kecskemét. Budapest University of Technology and Economics is dominant in many cities, including Győr, Szombathely, Veszprém and Szeged. Eötvös Loránd University is dominant in Sopron, Miskolc and Pécs. Corvinus University of Budapest can be characterized with less dominance in the countryside, and only Zalaegerszeg and Eger is more important.

This slide represents the special higher education institutions in the capital. These are Budapest Business School (BBS), Pázmány Péter Catholic University (PPCU) and National University of Public Service (NUPS). PPCU has the greatest number of returned questionnaires, but the student's numbers does not justify its classification in the first group.

The high return rate of PPCU does not affect the rural rates. PPCU has the largest proportion in Budapest due to the high number of the returned questionnaires. This slide helps us to show where the students come from into these institutions.

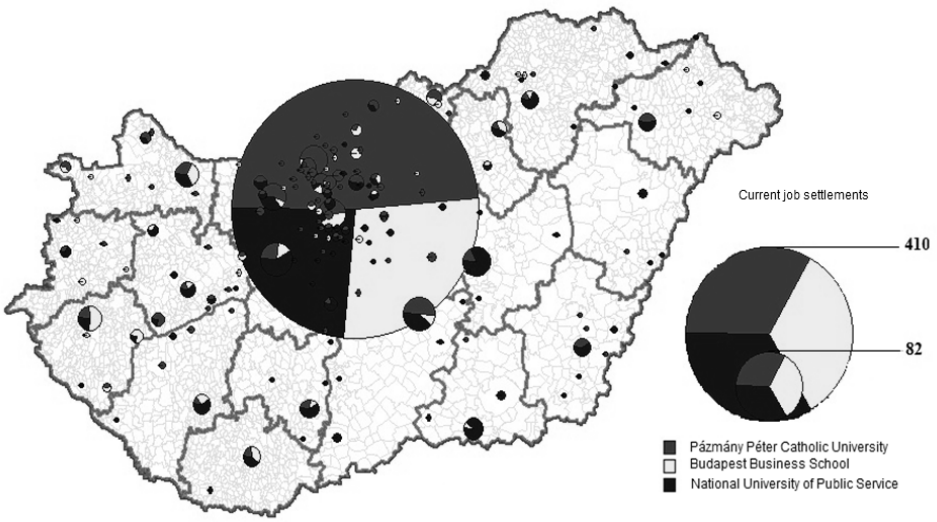
Figure 5 The residence of the students (at the age of 14) from Budapest special institutions of higher education



If we look at the map and see that there are many students coming to Budapest from Székesfehérvár. Budapest Business School has a strong dominance in rural areas in the western part of the country, such as Szombathely, Zalaegerszeg and Pécs. Furthermore it dominates in the northern part in Eger and Miskolc. The National University of Public Service is dominant in the south eastern part in the larger cities, such as Szolnok, Kecskemet, Debrecen and Szeged. Of course in this figure lot of small towns also appear.

Next figure shows places students with three degrees can find a job. Pázmány Péter Catholic University has a smaller proportion in the capital, as we could see in the previous figure. Many students can find work in Budapest, and a few students need to go back to the countryside. National University of Public Service is very dominant in the countryside, there are only a few other settlements where the dominant institution is different just like this.

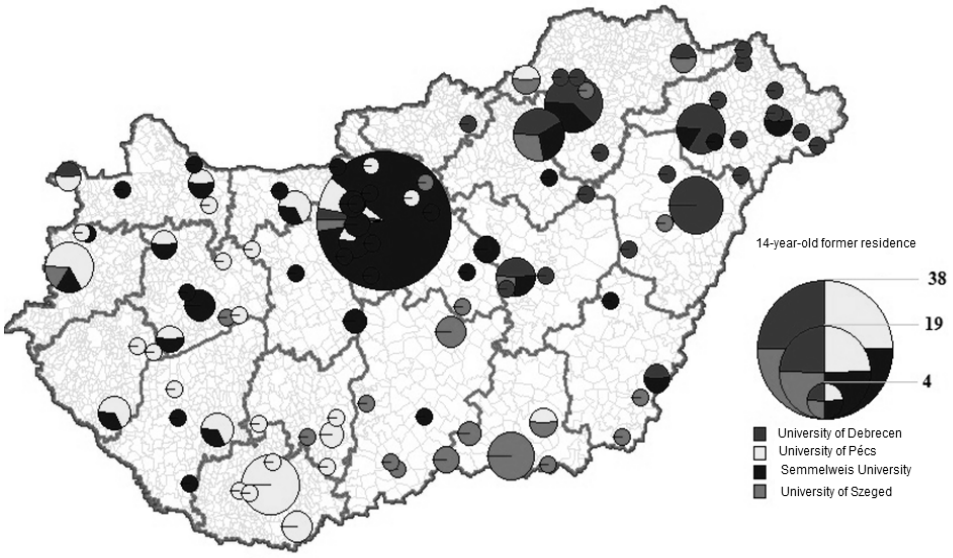
Figure 6 The workplace settlements of graduates from special institutions of higher education



First, let's take a look at where National University of Public Service has a more important rate. It has in Veszprém, Kaposvár, Pécs, Szeged, Miskolc and Békéscsaba. Debrecen has a very special position, because few students went back there and they are also only from this university. Budapest Business School has a larger proportion in Zalaegerszeg, Keszthely, Salgótarján and Eger. Pázmány Péter Catholic University has a larger proportion in Budapest, in the agglomeration and in Kecskemét, Esztergom and in Salgótarján. In this topic, we can not find small villages and towns, because they have no suitable job opportunities.

The next two figures show universities of medicine. First, I will show the regions from where those students come to these universities. There are only four universities of medicine in Hungary. In Budapest- Semmelweis University, the other three universities are located in Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged.

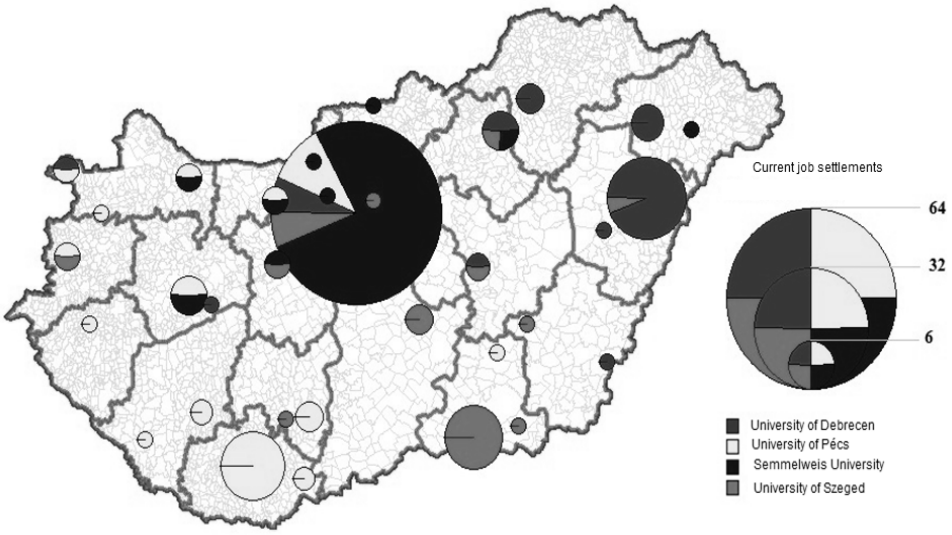
Figure 7 The residence of the medical university students (at the age of 14)



Semmelweis University gathers students from the northern part of the country and students from Transdanubia. This university has some students from the whole country. University of Pécs catchment area extends to the Western part. Some students arrive from Ózd and Hódmezővásárhely. University of Szeged has some affect on the South Plains region and some affect on the North Hungary region, because some students come from Eger, Ózd and Sátoraljaújhely. Debrecen has an affect only in its own region and in the North of Hungary. Only few students go to rural universities from the capital, mainly to Pécs.

The next map shows where the students with degree can take a job. Primarily they go to the city, where a hospital is also located.

Figure 8 The workplace settlements of graduated as a doctor



Budapest and Debrecen have a power to attract students to take a job there. Although any doctors went to work to the capital. It can be said based on the map that all medical trainings supply doctors for their own region. I can say there are few settlements to where, - after graduation - the students returned back, such as Sopron, Győr or Eger.

5. Summary

The Hungarian Graduate Tracking System database has a limited application opportunity for territorial mobility, because it does not include the totality of graduated students. Hence it is not possible to show the total proportion of graduated students. But you can see the location of the student's and graduate's workplace.In the case of the capital's major institutions, ELU is dominant in the capital, but has less extent in the countryside. A greater proportion of the students of Budapest University of Technology and Economics go abroad. The specialized training institution, ~~the~~ Budapest Business School is dominant in the western part of the country, while the eastern part of the country is dominated by the National University of Public Service; in that case if we take into account the student's residence at the age of 14. In the case of the workplace National University of Public Service is the dominant.University of Szeged has some affect on medical training in the Northern region of Hungary. We can realize some migration of the graduated students to among the medical centers, and not among the smaller towns or villages. Budapest and Debrecen doctors has some "keeping power".

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HORVÁTH, László

Ensuring the Competitiveness of Knowledge as the Fourth Mission of Higher Education

Abstract. The Hungarian Act CCIV of 2011- On National Higher Education identifies the creation and transfer of competitive knowledge as a main goal. Considering student expectation and satisfaction as one of the indicators of quality in Higher Education – using the GAP-model of service quality – the aim of this study is to assess the discrepancy between students' expectations and satisfaction and higher education managers' ideas about students' expectations. The main research questions revolved around the definitions of output, main customer and students (metaphors) in Higher Education and the expectations and satisfaction with different factors. The research can contribute to the better understanding of student expectations and satisfaction as an aspect of quality in Higher Education.

1. Introduction

The Hungarian Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education[1] identifies the necessary development conditions to raise standards and to develop and transfer competitive knowledge. Kuráth and Törőcsik (2011) emphasis that the uniqueness of Higher Education (HE) should be found in the dedicated knowledge and accredited diplomas. In the 21st century, the European Union recommendations are focusing on the strategic role of HE in the knowledge economy. Several studies examined that there is a positive correlation between attainment in education and specific societal and economic indicators (Hazelkorn 2012). In this changed and ever changing environment higher education institutions (HEIs) must face new expectations (Goldstein 2006). In order to operate and be competitive in a complex system HEIs must apply a strategic approach in their management (Barnett 2000). These factors emphasis the need for strategic and systems thinking which can be found in the concept of the entrepreneurial university.

The aim of this study is to assess the service quality of HE with the help of the gap-model of service quality regarding the consumer and provider gaps. The research reasons that for HEIs to be competitive they must ensure the competitiveness of their produced and disseminated knowledge which is highly related to the quality of services from a marketing

[1]The English translation of the Act:
https://www.oktatas.hu/pub_bin/dload/nyelvvizsga_honositas/elismertetes_honositas/Act_on_NatHE 2011.pdf

approach. First, the role of HE in the knowledge economy will be covered from the literature review, then the questions of quality and competitiveness will be discussed. Building on the literature review the methods will be presented. The results and discussion are clustered around the hypotheses.

1.1. Role of Higher Education in the knowledge economy

Until the 18th century, HEIs remained by their feudal-like, corporative and religious nature, which led to a path of decay. The tight religious connections have been loosened by the Enlightenment, the development of the society and the appearance of the centralist monarchies, forcing HEIs to change, creating the concept of 'modern university'. Scientific research and knowledge transfer became complementary processes inside the institutions, in both the Napoleonic and the Humboldtian concept, reviving the university. The Napoleonic concept followed a path of centralization, drawing all French HEIs under state rule. The Humboldtian model supported the development of autonomous institutions. Later the American universities adopted the German model at the end of the 19th century, applying it in the American competitive culture and not long after 20-30 years, they conquered international rankings (Tóth 2001). In the new approach, HEIs served the purpose of mass production, to comply with labour market needs, producing applicable knowledge. During the period of declining resources, budget-control became dominant, which forced institutions to adopt a business-oriented management. (Farkas et al. 2010).

Bleiklie (2005) mentions three models which could be adaptive in today's environment for HEIs:

- research university model
- entrepreneurial university model
- virtual university model

The model of the entrepreneurial university appears in several European Union documents as well. In order to successfully react to the economic competition and be competitive, the European Union must think in a dynamic, entrepreneurial spirit. The expectations are the same towards HEIs that entrepreneurial spirit should appear in the management of the institutions and in the curriculum as well. The entrepreneurial spirit in this context means that the individual can transform their ideas into action, can be innovative and proactive, can take risk, can plan and execute projects (European Commission 2006a). In this context it is important that we consider HE as service.

1.2. Quality and competitiveness in Higher Education

There is a growing pressure on HE regarding accountability, declining resources, changing of the law environment, broadening of expectations, tighter connections with the labour market from the requirements of the knowledge economy which forces institutions to be

entrepreneurial and future oriented. Cost-effectiveness and return on investment are becoming more and more important. To better understand the context we must consider HE as service (Neubauer 2014). This approach emphasis a marketing oriented view, which must be considered from a strategic point of view (Michael 1990). Higher education marketing, which became a separate field, could be defined as translated from Piskóti (2011:42): 'the market and image oriented, planned, strategic and tactical activities of the institutions, in which they are using their resources and competences to sell their knowledge-intensive products and services in a way that they constantly satisfy their customers, so the activities can support the long and short term economical and societal goals of the institution.'

It is a strategic question how can the quality of the service can be improved? There is an increasing demand for the quality assurance of HE, because the massification of HE could lead to a decline in quality of teaching and learning. Both the increasing expectations of the labour market and budget restraints supports that process (Tan - Kek 2004; Polónyi 2006b). In identifying quality in HE, the satisfaction of students becomes an important factor, but we must consider it besides the strategic needs of the institutions. The SERVQUAL model is usually applied to assess the quality of services and in this context, to assess the quality of HE. Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry (1988) considered quality as perceived quality minus expected quality. In their research, they developed the SERVQUAL model, which can interpret quality in the previously discussed way. In this research, HE specific version of the gap-model of service quality (based on the SERVQUAL approach) will be used. This model is the framework for the research, focusing on the first and fifth gap. The first gap is the discrepancy between management perceptions of customers' expectations and actual customer expectations, while the fifth gapassess the discrepancy between customers perceived and expected quality.

Analysing the quality of services is important with regard to the question of competitiveness. Several European Union document emphases the need for HEIs to be competitive in the knowledge economy, in order to contribute to Europe's competitiveness (European Commission 2006a; European Commission 2006b).

After Barakonyi (2009) competitiveness in HE means that the institution

- is able to compete in the international knowledge market,
- is able to gain position and stand its ground on the long run, which means that
    - it is successful in the competition for students,
    - it is able to sustain and sustainably grow its market share and profitability,
    - it is able to sustain and strengthen its position in international research and innovation and
    - it is an attractive choice for international research and cooperation.

2. Methods

This research applies a deductive approach; its purpose is to explore the service quality of HE regarding student expectations and satisfaction from the students and from the management's point of view. Using a quantitative paradigm, after the examination of the literature, two online surveys were constructed. It is helpful that the constructs that are in focus are relatively stable in time (Polónyi 2006a). The problem is interpreted from a service marketing and higher education management approach. The questions that stems from the literature review are the following:

- Considering HE as a service what can be the outcome of the operation, who are the main customer and how does the institution characterizes the students?
- What are the main expectations of students regarding the quality of HE?
- What are the main differences between the perception of the management about student expectations and the actual expectations of students regarding the quality of HE?

Answering these questions leads to the following hypotheses, which will give the main structure of the discussion of results:

- **The management perception on Higher Education**
    - The management of HEIs considers the graduated student as the output of HE. (H1)
    - The management of HEIs considers the employers and the state as main customers. (H2)
    - The management of HEIs considers the students alongside the 'commodity' metaphor. (H3)
- **Student expectations**
    - Among the expectations of fee-paying students the quality of teaching and learning are dominant in contrast with state-funded students. (H4)
    - Students consider themselves alongside the 'consumer' metaphor. (H5)
    - Fee-paying students less likely to feel that they have a high return on investment regarding their studies in comparison with state-funded students. (H6)
- **Consumer and provider gaps**
    - Based on the gap-model of service quality the first and the fifth gap could be considered significant. (H7)

To test the hypotheses exploratory and multivariate (Principal Component Analysis) statistical analysis were used with SPSS.

Two separate but connected surveys were created. The first one was for students of HE and the other one was for the management of HEIs (rectors, vice-rectors, deans, vice-deans, heads of institutes and departments). The students were reached via social media platform using the snowball method and an access-based sampling, while the management was reached via personal e-mails.

Both surveys began with a general data which will be used to describe the sample. The common elements of the surveys were the item list of expectations based on literature review (Davies 2002; Kandiko - Mawer 2013; Tan - Kek 2004; Eagle - Brennan 2007; Pereira - da Silva 2003; Rajasekhar - Muninarayanappa - Reddy 2009). The students assessed each item on a 1 to 6 scale whether or not these items are important for them (expected service) and after that they assessed each item again on a 1 to 6 scale how these expectations are met (perceived service). The management assessed each item on a 1 to 6 scale what they thought that these items are important factors for students. The next common element was the metaphors regarding student roles. Students and the management rated 3-3 statements, one for each 3 metaphor whether or not they agree with the content of the sentences (Nordensvärd 2011).

3. Results

3.1. Sample

The survey for the management was filled by 117 participant, the most from Szent István University (N=27), Corvinus University of Budapest (N=26) and Eötvös Loránd University (N=19). There were 2 rectors, 8 vice-rectors, 8 deans, 34 vice-deans, 19 heads of institute and 38 heads of department. The average time spent in the given position was 7.54 years.

Regarding the student survey, there were 327 participants, 68.8% female and 31.2% male. Most of the students were from Eötvös Loránd University (N=161), Szent István University (N=37) and Budapest University of Technology and Economics (N=36). Most of the students are still learning (N=243, 74.3%), but 23.4% (N=77) are already graduated. Most of them are from the humanities (33%) but the field of economics (16.5%) and the field of teacher education (9.2%) are also considerable. 81.7% of students are state-funded or are on state-scholarship, and the rest of them (18.3%) are fee-paying or self-funded students[2].

[2] Before the 2011. CCIV. law on national higher education there were the possibility to apply for state-funded studies where the cost of the individual were covered by the state without consequences for a specified ammount of semesters. Those who were not able to get into state-funded studies (or ran out of supported semesters) they could apply (or continue their studies) to

Most of the students are on full-time studies (89.3%) and 10.7% are part-time students. 79.2% of students are free from student loans (called 'Diák Hitel'[3]) and 39.4% are taking part in some kind of talent development programme.

3.2. The management perception of Higher Education

The first research question revolved around the perception of higher education managers on certain aspects of HE considering it as a service. Important questions arise like what is the output, who are the main customers and how the student is perceived. 71.8% of the managers answered that they consider the graduated student as the output of HE (H1). The answer is not so clear in the case of the main customer. 41.9% thinks that the main customer is the student itself, but 23.9% thinks that the employer/labour market is more important (H2). In contrast with this, Mark (2013) reasons that students are not products but consumers of HE. Nearly half of the managers thinks of students as partners in the teaching and learning process (48.7%) but a considerable amount of the managers think that the role of the students are depleted to the extent that they are only learning (34.2%).[4]

To further refine the topic, higher education managers were asked to rate several sentences regarding the role of students in HE alongside three metaphors (manager, consumer, commodity) (Nordensvärd 2011). To assess the reliability of each scale for the metaphors the Cronbach's alpha value were calculated. After eliminating the last elements of each scale the following values were calculated: manager metaphor α=0.626, consumer metaphor α=0.451 and commodity metaphor α=0.605 which signifies a good reliability of the scales. The following list gives us that what each manager position thought to be the most important metaphor for students in HE (H3):

- rectors: commodity
- vice rectors: manager

fee-paying status where the individual (or their parents, or their employer etc.) covered the costs of their own studies. After the new law, there was a change in the state-funded status and we rather call it state-scholarship where the cost of the studies are still covered by the state but if the individual can't finish their studies for a certain period of time or abort their studies then they are obliged by a contract (signed when they register to the higher education institution) to pay back the cost of the used semesters and also they are obliged to work a certain ammount of time on the Hungarian labour market to ensure the return on investment of the state to their diploma. Fee-paying status remained the same but got renamed into self-funded status.

[3] Student loan (called Diák Hitel) is a specific loan for students to cover the cost of their studies (or the incurred costs eg. costs of living). More on the loan scheme: http://www.diakhitel.hu/en/

[4] The role is more emphasised in the Hungarian language where student means in Higher Education context 'hallgató' which literally translates to 'listener' which implies a passive-receptive role.

- deans: commodity
- vice-deans: manager
- heads of institute: manager
- heads of department: consumer

The first hypothesis could be accepted as most of the managers considered the graduated student as the output of HE. Regarding the second hypothesis, it can't be accepted as the managers were not decisive regarding the main customers, the answers are divided between students and employers/labour market. The third hypothesis should be seen in complexity. The suspected metaphor is present (consumer) but the manager metaphor is more dominant altogether. The second and the third hypotheses are only partially true.

3.3. Student expectations

The second set of hypotheses revolved around students. The assumption was made that fee-paying/self-funded students are most likely to consider the quality of teaching as an important expectation in comparison with state-funded/state-scholarship students. To produce a manageable list of expectations the previously given 24 items were subjected to Principal Component Analysis. After the standardization of variables, the filter of extreme outlier values (with the help of box-plot diagrams) and finding an acceptable correlation and covariance matrix, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity were assessed. The KMO value was 0.771, while the Bartlett's test was significant ($p<0.001$; $\chi^2(231)=1573.542$). Examining the communalities, two items were under 0.5 so they were left out from the final examination. The PCA gave 7 principal components which covered the 60.052% of the initial structure. The principal components were named as the following:

a) need for partnership
b) need for development
c) need for quality of teaching and learning
d) need for labour market relevance
e) need for support system
f) need for comfort
g) need for flexibility

Using these principal components it will be easier to assess the different expectations of students. It must be noted that these principal components are standardized variables, meaning that their mean are 0 and standard deviations are 1 so assessing these values along some groups will show differences from the 0 mean. Interestingly, if we take the expectations of fee-paying/self-funded students then the most significant one is the need for comfort (M=0.36), while the least important factor is the need for development (M=-0.17) and the need for the quality of teaching and learning (M=-0.11). On the other hand, state-

funded/state-scholarship students need development (M=0.04) the quality of teaching and learning (M=0.02) the most, while considering the need for comfort (M=-0.08) the least. It is the contrary as the assumption (H4) which will be interpreted in the discussion.

The next hypothesis dealt with the same metaphors as in the manager's case (H5). In this survey the students produced similar patterns in the Cronabach's alpha values: manager metaphor α=0.657, consumer metaphor α=0.484 and commodity metaphor α=0.645 – all scales considered reliable. Regarding the results most of the students voted for the manager metaphor (gaining 76% of the possible points, while the other metaphors reached 60%). From the students' point of view HE is seen as an investment into their human capital. Mainly fee-paying/self-funded students consider themselves along the manager metaphor (M=-0.07), while state-funded/state-scholarship students consider themselves alongside the commodity metaphor (M=0.03).[5]

The last hypothesis from this segment assessed the difference between fee-paying/self-funded and state-funded/state-scholarship students regarding how they think about the return of investment of their education. It is assumed that fee-paying/self-funded students will less likely think that their investment will return because they invest more money in their education than state-funded/state-scholarship students (H6). Taking the form of financing as a two-value dummy variable a Pearson correlation was conducted. It gave a significant (p=0.04) but weak (r=-0.112) result which means that state-funded/state-scholarship students rated their return on investment higher then fee-paying/self-funded students.

The fourth hypothesis must be rejected because fee-paying/self-funded students rated the need for comfort as the most important expectation while state-funded/state-scholarship students considered the need for development as the most important factor. The fifth hypothesis must be rejected as well because most of the students considered themselves alongside the manager metaphor (mostly fee-paying/self-funded students). The sixth hypothesis is partially acceptable because there is a weak correlation between the form of financing and the perceived return on investment of education, meaning that state-funded/state-scholarship students rated their return on investment higher than their fee-paying/self-funded counterparts.

3.4. Consumer and provider gaps

The last hypothesis was about the gaps in the gap model of service quality, which compares the managers and students. The first and the fifth gaps were assumed significant. The first gap is the discrepancy between managers' perception on student expectations and the actual expectations of students. The mean of the differences between

[5] In this comparison the standardized consolidated factors were used with 0 mean and 1 standard deviaton for the full sample.

the items of managers and students is -0.18 which means that managers mainly underestimate the importance of several factors compared to students. The most outstanding differences are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 The most outstanding differences between managers' perceptions and students' expectations

Factors	Managers' perceptions	Students' expectations	Gap 1
I want to develop my analytical skills.	2.71	3.36	-0.65
I want to develop my team working skills.	2.45	3.02	-0.57
I want my education to prepare me for lifelong learning.	2.59	3.05	-0.47
I want to develop my communication skills.	2.88	3.34	-0.46
I want an available and broad library-service.	2.72	3.15	-0.43
I want the requirements to be easily satisfied.	2.46	1.91	0.55

Source:

The fifth gap assessed the discrepancy between students' expectations on quality and how these expectations are fulfilled (expectations minus perceptions). The mean of the differences is 0.63 which means that expectations are higher than actual perceptions (which is a particularity of the SERVQUAL approach). The most outstanding differences are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 The most outstanding differences between students' expectations and students' perceptions

Factors	Students' expectations	Students' perceptions	Gap 5
I want to receive detailed feedback on my development in time.	3.34	2.44	0.90
I want competent teachers who can communicate complex ideas clearly.	3.82	2.91	0.91
I want flexibility and choice in selecting courses.	3.40	2.42	0.98
I want my education to prepare me for the labour market.	3.65	2.29	1.36
I want to receive punctual and precise information.	3.78	2.41	1.37
I want the requirements to be easily satisfied.	1.91	2.25	-0.34

In conclusion the seventh hypothesis can be accepted as we can see that according to the gap-model of service quality both the first and the fifth gap can be considered significant. It is worth noting that this kind of analysis can be very informative if it is conducted for a specific institution, giving a representative assessment for that organization. It could be a powerful tool for the management to clarify the expectations and the discrepancies between different stakeholders' perceptions and expectations.

4. Discussion

Interpreting the results of the management perception on HE we see a blurred image about the output, main customer and students' role. Mainly the graduated student considered the output of HE but a considerable amount of managers thinks that students are also the main consumer of HE besides employers and the labour market. To clarify the picture we need to see the complexity of the system. HE as a service can be separated into three different process, namely the teaching system, the learning system and the research system, which according to the input-process-output model, have different internal and external customers and roles (Sirvanci 1996; Kanji – Malek – Tambi 1999; Pereire – da Silva 2003). The internal customers of the teaching subsystem are the teachers and researchers, while the external customers are the students. Regarding the learning subsystem, the students can be considered as internal customers, while employers as the external ones. The results of the surveys emphasise the validity of this approach. Ultimately the main goal of these subsystems is to produce and disseminate competitive knowledge.

Regarding the students' side of the coin a main question could be the form of finance, as who pays for their education: themselves, parents, the state or the employer? How can the expectations of the different stakeholders be taken into consideration in the teaching and learning process? An almost paradoxical finding of the study is that fee-paying/self-funded students who are paying money for their education (or their employer or parents) are not taking responsibility for their investment and we can observe a strange informal pact between these students and HEIs (or teachers). It seems that these students expect comfort, support and an easy way to get their qualifications in exchange for their money and the teachers are complying with this request that they are lenient towards them, helps them as long as they are paying for the service. At least this is what we can draw as conclusion from that these students are not regarding quality of teaching and learning (neither labour market relevance nor development) as an important expectation. It would be important to reverse this tendency and break this self-destructive cycle. Fee-paying/self-funded students should take responsibility for their investment and in exchange they should demand quality which would force HEIs to raise their standards to produce and disseminate competitive knowledge.

Drawing conclusions from the gap-model of service quality it is important that HEIs assess these aspects of their operation as we saw that there are fundamental differences in certain

aspects between different stakeholders. This kind of analysis could be a basis of a marketing strategy. To help this task it is worth to group the expectations according to their importannce and how they are perceived. In this way, for example, more emphasis could be given to high expectations with low satisfaction. The results are shown in Table 3 summarizing the most important factors (in parentheses the gap 5 scores of the items).

Table 3 Matrix of student expectations and perceptions on different aspects of HE

EXPECTATION +	**EXPECTATION -**	
I want different professional opportunities. (0.82) I want that the teachers be objective and consistent in evaluation. (0.82) I want competent teachers who can communicate complex ideas clearly. (0.91)	I want my education to prepare me for lifelong learning. (0.24) I want an available and broad library-service. (0.24) I want that the institution and the teachers recognize the legitimacy of knowledge acquired elsewhere. (0.45)	**PERCEPTION +**
I want flexibility and choice in selecting courses. (0.98) I want my education to prepare me for the labour market. (1.36) I want to receive punctual and precise information. (1.37)	I want flexible, short courses which are in convenient time and place for me. (0.65) I want the institution to research, know and acknowledge the motivation of students. (0.76) I want the institution and teachers to build on the students unique specifics in order to form individual learning paths. (0.88)	**PERCEPTION -**
EXPECTATION +	**EXPECTATION -**	

Source:

If we take a look on the high expectation-low perception field we find items mainly dealing with the quality of teaching and learning, formulating the need for competitive knowledge. It must be taken into consideration that there may be factors which if they are not present cause dissatisfaction, while their presence will not cause satisfaction and vica versa, there are factors which if they are not present won't cause dissatisfaction but if they are present they can cause satisfaction. Herzberg motivational theory must be mentioned here (Herzberg 1987). Nevertheless there are dire consequences of customer dissatisfaction from direct financial disadvantages to the cost of loss of reputation and opportunities (Eagle – Brennan 2007).

Summarizing the findings of the study and previous research we can conclude that HEIs should operate as a knowledge-intensive organization, ensuring the quality of the teaching,

learning and research subsystems. To do so the management must consider the role and expectations of students and the fulfillment of these expectations interpreting students in a differentiated approach considering their different background, needs and motivation. In order for HEIs to be competitive in the knowledge economy they must ensure that the knowledge that they produce (research) and disseminate (teaching and learning, third mission) is competitive. This agenda is important from a marketing point of view as well. The competitive HEI is a knowledge-intensive research university which is managed in an entrepreneurial mindset taking the wider societal aspects of the operation into consideration. In this mode of operation can the marketing and management approach be present which can ensure the competitiveness of produced and disseminated knowledge. To conclude this reasoning the recommendations of Gibbs and Knapper (2009) are given which could help institutions to develop in such a way:

- develop trust and credibility
- identify problems and transform them into opportunities
- appropriate communication of the need for change
- develop communities of practice
- recognition of excellence
- communicate success
- support innovation and change
- involve students

The aim of this study was to apply the gap-model of service quality in the Hungarian HE and assess the quality of service based on provider and consumer gaps. This approach needed a marketing point of view in which the perception of the management and students on HE are important factors regarding the output, the main customer and the role of students. The research managed to uncover the basic discrepancies between student expectations and the management perception about these expectations as well as the student expectations and the fulfillment of these factors which underpins the imperative of Zhang and Liao (2010) that HEIs must ensure that the knowledge they are producing (research) and disseminating (teaching and learning, third mission) are competitive.

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HUJÁK, Janka

The Real Benefit of an Exchange Programme: Moving from Credit Mobility to Degree Mobility

Abstract. The most influential exchange programme in Central Europe is the Erasmus+ programme, which is a credit mobility programme. It has been proven that the Erasmus+ is rewarding in numerous ways for the participating higher education institutions, but not financially. Instead of credit mobility, it is the degree mobility which increases the HEIs income. The author investigates whether credit mobility programmes can be turned into tools for increasing the number of tuition fee paying degree mobile students in a HEI. The author sets the theoretical background for further empirical research in the topic.

1. Introduction

Student mobility has numerous forms worldwide, out of which this paper focuses on those ones which are the most relevant to the Central and Eastern European (CEE) Region. The most influential exchange programme in the region is the Erasmus+ student mobility programme, which is a credit mobility programme. Experience shows that the programme is offered at numerous institutions often only for its own sake without integrating it to greater concepts and strategies.

The international endeavour of higher education institution may have various goals. One of these goals is to increase income. This goal is important in those countries where the governmental funding and the potential students' pool are decreasing. This is characteristic for CEE countries. The income of higher education institutions may be increased by recruiting more tuition-fee paying international students, who arrive to the given country to complete a full academic programme. This form of mobility is called degree/diploma mobility. The European Commission (EHEA Ministerial Conference 2012) agrees that degree mobility has sustained effect on the operations of the higher education institutions and their macro- and micro environment. If the strategy and the action plan are designed with care and expertise these results will only be benefits and not drawbacks.

So far few studies have been carried out measuring the relationship between the credit- and degree mobility. The author's assumption is that the increase in the intensity of the inward credit mobility may increase the number of students involved in inward degree mobility in a given institution. The rationale behind this assumption is that the exchange students who had had good experience during their short-term student mobility period, may want to continue their education e.g. at master's level at the same institution.

The topic is relevant to the EHEA strategy. The current mobility strategy of the EU focuses on outward mobility. The goal is that in 2020 at least 20% of the graduates of the EHEA

should have had a study or training period abroad. The next task of the EHEA ministers will be to define a target for inward mobility at the next Ministerial Conference in 2015 in Yerevan (EHEA Ministerial Conference 2012). Since the Central and Eastern European region is lagging in the numbers of inward degree mobility it is worth to take a deep insight in the issue and identify the threats and opportunities.

This paper introduces the relationship between the inward credit mobility and inward degree mobility with an institutional focus and presents a model on the relationship between inward credit mobility and inward diploma mobility.

2. Defining mobility

2.1. The definition and typology of international student mobility

By international student mobility, the author means the phenomenon of students spending study periods abroad. The study period can be from three months[1] to some years. In this paper the focus will be on credit mobility and diploma mobility. Before distinguishing these two types, student mobility will be discussed in general.

Some authors narrow down the definition of student mobility; Murphy-Lejeune (2002:1) states that student mobility is itself "a short–term stay abroad, usually one academic year of nine to twelve months duration". King and colleagues in their report (King et al. 2010) also agree that student mobility implies a shorter period, but there is little agreement on what 'short' means. Other authors' define short-term mobility as mobility with a duration of maximum one semester (Golay 2006; Fitzsimmonsa et al. 2013).

When talking about international student mobility we must distinguish structured mobility (mobility programmes, study-abroad programmes) and unstructured mobility (individual mobility). Teichler and Steube (1991) defined the four main characteristics of study abroad programmes as follows: (1) established arrangement between sending and receiving institution; (2) provide opportunity for regular exchange; (3) supporting organisational and educational structure; and (4) provision that student performance during study period abroad is recognised at the sending institution to some extent. Furthermore they compared the features of both types of mobility, whose summary is shown in Table 1. According to the same authors (Teichler and Steube 1991:326) the aims of such programmes are to provide institutional study support and to assure a certain quality.

[1] The minimum 3 months is determined in accordance with the Mobility strategy 2020 for the EHEA (EHEA Ministerial Conference, 2012) which declares that the mobility target period spent abroad should last minimum 3 months or should include the acquiring of 15 ECTS credits.

Table 1 Differences between mobility programmes and individual mobility

	Structured programmes	**Unstructured mobility**
Destination options	Limited	Boarder range of options
Support to student by receiving institution	Guaranteed	Not guaranteed
Curricular coherence with study programme at home institution	Guaranteed	Not guaranteed
Conditions	More strict	Less strict

Source: Own compilation based on Teichler & Steube (1991).

Study abroad programmes have a strong tradition especially in the USA. Therefore, most authors writing about the typology of such programmes are American such as Engle and Engle (2003), who classified study-abroad programmes into five levels. In their work they defined study tour as level 1, which is followed by short-term study (level 2), cross-cultural contact program (level 3), cross-cultural encounter program (level 4) and cross-cultural immersion program (level 5), all of which serve the international dimension of higher education.

Beside the earlier explained, Woodfield (2010) distinguished physical and virtual international student mobility, which makes the picture more complex. For now, we focus on the physical mobility, which involves actual crossing of country borders. In the next section the credit mobility and diploma mobility will be defined.

2.2. Credit mobility vs. diploma mobility

Techiler and colleagues (Teichler et al. 2011:27) give the most comprehensive definition for credit mobility, which is "mobility of a shorter duration (up to 1 academic year) which takes place in the framework of ongoing studies at a home intuition. After the credit/temporary mobility phase, students return to their home institution to complete their studies." The term itself includes the word "credit", because another characteristic of this kind of mobility is that students earn credit during their stay abroad. The term has a strong European relevance, since it is closely linked to the Bologna Process and the use of ECTS credits in Europe.

To facilitate credit mobility, in some countries it is obligatory to take a study abroad period of one semester. In other universities so-called mobility windows are embedded into the curricula of the academic programmes, in order to facilitate outward student mobility (Teichler et al. 2011), which will manifest in inward mobility in the receiving institution.

Credit mobility may be structured and unstructured. The most significant credit mobility programmes in the Central and Eastern European Region are the Erasmus, recently

restructured and renamed to Erasmus+, the CEEPUS (Central European Exchange Program for University Studies), and the EEA and Norway Grants. All of them have similar characteristics in terms of purpose, conditions and grant, but the volume shows great inequality; Erasmus+ takes 80% of all credit mobility in Europe (Teichler et al. 2011).

If we would like place Central Eastern European credit mobility programmes on Engle and Engle's (2003, see above) scale of study abroad programmes, CEE programmes would be the combination of level 4 and level 5 programmes (Table 2.)

Table 2 Study abroad levels

	Level 4*	**Level 5***	**Level 4-5****
Classification	Cross-Cultural Encounter Program	Cross-Cultural Immersion Program	CEE credit mobility programmes
Components			
Duration	Semester to academic year	Semester to academic year	Semester to academic year
Entry target-level competence	Pre-advanced to advanced	Advanced	
Language used in course-work	Predominantly target-language	Target-language in curricular and extra curricular activities	English and target-language
Academic work context	In house student group	Local norms, partial or complete direct enrollment	Local norms, partial or complete direct enrollment
Housing	Home stay rental, or integration home stay	Individual integration home stay	Individual integration home stay (student hostel or rented apartment)
Provisions for cultural interaction, experiential learning	Optional participation in occasional integration activities	Required regular participation in cultural integration program, extensive direct cultural contact via service learning, work internship	Optional participation in integration activities
Guided reflection on cultural experience	Orientation program, initial and ongoing	Orientation program, mentoring, on-going or course in cross cultural perspectives, reflective writting and research	Orientation program, initial and ongoing

Source: *Engle and Engle (2003:10), ** Own compilation, Huják.

On the other hand, diploma (or degree) mobility is "aimed at the acquisition of a whole degree or qualification in the country of destination" (Teichler et al. 2011:27). Thus diploma mobility's duration is usually 1-5 years, which is typically longer then the duration of credit mobility. Reasons for applying for a diploma programme abroad may be the limited offer of degree programmes at home or their moderate quality. Students with such motivations often return home after graduation to use the obtained knowledge for the benefit of their home countries. Another reason for choosing an abroad diploma programme may be the future career plans abroad, which is closely linked to migration prospects. Students in this category usually do not plan to return home after graduation. This latter type has implications for brain drain.

In case of diploma mobility, structured programmes are less typical, although there are some, such as the Fulbright Programme, the Visegrad Scholarship Programme and numerous scholarship funds based on bilateral agreement between governments. Individual diploma mobility is much more frequent. In those higher educational institutions where the internationalisation aspect is of high importance designated offices work on the recruitment of individual diploma mobile students, who (in most cases) pay tuition fee. To have a closer look in the tuition fees and the associated income for the universities, the following section will introduce a unique typology of student mobility.

2.3. Income generating/ non income generating

To take a managerial point of view, it is worth to distinguish student mobility types based on their income generating nature. The author's initial idea was to distinguish tuition fee-paying and non tuition fee-paying programmes. From this perspective fee–paying option is when the student has an expense associated with the education costs (tuition fee). But it became clear that it is wiser to differentiate rather from the receiving institution's point of view. This bore the idea of using the *income generating* and *non income generating* terminology instead, which is unique in the literature of student mobility. This typology can give the HEI's management a clear idea of the financial results of the internationalisation activity. Income generating mobility programmes are those, which bring income in the form of tuition fee for the institution. From this point of view it is not important whether the student or a fund pays the fee.

To reach a better understanding it is worth to further divide this type of mobility to *structured and unstructured income generating mobility*. On one hand, in case of structured income generating mobility, besides the tuition fee, the awarded students receive accommodation, insurance and a monthly grant as well, these costs are all covered by the given fund, thus the student does not have expenses associated with the education costs. Let us see some examples form the CEE region. The recently launched Stipendium Hungaricum programme offers scholarship for talented students from certain third-countries in Hungarian higher education institutions on such basis (Balassi Institute, n.d.). In the CEE

Region the Visgerad Scholarhsip Program (VSP) offers similar opportunity for students. The well-known Fulbright programme also covers in many cases all the costs of the awarded student (tuition fee, housing, living-costs, insurance) for an entire academic programme. On the other hand, unstructured income generating mobility means students are studying abroad (for a diploma or for only a shorter period) individually and are covering their tuition fee and other expenses by themselves.

When talking about the Erasmus+ programme, the CEE region's most influential programme, it is important to see that the program itself does not generate any income for either the sending or the receiving institution. Thus Erasmus+ student mobility is not at all an income generating programme from the institution's point of view. However, the numerous benefits of the programme has long been realised and acknowledged. In the following section the benefits of the Erasmus+ and similar credit mobility programmes will be discussed.

2.4. Benefits of inward student mobility

It has been confirmed by numerous researches that student exchange programmes benefit the student's personal growth and competence building (Freed 1995; DuFon - Churchill 2006; Relyea et al. 2008; Franklin 2010; Wiers-Jenssen 2008; Cubillos - Ilvento 2013; Douglas - Jones-Rikkers 2001; Van Hoof - Verbeeten 2005; Messer - Wolter 2007). It is supported that the longer the study abroad period is, the more significant and the more enduring their impact will be (Dwyer 2004; Cubillos - Ilvento 2013). However, when viewing the advantages gained during a mobility period we must not forget that a boomerang effect might distort the results and some of the students' gains, since the benefits of studying abroad may fade or be lost with time without further intervention (Rexeisen 2013).

Further studies report on the benefits of the Erasmus+ programme. Out of which the most comprehensive is the work of Bracht et al (2006). They report that Erasmus students' competences were reinforced by their study abroad period in terms of foreign language competences, international urbanity, in-depth knowledge of the receiving country, personal and social behaviour and also in planning, coordinating and organising.

Apart from the affect on the personal growth, inward student mobility has a significant effect and may also have significant benefits on the receiving institution. The volume of international student mobility has always been an important indicator of the level of internationalisation of a given region, country or institution. And this represents the benefits of inward student mobility from the institutions' point of view. In the following the meaning and importance of internationalisation in the CEE Region will be discussed.

The internationalisation of higher education has been a central topic in higher education research since decades. The term "internationalisation" was introduced in the higher education research in the 1980s (Knight 2008) and since then numerous definitions (van

der Wende 1997) have been used to capture its meaning. According to an often cited definition, "internationalisation of higher education is the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (Knight 1994:7). This definition embraces all aspects and due to its broad nature, leaves many open questions. Still, it captures an important element, which is process orientation. This means that internationalisation can not exist without an internationalisation strategy.

Internationalisation strategies may be explicit or implicit. In the EU there is a huge diversity in the internationalisation strategies and policies (Teichler 2004), as well in the CEE region. In Hungary few HEIs have internationalisation strategies, which is also represented by the number of leaders designated for internationalisation tasks. Out of 28 Hungarian higher education institutions, 11 has a vice-rector responsible for international affaires (Kováts 2012). This number and the importance of internationalisation should be increased, for the following logic.

According to Lajos (2005) Hungarian higher education institutions have two options for a competent institutional strategy. These options are, either (option A) to aim their profile for the Hungarian market with wide range of academic programmes and focus on attracting students in large numbers (keywords: Hungary, mass, variety of programmes). The other alternative (option B) is to specialize in a certain field and conquer the European market (keywords: Europe+Hungary, elite, specialized). This idea was developed in 2005. Since then, the idea needs adjustment, due to two major changes and trends. First, the student pool is decreasing because of the demographic changes and recently the Hungarian government intervenes more intensively in the training structure than before. Thus, option A may seem less rewarding for several institutions; for them option B, with a strong international market orientation remains the only option.

Lajos (2005) focused in his study on Hungary, a country from the CEE region. He was clear with the situation in higher education in the region, thus by internationalisation he rather meant Europeanisation. We must not forget that different parts of the world are at different stages of the internationalisation process. CEE region is at the initial levels, while for example the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia are at high levels with their developed international education cities (regional hubs) (Knight 2011).

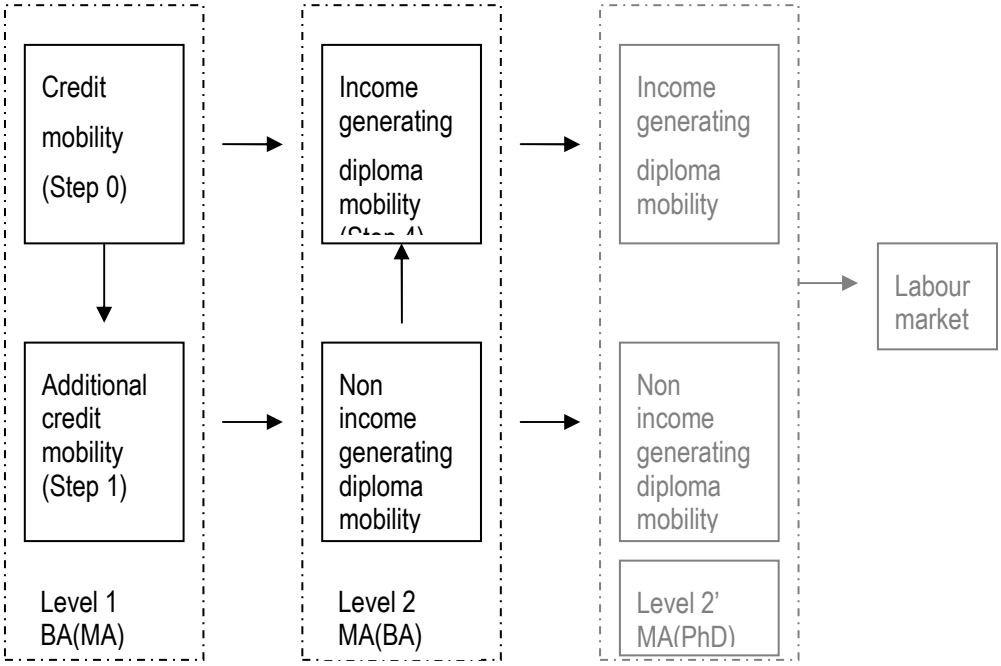
Consequently, the benefits of inward student mobility lie in its nature as a key for realising the internationalising strategies of higher educational institutions; these strategies in the long run may serve the sustainability and stable operation of HEIs in the CEE region. The benefits of student mobility are stronger in case of diploma mobility than in case of credit mobility. Hence it is important to create an action plan within the internationalisation

strategy of the institution for increasing the number of inward diploma mobile students. Next, a model is shown which may serve as a base for such action plans.

3. The model: moving from credit mobility to diploma mobility

In the following the theoretical model will be shown presenting the process of how inward credit mobility may result in an increased volume of inward diploma mobility in the future. The logic is unique in its nature and. No evidence was found of an existing similar model in the literature.

Graph 1 The model of moving from credit mobility to degree mobility



Source: Author's own compilation

The starting point of the model is a given student pool with a relatively stable number of inward credit mobile students from semester to semester (Spet 0). Most typically in the CEE region the majority of these students is Erasmus+ students. If these students return home satisfied after the exchange period, it generates more incoming students in the future through the word of mouth. An Erasmus Student Network Survey (Krzaklewska - Krupnik 2005) showed that out of the 7755 exchange students surveyed, 98% would recommend studying abroad to their friends. Such results support this part of the model.

Additional inward credit mobile students are the step 1 of the model. Usually this phenomenon happens at the bachelor's level, and sometimes at the master's level because the duration of bachelors' studies is normally longer (3-3.5 years) than master's studies (1-2 years), and thus provides more room for a mobility period. Step 0 and 1 belongs to the first level (level 1) of the model, which is the credit mobility level.

The increased number of incoming credit mobile students will give an increased pool of potential students for inward diploma mobility, which is the second level of the model (level 2). The logic here is the same as in case of moving from step 0 to step 1; student satisfaction is the key. Satisfied credit mobile (e.g. Erasmus+) students may wish to continue their studies in the receiving university, where they earlier spent 1-2 semesters and complete there an entire academic programme. The programme chosen may be either higher level than the one during the credit mobility or the same level. Entering a higher level programme is a vertical mobility, while enrolling into a same level programme is horizontal mobility. This second level of the model is most typically characteristic for master's studies and less often for bachelor's studies.

At level 2 the author distinguishes income generating and non-income generating diploma mobility, as explained earlier. Its importance lies in the characteristic of the CEE region. The higher education institutions in this region (in general) are in the introduction stage of the product life cycle, where the product is the diploma programmes for international students. This marketing approach will help us understand the necessity for separating income and non income generating student mobility. In the product introduction stage HEIs may choose to accept an international diploma mobile student with scholarship options, where the student does not pay tuition fee. Thus with such an action the given university waives the tuition fee. This cost is considered a marketing cost, because the satisfied students' recommendation may result in future tuition-fee paying (and thus income generating) diploma mobile students (from step 3 to step 4).

The above explained Level 1 and Level 2 - with other words the transformation from credit mobility to diploma mobility – is the core of the model. The Level 2' and the entering of the labour market are the expansion of the model. After an international student graduates with satisfaction from a diploma programme, they might wish to enrol into another MA (vertical mobility) or a PhD (horizontal mobility) programme, which may also be income generating and non income generating. Later, having finished with the studies, international students may enter the labour market in the receiving town or country, which has implications not only for brain gain but for further economical benefits for the micro- and macro environment. These effects are not discussed in the current paper.

4. Future research and conclusions

4.1. Future research

The model explained above is going to be tested with an extensive survey among higher educational institutes with a focus on business and economics studies. It is necessary to narrow the population to only one specific field, since we know that there are great differences in terms if internationalisation between certain fields of study (e.g. student mobility in medicine draws quite different patterns).

Furthermore, career-tracking method will be used and in-depth personal interviews will be carried out to identify those students who first took part in credit mobility and later decided to get involved in diploma mobility, too. It will also be investigated how many students pursued diploma mobility in the same country and in the same institution where he/she did credit mobility. The above introduced model will be accepted only if significant number of students will be found who return for diploma mobility to their credit mobile receiving institution.

A great difficulty in similar researches is that the database available for student mobility are not consistent, even the volume of certain mobility types is not recorded thoroughly. Several authors (Rivza - Teichler 2007; Junor - Usher 2008; Woodfield 2010) confirm that information about student mobility is generally imprecise and deficient. Furthermore, Techiler et al (2011) state that in the statistics, in general, foreign students are 25% above the genuine inward mobility. One of the reasons behind the misleading data is that student mobility is usually measured based on nationality, rather than the crossing of country's borders. This was also realised by the EHEA Ministerial Conference (2012), thus a goal was set to create a reliable data base on the inward mobility in the EU. The database will serve as a supporting background for targeting new EHEA goals in 2015 (EHEA Ministerial Conference, 2012).

4.2. Summary and conclusion

Student mobility has numerous forms worldwide, out of which this paper focused on those ones which are the most relevant to the Central and Eastern European Region, most importantly on the ERASMUS+. The paper presented the various forms of student mobility and explained their importance and effect on the internationalisation endeavours of the universities. An institutional approach and a managerial point of view were taken when introducing mobility types. A significant result of this paper is that a unique logic and typology of student mobility was introduced, namely the income generating and non income generating mobility.

So far few studies have been carried out measuring the relationship between the credit- and degree mobility. This deficit has been attempted to be made up by literature review and the drafting of a model. The presented theoretical model shows a possible process for how an increased volume of inward credit mobility may generate increased inward diploma mobility in the same receiving institution on the long run. The model is going to be tested with an extensive survey among higher educational institutes with a focus on business and economics studies. Since the issue is complex and current data on student mobility islimited, to complement the quantitative data, qualitative information will be collected by career path analysis and in depth personal interviews.

After the model is confirmed and/or possibly amended, it may be used as a theoretical base for drafting action plans for increasing the number of inward diploma mobility at given higher education institutions as part of their internationalisation strategy. The research will be rewarding on the long run, at the end of a complex theoretical and empirical study. Researchers and higher educational professionals are invited to join in the process.

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HVORECZKY, Jozef

Mismanagement as a Policy Endorsed by Legislation: A Key Deformation of the Slovak Tertiary Education System

Abstract. The Slovakian investment into science and education is much lower than the OECD average. University managers often use this fact as their excuse for their absence in the top 500 universities ranking. In our paper, we cast doubt on this argumentation. We presume that the key reasons lie in the inappropriate legislation, wrongly-designed external and internal mechanisms of quality control and too complex organizational structures of universities.

Several financially undemanding systemic suggestions are presented. Their application would facilitate the position of Slovakia inside the European Higher Education area and, in a long-term perspective, could lead to solid and durable improvements of its system of tertiary education.

1. Introduction

Among the Visegrad Four countries, Slovakia is the only one without a university in the ARWE ranking [1]. Often, the insufficient financing of universities is epitomized as the key obstacle for their aspirations. It is a matter of fact that the Slovakian investment into science and education is much lower than the OECD average and belongs to the low end [2, p. 186].

From 2006 to 2008, the Slovak system of tertiary education was evaluated by the European Association of Universities (EUA). Its final report [3], identifies additional obstacles to the universities'progress:

- Underdeveloped strategic capacity of universities,
- Legal barriers prohibiting the full inclusion of Slovakia into the European Higher Education Area (EHEA),
- An extremely complex organizational structure required by the University Act,
- Low level of autonomy regarding university decisions on their preferred profile and on the weights they want to attribute to fostering the quality of teaching, research and innovation or entrepreneurial activities,
- Rigid and bureaucratic grant regulations which combined with small financial support limits the wider international presentation of gained research results,
- Absence of a trust-based approach to quality assurance,
- Non-attractive working conditions, in particular low salaries,
- Low proportion of funds available on competitive basis,

- Overlooking of different needs of learners and their competences needed to excel in tomorrow's working environments,
- Unreliable long-term legal conditions and their dependence on party and coalition changes.

In our presentation, we discuss first five issues. In Sections 2 and 3 we present their symptoms and their effect on the universities' daily performance. In Chapter 4, we outline directions to their potential cure. The system is underfinanced and one can hardly believe in a quick increase of funding. For this reason, we prefer low-cost solutions. They do not require external subsidies; they rather call for a mobilization of the internal capacities of universities and call for the inclination of university management, lecturers and researchers to perceive their current unfortunate situation as a challenge.

2. Underdeveloped strategic capacity of universities

With one exemption (Comenius University established in 1919), the majority of Slovak universities came into life between 1939 and 1989 i.e. during totalitarian regimes. The governments strictly controlled their internal processes and the staff composition. The universities' procedures as well as the course content had to comply by the ruling party's ideology. The Ministry of Education functioned as its practical provider and the ruling controlling body.

All private universities (and a certain portion of public universities) were established after the so-called Velvet Revolution i.e. after 1989. There exists a tension between "older" and "younger" institutions. The older ones look at them as "intruders" into their traditional possession and lobby for their exclusion from the system. Naturally, they run the relevant activities behind the scene. Nevertheless, their outcomes are often visible and measurable. For example, the first private university was established sixteen years ago. Since then, the composition of the Accreditation Commission has completely changed five times. No educator or researcher from a private university was invited to be its member. As a result, the commission misses insights that would help it to make a more qualified decision respecting specifics of this type of tertiary institutions. Later we show that mistakes of this kind really happen.

Despite democratic changes in many parts of society, the Ministry of Education did not step away of its reign and seemingly does not plan to do so. It takes itself as the only authority capable (and permitted) to design, organize and control the strategy of not only tertiary educational system as a whole but also of all of its components. Below we specify tools used for these purposes.

The change in the system comes slowly because external impulses are weak. There are just a few educators and researchers coming from industry or from abroad. Practically all the staff of the newly established institutions moved in from the previously existing ones.

They bring their style of thinking and habits. They have not got accustomed to the autonomy and creativity typical for top academic institutions. They simply obey the Ministry's orders and requests. As a result, only a few university managers are capable to think strategically.

This situation is not specific for Slovakia alone. Some indicators show that it is symptomatic for the entire region. Table 1 shows the percentage of positive answers to the question: *Have you visited an online course during last three months?* As online education is a highly progressive and quickly emerging form of education, the percentage indirectly shows how quickly educational systems of the countries are capable of designing strategic changes and implementing them.

Just a part of the OECD table is shown. Out of 28 EU members, the leading countries and those lagging behind are presented. Surprisingly, no country of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire is in the front of the table; they are occupying its bottom. As online education belongs among non-traditional teaching methodologies and requires a rather different style of thinking [4], the table data suggest that the conservatism of the Central and Eastern European academicians and their readiness to be controlled by authorities might be rooted quite far in the history.

Table 1 Percentage of participants of online courses

State \ Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2013
Finland	13	14	13	14	14	15
Island	9	13	10	9	10	12
Lithuania	5	4	8	8	10	11
United Kingdom	5	5	7	7	6	10
Spain	5	6	7	8	9	9
Estonia	7	5	6	6	6	6
EU (28 countries)	3	3	4	4	5	6
Croatia	1	1	2	1	2	5
Slovakia	1	1	1	1	1	4
Latvia	6	8	7	5	5	3
Czech Republic	1	2	1	1	3	3
Austria	1		1	2	3	3
Cyprus	1	1	1	1	2	3
Bulgaria	1	1	1	2	2	2
Poland		2	1	2	2	

Source: [5]

3. Legal barriers prohibiting the inclusion into the EHEA

The principal weapon helping to the Ministry of Education to keep its power is the University Act [6]. It does it in two ways:

- At the country level, it is provided by (mis)using the national Accreditation Commission,
- At the university level, it enforces uniform ineffective organizational structures (as such ones can be manipulated more easily) and the isolation of universities from their international academic and local non-academic communities (as it minimizes the probability of incorporation of newcomers – potential rebels).

Below, we identify the legislation barriers which prohibit the universities' autonomy and reduce a number of "free-lancers" – the individuals who could serve as leaders in upgrading quality of education and research but may become a threat to the ministry's position of the ruler.

3.1. Incompatible accreditation

The only institution approved to accredit study programs at Slovak universities is the national Accreditation Commission [7]. Accreditations by other agencies are not forbidden but they remain invalid unless they are accompanied by a Slovak positive accreditation. Due to that, the majority of tertiary institutions are not interested in gaining it. There are a few exceptions (for example Vysoká škola manažmentu v Trenčíne cooperates with City University of Seattle on its Business Administration study programs accredited in the USA) but the ministry often expresses certain suspicion about their purpose and quality.

Even worse, the national Accreditation Commission is not fully responsible for the study programs of Slovak universities. It only prepares data for the ministry because (in accordance with the University Act [6]) all its conclusions must be approved by the Minister of Education. This contradicts to the standard accreditation procedures as specified by the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA). ENQA requests the national agencies to be independent bodies. On Page 9 of its Standards and Guidelines [8], it literally says: *Agencies should be independent to the extent both that they have autonomous responsibility for their operations and that the conclusions and recommendations made in their reports cannot be influenced by third parties such as higher education institutions, ministries or other stakeholders*.

Unless the present Slovak legislation changes, Slovakia cannot become a member of ENQA. Bu the country's own decision, it might remain an "unwanted child" of the EHEA.

The long-term consequences of such judgement can be fatal: a negligible (or even zero) value of Slovak titles and diplomas abroad.

The Report on Education [9] prepared by the Government of Slovakia discusses the problem but does not specify any date of change. After two years from its publication, there is no sign of alteration of the current rules in a near future.

3.2. Ineffective organizational structure

The EUA report also criticizes the rigidity of the University Act [3, Page 25]: *"… the law … provides a significant degree of detail, e.g. on the number of members, term of mandate, and composition of the academic senate, on not having deans as members in the senate; this is also true for the self-government structures of the faculties".* It is important to add that this prescribed model is uniform and applies to all tertiary institutions regardless their type and size. Private universities have to introduce the same structure, but have certain (minimal) freedom in specifying rights and privileges of its particular bodies.

Among many problems resulting from this compulsory organizational structure, one has disastrous consequences for public universities. Their academic senates are in the position of the highest decision-making body. It leads to a dichotomy: Formally, the rectors are the university's statutory persons. The senators take decisions but the responsibility for their implementation is upon the rectors. It results in a paradoxical mismanagement: *The senates have power to decide but not responsibility for their decisions. The responsibility falls upon the rectors who may disagree with them*. If a firm would be managed in the same way, its bankruptcy would be on the horizon.

The EUA report suggests the simplification of the law and liberalization of these regulations. Its suggestion can be quite easily introduced by a rule giving every university a possibility to define its own, distinct and specific organizational structure. If such a principle would come into effect, the university could decide whether it will continue in using its current organizational model or will opt for a new, different one.

The existing model not only contradicts the basic principles of efficient and effective management. It often results into the "solidarity of incompetent" [10], too. As the key decisions of the senates are made by polling, a majority of votes from academically weak departments can decide on the acceptance of decisions implementing their short-term benefits. The long-term development of the institute remains neglected. The reduction of senates' power might increase the probability of adoption of a more progressive decision-making model.

If the uniform organizational structure would be abolished, the university willing to progress should implement organizational structures based on the principles of standard management. The distance of their newly introduced model from the current one would

indicate the degree in which the university is aware of the weaknesses in its managerial procedures and is capable to formulate its mission.

3.3. Non-motivating system of research funds

The proportion of the budget entitled to research in Slovakia belongs among the smallest in the European Union. Kačírková [11] shows that the universities got for their research only 0,24% of GDP in 2010. (Today's figures are likely similar.)

Not only is the total insufficient, its distribution is illogical as well. The above mentioned governmental report [9] shows that from the total of 112 878 078 € allocated in 2011 to the university research, only 18 624 499 €, i.e. 16,5% went to their research projects. The rest (83,5%) was distributed in the form of bulk money (so-called "institutional funds") i.e. without identifying no specific aim but "support of research". Such wording allows a very free interpretation including a better heating system or a new rector's limousine.

To support more intensive investigations and studies, the purpose of the finance should be stated more specifically. It can be achieved by inverting the proportion between the bulk and grant money – the project-guided grants should prevail their institutional counterparts. On one side, such money transfer does not cost anything. On the other side, it would make the process more transparent because the funds would go to exactly specified projects with their well-defined deliverables. The money would go to the hands of researchers with good reputation and already recognized results who are capable to identify their future research directions.

The remaining portion would be distributed by academic senates as it is done now. The academic senates welcome current distribution as it strengthens their power. It offers a larger room for a non-transparent spreading in which the "solidarity of incompetent" plays a substantial role.

3.4. Discrimination of private universities' research

The above distribution of research funds, has one specific feature that makes Slovakia a black sheep among OECD countries.

All the above specified 83,5% of research subsidies go to public universities only. No private university gets a cent of them. The rest is allocated via three grant agencies – VEGA, KEGA, and APVV. Just one of them (APVV) really awards private universities. Researchers from private universities can also send their applications to the other two, but their "successful" applications are awarded "grants" in the size 0 € (literally, zero euro). Their requested money is distributed among the projects of public and state universities ranked below them. First, such a rule is evidently unethical as it allocates sources for weaker projects and disregards the better ones. As the research results are a public

property, one can ask what the aim of this discrimination is. One can only guess that the lobbying of the traditional universities is the cause.

In addition to that, finances for APVV are not coming regularly. The VEGA and KEGA agencies are subsided from the national budget annually. This is not true for APVV. It is the only national agency which gets money out of any regular pattern. In some years, none at all. In these years, the private universities have no chance to apply for a single euro for their research activities.

To complete this paradoxical structure, let us add that the criteria of Accreditation Commission expect the same level of research from all HEI- both public and private. One of the criterions is the amount of finance obtained for their grant projects.

3.5. Unequal treatment of private and public universities

A discriminative character of the accreditation criterion described above is evident: *The money allocated for research goes almost exclusively to the public universities. If their amount obtained by a university (regardless of its type) is used as a criterion of its research quality, the private universities will lag behind.* Despite many protests from the private institutions, the principles of research funds distribution remain unchanged. The continuing application of this rule seems to function as a weapon against private institutions.

The concept of "a weapon against private universities" may sound too expressive. Unfortunately, the research funds distribution is not the only case which demonstrated a negative attitude of the Ministry of Education against them. Other facts propose similar interpretations:

- The ministers Jan Mikolaj [12] a Dusan Caplovic [13] expressed their negative positions to establishing new private universities prior to receiving their accreditation documents. They claimed that there is too many private universities in Slovakia. In reality, the official statistics of the (same) ministry proves that the number of universities in Slovakia is – per capita – the lowest among the Visegrad Four countries. At the same time, Slovakia is the leader in the number of *public* universities among Visegrad Four [14]. So, if there is a need for some reduction, it should start with public institutions.
- The negative attitude towards private universities does not depend on the political orientation of the minister. Eugen Jurzyca (formally representing a right-wing party) has to be ordered by the court to forward a document approved by the Accreditation Commission to the Government meeting [15].
- There are no signs of a progress. The current minister Juraj Draxler also refused to forward two documents approved by the Accreditation Commission to the Government [16]. When he finally did, he instantly expressed his disparagement to

their establishment. He used the same argument again: There are too many universities [17]. He disregarded the fact that the formation of a private university does not lead to additional requirements to the state budget.

In many countries, the private tertiary institutions are taken as equal partner of their academic community. They are often welcome as they increase the diversity of their educational system without requesting additional public sources to education. The economic reasoning leads us to a conclusion that the price of education (per capita) decreases. So, the reasons of the ministers' negative attitude are not economic. They are either political or personal or both.

Regardless of the reasons, one can conclude that Slovak ministers act as the "owners" of the public tertiary sector. They do not consider themselves to be its administrators responsible for creating optimal conditions for all participating bodies. They are aware that their financial leverage helps them to control public universities more easily. In order to keep maximum control over the system, they openly perform steps leading to the elimination of their favorite sector's competition.

3.6. Flaws in Human Resource management

Promotions to higher university positions do not follow standards typical for prestigious universities. They are based on "secret brotherhood" principles [18]. Such communities act in isolation, rely on its internal members and create artificial barriers in order to minimize any external influence. The Slovak regulations for promoting educators to the positions of docent and professor exemplify this scheme:

- Only a candidate passing through a habilitation process can apply for a position of docent (associate professor). Only a candidate passing through an inauguration process can apply for a position of (full) professor. As both processes run in a few of Central and Eastern Europe countries, this requirement disqualifies many promising international candidates, including probably all Nobel Prize winners.
- Not all universities are approved to execute the inauguration and habilitation processes. As a result, a promising candidate from an unapproved institution must apply for it at another one (having the permission). An analogy in the business world would be Coca-Cola asking Pepsi-Cola for approving its director's nomination.
- After the delivery of an application from non-approved university, the approved one faces a moral dilemma. The subsidies from the national budget are allocated in accordance to the number of full and associate professors. If the university thinks economically, it will protect its internal candidates and try to eliminate external ones. This is another example of weaknesses in moral standards and of missing ethical regulations of the academic community.

There are many other indications demonstrating that academic honesty and integrity are not enforced to their desired level. Many educators and researchers do not recognize globally accepted principles of purity and originality of research results. Plagiarism is wide spread. Several illustrations follows; many others can be found in Dudáš [19]:

- Glovičko [20] describes a case of a dean–plagiarizer..
- Another convicted plagiator applied for the function of the university rector [21].
- The high disrespect of academic community to the honesty issues indicates the fact that that the would-be rector got 20 voices of the electors – approximately one third of the senate total.

As deans and rectors are elected by the top decision-making body – Faculty or University Senate – one can conclude that this negative attitude takes its roots very deeply in the community's mentality. All above cases have been published in journals and books. One would expect that they would evoke a broad discussion within academic community. Its silence indicates that it does not consist of the ethically strong individuals. There are certainly some but their position is probably not strong enough to open such discussion and set up moral appropriate standards.

4. Igniting changes

In Chapter 2, our analysis shows that Slovakian universities are rather conservative. They resemble secret brotherhoods. From this perspective, their reluctance to changes is not surprising. As we have also shown, their conservativism is not exceptional and is quite typical for their partner institutions in Central and Eastern European region.

When one plans changes, he/she can hardly expect their sudden willingness to undergo transformation processes. A recent attempt of the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic to launch a university reform can serve as a warning. The attempt meet with strong resistance of the academic community. As demonstrated in [14], its argumentation [22] was often baseless and irrational. The attempt failed and the minister was dismissed. No next reform is on horizon.

All of it suggests us to be cautious. An effort to make a massive transformation faces a failure. Our analysis recommends using strategies based on a voluntary implementation of improvements individually selected by the bodies willing to change. Only such an approach may bring a stepwise transformation headed by progressive thinkers.

In any case, any transformation will require modifications in the Slovak legislation. It should reject the current "one size fits all" approach. Instead of it, it should offer alternatives which will lead to ruptures in the present uniformity. As the institutions will be permitted to implemented different elements of the transformation, the system will undergo a stepwise

diversification. Each and every university will be permitted to choose the managerial structures and procedures it upgrades and which it leave unchanged. Different alterations done by different institutions will result in a diversified environment.

The voluntary innovations form a good strategy, but they themselves do not suffice. Costly changes would repel universities' from their implementation, i.e. would hinder the process and slow down the transformation. For that reason, our presented solutions are "inexpensive" meaning that they do not request any additional financial flows into the system. It is because we would like to underline that substantial reformation steps do not depend on money – they depend on the readiness of all stakeholders to accept the idea.

The modifications in the Slovak legislation should follow the following directions:

- To define the Accreditation Commission as an independent certification body in accordance with the ENQA standards. It would allow its succession to ENQA which is nowadays impossible.
- To cancel the prescribed uniform organizational structure of universities. All tertiary education bodies should be permitted to design and implement a different internal structure or to keep the current one – depending on their individual decision. Such a rule would also enhance their autonomy because the institution would become fully responsible not for its decisions but also for the processes which lead to them.
- To change the proportion between research funds allocated directly to institutions and those distributed in the form of research grants. In a stepwise manner (in the horizon of 5-7 years) to invert their portions. The majority of the research finance should go directly to the project coordinators. Their status should resemble that of entrepreneurs. The change would increase competitiveness among researchers and lead to the higher quality of their projects and results.
- To give the private universities access to all grant schemes. Opening up to all tertiary education institutions would remove existing discrimination and lead to fair accreditation criteria. As a side effect, it would build compatible research environments at different types of institutions.
- To stop requesting habilitations and inaugurations as a presumption to promotion to the top academic positions. This change would open room for a worldwide competition among educators and researchers for their appropriate academic functions in Slovakia. The selection of the best candidates would increase the prestige of the Slovak educational system and quickly incorporate it into the EHEA.

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5. Conclusions

As our proposals presume their implementation on a voluntary basis, they might lead to stepwise changes in the organizational culture inside the system. The change will likely start from the "islands of positive deviation" – not-frequent-but-existing departments following international standards in both education and research and achieving corresponding results. They believe in the formation of an environment suitable for individual initiatives. Our proposed principles favor them, promote them and use them as accelerators of future positive development.

We do not expect that the implementation of the above proposals would solve all problems of the tertiary education system in the Slovak Republic. There are many more including a necessity of its better financing. Nevertheless, their implementation would introduce a spirit of change into the community and made the system more attractive for ambitious educators and researchers. They need a challenging environment in which they can demonstrate their personality. Their absence is likely the biggest barrier slowing down the progress of our higher education area.

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KECZER, Gabriella

University Governance in Western Europe and in the Visegrád Countries

Abstract. The so called Visegrád countries -- Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic -- have the same historic heritage and a similar socio-economic path since the change of the political system. Hence, it is worth to compare the policies, characteristics and progress of their higher education systems. Obviously, it is also important to see whether the policies regarding universities and the progress of higher education in the V4 countries are converging to the Western countries, or the gap is widening. I focus my analysis on the governance of higher education institutions in the Visegrád countries. I present their historical path from the communist era, and analyze where they are heading nowadays – compared to the Western European countries.

1. Introduction: University governance

As far as university governance is concerned several definitions exist. In my paper I build on the definition of Eurydice. University governance is 'the formal and informal exercise of authority under laws, policies and rules that articulate the rights and responsibilities of various actors, including the rules by which they interact'. (Eurydice 2008:12)

In the modern history of universities two kinds of governing systems have developed: the shared governance in England and the USA, and the traditional continental European system. The main characteristics of these systems are as follows.

In the system of shared governance, there are at least three authorities that share the power: the governing board (of trustees, regents, etc.), the faculty (represented in the senate) and the administrative leaders (president, provost, deans). Boards have fiduciary responsibility for all that goes on in the university, but they delegate most of their authority to the president, and are involved only is major issues of policy. Presidents often appoint a team including central administrators and deans that oversees the university. The senate has authority only in academic issues. External stakeholders are present in the governance of the universities: they execute control in the name of the public via the boards.

In the traditional continental European university governing system power is in the hands of the faculty. The senate has authority in all types of issues, including strategic, financial and personal affairs. Rectors are only 'primus inter pares' (first among equals) elected by the senate, thus he is dependant on the electors. So are the other administrative leaders. There is no board, so external stakeholders and the public have no direct control over the operation of the universities. In most of the Western European countries traditional governing system was dominant until the end of the 20th century. In the Middle European

countries a special soviet governing system was introduced after the Second World War, then after the change of the regime in 1990 they returned to the traditional governing system.

2. University governance reforms in Western Europe

At the turn of the century Western European countries successfully implemented reforms to introduce all the crucial elements of shared governance, e.g. Belgium, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Austria, and Denmark. The following recapitulative description of the reforms results from analyzing the documents and surveys of the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS), Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), the OECD, the Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE), Eurydice and Higher Education Modernization European Platform (MODERN). Governance reforms have two dimensions: change in the external and in the internal governance of universities.

2.1. Main changes in the external governance

Since the 1990s the relationships in governing universities have become more complex. In many countries, coordination has changed from a classical form of regulation dominated by a single actor, the state, to forms in which various actors at various system levels coordinate higher education. We can call it 'multi-level multi-actor governance' (for details see e.g. Kersbergen – Waarden 2004).

State power has been dissipated in three directions; there has been an:

- upward shift as policy agendas and strategic decisions are increasingly made at the supra-national level (e.g. the European Union, World Bank),
- downward shift as regions, local governments and higher education institutions themselves are granted greater operating autonomy,
- outward shift as traditional tasks of the state are moved to NGOs or private actors (for details see e.g. Pierre – Peters 2000).

Shift from state control to state supervision, or 'steering from a distance' has become the dominant philosophy of national governments. Nevertheless this does not mean the absence of government; through national agenda setting and macro steering mechanisms, governments still play a vital role in higher education (for details see e.g. Goedegebuure et al. 1993)

Another general trend in European higher education governance is the enhancement of institutional autonomy. While there are important differences between higher education systems, institutional autonomy has grown overall, creating opportunities for public universities to determine their own profiles and strategies. This is not the case for all

dimensions of autonomy; public universities in many countries do not have managerial flexibility in internal governance arrangements, staff and student selection and formal accountability requirements.

Because of the budgetary consequences of the continuously increasing size of public higher education, higher education has become more politically salient. National governments have become more concerned about costs and the efficiency of higher education. This increasing focus on accountability and performance has led the introduction of new funding arrangements: diversification of funding base, more performance- and competition-based financing and expanding student support systems (for details see e.g. Bleiklie -- Kogan 2007).

2.2. Main changes in the internal governance

In the internal governance of the universities the main trend has been the strengthening of higher education institutions as better integrated organizations, rather than a loosely coupled system of faculties with weak central leadership. Working conditions are more standardized, powerful managerial structures are established and collegial structures are weakened and replaced by stakeholder boards. This can be called 'academic capitalism' (for details see e.g. Boer et al. 2007).

The way of governing inside universities has also changed. Power is now located at the top level of institutions. This has caused the strengthening of institutional leadership. A parallel trend is that institutional leaders are in many cases being selected instead of elected, making it possible to appoint leaders from outside the institution, and in some cases the higher education sector. In many countries, the executive head (rector/president/chancellor) has gained more formal powers. University leaders who used to be *primus inter pares* are now more often in the position of chief executive officers running a corporate institution (for details see e.g. Bleiklie -- Kogan 2007).

The strengthening of institutional leadership has also had an impact on leadership styles within the institutions. Traditional notions of collegiality and consensus-based decision-making have been replaced by businesslike management and the professionalization of administration. External stakeholders are increasingly involved in university governance structures. They sometimes have a consultative role and sometimes a full role in the decision making process (for details see Estermann -- Nokkala 2009). The strengthening of executive positions in the institutions and the increasing role of external stakeholders has happened at the expense of academics, students and their representative bodies.

3. University Governance in the Visegrád Countries

In the Visegrád countries -- Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, and Slovakia -- reforms were launched to turn towards the shared governance system after the strict central control

of the universities in the communist regime. But as the CHEPS, IMHE and OECD country reports show, either the goals of the reforms were more moderate or the goals were radical but the implementation has failed because of the resistance of universities. Academic and strategic decision-making duties are not separated from each other in any of the countries, senates are responsible of both. Advisory boards have appeared in all countries, but their role is limited. In this aspect Middle-Europe's path differs from that of the rest of Europe. In Poland and Hungary it is not compulsory to set up such boards. We have to note that in the Czech Republic and Slovakia the advisory boards consist of only external members, so these countries moved further towards the shared governance system than the others – see Table 1. (Eurydice 2008)

Table 1 Governance of higher education institutions

	Executive head	**Academic body**	**Decision-making body**	**Advisory/Supervision body**
Czech R.	rector	senate (only university members)		board of trustees (only external members)
Hungary	rector	senate (only university members)		economic council (internal and external members)
Poland	rector	senate (only university members)		council (optional)
Slovakia	rector	senate (only university members)		board of trustees (only external members)

Source: Own construction based on Eurydice 2008 and Eurypedia

3.1. Initiatives concerning the internal governance of universities in Hungary

The legal background for higher education governance after the change of the political regime was created in Act no. LXXX of 1993 on Higher Education (Article 13, Sections 51 through 59). The act granted the Hungarian state-owned institutions of higher education rights to exercise a wide scope of autonomy and, at the same time, it specified the confines of such autonomy. The scope of operation of a university at that time could be characterized as follows:

- theoretically, complete autonomy in professional terms, which is, however, restricted, for example, by training requirements
- relative autonomy of operation – only within the legal confines
- restricted employment autonomy, which is considerably confined, for example, by the law on public servants and the requirements for appointing university professors
- almost complete lack of economic and financial autonomy.

According to the act, the managing board of an institution of higher education is the institutional council, vested with the right to decide on academic, strategic, personal, and economic issues. The same board is entitled to elect the head of the institution (the rector or the principal). The institutional council is chaired by the rector or principal. At least one-fourth and at most one-third of the council is composed of representatives elected by students, and at least one-third thereof consists of representatives of the professors and associate professors. The act provides that representation of the faculties in the council should be ensured. This requirement is fulfilled in the majority of institutions in such a way that each faculty is entitled to delegate an equal number of representatives to the institutional council. The above system of management is actually close to the model of organization and operation of the period before the Second World War, thus is inappropriate for the conditions and requirements of the 21st century, and fails to reflect the trends characteristic of the university management in developed countries.

The reform of Hungarian university management was initiated by the liberal educational government that came into power in 2002: in September 2002, it launched the programme entitled „Accession to the European Higher Education Area" (AEHEA). As a first step, experts were commissioned to work out the first fundamental concepts. These were then used by an operative team to prepare the detailed version of the concept (Hungarian Ministry of Education 2003) that was finalized by the end of 2003. The fundamental principles pertaining to the new system of university management included the following:

- more autonomy of the universities regarding finances, organization, and operation
- simultaneously, more efficient and controlled handling of public moneys and assets
- more flexible and market-compliant operation
- professional management.

As regards the status of the institutions of higher education, the AEHEA concept offered two alternatives: a modified budgetary subsystem, or a public benefit company. In either case, university management would be implemented under the idea of university governance; three actors would share power: the supervisory board (SB) to be created in

the fashion of a board of directors and having the right to pass strategic and economic decisions, with half of its members being assigned by the maintaining body and the other half being delegated by the institution, the senate whose scope of competence would be restricted to academic issues only, and the rector elected by the SB and vested with the scope of executive competence. An important element of the concept is the long-term performance agreement to be stipulated by the institutions and the state, either as a budgetary subsystem or a public benefit company. The difference between the two options is in the scope of financial management (e.g., opportunity to apply for credits, ownership of the assets concerned) and the status of university instructors (employed either as public servants or as employees doing their jobs under the labour law). Perhaps the bravest element of the concept is the set of criteria to be met by the rector: the candidate need not be an instructor of the given university, neither is she or he required to have a scientific degree, and may pursue teaching or research activity only upon the approval of the SB. The rector may not have an academic or unit head status, and his selection is to be based predominantly on his proven managerial skills. The experts' intention is clear and, in theory, correct regarding the role of the rector, however, chances for its adoption were practically nil even at the time of its conception.

The new draft law on higher education (Hungarian Ministry of Education 2004) was elaborated on the basis of the AEHEA concept. The educational government opened a public debate on the draft version. As a result of considerable resistance on the part of the sphere of higher education, the proposal was re-worked a number of times and became considerably diluted. It took a long time to submit, and was proposed for approval by the Parliament only in the spring of 2005. Compared to the original concept, the features of distortion can be summarized as follows. The original goal of the legal regulation was to ensure more efficient operation, the final version, however, focuses on granting various autonomies to universities. (Bizarre as it is, the Constitutional Court deemed the law unacceptable on account of its encroaching on academic freedom.) The proposal to modify the status of the institutions of higher education was rejected: universities will remain budgetary institutions, albeit with a larger space for financial management. As regards the scope of the SB and the senate, there was a considerable shift for the benefit of the senate. Another feature for the benefit of the academic community would have been the proposal contained in the final version according to which the chairman of the SB would be the rector of the university (in this respect, however, there was much concern about overdue expansion of the rector's influence). According to the draft law submitted to the Parliament, the senate would delegate the majority of the members to the SB, and the concept regarding the traditional position of the rector (which can be fulfilled by a university professor who is also a full employee of the given institution of higher education) was also reinstituted, without the need to announce a call for applications.

Characteristically, even this considerably softened law failed to pass the constitutionality review. In October 2005, the Constitutional Court declared that the university management system set forth in the law does in fact infringe on the freedom of teaching, the freedom of scientific life, and the autonomy of the institutions of higher education (Hungarian Constitutional Court 2005).

As a result, the educational government was forced to completely re-work the whole legal regulation. According to Act No. CXXXIX of 2005 on higher education adopted on November 29, 2005, the body of a university making decisions and controlling the implementation of those decisions is the senate, comprised of a majority of members elected from instructors and researchers. Instead of a Supervisory Board, Economic Councils are to be established, which, however, will represent bodies with the right to express their opinion and participate in the preparation of strategic decisions and the control of their implementation. Their only competence is restricted to monitoring the operation of the university and notifying the maintaining body if they find that necessary. It is important to note that even this body with the rather restricted scope of competence is required to operate with a proportion of 5-2, and 6-3 university-ministry delegates.

Following the seizing of power for the second time, the social-liberal government made an attempt at amending the law in order to strengthen the role of the Economic Council. Pursuant to the law amended on July 24, 2006, the rector would have been allowed to submit certain proposals to the senate only upon consent obtained from the Economic Council, including the institutional development plan, the university order of accounting, the development concepts, initiatives regarding the establishment of business organizations, plans relating to asset management, and the budget and report of the institution. But this version also failed in front of the Constitutional Court on September 25 (Hungarian Constitutional Court 2006). According to the reasons adduced, the Economic Council is not a self-governed body of higher education, yet there would be a possibility to prevent the university from making its decisions autonomously, and scientific quality would be hindered in the course of exercising the right of consent. The reasoning was the same in all of the other Middle-European countries.

It is interesting to note that governance-based management of a university is not against any of the fundamental laws in obviously democratic Western European countries resting on a firm constitutional foundation, the inclusion of external members in university management does not infringe on the autonomy of academic activity, whereas similar efforts in Hungary have failed the test of constitutionality. It is a fact that academic autonomy is wider in countries having shared governance than in the Visegrád countries with traditional governance – see Table 2.

Table 2 Academic Aautonomy across Europe

Rank	System	Score
1	Ireland	100%
2	Norway	97%
3	United Kingdom	94%
4	Estonia	92%
5	Finland	90%
6	Iceland	89%
7	Cyprus	77%
8	Luxembourg	74%
9	Austria	72%
	Switzerland	72%
11	Hesse	69%
	North Rhine-Westphalia	69%
13	Brandenburg	67%
14	Sweden	66%
15	Poland	63%
16	Italy	57%
	Spain	57%
17	Denmark	56%
	Slovakia	56%
20	Latvia	55%
21	Portugal	54%
22	Czech Republic	52%
23	The Netherlands	48%
24	Hungary	47%
25	Turkey	46%
26	Lithuania	42%
27	Greece	40%
28	France	37%

Source: Estermann et al. 2011:62

Nevertheless, the law in Hungary, as finally adopted, differed from the original concept in literal terms as well as in its spirit to such an extent that it would probably not have fulfilled

its original mission and would have brought with it a number of new conflicts and problems. As a result, there were many, even among those clearly supporting the reform at that time, who welcomed the decisions of the Constitutional Court. In my opinion, the failure of the attempt at reforming higher education had put the country, by September 2006, in a position that was worse than in September 2002, because the failed reform attempt made it impossible to place the management of Hungarian higher education on new grounds for a long period.

This is confirmed by the fact that the new Act No. CCIV of 2011 on the National Higher Education made it optional for the universities to set up Economic Councils – another step backwards. At the end of 2014 a new concept of higher education was accepted by the Hungarian government suggesting a kind of a shared governance system, but because of the strong opposition of the Rectors' Conference the government resigned. According to the new concept, two governing bodies would have shared the authority based on the division of academic and financial-strategic decisions. The so called Magistrate would have included the rector and the faculty representatives, while the so called Consistory would have been formed by the chancellor (see later) and the delegates of the government. (EMMI 2014) But by the beginning of 2015 this concept failed, and at this point we only know that "some kind of a board" will be set up in the public universities, but the authority of the Senate will stay intact.

A new institution in Hungarian university governance is the position of the chancellor introduced with the modification of higher education act in 2014. In Hungary chancellors are commissioners of the government to ensure more direct financial control, budgetary discipline and cost efficiency, and have a wide range of authority over strategic, financial and even human resources issues, including the vetoing of the decisions of the Senate. Since the chancellors started their work only a couple months ago, we do not see their effect on university governance yet.

3.2. Weaknesses of the traditional university governance system of the Visegrád countries

Higher education institutions are being granted more autonomy and their behaviour is expected to become more customer-oriented, more cost-aware and more sensitive towards the needs of society. (Pausits-Pellert 2009:39) Academic administration and management have become increasingly complex: the institutions have so far become larger and more multifaceted, the tasks have multiplied (modern 'multiversities') and therefore the need to provide skilled management and administration has increased (Kerr 2001, cited in: Pausits --Pellert:40). More management tasks have to be fulfilled at the institutional level than before. But traditional, collegial, consensus-based university governance with weak executive power cannot meet these expectations.

The main weaknesses of the traditional governance are the following:

- Collective decision-making is generally slower and less professional than those made by individuals with personal responsibility or by smaller groups. Collegial decision-making is introvert, making answering social challenges impossible. (Goedegebuure -- Boer 2001) Senates are too large, rigid, thus it is not capable of innovative decisions. (Sporn 2003 cited in: Barakonyi 2004a)
- "University management consists exclusively of scientists and the professionalism of leadership is not guaranteed. But university management nowadays cannot be a second job fulfilled along with lecturing and research, but it should be a full-time activity needing special competencies." (Felt 2003 cited in: Barakonyi 2004b:591)
- With a weak executive power it is difficult to strengthen the strategic operation of universities and to increase their performance, although they are key issues in a competitive environment. (OECD 2003)

I conducted in-depth interviews with 10 top university leaders, including 3 deans, 1 vice-rector, 1 college rector, and 5 university rectors. The higher education leaders interviewed assigned an average score of 2.9 to the traditional university governance on a scale of 1 to 5. Neither of the scores was higher than 3.5, and several responders gave a satisfactory score (around 2) only (indicating thereby that all of them considered a need for a change justified).

It is worth noting that the majority (7) of the respondents considered the same element to be the most important deficiency of the current system: the contradictory relations between the scope of competence and responsibility, the decision-makers and the leaders, the rector and the deans, the university and the faculties.

As many as three of the rectors put it using almost identical words: the biggest problem lies in the fact that the decisions are made either by the senate or by the faculties and faculty leaders, whereas final responsibility and related risks are assumed by the rector who is at their mercy. The major controversy in the current internal system of university management is between democratic, collective decision-making, on the one hand, and personal liability, on the other.

Importantly, two deans and a rector identified the discrepancy between faculty and university objectives as the major controversy in the current internal system of university management. They noted that a system of decision-making reflecting the philosophy where it is not the university that has faculties but the faculties have a university is unsuitable for realizing overall university objectives and represent all-university interests. The faculties are too powerful and capable of preventing strategically important measures through mainstreaming their partial interests. The given system considerably reduces the

room left for manoeuvring for the university management, and forces deans in the senate into a "schizophrenic" behaviour which compels them to take into consideration the not infrequently contradictory interests of their own faculty and those of the university at the same time. Another rector pointed out that the university is required to fulfil a large number of tasks centrally (administration, budget management, projects, regulations, etc). However, the management of the university is at the mercy of the faculties in this area as well. This may be illustrated by the obligation to accumulate remainder budgetary amounts at year-end, the responsibility for which is assigned by the ministry to the rector, whereas remainder amounts are to be created in faculty budgets/finances.

According to one of the rectors, real integration still has not been implemented (the earlier Soviet system of fragmented HE institutions was replaced by multi-faculty, integrated, regionally organized universities on January 01, 2000); faculty selfishness and lack of cooperation are manifest − albeit partly as a result of financial constraints −, thus parallel mechanisms and considerable economic irrationality have been preserved. The level of education and research is also affected owing to the fact that the students are taught not by those most suited for the task, and there is a lack of cooperation even between faculties carrying out research in identical scientific fields. As a result, an optimum condition is not reached at the university level either financially, or professionally.

In addition to the above problems experienced by the majority of the respondents, the following deficiencies of the current system were noted by university leaders: lack of professional management; insufficient horizontal and vertical communication, as well as flow of information; slow rate of decision-making; over-regulation; fragmented management structure (bodies, committees, offices, etc.).

In the Czech Republic higher education faces the same problems. In 1996 a new act of higher education including the shared governance system was drafted, but it was rejected by the parliament and was opposed by academia. The reasoning was the same with that of Hungary: the planned changes threatened academic autonomy. Thus, the new act of 1998 was a compromise; boards were set up but only with consultative role. But with this course of events the earlier problems have persisted. That is why the *Strategic plan for 2011-2015* states that the objectives are "Increasing the effectiveness of the system of governance of higher education; specifying the division of powers and responsibilities among key players (the Ministry, the Accreditation Commission, institutions and their representative bodies, external stakeholders), providing for a better performance of management mechanisms at institutional level." (Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports 2015)

3.3. Lessons not learned from Western Europe

An overview of the university governance reforms completed over the past decades in countries of Western Europe suggests that there exist a large number of common features

that should (have) be(en) taken into consideration in the initiatives in the Visegrád countries:

- In Western Europe the reforms were implemented gradually, in several steps, in 5-10 years (incremental changes instead of big bang).
- In line with the reforms, adequate financing on contractual basis were granted to universities.
- The type of staff employment and their order of remuneration changed.
- The framework-type regulation allowed for flexible and custom-tailored solutions, the higher education acts are only legal frameworks letting universities having their own versions, or offering alternatives instead of detailed, rigid, bureaucratic , 'one fits all' laws.
- The attempts focused on implementing professional institution management;
- The reforms were introduced via clever implementation including ex ante consultation, good communication etc.

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KERESZTY, Orsolya – KOVÁCS, Zsuzsa

Professional Development of Doctoral Students: Trends in the Literature

1. Introduction

Within professional learning or professional development we can define doctoral students undertaking teaching and researching tasks as a separate target group with special needs and requirements. Those professional development/support considerations that usually pertain to university teachers apply to them as well, yet these young researchers/teachers make up a separate group among teachers due to the special socializing function of doctoral programs, the preparation to undertake teaching tasks and the expected high-quality research. Research findings show that nowadays administrative tasks have become just as important and definitive as teaching and researching (Brew et al. 2011).

Researching the support of professional learning in Hungary is a new field which hitherto was mostly known as "educating educators". However, in Western Europe, Canada and the United States the support of professional learning as a research field has a history going back at least three decades. Researching professional learning has become definitive in the study of learning and teaching in the last three decades, and there is a clear move from collecting and analysing so-called good practices towards studies that focus on the learning processes of teachers and educators (Webster – Wright, 2009). Although we can find a great number of studies that deal with carrying out good practices, we can still say that researching professional learning is a new field in which few studies – that supply empirical evidence – have been done so far. Tertiary level institutions have a significant role in this field – partially due to its focus – but the dissemination of results is occasionally difficult and slow (Mundy et al, 2009). Within the field of supporting professional learning, we give special attention to the professional support of doctoral students. In our study we will review the main contributions of the international literature in this topic on the one hand, and on the other hand – reflecting on the most recent research findings and issues – we will outline those topic areas and nodes which might be of key importance from the point of view of supporting the professional learning of doctoral students.

2. Professional Socialization of Doctoral Students

There are studies that focus on doctoral students or junior university teachers which might discuss the target group directly, mapping their characteristics, needs, and issues, but those studies might also be included that, instead of strictly focusing on doctoral students, study how the role of teaching is formed along with the various steps of becoming a teacher. Research on the professional socialization of doctoral students goes back to the

1980s and the first conceptual models, which described the stages of development for teaching assistants, were published at the beginning of the 1990s. The early studies focus on the process which describes how a doctoral student prepares for the above mentioned roles concluding that professional socialization should happen more thoroughly and at a deeper level.

The starting point of our study is that the professional socialization of doctoral students depends on various elements. Firstly, they need to learn the socialization traditions, roles and rules of at least two different roles – that of teachers and researchers[1] (Mundy et al, 2012). Our questions are: what are the possible ways of preparing doctoral students, and how can they carry out continuous development in connection with their roles?. McDaniels (2010) points out that apart from "classic roles" such as teaching and researching, doctoral students have community tasks and activities resulting from being active citizens. Their socialization is significantly defined by the organizational culture, the climate and system of expectations typical of teaching and researching, and the demographic-socio-economic processes that have a marked effect on the field as well (such as info-communication technologies, the change in the labour market of education, and the experiences of underrepresented social groups) (Austin – McDaniels, 2006).

The initial approaches to professional socialization worked with stage-models which understood the socialization process as a series of stages that follow one another and through which junior researchers could eventually be socialized into the given academic culture. In later studies it was suggested that the process of socialization should be approached in a more complex manner, understood as a dialectical and culturally defined phenomenon in which culture is debatable and individuals bring their experiences, ideas and views with them which come into contact with the expectations of the given organization. In other words, the post-modern approach to the socialization process highlights the fact that the organization supports the beginners in understanding and accepting the organizational expectations while encouraging them to reinterpret the organizational culture rather than merely to reproduce it. To sum it up, while learning about the organization, the new members also change it to some extent.

1 We are aware that there are more than two roles; however, in the case of teaching, the international literature argues that while researching tasks and the perfection of these skills is clearly a part of being a university teacher, this discourse is not characteristic regarding the teaching aspect. It is due to this that the role of teaching is often secondary compared to researching. This does not mean that there are no other roles, as for example the interpretation of different roles is different for a young junior university teacher, for a doctoral student or for a university teacher.

Austin and McDaniels (2006) and Pyhältö et al. (2009) both point out that the learning environment created by the academic community has the most significant effect on the quality of the doctoral programs and the experiences of the doctoral students. In other words, the learning environment either supports well-being and satisfaction or fosters dysfunctional emotions which can lead to dropping out early. Ideal learning environments are characterised by student-centred methods and the division of control, enabling the doctoral students to build and maintain meaningful relationships with each other and with their supervisors, through which they integrate into the academic community. Vermont and Verloop created the category of constructive friction which supposes a dynamic interaction between the student and the learning environment, in which students are supported in developing their academic knowledge and competences. As opposed to this, in the case of destructive friction, which is characterised by a teacher-centred attitude, there is no shared control and support. The way in which doctoral students experience their learning environment influences their professional identities and the development of their expertise (Pyhältö et al, 2009, 2012).

There are various factors that have an effect on the experiences of doctoral students during their studies such as their relationship with their supervisor, the academic community, the views and ideas of doctoral students and supervisors about supervising and researching. The multi-element process is partially due to the fact that doctoral students, during their training and professional socialization, face a number of difficulties which can be looked at from a number of different perspectives. In their research focusing on Finnish doctoral students, Pyhältö et al. (2009, 2012) sought to answer the questions of what problems do doctoral students have to face, and how these problems are connected to well-being and study engagement. They studied the relationship between opinions on the learning environment, well-being and perseverance in continuing one's studies. They concluded that the academic community and the supervision they received had a definitive role in how doctoral students experienced their doctoral education. Those who felt that they were a part of the academic community had positive experiences about their learning environment and were more satisfied with their studies compared to the outsiders who did not feel integrated into the academic community. One third of the students who participated in the study reported that they did not feel that they were a part of the academic community or at least felt that their relationship to the academic community was problematic. Those doctoral students who studied behavioural science (pedagogy, psychology, teacher training) were the ones to mention their problems with supervision and the academic community most frequently, for which the primary reason might be that, since they are experts in the fields of learning, teaching and pedagogy, they are more sensitive to pedagogical practices and communicational problems. As a solution they suggested that cooperation (such as doing research together, writing joint articles and giving constructive feedback) with more intensively supported doctoral students might help the integration of less supported

students into the academic community. One of the most important conclusions of the study was that there is a clear connection between the well-being of students and their plans pertaining to giving up or interrupting their doctoral studies.

In their study Golde and Dore (2001) concluded that teaching is the primary reason why one wishes to pursue a university career (McDaniels, 2010). According to them, doctoral students are deeply committed to teaching, because of which it is increasingly more important to maintain and find ways of supporting this commitment. Positive confirmation has the most effect on the decisions of talented young researchers on whether they choose an academic career or not. In addition to these, it is also crucial that doctoral students should learn key competences which will enable them to become successful university teachers. McDaniels (2009) defines four components that doctoral students must learn in order to operate successfully:

- conceptual interpretations: includes interpretations that reflect on professional identity, field of study, the diverse institutional culture and the target system of tertiary education
- knowledge and competence in the main areas of teaching: the interpretation of the teaching-learning process: how do students learn, teaching strategies, differences between fields of study, and obstacles which doctoral students might have to face
- interpersonal competences: oral and written communication, cooperation, ability to cooperate with a variety of students and colleagues
- professional attitudes and habits: attitudes and habits that make the work-family balance and participation in life-long learning possible

3. The Effect of Doctoral Studies on Later Professional Socialization

Apart from studies that specifically focus on the doctoral student population, those studies also serve as important pointers in the literature that focus on the connection between the doctoral training, later professional socialization and professional identities. These studies, instead of focusing on the doctoral program itself, discuss the reflections of researchers or teachers pertaining to either the doctoral program, the early years of teaching or the changes in professional identities. This research direction typically comes to the foreground in qualitative studies with few samples, probably due to its retrospective and reflective characteristics.

Brew et al (2011) point out that there are few studies on the process of university educators becoming teachers or researchers which might be especially important in the changing environment of the academic profession (ICT competencies, number of students, finances). They point out that it is important to understand the connection between training opportunities and previous learning and teaching experiences.

Kreber (2010) conducted nine semi-structured interviews with university teachers in her study in which she mapped out the connections between their teacher identities and their pedagogical practices. In other words, she studied how they define themselves as teachers, what educational goals they have and how they teach. Thinking about one's own teaching practices, methods and goals is significantly influenced by the professional community to which the teachers belong. In Kreber's research, authenticity is the defining link between teaching and achieving learning results. In order to study the above questions the interviews focused on the following topics: why did the university teachers choose this career? What did they consider the most valuable in it in the past and what do they consider the most valuable now? What kind of effects were their teaching practices and how they see themselves as teachers exposed to? To what extent do they consider authenticity important in their work? To what extent can they integrate their personal ideas and values into the pedagogical work? What kind of challenges do they think students have to face? How do they support them in meeting these challenges? One of the main conclusions of her study is that the personal theories of university teachers pertaining to teaching – especially those that are related to students – are the most definitive regarding which pedagogy is considered authentic.

There are relatively few studies directed at the stratum of university teachers in the research on the connection between teaching and researching, and the related systems of expectations and roles. In his study, Douglas (2013) was interested in how university teachers can develop their research while also performing well as teachers. During the interviews the university teachers formulated the following 5 advices pertaining to the nexus of teaching and researching:

- teach as part of your research
- use your research when you plan your lecture
- be flexible: adapt to the opportunities regarding research topics
- advertise yourself and your research proactively
- participate in research as a collective action

4. Professional Development

While in American universities researchers had already started working on the professional development of teachers working in tertiary education in the 1960s, in the European Union it was the establishment of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and the increased attention to quality teaching that resulted in supporting the professional development of teachers working in tertiary education. As a result of the increase in the status of teaching, a series of research was begun with the aim of exploring the defining characteristics of

excellent education and working out the models and programs of effective development. The metaphor of ages in the work of Sorcinelli et al (2006) gives a graphic description of the changes in both the views on the professional development of teachers as well as in international practices which happened in the last few decades. According to this metaphor, the time period starting with the 1960s was named the Age of The Scholar, in which developmental efforts were directed at perfecting the knowledge and skills of successful scholars. In the 1970s, during the expansion of tertiary education, the universities in the United States of America found themselves facing a large and diverse student population which signalled the beginning of the Age of The Teacher, in which the goals were slowly shifted more towards developing skills and abilities related to teaching. The strengthening of student activity could be felt both on the level of teaching and learning: students wanted more control over defining the quality of teaching, because of which student assessments on the work and performance of teachers appeared. Rethinking of teaching roles and tasks were foregrounded and the previously established behaviourist approach in studying the process of learning and teaching was superseded by an approach that emphasized the development of teaching skills and abilities. This was the time period in which so called centres or units were established, which operated with an independent staff and budget in an institutionalized framework, seeking to develop the teaching profession and increase the quality of teaching and learning. Creating these units at the universities served multiple purposes: it gave a formal framework to the developmental work and research done in the field, acknowledged the study of the quality of learning and teaching as important by officially turning it into a topic of discourse, and last but not least, it legitimated the continuous and diverse efforts to develop the quality of learning and teaching. Alongside cost reductions and retrenchments came program developments and the Age of The Developer in the 1980s, in which a more holistic developmental activity was outlined. This period not only answered personal needs but extended to the entire institution, resulting in complex programs and support systems for the faculty. The 1990s brought significant changes in higher education: the Age of The Learner came due to the rise of the learner-centred paradigm, which included teachers capable of learning and organizations capable of professional development. The realization that ensuring teachers' professional development was a key issue in educational excellence resulted in the establishment of teaching development programs and various forms of supporting and incentive systems at foreign universities. After the turn of the millennium, in the age of knowledge, there came new expectations of higher education and university teachers which they could only answer with the aid of communities and knowledge created within these communities. Diverse and rich systems supporting and encouraging educational development were formed under the aegis of collaborative learning: due to a joint initiative among universities, professional groups, online systems supporting education, and portals for sharing experiences were created in the last decade

which rewrites our knowledge on previous developmental models and practices. This period, the one in which we live, is the Age of The Network.

The programs and activities that support and give incentive to the development of the quality of learning and teaching, that support the professional learning and development of teachers, along with the work of organizational units are uniformly called educational development in the profession (Kay - Douglas, 2010). The difference between professional development and support is illustrated by the change in the orientation and content of so-called developmental activities: initially the explicit development of those skills and abilities that are related to teaching were of central importance, which people sought to realize within the framework of classic training.

There are numerous models for the support of professional learning in which the support of learning and community-based formations and feedback are increasingly emphasized. In the division of Vescio et al (2008) the communities supporting professional learning have four definitive elements:

- successful cooperation
- positioning the learning processes of students in the centre
- the continuous learning/education of teachers
- teachers' authority (decisions about the curriculum, decisions about their own learning processes)

More complex and modern interpretations of professional learning and programs and forms of support that foregrounded the encouragement of individual development were created at the same time. They heavily relied upon individual needs and took the characteristics of work-place learning into consideration. This approach is well-illustrated by Candy (1996) with the CAREER-model, which interprets personal development within the framework of a learning organization – unlike economic organizations which rely on the deficit-model to even out the knowledge and competence shortcomings of their employees. According to the CAREER-model, professional support must have the following characteristics in tertiary education:

C – (comprehensive) – it should be comprehensive and should cover all aspects of the teaching-researching role

A – (anticipatory) – it is anticipatory rather than reacting to already existing problems

R – (research-based) – theoretically grounded and based on research results

E – (exemplary) – brings exemplary samples from the methodologies of teaching and learning organization

E – (embedded) – it is embedded within an institutional culture and context

R – (reflective) – it is reflective and also encourages reflection

5. Incentives for the Professional Development of Doctoral Students: Points of View and Forms of Support

The diverse interpretations and research experiences of the identity-formation and professional socialization of doctoral students point out, as we noted in previous sections, that their professional/pedagogical support needs to be worked out and realized in complex ways, going beyond the classic understanding of the system of formal education and trainings that develop their teaching skills and abilities.

Mathieson (2011) suggests the socio-cultural approach in working out programs to support junior teachers, keeping in mind the supportive but often inhibitory factors of their cultural surroundings, which support professional identity formation in a complex way. Consciously dealing with the diverse cultural effects of institutions and disciplines relies on those professional socialization models in which one does not only passively receive and reproduce professional expectations, rules and behaviours but critically interprets and constructively changes them. In other words, one of the expectations towards professional support programs is to ensure that participating junior teachers and doctoral students have the opportunity to express their personal opinions and explain the effects of expectations and diverse environmental factors on their professional development. From this perspective of the professional commitment, views regarding learning and teaching, and behaviour repertoire of junior teachers develops and changes through intensive professional identity work. The process and results of work-place learning occur in latent form and making them explicit enables the teacher to pro-actively network with their surroundings and meaningfully process contradictions.

Simmons (2011) arrives at similar conclusions in her research, in which she studied the development of interpretations regarding the teaching role among junior teachers and doctoral students. The doctoral programs primarily consider professional development worthy of support in terms of preparing students for researching while preparation to become teachers is secondary. And due to a lack of formal education, this preparation happens within the framework of the socio-cultural specificity of the institution while performing concrete tasks. The supportive role of professional communities and continuous reflection on individual developmental processes might present real solutions to dealing with anxieties; fears and overburdening that go hand in hand with carrying out teaching tasks. Simmons identifies five stages in the formation of the identity of teachers which reflect the first five years of practical experiences. The different stages can be characterised by different focuses and coping strategies and as a result require different forms of support.

- survival period (< 1 year): forming ideas about teaching, striving for content accuracy and preoccupation with the instrumental aspects of teaching

- safety (1 year): ensures sense of security regarding education with thorough preparation, teaching is less and less frightening
- sense of belonging (1-2 years): focus shifts from the teacher to the students, capable of more complex thoughts tasks related to teaching
- period of self-esteem (2-4 years): sensing their own role and effect on students and in the teaching process
- self-actualization (>5 years): capable of reflective assessment of own developmental process and capable of developing their performance

Each phase follows Maslow's hierarchy of needs, interpreting the needs that arise for teaching roles and activities in a complex way. The structure outlined above gives concrete pointers to working out personalized professional support for junior teachers. For teachers struggling with initial uncertainties concrete and very specific assistance might be effective, while in the case of more experienced teachers paying attention to the students or reflective techniques might bring reassuring results.

Research results confirm that one of the most successful forms of professional support that responds to individual needs is mentoring (Remmik et al. 2011). A mentor can give emotional and psychological support and the mentor-trainee relationship not only dissolvesone's sense of isolation but the trainee can also strengthen self-efficacy, develop self-reflective and problem-solving abilities, and with a mentor who can supply outside points of view in difficult situations one's satisfaction with work can increase as well. The mentor also has an important role in terms of professional socialization, supplying their personal explanation of the cultural customs and expectations of the given institution and community. In other words, in different problem situations there is a possibility for a professional discourse, in which the junior teacher or doctoral student can shape his or her own professional identity along the lines of continuous feedback. Remmik et al. highlighted as a result of their study the fact that junior teachers get support for their professional learning and for performing their learning organization tasks primarily through the informal relationships in their workplace communities. Because of this, the presence or lack of support, as well as its quality, are significantly influenced by the characteristics of the relationships within the community – in other words, they are influenced by the junior teacher's ability to ask for help.

In addition to informal forms of support, the programs in formal frameworks provide diverse and rich opportunities to encourage professional learning. Pill (2005) identified four models of professional support for junior teachers in her study of professional programs at English universities:

- reflective practitioner: supports the connection of theory and practice in professional development

- action research: professional development that is linked to researching can provide a sufficient basis for expert academic knowledge
- from being a beginner to becoming an expert: supports the different forms of encouraging the learning process depending on practical experience
- metacognitive approaches: conscious development of different areas of professional knowledge: (self-knowledge, co-knowledge, skills etc.)

Those programs that support reflectivity and metacognitive awareness can help in making one's professional views and knowledge explicit, thereby having an impact on one's professional practices. Practices become the object of analysis in action researches and during the process of becoming an expert. The expected effects are the formation and development of professional knowledge. Those professional development-concepts that form the basis of programs can be grouped along the lines of another dimension: in supporting reflectivity and becoming an expert making things explicit often works with those preliminary knowledge elements and naïve views that cannot be explained so well with the concepts of professional knowledge. As opposed to this, action research and metacognitive approaches either builds on already existing academic and professional knowledge or on their formation. Based on interviews with seniors, the frequency and quality realization of the enumerated models in professional programs were influenced by a number of factors: the expectations of institutions towards the professional programs, the commitment and professional development-related views of the leader of the unit that is in charge of the professional support programs, and the success of previous programs (Pill, 2005). However, the adaptation of each model needs to keep in mind the reaction to the given institutional and individuals needs.

6. Summary for outlining directions for future research

Encouraging the professional learning and development of doctoral students is of key importance in developing the quality of the academic profession. After reviewing the rich body of literature on the topic, there are at least two points of view whose enforcement should be sought during professional development/support:

- professional socialization can be understood as a complex multi-factor process in which institutional culture, the members of the narrower and wider community, and the system of customs and behavioural culture have key roles
- the effective forms of professional support foreground individual needs, the system of views emerging from previous experiences, and as a result, support reflective and critical awareness in the process of professional learning.

One of the aims of analysing the literature is to outline the main focuses of our questionnaire-based study of doctoral students studying at Hungarian universities. One of the goals of our research is to explore the difficulties that doctoral students face when

teaching, how they solve these issues, to what extent do they feel successful in this area, the kind of support they would need, and how they imagine their development as teachers. The aim of the enquiry is to outline those directions of further education and professional development that doctoral students or even junior teachers working in tertiary education consider relevant to their own professional development. We will discuss problem areas and attempt to answer the question of how it would be possible, potentially within an institutionalized framework, to give basic and further training to doctoral students teaching in tertiary education. According to our hypotheses, the ideas and attitudes of doctoral students regarding teaching, and the specific traits of the institutional culture strongly influence their knowledge about teaching and the organization of learning, which are further nuanced by the existence or lack of varied professional support.

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M. CSÁSZÁR, Zsuzsa – WUSCHING, Tamás Á.

Expanding Geographical Spaces on the Global Map of the University of Pécs's Internationalization

Abstract. Internationalisation is playing an important role worldwide in the transforming higher education of the 21st century. The University of Pécs, as the oldest, and one of the largest universities in Hungary, has also entered this path. The university's newest statistics show the growing number of international students as well as the emergence of new markets in terms of their countries of origin. In our research, first we have analyzed the latest literature of geographies regarding the international student mobility, and we made a detailed geographical analysis on the spatial characteristics of University of Pécs's international students, pointing out the newest tendencies based on the latest statistical data and interviews. Finally, we intend to introduce our ongoing large empirical research on the internationalisation of the University of Pécs.

1. Global overview of the latest literature on internationalisation of higher education from a geographical perspective

Elements of internationalisation of higher education were already present at universities of the ancient times and the Middle Ages, but in the modern sense we can only speak about it in merits since the 1960s. In the beginning, internationalisation was not global in nature, it was concentrated only in certain countries and regions, primarily the United States, Western Europe and the Far East. We can speak about a global process since the 1990s, since a planet-wide circle of sending and receiving countries has been established by now. In the latter category, the United States and Western Europe remained at top, however Australia has also emerged on the market, and some Asian countries with a traditionally sending role (China, India) increasingly want to become receiving countries as well. Furthermore, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia and the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe have also joined the international student mobility, primarily in Europe. Some countries of Africa and Latin America have also an increasingly strong presence on the global market.

As with the massification of higher education, the processes of internationalisation grew stronger, so began the representatives of different disciplines to deal more and more with the subject. The most interested disciplines to the present day are economics, sociology and geography. In the latter, the process affects mostly the geography of education, which is a quite new discipline within human geography. The most significant literature related to the geography of education may be the book of Peter Meusburger titled

„Bildungsgeographie" (Meusburger 1998). The volume explains the theoretical basics of the geography of education, the different interpretations of knowledge and its spatial relations, and presents the discipline's development from the beginnings through the processes of institutionalisation up to the millennium. However, the author pays little attention to the internationalisation of higher education, because only one chapter is about higher education in the first place. In turn, there is word about university catchment areas, mainly in German relations. The introduction of the geography of education in Hungary is linked to the name of M. Zsuzsa Császár. Her comprehensive work, in addition to definition-making, examines education as a region forming factor, inserted in social-economic environment (M. Császár 2004).

A significant part of the literature about internationlisation of higher education is limited to a specific country, and only a relatively small proportion is dealing with complex, global processes. In the present study we summarize the newest trends of internationalisation based on papers which are examining primarily from the prespective of geographies of education. Concerning the future of Hungarian higher education, analysing what roles do the diffenent determinants have in the international students' choice of location can be especially interesing. Based on an OECD database consisting of international students migrated from 180 countries of origin to 13 OECD destination countries it can be stated that the „network effect" plays a key role in the in the students' choice of location: The presence of country nationals at destination tends to act as a magnet for international students. Interestingly, this effect is found to increase with the level of education of the network at destination. The higher the level of education of migrants already present in the host country, the higher the flow of students of the same nationality. This network effect is equivalent to a reduction in living costs in the host countries between 40% and 55%. Living costs and quality of universities are also important, however the tuition fees are not so (Beine et al. 2014).

Since just like the other elements of globalisation the international student mobility also shows spatial disparities, and so the sending and destination countries strongly differ from each other. Though the quality of universities can be considered as central to the shaping of student mobility, however, expected income in the destination country is a much more important factor, along with the colonial ties between countries, common language, and the pre-existing migrant stock of the same nationality. The results show that while there are many similarities in the determinants of student mobilities across space, there are also important differences. There are important differences between developed and developing countries, however, more interesting are the differences within the group of developing economies. In particular, the spatial choices of students from newly industrialising economies would appear to be more strongly influenced by university quality in destination countries, and therefore shaped by capital-enhancing opportunities elsewhere. The mobilities of students from the least developed countries are more likely to be influenced by

physical distance, linguistic differences and income differentials (Perkins – Neumayer 2013).

An interesting study from Findlay, A. et.al. explores the motivations and meanings of international student mobility. It is based on the results of a large questionnaire survey and associated in-depth interviews with UK students enrolled in universities in six countries from around the world (the United States, Australia, Republic of Ireland, Germany, France and Czech Republic). The results suggest, first, that several different dimensions of social and cultural capital are accrued through study abroad. It is argued that the search for „world class" education has taken on a new significance. Internationalisation of higher education has bought many changes in the social and cultural relations of the world. First, it has argued that class seeks to reproduce itself through educational advantage, since pupils from private schools are more likely to gain access to university education in other countries. Furthermore, globalisation of student flows cannot be isolated from wider mobility trajectories both before and after study. It appears that a „"world-class" education for some is embedded in a mobility culture that attaches symbolic capital to the performance of international living and that aspires to engage in international career trajectories. International student mobility is therefore not only about gaining the kinds of formal knowledges that can be imparted through high-quality university training (that could arguably be offered by a leading national university in a student's home country), but also about other social and cultural competencies and knowledges. So, above all, international student migration was seen to be about symbolic capital. One of the uses of this symbolic capital was to represent international study as a distinguishing identity marker. Students believed that their international experience could be deployed advantageously in their future career trajectories, instead of taking a job at their country of origin (Findlay et al. 2012).

Finally, a study of Jöns, H. and Hoyler, M. deals with the geography of higher education from the world university rankings' point of view. The production of these world university rankings (namely the Shanghai ranking and the THE-QS ranking) in the early 21st century has been shaped by a new era of globalization and neoliberalization in higher education. Geographies of higher education is characterised by unevenness that emerged from the highly expensive technosciences that facilitated American dominance in the second half of the 20th century and are seen as drivers of economic growth. The resulting geographies display striking disparities between the global North and South as well as between the economically prospering regions in North America, Europe, East Asia and Australia and large parts of South America, Africa and Asia that are either economically disadvantaged and/or dominated by other languages than English. The world university rankings are also influenced by these geographical disparities. The two main methodological differences between the Shanghai and the THE-QS ranking data are their differing emphasis on research performance and research reputation and their diverging time-reference,

comprising the whole 20th century in one (Shanghai ranking) and only the past 5 years in the other (THE-QS) ranking. So, established knowledge centers in Europe and in the US perform better in the Shanghai ranking, while emerging knowledge hubs in East and Southeast Asia are more dominant in the THE-QS ranking. The question arises whether East Asia will take the leading position from American and Western European universities in the near future (Jöns – Hoyler 2013).

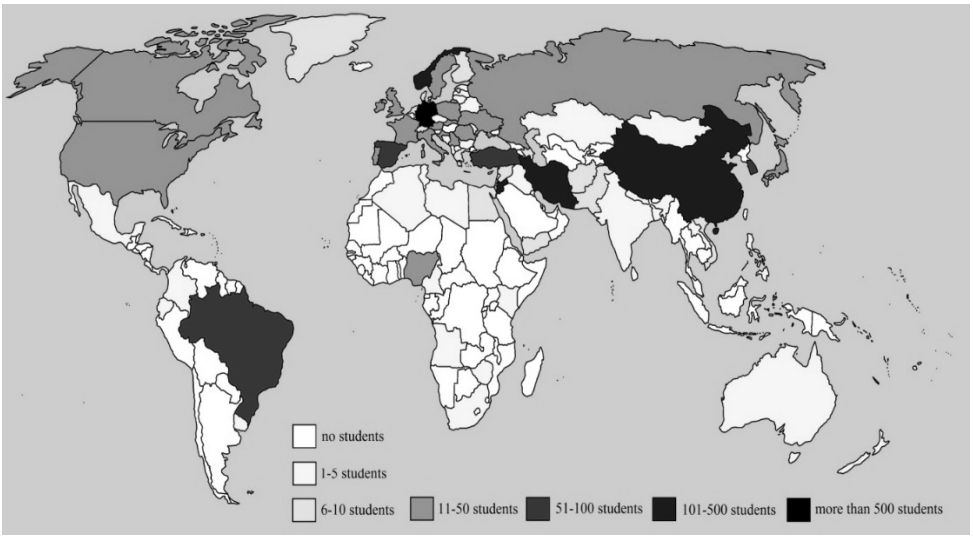
2. Newest trends of the University of Pécs's internationalisation

As both the global and Hungarian trend is characterized by growth, the number of international students at the University of Pécs is also increasing year after year. The first breakthrough was the year of 2000, as the number of international students has then surpassed 200 (M. Császár – Németh 2006). After that, following an initial stagnation, the continuous growth which started in 2004, still holds today. In 2007, a total of 1234 international students were enrolled here, this number has increased to 1764 by the autumn of 2011. According to the latest internal data from November 2014, the international students' current number is 2373. Similar to the national trend, their vast majority, exactly 1665 are students of the Medical School (also called *Faculty of General Medicine*), this is 70.13% of the total headcount. The faculty has a long tradition of teaching international students, as there is English language education since three decades, German language education since 2004, and furthermore there are specific organisations and networks directly for international students. In the last decade, the inflow rate of international students to the university was clearly characterized by growth, and as it currently looks like, in addition to the Medical School the university's other faculties are also increasingly opening towards internationalisation, especially the Faculty of Humanities, the Faculty of Business and Economics, the Pollack Mihály Faculty of Engineering and Information Technology and the Faculty of Sciences. In autumn 2014, a total of 428 international students were enrolled at these four faculties. If we subtract those students from the total headcount who were enrolled at inter-faculty preparatory programs at the time of data recording (174 students), we get the result that a total of 106 students were enrolled at the remaining five faculties of the university, thus the role of these faculties in the internationalisation is for now small. The large number of students who came here in a short space of time in the framework of inter-faculty preparatory programs, as well as the increasing number of students at the four above-mentioned faculties are the reasons behind the fact that the proportion of the Medical School has decreased from 85% measured in the previous years to 70%.

As regards the geographical distribution of the international students' countries of origin, Germany is at the top with 691 students in November 2014, Norway is the second, and Iran is placed at third position. German students are representing the largest proportion for a long time among the international students of UP, most of them (664 in autumn 2014) are

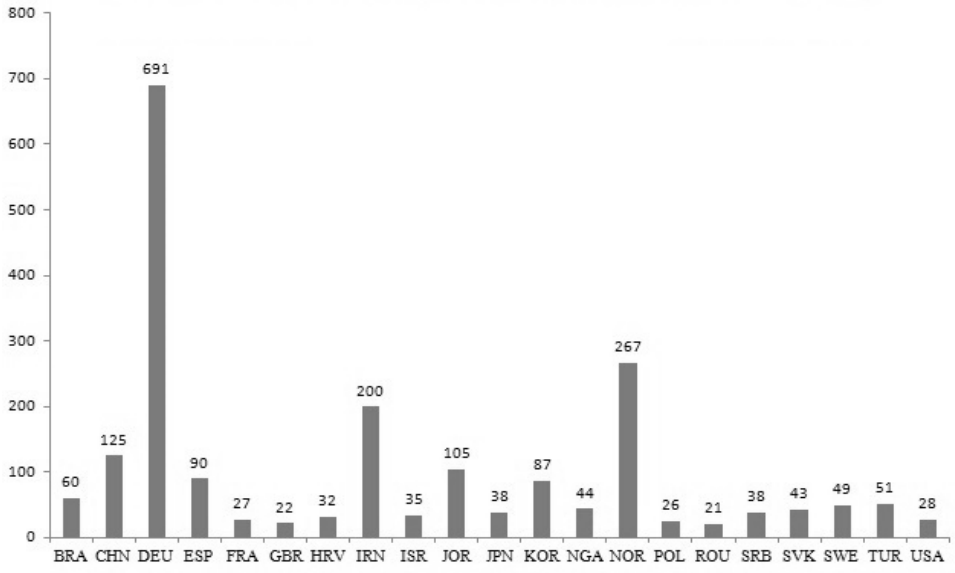
enrolled at the German language program of the Medical School. As regards the Hungarian minorities abroad, which are a unique aspect of the internationalisation of Hungarian higher education, the University of Pécs still can not compete with the cities of Debrecen, Szeged and Budapest. The total number of students from Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Ukraine and Slovakia was only 148 in November 2014. This is largely due to geographical reasons, since Budapest, Debrecen and Szeged are more accessible from areas with the largest Hungarian minorities than Pécs.

Figure 1 Countries of origin of the University of Pécs's international students, November 2014



Source: University of Pécs

Figure 2 Countries sending more than 20 students to the University of Pécs, November 2014



Source: University of Pécs

The last one and a half year has brought significant changes into the University of Pécs's internationalisation, since new, untapped markets have emerged among the countries of origin. Suddenly a large number of students came from some countries which previously have not sent any, or sent just a few to the university. These countries are by name Brazil, Jordan, China and Turkey. According to November 2014 data, a total of 60 Brazilian students are enrolled at the university, of whom 34 are studying at the Medical School, 16 at the Faculty of Sciences, eight at the Faculty of Engineering and Information Technology, and two at the Faculty of Health Sciences. The Brazilian students came to the university in a framework of an inter-governmental agreement named „Science Without Borders". The contract was managed by the Hungarian Rectors' Conference. The students are enrolled at a 12-month period partial study, in which they have to collect 40 credits and complete an eight-week long practice. The Hungarian state pays 9000 USD per student in this agreement. Another inter-governmental agreement named „Stipendium Hungaricum" has been found with several Asian countries (Vietnam, India, Japan, Jordan) under the coordination of the Balassi Institute. Within the framework of this, a large number, according to November 2014 data, a total of 105 Jordanian students came to Pécs, and the arrival of further 200 is expected. Since the capacities of the Medical School seem to filling up, so in terms of receiving new waves of international students, a greater role is expected

to the other faculties in the near future, primarily to the Faculties of Humanities, -Business and Economics, -Engineering and IT, and -Sciences.

Currently, apart from the Medical School, 15 Bachelor courses, eight Master courses and eight Doctoral programs are advertised in English language on the university's English website, description and informations for application are attached to each one of them. At the Medical School, there are four courses to apply for, three of them undivided and one Master program. In German language, besides the two undivided medical programs, two Bachelor and three Master programs are advertised. In addition, the website contains informations about different mobility programs, summer and winter universities, preparatory programs, language learning opportunities, and the presentation of university life. So, the University of Pécs definitely continues to open towards internationalisation. The big question of the near future is that after the capacity of the Medical School is nearly full, how the other faculties can increase the number of international students, or whether there will be some kind of capacity-increasing development at the MS in order to be able to receive additional students.

3. Presentation of our empirical research on the University of Pécs's internationalisation

The international students, due to such a magnitude of their presence, have a large impact not only on the university, but on the economic life of Pécs as well. According to a research carried out in 2011, international students enrolled only in the Medical School spend a total of 3.8 to 4.1 billion HUF per year in the country (mainly in Pécs) in addition to the tuition fee (Füzesi – Tistyán 2013). As we know it, the number of the international students of the Medical School has increased since then, not to mention the students of the other faculties, who were not part of this sample. International student increasingly function as an engine of urban development: they have a significant impact on the economy and development of Pécs through housing, consumption and use of services. It is important to mention that considering the domestic student base, the University of Pécs has lost more than 12000 students since 2006 (M. Császár – Wusching 2014). This significant setback has left its mark on the city's life, so proportionately the impact of the international students has even more appreciated. Furthermore, since many of the students came from developed countries (primarily Germany and Norway), so it is suspected that they individually also have a greater contribution to the city's economy than an average domestic student. The importance of internationalisation is clearly indicated by the fact that certain developments of infrastructure can be linked to the international students, the bike path between the campuses is a good example of this. Therefore it is of key importance that the university and the city correspond the needs of the arriving international students in every way.

Therefore our current comprehensive empirical research is based on the questionnaire survey of the international students. The questionnaire consists of three groups of

questions: the first group focuses on the students' reasons behind the choice of university, how did they hear about the University of Pécs, and what are their plans after graduation. The second group puts emphasis on their satisfaction with the university, as well as their integration in a foreign environment (initial difficulties, intercultural aspects). Finally, the most important part of the questionnaire focuses on the international students' relationship with the city: in which part of the city they live in, what means of transport do they use, how satisfied are they with the different characteristics of the city (public safety, transport, prices etc.). Furthermore, how often do they visit different types of facilities, what facilities are the missing, and finally how much do they spend on different material and other assets in Pécs. The results we get here will have great importance of the city's perspective, since they can even be basis for future urban development proposals.

The questionnaire survey is going to be complemented also with interviews during the research. In relation to the processing of the results, an important element is the differentiation by faculties and countries: we will be able to highlight the students of a single faculty, country or country group, and to compare their results with another faculties or countries, so that the important similarities and differences will be visible. This is also important because since the capacities of the Medical School are filling up, so in terms of inward student mobility, the other faculties will get an increasing role in the near future. However, no research has been carried out at these faculties yet concerning the international students. By comparing the international students of the Medical School with primarily those of the Faculty of Humanities, -Business and Economics, -Engineering and Information Technology, and -Sciences, it will be revealed, what potential do these faculties have regarding internationalisation, and whether they will be able to further increase the number of the university' international students even after the capacities of the Medical School will be actually fulfilled. Finally, the results for the full sample will be of course comparable with other domestic, as well as foreign universities and cities, so it can turn out, where the University of Pécs currently stand sin this field by national and international comparison.

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MEGYERI, Krisztina – BERLINGER, Edina

Access to Higher Education for the Disadvataged

The „Bridge to Higher Education" programme in Hungary

Abstract. In this paper, first we summarize the arguments in favour of spending money on improving early school performance rather than financing university grants for the poor. Then we present a new pilot project helping disadvantaged high school students to get into the higher education in economics and business specializations. We describe the basic principles of this programme, and share the experience of the first year of the operation. Based on this, we formulate some further policy recommendations to improve the system by combining the preparatory course for the students with the microcredit for the parents.

1. Introduction

As declared in the Europe 2020 Strategy, the EU aims to become a smart, sustainable and *inclusive* economy. These three mutually reinforcing priorities should help the EU and the Member States to deliver high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion. Five headline targets have been agreed for the whole EU, such as employment, R&D, climate change, education and fighting poverty and social inclusion. In the latter regard, the target is at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion, see (European Union 2013).

Among several other warnings, Piketty's 2014 opus magnum has drawn the attention of policy makers, economists and the general public to the trends of increasing wealth inequalities and decreasing social mobility in the developed world, which, according to his argument, is due to the fact that in the long run capital returns tend to be higher than income growth rates. If his forecast is right, social cohesion is in serious danger, which can lead not only to the weakening of democracies, but also to an increasing number of armed conflicts. On these grounds, Piketty advocates supranational interventions, especially in tax policies, see (Piketty 2014). In the EU, some social groups, like immigrants, refugees, untrained people, long term unemployed, ethnic/language minorities including the Roma, rural dwellers and single parent families with large number of children are in a particularly difficult situation; therefore, according to EU strategies, their financial and social inclusion must be a high priority policy objective in all member states.

A few years ago, the European Commission published an extensive empirical report on income inequalities and income mobility in the regions of the EU (ECDG 2010). The main conclusion of the report was that differences within regions are much higher than those between regions, which is an important result not only because it is counterintuitive and disagrees with our everyday perceptions, but also because it implies that social inclusion is

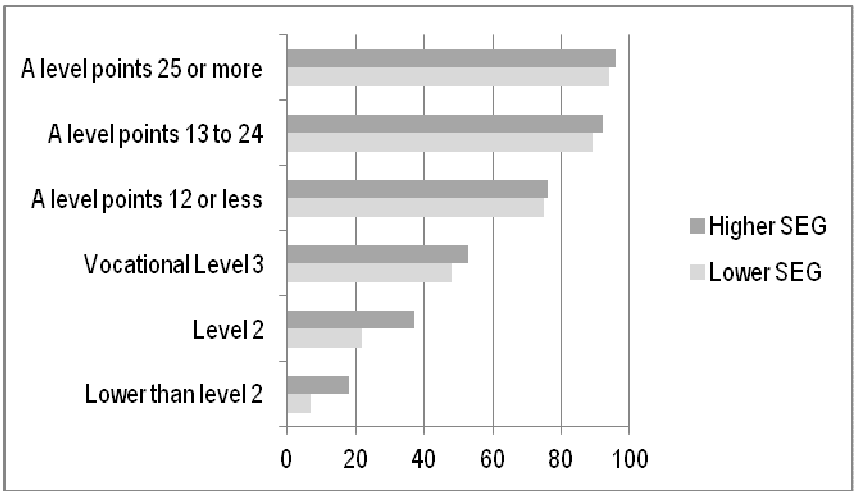
an important issue within every region in the EU. The report also reveals that there are marked variations in inequality between the regions: Sweden, Slovenia and Slovakia are at the lower end of the inequality spectrum, while Portugal, Poland and Latvia are at the top end (measured by the GINI-coefficient). In terms of intra-generational (short term) and inter-generational (long term) mobility, variations are even higher, although the report emphasizes that in the post-communist countries inter-generational mobility cannot be assessed in a reliable manner because of the shock of the transition. Importantly, the report warns that inter-generational mobility is particularly strongly influenced, if not completely determined by the education sector.

2. Access to the HE

It is widely documented in the empirical literature of education systems that it is the tertiary education where private benefits are the most significant in terms of income, employment, health, life expectancy and overall life satisfaction, see for example (OECD 2013). It follows that the safest road to liberation from poverty would lead through higher education. Hence, the participation rate of the poor students in the higher education is an important measure of social integration.

Many authors believe that high tuition fees discourage poor students to go to universities even if student loans are available, because they are naturally more risk (or debt) averse. Therefore, according to the popular conviction state should provide generous grants to poor students based on means testing. However, Barr (2004 and 2012)) convincingly argues, that this is a flawed argument because access to higher education does not depend on the tuition fees (provided that a well-designed student loan scheme is available), but it does depend on the high school achievements. Barr (2012) presents the below figure where one can observe the relationship between the socio economic status (SEG) and the high school achievement as explanatory variables and the HE participation as the result variable.

Figure 1 Who goes to university? Entry into higher education by age 21: by socio-economic group (SEG) and highest qualification at age 18, 2002, England and Wales



Source: (Barr 2012: Fig. 2)

We can see on Figure 1 that once a poor student reached a very good (A level) result she will attend to a university approximately with the same probability as a student with higher SEG. Thus, participation is much more determined by the high school performance than by the socio-economic status itself. The same effect has been also demonstrated on a more comprehensive dataset by (Chowdry et al. 2010).

The policy recommendation is clear: the money to widen participation should be spent on raising school achievements and preventing drop-outs rather than financing university grants, see (Barr 2012). If we wish to ensure equal opportunities for the poor, we have to go back to high school, or to the elementary school or even to the nursery school to improve the system by reducing the interdependence between school performance and family background.

3. The "Bridge to the Higher Education" programme

According to the latest PISA Report, in the Hungarian school system it is practically impossible for poor students to perform well in school and, as a consequence, they are almost completely excluded from higher education, especially from those degrees that lead to high personal returns in later life. If we rank 65 developed and emerging countries according to the ability of the school system to smooth out social differences, we find that Hungary and Peru are by far the lowest ones down on this list. This is not only a shame for the country, but also a huge waste of human resources. To a lesser extent than in

Hungary, but the high correlation between school performance and family background is also true for example in Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Germany and Austria, see (PISA 2012).

In 2013/2014, we carried out a small scale program in Hungary to widen participation of the poorest under the name of "Bridge to the Higher Education". When designing the scheme, we followed the recommendations of (Barr 2012) by demystifying the university, raising the students' aspirations, and most importantly improving their school attainments in Mathematics and English. In this part we overview the basic principles and the results of the programme.

The *target group* was defined as high school students from very poor families with strong ambition to continue their higher education. They were either in the last year of the high school, or adults already having high school graduation but wishing to improve their grades. During the selection of the participants we relied on Polgár Foundation for Opportunities and Dr. Ámbédkár High School. We succeeded to set up a fairly heterogeneous team comprising five participants as it is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Participants in the programme, in 2013/2014

Number	Gender	Age	Roma	Sender	Status	Habitation
1	Male	18	yes	Polgár Foundation	last year of high school	Pécs
2	Male	22	no	Dr. Ámbédkár High School	last year of high school	Ózd
3	Male	23	yes	Dr. Ámbédkár High School	already graduated	Sajókaza
4	Female	19	yes	Polgár Foundation	already graduated	Szendrőlád
5	Female	18	no	Dr. Ámbédkár High School	last year of high school	Budapest

Source: the authors

The *objective* of the programme was to help poor students to get admission to a good university or college specifically in the field of economics or business. The first reason of focusing on economics and business was that our expressed aim was to help poor students to get a degree which provides high personal returns. Disadvantaged families are

not aware of the strong interlink between university degree and life earnings and we wanted to promote illustrative examples which can be attractive for the whole local community in the long run. Without any doubts, in terms of employment and income the most profitable university degrees in Hungary are in the fields of engineering, IT, economics and business. While it is relatively easy to get into specializations like engineering and IT (admission points are fairly low), the drop-out rates are also very high. However, our experience suggests that once someone is successfully admitted to an economic or business program it is much safer to complete. The second reason was that we found it important to improve students' economical-financial culture in order to enable them to manage their personal life and their family budget more effectively. Finally, the third reason was that both of us were economists and had a teaching experience in this field, hence our assistance was supposed to be more successful in this area. However, we think that this model can be easily generalized to other disciplines as well.Our *method* was to organize highly intensive preparatory courses mainly in Matemathics, later complemented with some English exercises. We discovered that poor students performed relatively well in History, Literature, Grammar, Geography etc. while they were completely lagging in Mathematics, IT and English. This is mainly due to the fact that schools in disadvantaged areas typically cannot afford to pay good teachers in Mathematics, IT and English, because well-educated teachers can have much better opportunities on the job market. However, for a successful entrance exam in economics or business one has to have definitely good grades in Mathematics, History or English. Therefore, the lack of proper mathematical skills has been identified as the main barrier to get a good degree; and our starting point was that this was the gap to be fulfilled. We are also convinced that Mathematics is particularly important from the point of view of developing general cognitive skills (understanding definitions and logical structures, setting up good life strategies and systemic planning etc.) which are also necessary not only to get a degree but also to get a proper employment.

Regarding the *operation* of the preparatory courses, we followed the below principles:

- Students came to Budapest every 2nd-3rd weekends beginning from October until the end of April (10 times).
- The courses took place at Corvinus University or at Central European University (CEU).
- Students were taught both by university students and university teachers who served as volunteer mentors. University students belonged to student organizations of Studium Generale and Rajk László College for Advanced Studies.
- The teaching method consisted of classroom seminars and highly personalized face-to-face consultations.

- Time to time students had to solve a significant amount of home exercises based on the latest topic on their own.
- Between weekend meetings students and mentors remained in contact by mail and phone.
- Students received a regular scholarship (10 thousand of HUF per weekend) covering their travelling costs and an extra element motivating disciplined participation and homework; and each time they were invited to lunch together in a restaurant.
- Students were provided by the necessary teaching material and learning tools (books, exercises, calculators etc.).

The first year of operation was supported from the donation of a private corporation, Földfém Limited Co., via the Foundation of the Department of Finance, Corvinus University of Budapest. The basic rule of financing was that teachers, mentors and administrative staff received neither payments nor cost reimbursements for their work. Funds were spent solely on traveling costs and scholarships to students, teaching materials and learning tools. The budget of one student for one weekend is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Costs of one weekend per person

Costs	**Amounts in HUF**
Traveling	5 000
Food	2 000
Scholarship	5 000
Sum	12 000

Source: the authors

Hence, the total costs of one year for a student was around 12 000 * 10 + 20 000 = 140 000 HUF. As one of the students left the programme at the beginning, the total costs of the first year operation was around 600 000 HUF (= 2 000 EUR).

When evaluating the success of the programme we have to take into consideration that most of its effects may be realized only on a longer horizon. However, even after the first year we can report some spectacular achievements, primarily because two of the students (number 3 and 4) have been admitted to a college in a fairly good business and management program in Budapest (Budapesti Gazdasági Főiskola). For more details see table 3.

Table 3 Results of the first year programme

Student	Main results
1	He dropped out of the programme at the beginning, because their parents did not support their son coming to Budapest regularly.
2	He has successfully graduated but was not admitted to a university because of the relatively low performance in Mathematics (30%). But he did not give it up and this year he is going to try again by improving his Math grade.
3	He has been successfully admitted even with a Math performance of 44%, mainly due to his good grades in History and English.
4	She has been successfully admitted as she was able to increase her Math performance from 26% to 87% within a year.
5	Her Math performance was weak (7%) but later on she retook the exam and successfully accomplished it. She did not give up continuing her studies and this year she is going to try again to get into a university by improving her grades in History and English.

Source: the authors

The main conclusions of this pilot project can be summarized as follows:

- Competent and supportive parents are a key success factor.
- In many cases weak performance in Math is due to psychological factors (panic, lack of self-confidence, bad experiences, unsolved traumas etc.).
- The most effective teaching method is face-to-face consultations.
- University mentors play an important role in motivation and encouraging.
- Regular control and feedback are essential.
- High school teachers should also be involved as partners.

In 2014/2015 we started a second year with six high school students and at the same time we also keep assisting those two who were admitted to a university.

The business and management program where two of our students were admitted charges significant tuition fees, and the students' families are unable to finance it. We convinced them to take up both components of the Hungarian student loan scheme (Diákhitel 1 and Diákhitel 2), which was not easy as they were afraid of any kind of loans. Now, we started an intensive fund-raising program in order to be able to refinance the tuition fee of the accomplished semesters.

4. Microfinance

In the worldwide practice the term of "microfinance" may refer to two different activities: financing highly innovative startup initiatives or helping poor people to launch and stabilize their small enterprise. According to this distinction, the target groups of microfinance can be very different: highly educated young graduates versus undereducated elder people who have no opportunity to get classical bank loans. In the context of this paper, we focus on the latter case (helping people out of the poverty). Hence, the main objective of microfinance is not profitability, but higher employment and reduced poverty. The basic question we wish to contribute to is: how to increase social cohesion with the help of microfinance? Or, more precisely, what is the optimal mechanism of microfinance, which would extend human capabilities the most in the sense of (Sen 1999).

There exist several microfinance schemes in Europe; in some cases European Investment Bank (EIB) has also been involved in their design and funding (European Progress Microfinance Facility and the microfinance window of the subsequent Employment and Social Innovation Program).

In the post-crisis period one of the most important challenges of the common European and national economic policies is to boost employment and to stimulate productivity, see for example (Koopman – Székely 2009). Microfinance (i.e. small-size loans or other types of funding to individuals or small enterprises) may contribute both to the reintegration of inactive or unemployed people into the workforce (employment) and to the financing of micro- and small enterprises (growth). The term of microfinance is used for very different activities ranging from social aid packages provided for agricultural workers to competitive bank loans. One of the most successful microfinance schemes was initiated by Muhammad Yunus for which he was honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006. The main idea was to lend small amounts of money to groups of women in a special cross-guarantee structure, where borrowers screened and monitored each other; for more details see (Aghion – Morduch (2005). Thus, Yunus' scheme was built on the strong social networks existing within small villages of India. However, the same scheme does not necessarily fit into the social and cultural conditions in Europe. Social relationships have more enforcement power in small-number communities, hence less powerful in urbanised societies. Thus, during the design of microfinance schemes the key success factor is to find the appropriate incentive mechanism which makes the loan attractive but also effectively motivates borrowers to repay.

In 2010 and 2011 the European Commission supported a special microfinance project named "Kiútprogram" ("The Way Out") in Hungary under a program of "Pan-European Coordination of Roma Integration Methods – Roma Inclusion, Self-employment and Microcredit". This was a charitable project to foster job creation and entrepreneurship for

the Roma population living in distressed areas. The main lessons were the followings; see (World Bank 2013):

- Lending is not sufficient in itself; clients need to be mentored intensely by well-trained field workers.
- Microcredit is costly, and cannot operate in a self-sustaining way in financial terms. However, it proved to be much more efficient than other tools of social policy (subsidies, grants, state-run public work programs etc.).
- The appropriate target group is not the most disadvantaged people, but rather those who have a minimum level of entrepreneurial skills such as trustworthiness, motivation, ability to articulate a business plan etc.

Following the completion of the EU-financed pilot phase, Kiútprogram has continued on a smaller scale with private resources, applying these lessons. Now, there are 130 families involved in the so called "cucumber-growing" enterprise. The only impediment to increase the number of participants is the lack of sufficient funding.

5. The joint model

Based on our recent experience with the above mentioned "Bridge" and "The Way Out" programs, we propose a new mechanism to address the problem of social exclusion.

The idea is to combine:

- a scheme to help poor students to gain access to higher education, and
- a scheme to help their parents to earn money as small entrepreneurs (microfinance).

The first scheme incorporates a mix of interventions in school and forms of higher education finance. The second scheme should be conditional on their children attending school – i.e. the purpose of the microfinance is both to raise family income AND to raise the school attainment of their children. In this joint model both the younger and the older generations may find motivation to succeed by helping each other. The joint scheme targets inter-generational (younger generation) and intra-generational (older generation) mobility at the same time. By attacking the problem from two sides we have better chances to achieve the "critical mass". We believe that such a joint model can provide good motivation to pay back the loan, because the strongest incentive for most of the parents must be to help their children out from poverty. Such a joint scheme could be applied not only in Hungary, but also in other member states where school performance strongly depends on the social background of the family.

In the case of any kind of lending activities, we typically face asymmetric information which leads to adverse selection and moral hazard problems, see (Fudenberg –Tirole 1990), (Hart –Moore 1998) and (Tirole 2006). In principle, lenders may apply sophisticated selecting mechanisms to fix the adverse selection problem, but it can be very costly relative

to the loan size. However, in our proposed joint model, borrowers' willingness to participate can be a signal of their trust in their children and also in their effectiveness as parents, which may imply basic skills that are needed for a successful entrepreneurship as well. As far as moral hazard is concerned, the lender can continuously monitor whether the borrower is behaving (exercising effort) or not, but for microfinance, this is a very expensive tool again. It is much more efficient to make a contract which ensures strong motivation for the borrower to do her best, see (Banerjee – Duflo 2011) and (Mullainathan – Shafir 2013).

Microfinance for the poors have many other distinctive features (lack of collateral, high risk - high potential returns, long maturity, social benefits as positive externalities, high diversity of the borrowers, high risk aversion of the borrowers, small loan amounts, informational problems, market failures, institutional design etc.) that have to be also managed when designing the joint model.

6. Summary

Widening of the participation in the higher education is an important policy goal as it is reflected in the priorities of the EU strategy as well. However, it is underpinned both theoretically and empirically that if we wish to efficiently use the money for widening the participation, it is much better to spend it on raising school achievements and preventing drop-outs than financing university grants.

In this paper we presented the principles and the results of our small-scale pilot project helping disadvantaged, mostly Roma high school students to get into the higher education in economics and business specializations. The first year of the project was extremely low-budget, as it was largely built on volunteer's work. At the same time, it can be considered extremely successful, as two of the participants were admitted to a business school, while the other two are going to improve their grades, and try the entrance exam this year again. In the second year one of our most important tasks is to assist students to pass the exams and accomplish their semesters. In order to maintain the program, some supplementary financial supports are needed to cover the costs of the preparatory course with the new participants and also to refinance the tuition fees of our university students.

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ROHONCZI, Edit

Higher Education: Challenged by Internationalization and Competitiveness

Abstract. The demand for internationalising higher education appeared at European educational policy level only a few decades ago, but has had increasing significance ever since. The article focuses on questions related to the impact of policies and strategies facilitating internationalisation and that of European programmes as outcomes of these policies on the competitiveness of the European and national higher education. Indicators of internationalisation are to be analysed in global and European context (such as mobility actions, international students/faculty) along with their weightings in the compilation of the much debated international university rankings, which in fact are considered to reflect the grade of competitiveness.

„Internationalisation of higher education is one of the ways
a country responds to the impact of globalisation,
yet, at the same time respects the individuality of the nation.
Thus globalisation can be seen as the catalyst
but internationalisation as a response."

Jane Knight, 1996

1. Introduction

Most studies on the current state of affairs in higher education start with confirming that in our rapidly changing and globalising world competitiveness is a priority, sustaining or even increasing competitiveness is an ultimate expectation. Most authors agree on the challenges higher education needs to face at the dawn of the 21st century, and also on the impact the economic and social changes make on higher education.

However there is no consensus internationally how HE institutions should react to the "new climate" of competition in the educational arena (Bakács 2003). Depending on their traditions, strengths, local opportunities and quite importantly on financial resources, universities follow various strategies to meet the requirements of our times and position their institutes. It is a special challenge for Europe to support its HE institutions in their efforts for competitiveness, especially as less European universities make it to the top in the international rankings than two decades ago.

In recognition of the fact that higher education could and should benefit from the standardization processes that took place earlier in the economy, European higher education followed this route and thus opened the way to internationalise its universities

and colleges. This endeavour was definitely meant to contribute to the competitiveness of the HE institutions.

This paper aims to investigate how we define competitiveness, what the indicators of competitiveness are in higher education. It seems that at present it is the much-debated university rankings that measure the performance of HE institutes. Therefore to understand how important internationalization is in relation to competitiveness the weighting of the international components in the rankings are examined. To substantiate the significance of making the European HE more competitive a number of measures have been taken to enhance internationalisation in the European Union. Various initiatives (e.g. Tempus, Erasmus Mundus programmes and Mobility actions) have been launched providing resources. The paper attempts to review their utilization and compare European and global trends in mobility as a fundamental tool for internationalisation.

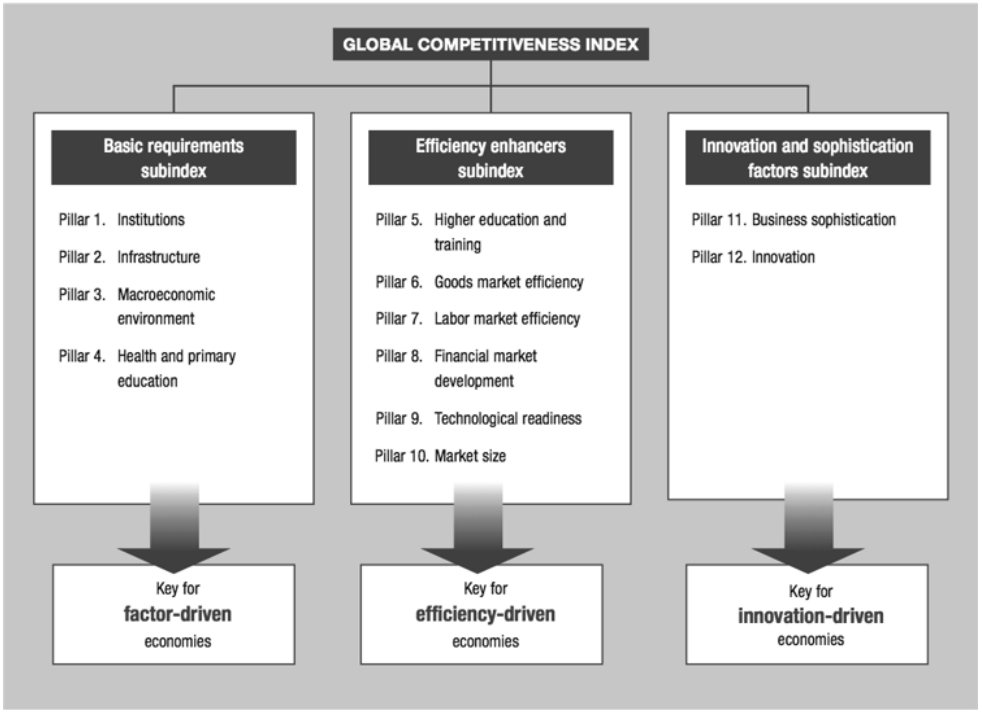
2. How Competitiveness is Measured?

The term 'competitiveness' originates in the literature of management studies appearing towards the end of 1970s, and its definition has been changing ever since, The basic diamond model by Michael Porter from the 1980s has undergone changes, amendments, has been further developed by the concept of transnationality, interdependency, and the role of multinational companies and the nature of the given sector/industry (Bakács 2003). Its significance has been constantly growing and today competitiveness has become the ultimate goal in the economic sector and beyond. The demand to measure competitiveness is almost as old as the concept itself, however the methodology of measurement has become increasingly comprehensive and complex throughout the past few decades.

2.1. Competitiveness in the World of Business

Indicators of competitiveness in a business company context are traditionally financial data, such as sales, revenues, net profit margins, return on investment, economic efficiency and growth rates. For decades company rankings and league tables were based on comparing these types of data. However for some time competitiveness has been looked upon from a wider perspective that includes quality of products, services and work force, customer orientation and innovative power (Dixon et al 1990). Given the rapidly changing economy there is a constant need to improve methodologies to measure business performance and identify the competitive advantage of companies. Furthermore globalisation created a strong demand for measuring the competitiveness of national economies which required the invention of a highly complex system of valid components that determine the economic achievements of a country. That need is well served by the Global Competitive Report which has been regularly published for over 30 years during which the methodology used has been constantly improved and the set of examined determinants has been widening.

Figure 1 The Global Competitiveness Index framework



Source: http://reports.weforum.org/global-competitiveness-report-2014-2015/methodology/

Figure1 illustrates well what an extensive and complex set of criteria is needed to measure and sophisticated methodology is needed to describe a nation's economy in terms of its competitiveness. The measurement system is based on twelve pillars that are further divided into over a hundred sub-components as determinants that drive the economy. The method of measuring considers the interrelation of the pillars, one of which is higher education and training.

2.2. Higher Education Performance Measured: University Ranking

The demand for competitiveness – although with some delay – has reached the education sector as well which – like all the other sectors - needs to function in a changing economy, therefore needs to face new challenges to meet the requirements of the 21st century. Competitiveness is one of them. Education has become a service in the economic sense as well and universities, colleges have entered into a competition for students and resources (Scott 2011). Higher education institutions had to develop new strategies and new capacities to improve their service and keep pace with or outperform their competitors. However there are severe concerns regarding the transferability of the purely business

based concept of competitiveness into the education sector (Lane - Kinsey 2012). The nature of this sector differs in several respects from those of the traditional service sector, which makes it even more difficult to produce a valid and specific definition of competitiveness and how it is measured. A tailored methodology would be needed, yet there is no consensus on a suitable model to compare higher education institutions nationally or globally in terms of their competitiveness.

The currently available means of measurement are the much-debated university league tables fulfilling the function of measuring and comparing the performance of higher education institutions. The indicators based on which these rankings are created are completely different from those measured for company rankings and show deviations within the target sector, too. To illustrate the difference in the approaches, methods applied and determinants measured the methodology of compilation of three well-known international rankings is reviewed: the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), The Times Higher Education Ranking (THE) and the US News and World Report List. The selected lists represent a wide geographical coverage in terms of their origin, including Asia, Europe and the USA, and a variety of types of the providers, including university, media and commercial agency.

2.3. The Methodology of University Rankings

ARWU or better known as the Shanghai List is the most recently developed university ranking which focuses exclusively on the scientific outputs, when assessing an institute *(Figure2).*

Figure 2 Indicators measured by ARWU

Criteria	Indicator	Weight
Quality of Education	Alumni of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals	10%
Quality of Faculty	Staff of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals Highly cited researchers in 21 broad subject categories	20% 20%
Research Output	Papers published in Nature and Science* Papers indexed in Science Citation Index-expanded and Social Science Citation Index	20% 20%
Per Capita Performance	Per capita academic performance of an institution	10%
Total		100%

* For institutions specialized in humanities and social sciences such as London School of Economics, N&S is not considered, and the weight of N&S is relocated to other indicators.

Source: http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU-Methodology-2013.html

The List, complied in fact by a higher education institute (the Centre for World-Class Universities at Shanghai Jiao Tong University) is often criticised for not considering any teaching-related aspects or results, and not examining any international dimensions, except for publication and awards. Although the quality of education is a criterion, it is measured by scientific achievements, thus a major university function, teaching, remains neglected.

The **Times Higher Education** World University Ranking claims to produce listings based on the most complex and balanced set of criteria *(Figure3).*

Figure 3 Set of Performance Criteria by the Times Higher Education

SUBJECT RANKINGS METHODOLOGY													
Indicator	Total students/ academic staff	PhD awards/ bachelor	PhD/Academic staff	Reputation Survey (teaching)	Institutional income/ Academic staff	Scholarly papers/ Academic Staff	Research income/ Academic Staff	Reputation Survey (research)	Citations: Research Impact	Income from industry/ Academic Staff	Ratio of international to domestic staff	International co-authorship	Ratio of international to domestic students
	Teaching: The learning environment					Research: volume, income and reputation			Citations per paper	Industry income: innovation	International outlook		
ARTS & HUMANITIES													
Group weight	37.5					37.5			15	2.5	7.5		
Indicator weight	3.8	1.9	4.7	25.3	1.9	3.8	3.8	30	15	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
CLINICAL, PRE-CLINICAL & HEALTH, LIFE SCIENCES & PHYSICAL SCIENCES													
Group weight	27.5					27.5			35	2.5	7.5		
Indicator weight	2.8	1.4	4.1	17.9	1.4	4.1	4.1	19.3	35	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
ENGINEERING & TECHNOLOGY													
Group weight	30					30			27.5	5	7.5		
Indicator weight	3	1.5	4.5	19.5	1.5	4.5	4.5	21	27.5	5	2.5	2.5	2.5
SOCIAL SCIENCE													
Group weight	32.5					32.5			25	2.5	7.5		
Indicator weight	3.3	1.6	4.9	21.1	1.6	4.9	4.9	22.8	25	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5

Source: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2013-14/world-ranking/methodology

THE has a decade long history in publishing university rankings annually. Previously it cooperated with Quacquarelli Symonds, currently with Thomson Reuters. THE works with a renewed methodology, has recently added indicators, and reorganised the weightings in order to provide a more objective and comprehensive result.

The **US News and World Report** has the longest history and tradition in compiling and publishing university rankings, and while they have been widely criticised for subjectivity and validity issues, they are widely used especially in the United States. They do not represent a strong educational orientation, focus more on research outputs and use peer assessment surveys to a large extent beyond statistical data. Their ranking indicators and weightings *(Figure4)* reflect the measurement of the intangibles and tangibles, and they apparently served as a starting model for other emerging rankings.

Figure 4 Set of Ranking Indicators by US News and World Report

Ranking indicator	Weight
Global research reputation	12.5%
Regional research reputation	12.5%
Publications	12.5%
Normalised citation impact	10%
Total citations	10%
Number of publications that are among the 10% most cited	12.5%
Percentage of total publications that are among the 10 percent most cited	10%
International collaboration	10%
Number of PhDs awarded	5%
Number of PhDs awarded per academic staff member	5%

Source: http://www.usnews.com/education/best-global-universities/articles/methodology

2.4. The Significance of Internationalisation: Weightings

In order to see how important internationalisation of higher education is in terms of enhancing competitiveness, university rankings help to orient: the weight international components carry when the institutions are ranked show how internationalisation is currently considered. When comparing the three well-known listings, their approaches differ. In the major Asian rankings (not only ARWU, but TNU as well) the international dimension of university operation is completely neglected. At THE, the European representative, the weight of the international component has been increased: it used to be 5% now it is 7.5% of the total score, while in the US, where internationalisation has a much longer tradition, the highest – 10% – weight is attached to the international performance of the universities.

It is apparent that internationalisation is a considerable determinant of competitiveness, although the judgement of its significance varies to a large extent by the different superpowers of the educational arena, depending on the degree of impact of global processes on the higher education of a given region. The European higher education seems to increase efforts and invest to internationalise recognising that this is likely to turn into a competitive advantage in the long run.

3. Enhancing internationalisation in the EU

When looking at the competitiveness of the European Higher Education one has to conclude that for the past two decades Europe has been losing its positions in the field of higher education, research and innovation. The tangible signs of this can be summoned as the following (Wende 2009):

- less European universities appear in the top20s of the university rankings
- less European scientists/scholars among the Nobel-Prize winners
- less European patents by the universities
- Europe incapable of stopping the brain drain

Three main reasons have been identified to cause these problems (Wende 2009 quotes Gurria 2007)

- universities in Europe are generally underfinanced
- they are short of efficient motivation tools
- they lack long-term and intensive collaboration with the business sector

Recognising the issues and in an attempt to handling them, the European Commission launched a number of initiatives to modernise, unify and internationalise its higher education, including the Bologna Process, the Lisbon Strategy, and the creation of the European Higher Education Area. Specific measures and actions were supported by financial resources to encourage internationalisation in higher education, e.g. Tempus, Erasmus and Erasmus Mundus, Jean Monnet or Marie Curie Programmes, the Framework Programmes, in the current budgetary period the Erasmus+ programmes, which all aim at strengthening the international dimension of higher education and research.

It is important to see that after some time when Europe focused on its “European internationalisation”, that is collaborations within Europe, for the past two decades or so the support of cooperation with the world outside Europe has become more intensive.

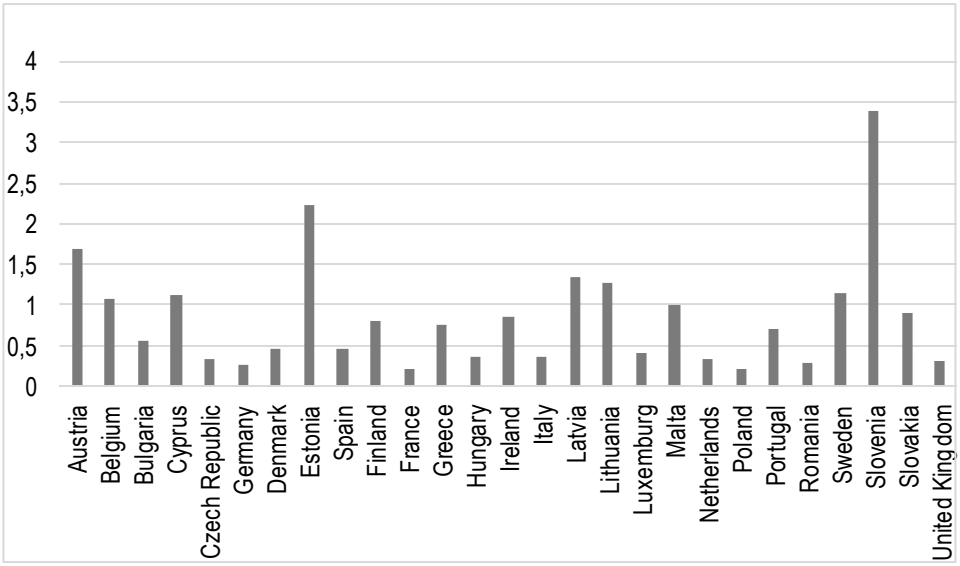
4. Initiatives, resources and their utilisation

Internationalisation is by all means a long-term investment, its immediate impact is hard to measure, but data on how HE institutions utilise the opportunities and the access to financial support offered by the EU programmes inform about national and institutional strategies. Three major programmes facilitating internationalisation within and outside Europe have been reviewed in terms of participation and utilisation of resources in recent years.

4.1. The Tempus Programme

The Programme was launched with the aim to support the modernisation of higher education in the Partner Countries of Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Western Balkans and the Mediterranean region, mainly through university cooperation projects. *Figure5* shows the number of projects HE institutions from a country participated between 2007 and 2012 in relation to the population size.

Figure 5 Participation in Tempus Projects 2007-2012[1] (#projects/100 000 inhabitants)



Source: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/tempus/results_compendia/projects_description_en.php

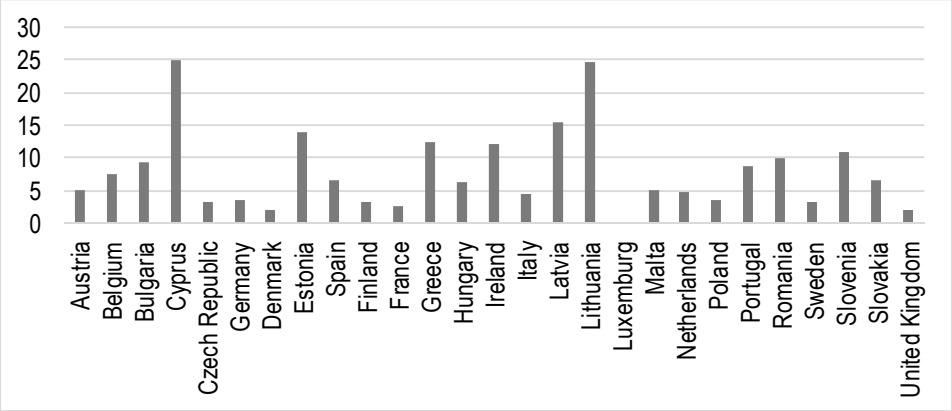
[1] Croatia is not included in any of the charts as it was not member of the EU for the whole period, and its results would have distorted the picture as a whole.

It is explicit, that generally institutions from larger countries are less active in this programme, while smaller countries (Slovenia, Cyprus, the Baltic States, Austria, Sweden) perform outstandingly. The Central European region, particularly Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary could definitely improve their activities, while Slovakia is quite successful in the Tempus projects.

4.2. The Erasmus Mundus programme

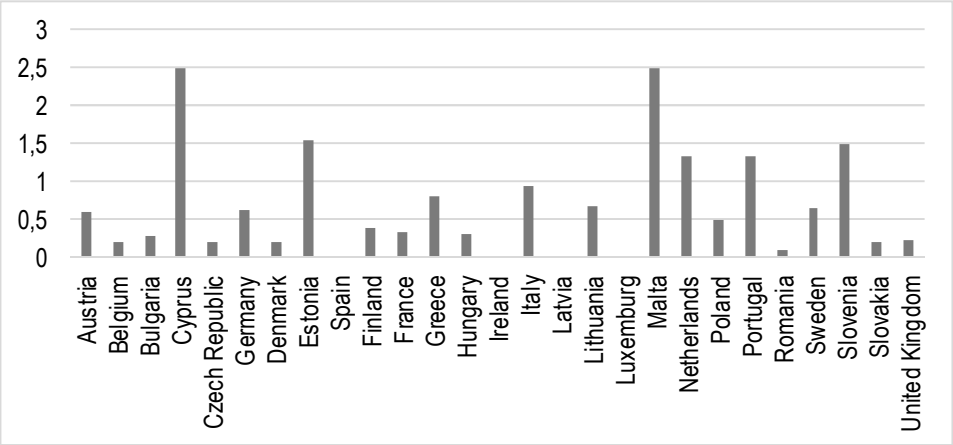
This initiative fosters cooperation between higher education institutions in Europe and Third Countries with the objective to enhance excellence in teaching and training, including the development of joint master level courses and joint doctorates with high academic quality. *Figure 6* and *Figure 7* provide an overview on the participation of students from the various countries in Erasmus Mundus master and doctoral programmes respectively in relation to the population size.

Figure 6 Erasmus Mundus Master Courses 2009-2013: number of selected students by country



Source:
http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus_mundus/results_compendia/documents/statistics/cumulative/statistics_by_country_erasmus_mundus_masters_

Figure 7 Erasmus Mundus Doctorates 2010-2013: number of selected candidates by country



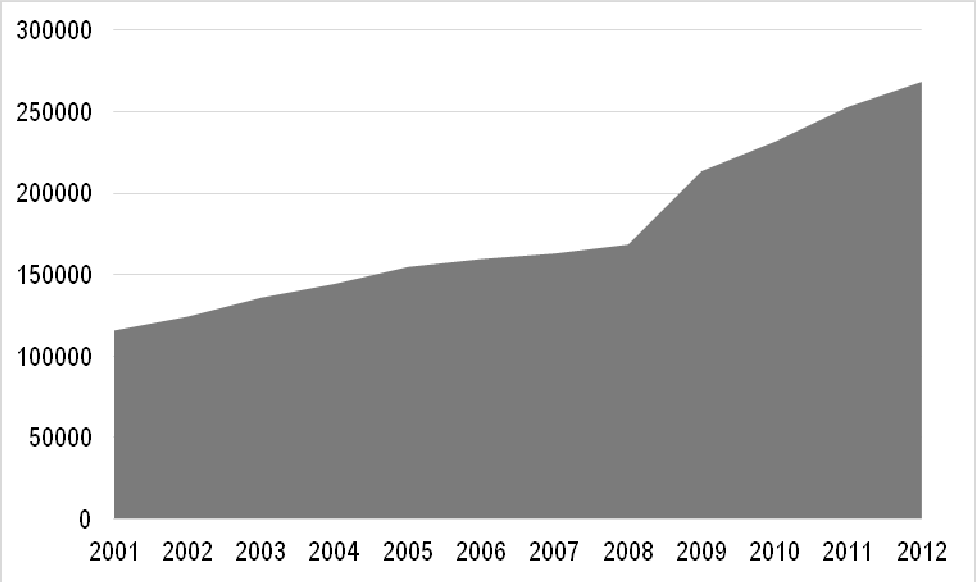
Source: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus_mundus/results_compendia/statistics_en.php

Both charts shows quite similar trends to the ones in the Tempus programme: students and candidates from small countries were more active in participating in the joint master and doctoral programmes, while again there is space to develop for countries from Central Europe.

4.3. Erasmus Mobility

This action was launched to facilitate internationalisation by supporting individual mobility actions of students in Europe. *Figure 8* shows how dynamically the programme developed during the past 5 years, the latest published date confirms that the 2012-13 academic year approximately 270.000 students were mobilised with the support of the Erasmus Programme Europe-wide, showing an approximately 130% increase since 2001.

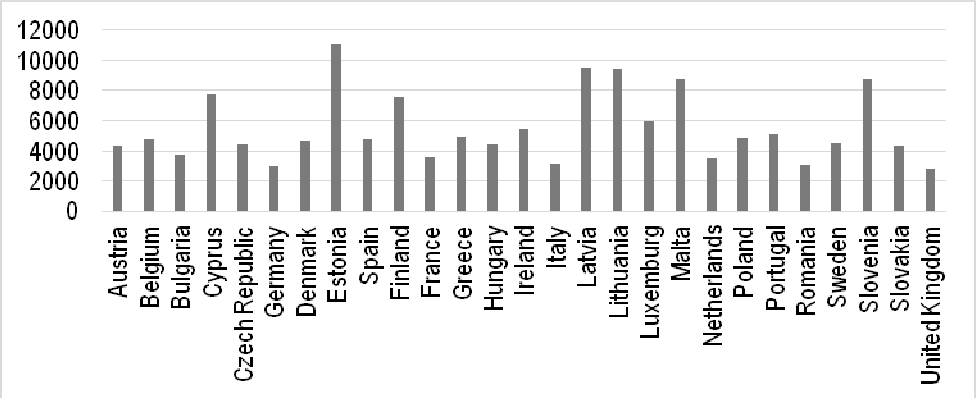
Figure 8 Erasmus individual student mobility, # of students per year



Source: European Commission

How countries utilised the available resources is shown in *Figure 9*, which substantiates that countries in the CEE region spent approximately the same proportion of the financial support on the programme locally, there are no major differences in the actual amounts used. The visibly high spending in small countries can be explained partially by high activity, but also by the budgetary construction of the programme, which is not progressive.

Figure 9 Erasmus budget per country 2000-2012 (Euro/ 1 million inhabitants)



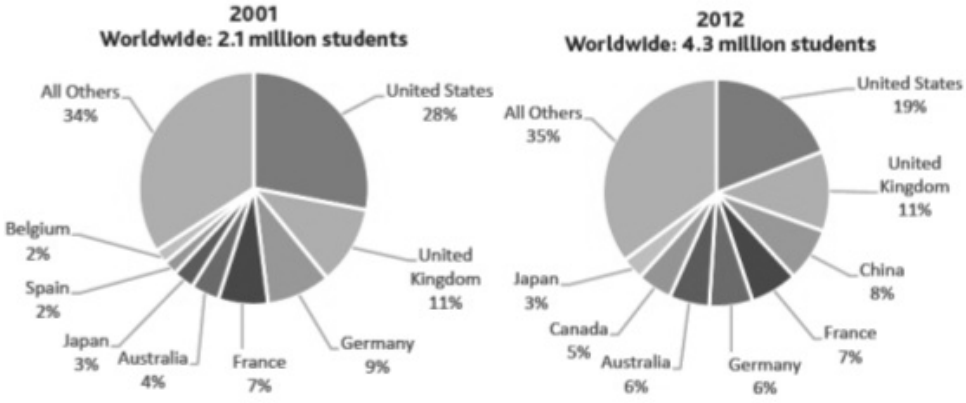
Source: European Commission

Mobility actions are outstanding contributions to internationalisation in higher education at European level. In addition to the benefits higher education institutions gain through their international students and faculty these actions play a crucial role in developing competitive work force for the globalising economy. Therefore mobility is a significant part of educational strategies all over the world.

5. Internalisation beyond Europe

For the past decade the importance of transnational mobility as part of internationalisation has been rapidly growing. *Figure 10* shows that the number of student mobility actions worldwide doubled in 10 years.

Figure 10 Mobility of Students Globally (top 8 host countries)



Source: http://www.atlas.iienetwork.org

Data presented in *Figure8* and *Figure10* confirm that European and global trends are alike; the European rate of expansion in mobility is competitive with the worldwide growth. However charts of *Figure10* include some information worth noticing from a European perspective.

In ten years' time while the major European actors, the UK and France as hosts of international students managed to retain their positions, Germany lost one third of its share and the smaller actors, Spain and Belgium, dropped out of the top eight hosts. It is obvious that the USA suffered the most significant loss and at the same time China appeared taking a considerable 8% market share. Therefore in spite of all the efforts it is not Europe that succeeds in conquering the international arena of higher education against the United States, but it has to compete with a new emerging educational power.

6. Conclusions

Europe is on the right track when focusing on the internationalisation of its higher education and on building long-term strategies to increase competitiveness. It is imperative for the Continent to make further efforts in order to regain and confirm its positions in the world market of education. Within Europe regions and nations progress with various intensity regarding internationalisation, which is partially due to historic reasons. The CEE region could be more active in utilising European resources and motivating institutions to participate in transnational collaborations.

Models of moving forward show two different approaches. One prefers the market-oriented concept letting laws and trends of the business world penetrate the education sector (Berács 2012), while the other trusts that cooperation and competition combined can serve

the best interest of higher education. This latter features the European strategy in improving higher education (Wende 2009).

Internationalisation seems to be a good response to the challenge of competitiveness no matter if it is business- or cooperation-oriented. Both concepts can have their advantages, and could prove to be complementary. These two strategies, currently dominating in how higher education should be formulated, can compromise with each other, but they should not compromise in the overall objective: while higher education needs to meet the challenges of our era, it needs to provide high quality teaching, produce outstanding research results and drive innovation serving the benefits of the students, and after all, the society.

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TRAVELLER, Andrew G.

An Exploration of Integration and How Universities 'Do' It: A Slovenian Case-study

Abstract. In a globalised, knowledge-intensive society, in which higher education is seen as inextricably linked to economic and social progress, how the university is conceived, and indeed valued, has come into focus. This paper traces the trajectory of the resultant policies that imply a more integrated university actor. It provides a brief conceptualisation of university integration, and examines the formation of 'policies of integration' within the European policy arena. Following the trajectory, the empirical component focuses on two case-study universities in Slovenia in order to illustrate the challenges and idiosyncrasies of interpreting and enacting the new integrated university 'ideal'. Consequently, dichotomies were apparent between and within universities as to how integration was defined, from where it should be initiated, and how to achieve it, as global scripts came up against local identities.

1. Background

1.1. The Topic and Approach

In a globalised, knowledge-intensive society, in which higher education (HE) is seen as inextricably linked to economic and social progress, how the university is conceived, and indeed valued, has come into focus. This paper traces the trajectory of the resultant policies that imply a more integrated university actor.

This paper is therefore primarily concerned with the university and its transformation, focussing specifically on university integration in Slovenia. While this topic is salient in the region of Central and South-Eastern Europe, there is a dearth of literature that would provide theoretical or empirical bases. Given the absence of foundations on which to build, the paper provides a high-level overview of what university integration means, which goes some way towards mapping the terrain. Furthermore, the empirical component explores the challenges and idiosyncrasies of how two universities in Slovenia have interpreted and enacted the new integrated university 'ideal'.

The paper addresses the topic of university integration through a *policy trajectory* approach (Ball 1993). This allows for the analysis to trace a connection between interrelated vantage points encompassing policy *formation*, *interpretation* and *enactment*. Rather than dwelling upon the formation of 'policies of integration', the paper's main contribution is to examine how these have played out within two university contexts. This paper is therefore about

how universities 'do' policy (Ball et al. 2012); how policies become 'live' and get enacted (or not) within universities.

However, it must be stated upfront that it is not possible to capture the totality of contingencies, modes of organisation, and institutional cultures that exist. Indeed, Goodrick & Reay (2011) point out that organisations are not merely subjected to one or two dominant institutional logics, but institutional fields are characterised by a 'constellation of logics'. At the risk of stereotyping, this paper will nevertheless strive to provide a narrative of the dominant trends related to integration that can be perceived in Slovenian universities in recent years.

1.2. Formation of 'Policies of Integration'

1.2.1. The Changing 'Big Picture'

At the macro level, much has been written over the last few decades about the changing relationship between society, the economy and the perceived importance of knowledge and knowledge production for the prosperity of nations. In the post-industrial world, a strong narrative has emerged; that of the 'knowledge-based economy' (KBE) (Bell 1973; Jessop 2008; OECD 1996). This changing relationship between knowledge, society and the economy raises the question as to where the university fits in this new world order, as other organisations encroach upon it's hegemony over knowledge production (Bastedo 2012). How the university is conceived, and indeed valued, has therefore come under scrutiny.

This paper argues strongly that an instrumental logic of the university has become particularly prominent, in which the university is required to fulfil social, political and, primarily, economic interests (Nussbaum 2010; Shapiro 2005). Not only does the KBE narrative contribute to the legitimacy of an instrumental logic, but compelling changes have also occurred resulting in a closer relationship and the increased importance of HE in society; namely, greater demands for social justice and equity (Ramirez 2006), the essential training of human capital involving large segments of the population, reduced funding, international competition for students and faculty, and expectations for economic and political relevance and utility.

Moreover, these phenomena are becoming discursively accentuated by governments, scholars and international organisations (Galevski 2013; Zgaga 2011). Indeed, the economic discourse that couches stakeholder rhetoric implies new, instrumental logics for universities as contributors to a country's competitive advantage (Nokkala, 2007), which is perpetuated by "social imaginaries" stemming from international institutions (Rizvi - Lingard 2009; Taylor 2004).

Viewed in total, universities now operate in an increasingly complex world in which multifarious demands are being placed on them to satisfy their expanding roles. Thus the

notion of the 'multiversity' is apt (Kerr 1995); an institution with a broad, and often conflicting, array of missions, identities, concepts (Smith – Webster- 1997) vested interests (de Boer - Stensaker 2007) and different *modus operandi*.

1.2.2. 'Policies of Integration'

This changing environment has opened the door to a more market-oriented and managerial rhetoric as a means to cope with increased complexity (Ramirez 2006). Indeed, societal pressures and global forces demand a greater degree of sophistication from higher education systems and institutions. At the systemic level, New Public Management (NPM) has long since emerged in Europe as a policy ideology to deal with these new macro pressures. Broadly, NPM refers to government policies that seek to modernise and render more effective the public sector through a market-oriented approach (Hood 1991).

In Europe, this constitutes a momentous change from a dominant state to dominant market model (Neave - van Vught 1991), involving new modes of inter-organisational governing relations (Amaral, et al. 2002) in what Ball (2010) describes as a shift from 'government' to 'governing'. While some scholars have viewed this as a kind of 'destatization' (Larbi 1999), others have described it rather as "a new form of 'experimental' and 'strategic' governance that is based upon network relations within and across new policy communities, designed to generate new governing capacity and enhance legitimacy" (Ball 2010: 157). In sum, "while the state is withdrawing to a more supervisory role via 'steering at a distance', universities have been granted substantial leeway with regard to institutional autonomy" (Krücken et al 2009: 1).

Moreover, NPM implies the adoption of private-sector management techniques to reform public administration (Larbi 2003) as a reaction to criticism by public-choice theorists that governments lacked cost consciousness because of the weak links between costs and outputs (Niskanen 1968). Accordingly, state (and supranational) concerns with quality, value for money, efficiency and effectiveness have emerged in recent years, with a consequent intervention in the affairs of universities (Becher - Trowler 2001). Hood (1991) outlines the key mechanisms associated with this change as: hands-on professional management, explicit standards and measures of performance, greater emphasis on output controls, shift to disaggregation of units in the public sector, shift to greater competition, stress on private sector styles of management practice and a stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use.

In terms of higher education, NPM reforms have been achieved mainly through: the introduction of new degree systems; increasing enrolments; reforming curricula to meet the needs of the labour market; including an emphasis on transferable skills; diversifying institutional forms, missions, funding bases; changing the mode of knowledge production towards transdisciplinarity and cooperation; increasing competitive behaviour not only

within but also between national systems (Nokkala 2007); as well as the creation of stronger leadership structures, and systems for institutional evaluation and accreditation through the establishment of quality assurance agencies across the continent "in order to turn the institutions into dynamic, entrepreneurial, high quality enterprises" (Bleiklie 2005: 32).

Such policy potentialities and values are evident in the European policy space (Traveller 2014) in what is described as the *Europe of Knowledge* (Corbett 2005; Vukasović 2013). At first glance, it may seem a stretch to group the rich tapestry of higher education traditions of Europe into a unified block. However, it is clear that national policies and governance structures have increasingly collided with the emergence of novel experiments in 'pooled sovereignty' (Kühnhardt 2007) – i.e. the European Union (EU) - and intergovernmental exchange - such as the Bologna Process. Thus, a kind of 'Europeanisation' occurs; defined as "the regional version of internationalisation and globalisation" (Teichler 2004: 4).

According to this understanding of the European policy space, two main pillars can be identified: the intergovernmental Bologna Process and the supranational EU Lisbon Strategy (and its successor, the Europe 2020 Strategy). Although non-binding, these two agendas provide a strong normative influence on national policy makers (Czarniawska-Joerges - Sevón 2005; Zgaga 2013) and imbue HE and universities with new logics and identities in line with dominant neo-liberal trends (Jessop 2008). As a quick aside, it must be pointed out the European governance layer of course comprises many more structures, actors, dynamics and interrelationships, including the constituent national authorities, other intergovernmental organisations, such as the Council of Europe, and other NGOs and interest groups, such as the European University Association (Vukasović - Huisman 2014: 4).

Such a European policy space has had ramifications for universities. The European policy discourse confers a new notion to the university, which is assumed to be a 'complete' actor with strengthened organisational capacities (de Boer et al. 2007; EUA 2005). The *Europe of Knowledge* policy agenda combined with related NPM reforms at the national level imply an organisational actor that is capable of engaging in the emerged HE market (Marginson 2006) and accountable for its increased responsibilities as authority and roles are reshuffled across different levels of the HE system (de Boer et al. 2007).

In sum, this has inspired a different kind of thinking about the university as an organization. Consequently, attempts have been made to reimagine and reconstruct the university as a strategic organisational actor (de Boer et al 2007; Krücken - Meier 2006; Nokkala 2007; Brunsson - Sahlin-Andersson 2000), an "integrated, goal-oriented entity that deliberately chooses its own actions and that can thus be held responsible for what is does" (Krücken - Meier 2006: 241).

Three concrete examples of European-level 'policies of integration' are provided in the box below.

Modernisation of higher education (EU 2011)

Improving governance and funding: it is necessary to increase investment in higher education and to diversify funding sources, drawing to a larger extent on private funding. In addition, funding systems must be more flexible, enable institutions to set their strategic direction and be results-based in order to introduce an element of competition.

Bucharest Communiqué (EHEA 2012)

We stress the importance of developing more efficient governance and managerial structures at higher education institutions

Glasgow Declaration: Strong Universities for a Strong Europe (EUA 2005)

At the institutional level, universities are committed to improving their governing structures and leadership competence so as to increase their efficiency and innovative capacity and to achieve their multiple missions.

(1)

1.2.3. Briefly Clarifying Integration

But what is organisational/university integration? It is prudent to provide some conceptual clarity as to university integration, which will provide a useful point of reference throughout the rest of the paper.

At the most fundamental level, a definition of integration assumes two main points: that a single, complex system exists; and that the composite components can be optimally mixed to form an integral, and thus more effective, whole. It is assumed that these composite components can be transformed - the constituent parts combined to form an 'integral whole' - in a variety of ways. Thus, no one model of integration exists. Rather, how universities do integration is highly contingent upon context.

The author distinguishes between *horizontal* and *vertical* features of university integration. The horizontal feature relates to cultural and material practices that are specialised, or what Bernstein (1999: 159) describes as "segmentally organised". For example, *administrative* functions (e.g. HR and finance) can be conceptualised along a horizontal axis, the specialist knowledge pertaining to these functions being "segmentally differentiated". The same applies to *academic* tribes and territories (Becher - Trowler 2001) and modes of knowledge production (Gibbons et al. 1994) - e.g. between history and biotechnology - as well as to the roles of organisations within a wider organisational field or innovation

ecosystem (Freeman 1987; Lundvall 1992) - e.g. between universities, research institutes, industrial firms, etc. Horizontal integration is therefore about reducing such fragmentation and increasing cooperation and interdependent relationships between specialist groups of actors *within* the university and between the university and *external* organisational actors.

The vertical axis relates to material and cultural practices that form a "coherent, explicit, and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organised, or series of specialised modus operandi" (Bernstein 1999: 159). For universities, this refers to: firstly, the strategic alignment, again of both the internal members and of the university within the wider organisational field; and secondly, in order to achieve this strategic alignment, a new kind of rationalised institutional governance arrangement is needed, reshaping historical power relationships in what can be described as a more 'managed' organisation (Clark 1998; Clarke - Newman 1994; Deem 1998).

1.3. International Norms meet Local Identities: The Case of Slovenia

1.3.1. International Norms

In order to more tangibly comprehend the ramifications of such policies, this paper focuses on a national case; that of Slovenia.

Slovenia has not been immune from changes in its European environment. Consequently, since gaining independence from Yugoslavia in 1991, the Slovenian government has sought greater university integration. Many of these attempts to transform university governance have occurred at the system level. Primarily, the emerged neo-liberal policy environment resulted in constitutionally autonomous and integrated (i.e. single legal entities) universities. Additionally, a national quality assurance agency was established in 2010, and the Slovenian Qualification Framework has been prepared.

Moreover, the Slovenian policy agenda continues to imply a more strategic and integrated university actor. Two key texts form the current policy basis for Slovenian HE; the HE Act (which has undergone a series of amendments since 1993) and the National Higher Education Programme 2011-2020 (NHEP). NHEP is particularly explicit in setting out a strategy that implies university integration, proposing actions conducive to such ends, such as: increased internal cooperation; block grants for universities plus a new (organisational) developmental part of funding; the independent management of tangible assets by universities; the autonomous preparation of study programmes and determination of academic standards; independent selection of staff and students; autonomous (strategic) management and financial decision-making; increased external cooperation and relevance; and a new career system, allowing universities' greater freedom for career development (OECD 2012). An example is provided below:

National Plan for HE 2011-2020

Establish a system of internal organisation of universities which will encourage cooperation between departments and/or members and enable a greater number of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary programmes.

(2)

1.3.2. Local Identities

However, the new, normative notion of the university as an integrated entity is particularly challenging for countries whose historical legacies significantly differ in terms of both how the university is imagined and organised. Slovenia is a case in point. The traditional institutional structure of Slovenian universities consists of powerful, legally autonomous faculties under the symbolic umbrella of public universities, rather than as complete legal, organisational or sociological entities. This regional idiosyncrasy resulted in weak institutional integration and a significant variance in funding and quality among these entities (Zgaga 1996; Huisman - Vrečko 2003).

Contributing to a historical legacy of fragmented universities is the fact that the modern university is still a relatively new addition to Slovenia (UL 2014). Although HE institutions have been present in Slovenia since the time of the counter-reformation in the 16th century, the first modern university was not established until 1919 in Ljubljana. This remained the country's sole university until socio-economic development in the North-East of Slovenia warranted the establishment of a second university in 1975, the University of Maribor, which came into existence as a merger of six local polytechnics (Zgaga 1996; Huisman - Vrečko 2003).

As such, the 'academic tradition' that has developed can be described as a melange of imported and local 'norms' and cultures. Indeed, Slovenians studied at the universities of Vienna, Graz, Prague, Padua and Krakow right until the establishment of the University of Ljubljana (UL 2014). So from the outset, the Slovenian Academy, returning from abroad, represented a diversity of geographical, cultural and social backgrounds; certainly not a unified and integrated community.

Thus, implementation, at the institutional level, of new norms related to an integrated university involves those from inherently different academic and organisational backgrounds and paradigms; and, moreover, they have had little say in the re-design of HE systems (Bergan 2012). Thus, while universities have sought to adapt to the new environment, a dichotomy has emerged between international norms and local identities (Zgaga 2013).

2. How Universities 'Do' Integration

In Slovenia and at the level of the university, the situation regarding how integration has been interpreted and enacted by universities is unclear. Indeed, while it is evident that the aforementioned systemic changes towards integration have occurred, there is a dearth of literature as to how this notion of a unified university has manifested itself 'on the ground'. The following sections attempt to shed some light on the picture.

2.1. Methodology

The empirical study that forms the basis of this paper aims to determine how university actors in Slovenia have interpreted and enacted policies of integration. Indeed, as Bleiklie & Kogan (2007: 480) remark, "one cannot necessarily deduce actual practices in specific instances from general trends or ideals in policy documents".

As such, an embedded case study methodology was utilised. Two cases were chosen for study, - the University of Ljubljana (UL) and the University of Maribor (UM).

The following three sources were utilised for the collection of data:

- Documentation
- Semi-structured interviews
- Data from other research

A conceptual framework was employed to frame the collection of data. An existing framework by de Boer et al. (2007) provided a useful, well-theorised basis on which to structure the research. The authors focus on the (re)construction of *identity*, *hierarchy* and *rationality* (Brunsson - Sahlin-Andersson 2000) in the transformation of the university towards a complete, corporate actor. The framework provides constructs, dimensions and detailed indicators. Given the specificity of the Slovenian context, a number of dimensions and indicators were slightly re-conceptualised, and a modified version was utilised.

The interview data consists of thirteen semi-structured interviews. The interviews aimed to explore interviewees' perceptions of and reactions to university integration (and policies thereof), as well as to collect concrete examples of material practices; i.e. interpretations and enactments.

The study also includes content analysis of a rich collection of documents produced by the case institutions, public bodies and third parties. In total, 29 documents were analysed. Examples include university visions and missions, strategic plans, internal and external

evaluations, university statutes, work programmes, organisational charts, policy statements, project reports, presentations, web content, etc.

The research also draws upon data from other studies, most heavily on a regional study conducted by the Centre for Educational Policy Studies at UL (Zgaga et al. 2013).

2.2. Interpretation

2.2.1. Dichotomies of Approach

According to the content analysis, there were different ways in which university integration was interpreted. Indeed, dichotomies were apparent both between and within universities as to how integration was defined, from where it should be initiated, and how to achieve it. This is most clearly evidenced by contrasting data from the university level with the faculty level.

At the level of the university, UM demonstrated a more determined attempt by the rectorate to integrate, with a myriad of well-designed and aligned strategic documents, an assertive rectorate, a number of new, university-wide organisational units, and overall a more structured approach stemming from the central administration. As one interviewee described:

> This year, we managed to achieve a huge victory because we managed to design and confirm the strategy of the university…not of the faculties. We also approved an action plan. These are completely new documents for Slovenian universities (Interview 7; 2/4/2014).

On the other hand, UL evidenced a rather more democratic, ad-hoc, yet not altogether ineffective, approach. It has taken what is described as a 'functional' approach to integration, in which selected, isolated functions are linked for the sake of expediency. In practice, this means that integration initiatives, such a joint programmes, are initiated at the level of the member (faculty) or confined to specific 'functions' of the university; most notably, there is a strong quality management drive. However, the central administration does not play a prominent role, and these functional initiatives tend not to be integrated in terms of organisational structure.

At the faculty level, there appears to be a disconnect between what is declared at the university level and the subjective interpretations of university integration by individual members. In other words, the interpretation of policies of integration by faculty or individual actors did not always align with the official university rhetoric. Furthermore, scepticism towards university-level initiatives was common. For example, a faculty vice-dean stated:

> This is only money distribution. OK, I am too cynical. Of course such things are moving slowly. We are developing quality management stuff, reporting, monitoring stuff, etc. but the quality of these documents, the impact of these things is quite reduced. So maybe in 10 years [there will be an impact] because our system is quite reluctant to any change, to any

> reforms, to any things that change individual behaviour and competences (Interview 6; 7/4/2014).

2.2.2. External Influences

Such approaches to university integration do not emerge in a vacuum. External influences were seen to impact the way in which universities do policy. According to the content analysis, several prominent categories emerged: namely, accreditation, internationalisation, rankings, the financial crisis, and the legislative and systemic environment. These provided both opportunities and constraints for university integration, the common theme being that such influences required increased strategic action from both faculties and the rectorate. An interviewee provides an example:

> A huge help was the methodology of the accreditation process. The first rule is that institutions must have their own vision mission and strategic programme…We started in 2012 with the self-evaluation process. We invited external evaluators from EUA. They gave us their recommendations. We used their recommendations as a platform for our programme. In the same year, we also had the national institutional accreditation process. We took this as an opportunity to prepare the system (Interview 7; 2/4/2014).

The challenge is that some external elements, such as disciplinary accreditation, require faculty-level responses, while others, such as rankings, require institutional responses. Thus, integration is not uniform across institutions. Indeed, some faculties managed to significantly improve their level of integration, for example in order to obtain external accreditation or compete for international students. As one interviewee explains:

> Internationalisation does a lot of good for universities. But internationalisation happens on two levels: on the faculty level and at the university level. Because the faculties have a very high level of autonomy in their activities, it does not always benefit everyone equally (Interview 13; 4/4/2014).

The paradox is that strongly integrated faculties may impede wider university integration for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is difficult for such faculties to redefine their objectives in line with university policies because they are obliged to fulfil certain standards set by external agents. Secondly, strengthened integration has resulted in discrepancies between the size, resourcing, status, and influence of some faculties vis-à-vis others. Thus, the level of engagement in university initiatives by faculties differs.

One may therefore argue that policies of integration are interpreted to a certain degree through the lens of external actors. This means that much of the diagnosis of the challenges facing universities, and the strategic responses, are not primarily interpreted by the university as a holistic actor.

2.2.3. Internal Influences

Internal factors also influence how universities do policies of integration. In this regard, a number of internal dynamics were identified that shaped interpretation.

Firstly, the author warns of the folly of 'technical solutionism' (Morozov 2013); a tendency among university leaders to attempt simply to fix everything through neo-liberal prescriptions; strategizing, quantifying, tracking, reporting and monitoring. Indeed, 'managerial technology' (e.g. quality assurance, ICT, and performance management systems) can be a force for improvement and capacity-building, "but only if we keep solutionism in check" (*ibid*.) and learn to appreciate the 'messiness' of an autonomous and democratic academy. In fact, some of this 'mess' – tenure, liberal education, democratic decision-making - are not accidental but by design; in order to serve the public good and ensure impartial, critical thought (Hohm - Shore 1998).

Indeed, content analysis suggested that a number of technical solutions to integration have been sought - i.e. new strategic documents, structures, performance indicators, etc. However, while such initiatives can contribute positively to university integration, technical solutionism also lent itself to cynicism, alienation and aversion to 'solutions' in the absence of an obvious, practical benefit, as noted by a number of interviewees. Indeed, a number of such initiatives were perceived by some respondents to lack visibility, involvement or support from a reasonable percentage of staff. This attracted criticism from many interviewees. As one interviewee commented, "University-wide projects are not visible on the ground; nothing" (Interview 6; 7/4/2014).

Secondly, inequality between faculties – in terms of size, power, resources, degree of integration, etc. - stood out. This may be partly due to the historical legacy of independent, self-governed faculties or indeed as a result of the aforementioned external influences, such as successful internationalisation, accreditation, research funding, etc. Such unequal distribution of power and resources between members posed challenges when trying to integrate disparate parties according to standardised criteria. This naturally means that members' stakes in university integration differ; some stand to profit while others may lose their competitive edge. This dynamic can be inferred from the following statement by a respondent from one of the larger faculties:

> We have some problems now; the university wants that the members of the university have a centralised information system. But we already have one based on our needs. We developed our information system. For example, we have a student survey on our system and other such things. They want to bring our survey to their system. This means costs. This means deferring many things that we have now. We are going a step back probably (Interview 12; 4/4/2014).

Finally, given that integration relates to the optimisation of a system, an important concept that hindered the adoption of such initiatives was, what the author calls, *reflexive positionality*; an ideal which refers to an individual's affiliation with and awareness of their role as being part of, and contributing to, the holistic institutional environment. A lack of reflexive positionality at both universities was observed. All interviewees either described or demonstrated the fact that their social identity related to a limited field of activity, usually confined to their immediate disciplinary group or the faculty; academic tribes and territories seemed to prevail. Exceptions were those in university-wide positions of responsibility, who exhibited a greater degree of reflexive positionality, as would be expected.

This lack of reflexive positionality was noted already in an EUA (2007: 5) report, which remarked that there was a "lack of interfaculty relationships and formal horizontal coordination…[A] faculty dean explained that, according to him, the UL is so big that freedom is needed in the faculties. Moreover, he added, nobody is interested nor could be interested in what happens in the faculty he chairs". A vice-dean from UL summarized this internal dynamic thus:

> We don't have a long tradition of being an independent state; we don't have a long tradition of an independent administration. We are somehow not grown up in a system where you have to take responsibility for your job and for the others'…We employ smart persons. But they are not willing to understand that they are somewhere in the system; that they provide a service; that they have to work in the system and for others (Interview 6; 7/4/2014).

2.3. Enactment

The three constructs from the conceptual framework – namely, *identity, hierarchy* and *rationality* - proved a useful lens for which to group the emerged themes related to policy enactments.

2.3.1. Identity

Identity relates to enactments that attempt to socially reconstruct what the organization is or would like to be. There are two main levels on which to analyse the enactment of university integration as it relates to identity; the university and the faculty level.

Firstly, on the university level, the content analysis suggests that both UL and UM have transitioned from being social institutions in the most fundamental sense - i.e. something that transcends individual reflection and intentions (Miller 2012) - to organisational actors. This entails more specific goals, missions and a self-determined sense of direction, as well as the ongoing elaboration, expansion and differentiation of formal organizational structures (Krücken 2011). Indeed, the myriad of strategic documents and the development of university-wide systems, projects and structures (particularly QA) indicate this fact. As one interview elucidated:

> …we need some reflection, some analysis, to see where we are, where we need to go, some action plans; then implement them...Like all businesses in the world that want to survive. In our case, after years and years, we pushed to have something like a strategy (Interview 6; 7/4/2014).

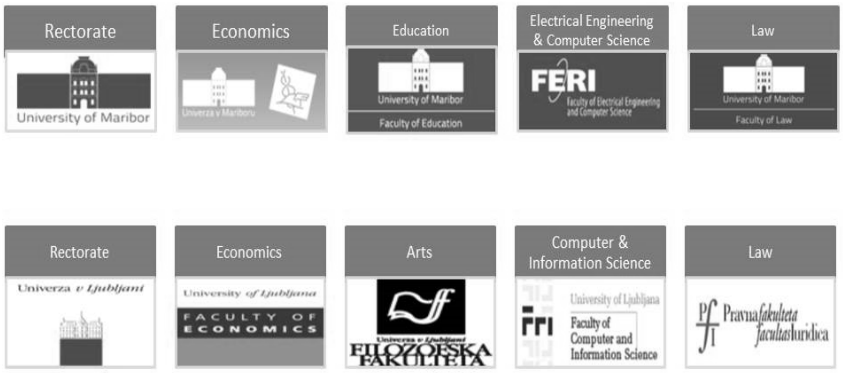
This perception of the university as an organisational actor is reinforced by the involvement of external actors. Indeed, the increased entanglement of the university in society means that universities are increasingly held to account. The author argues that this has led to individual achievement and responsibility increasingly being attributed to the university as a whole, or to faculties. As Krücken (2011: 5) explains: "attribution of responsibility, which traditionally has been much more individualized, is now transforming into an organizational attribute. As organized actors, universities have to be understood as units, which produce decisions for which they are held accountable". The establishment of the national quality assurance agency as well as the increased number of external evaluations and accreditations are evidence of this.

However, the extent to which formal attempts to produce a common organisational identity actually impact individuals in questionable. As one interviewee noted, "We made an action plan. But it's general good wishes; no clear actions. And nobody is pushing" (Interview 6; 7/4/2014). Furthermore, "missions of universities frequently invoke the same goals; e.g. 'excellence in research and teaching', 'internationalization' or interdisciplinary research programs and a focus on innovation and entrepreneurship. The use of the same goals in mission statements worldwide can be seen as an indication that universities enact globally institutionalized scripts of what a university is expected to be" (Krücken et al. 2009: 5). Indeed, such scripts are present at both UL and UM, whose missions and visions both invoke notions of world-class, research intensive, excellence and quality, interdisciplinarity, humanism, freedom and autonomy, creativity, ethics and responsibility, knowledge transfer, and nation building (UL 2014; UM 2013). Yet these notions lack a clear sense of idiosyncrasy. Ironically, their identities are becoming more defined but less distinct.

Whatever their espoused identities, the author argues that UL and UM are both still in their infancy in terms of developing an integrated organisational identity. Indeed, much of the strategic initiatives have only been developed in the last few years. As one vice-rector explains, "We integrated the centres of excellence, and all these bodies have been created towards more interdisciplinary groups, towards more joint applications for projects. But this takes time; to persuade everyone to be on the same boat" (Interview 2; 4/4/2014).

On the faculty level, the content analysis suggests that university-level attempts to develop a shared identity do not permeate the members. Indeed, internal borders between faculties remain quite strong. During the interviews, all members provided examples and anecdotes related specifically to their own faculties, and only those in the rectorate demonstrated a holistic, university-wide identification. Even strategic thought was predominantly confined to

these borders. Phrases like, “in our school”, and “at our faculty” were ubiquitous during interviews. Indeed, “we” almost exclusively referred to the faculty, rather than the university as a whole. Moreover, the diversity of logos (see table below) and faculty-level strategic documentation confirms such disparity and fragmentation.



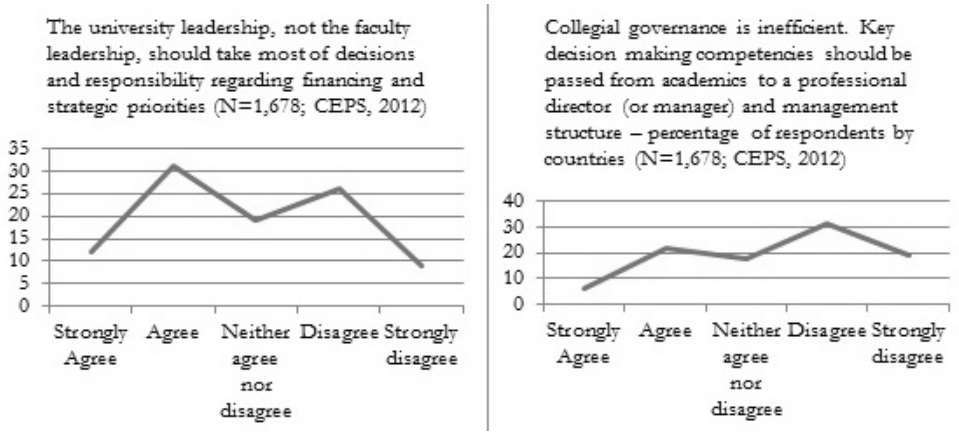
(3)

Thus, there exists a certain contradiction between an increasingly coherent organisational identity and the persistence of strong, independent faculties. While a degree of integration at the systemic and university levels is evident, responses to these initiatives tend to take place within disparate organisational units.

2.3.2. Hierarchy

The second construct relates to issues of hierarchy. Indeed, the implication of university integration is increased central coordination and control; a kind of hierarchization of the university. In this regard, three main aspects stand out in terms of enactment, namely: changes (or lack thereof) to decision-making structures; the professionalization (or lack thereof) of management; and internal power relations.

Indeed, university integration implies a rationalisation of governing mechanisms in the pursuit of efficiency and the effective implementation of institutional strategies; a shift in the internal hierarchy of the university endowing leaders with a more important role. For both UL and UM, such a notion represents a change and a challenge to the traditional mode of collegial governance, in which decisions pass through the rectorate, the senate, the governing board and the student council. This incongruity of decision-making structures is reflected in the contradictory perceptions of faculty at both universities, represented in the graphs below (Zgaga et al. 2013).



(4)

On the one hand, collegial governance seems to be highly supported by the Slovenian academy, whilst, on the other, there is an acknowledgement that the role of the university leadership needs to be strengthened.

Whilst this dichotomy of perceptions exists, there were few signs that an increasingly hierarchical power structure would replace the current model anytime soon. Collegial governance seems to be highly supported. Zgaga et al. (2013: 44) explain that "deans especially elaborated on the idea that only the smallest number of issues should be coordinated and managed at the university level…There were also ideas of autonomy belonging to individual (academic) professions/fields". A number of other interviewees also expressed some kind of satisfaction (or resignation) with the current model, including two individuals at the rectorate

In saying that, UM did demonstrate a bolder, more decisive rectorate. Both the university and faculty leadership demonstrated a willingness to impose sanctions on poor performing faculty, with two interviewees referring to mandatory retirement, dismissals, and some consequent court cases. But given that the current governance model does not allocate more responsibility to leaders, such persons had little room for executive decision-making.

Next, professionalisation is a presumed perquisite for an integrated organisation, as the allocation of responsibility and increased organisational sophistication requires a strengthened steering core (Clark, 1998). Contrary to the preference for collegial governance, the academy felt "it is necessary or inevitable to professionalise the management of universities" (Zgaga et al. 2013: 41).

Concretely, a good indication of professionalisation is the emergence of new categories of professional and related academic management positions and units, "in fields that contribute to the concept of an integrated, goal oriented entity that is deliberately choosing

its own actions and that is eager to display this new image for others to see" (Krücken 2011: 5). At both UL and UM, there is an emerging trend in this direction. Both universities have recently established career centres, quality offices, and technology transfer centres. But these units are new, small and under-staffed. They are not professionalised in the sense that specialist staff would be employed (including from abroad). Furthermore, other important functions for an integrated university, like human resources, organisational development, or public relations, are conspicuously absent, unchanged, fragmented or ill-adapted for strategic action. Even in the more developed areas like quality assurance, functions tend not to be structurally integrated across the university. Although, UM is starting to structurally link these functions to a greater extent.

Moreover, the majority of interviewees at both universities articulated that, despite recognition of the need to professionalise, this has not yet been realised. As one interviewee remarked:

> I am not very happy because sometimes this decentralisation is an excuse for not making a proper management... The issue is that management should work. If you decentralise you need very clear rules, very clear monitoring. But in our case, each department has its own policies, own processes; we don't have a lot of managerial things. Ok, the general rules are the same. It's the same story with the university, because each faculty is a different planet (Interview 6; 7/4/2014).

It is important to note that the distinction between professional management in a university and in a private firm is its legitimate basis of power (Krücken 2011). Indeed, decision-making is not vested in professional managers but in distributed, deliberative, predominantly academic bodies. Additionally, the professoriate enjoys a strong status vis-à-vis the administration. As such, the power base of the new, professional manager is weak. The role of professional managers is confined to providing expert advice, information and presenting agendas and solutions. This can also be conceived a service, rather than control, orientation (Krücken et al. 2013).

Reinforcing this conceptualisation of management is the fact that the structure and character of universities have historically not embraced top-down leadership. In academic environments, the idea of collegiality is strongly-rooted, assuming a *primus inter pares* approach to leadership, whereby authority of disciplinary expertise, self-regulation, academic freedom, and autonomy take precedent over positional power or indeed the individual's ability to manage people, processes and systems (Bento 2011; Malaza, 2009). Thus, academic leadership has placed less emphasis on control, and a greater value on democratic governance.

This perception of leadership in Slovenian universities also means that leaders inspire action via personal and academic attributes rather than as the top actor in a management decision-making system (Krücken 2011). Indeed, interviewees, particularly at UL,

demonstrated awareness that peer-to-peer rather than superior-to-subordinate relationships and activities were essential in order to create the necessary familiarity to enhance cooperation.

Issues of power were also evident at the faculty level. Indeed, relative differences between faculties give them impetus to pursue relative differences in the exercise of power. In this context, power is not simply based on legitimate, formal sources but also on social sources (French - Raven 1959). Accordingly, the author noted that the rectorates of both universities tended to derive power and spur change through the provision of resources and information, what can be described as informational sources of power (Raven 1965), while the exercise of power by stronger faculties was primarily based on knowledge, experience, skills and talents; i.e. expert sources of power (French -Raven 1959).

2.3.3. Rationalisation

The final construct is rationalisation. At the most basic level, this means setting and measuring objectives. Accordingly, the emergence of explicit strategic objectives at UL and UM has already been mentioned. However, while a vast array of documents have been published, the actual goals tended to be broad and imprecise. Additionally, these goals and objectives are still far from being a common standard across the entire university. Given the abstract nature of these goals, developing measurements, accounting systems and benchmarks in order to determine success is problematic or even impossible at this stage. Accordingly, both universities were not far progressed in this regard.

At both universities, quality management and ICT are the two areas receiving most attention in terms of rationalisation. Indeed, developing more concrete quality measures seemed to be a high priority. In conjunction with this effort, both universities are in the process of upgrading their ICT systems to form a standardised university system to improve the quality loop.

The author argues that while a focus on quality may have some positive implications for university integration, it also provides numerous challenges. Firstly, questions arise as to what constitutes quality. Indeed, quality can be defined in a myriad of ways (Harvey - Green 1993). What is a useful measure for one department or faculty may be of little consequence for another. The measurement and determination of academic performance, for example, differs significantly between disciplines, which favour different outputs; e.g. books, cited journal articles, patents, monographs, portfolios, etc. At both universities, the developing systems appear to be heavily guided by quantitative, highly-prescribed processes of quality control, which may fail to take into account these idiosyncrasies. Indeed, "the audit format introduces a one-way accountability and provides 'rituals of verification' instead of fostering trust, has high opportunity costs and may well be detrimental to innovative teaching and learning" (Hoecht 2006). More than half of the

interviewees questioned the relevance and consequences of the new systems and processes under development:

> We have to fill out impact surveys that are not really meant for our discipline. They are from another area of work… It's limiting in that you get the feeling that only certain things count….Maybe they are not meaningful for me but I have to choose them because they count. If it's reported, then it must be important (Interview 4; 22/4/2014).

Secondly, connected to the issue of relevance is a perception of standardisation and measurement as burdensome. This may be a consequence of a lack of reflexive positionality, or a reaction to the fact that rationalisation is simply too generic and far-removed from the 'daily struggle' of academics. As one interviewee from UM stated:

> The common interest is in our mission. If we are going to do this [integration], we need to make the right condition and reduce the administration. 20 years ago, I was not pressed so much with this planning, reporting and all that. We don't need this plan or that. Just leave me so I can work. Don't make another service and another administration department (Interview 1; 26/3/2014).

Finally, quality indicators, as promoted by external actors, may divert attention away from domestically significant issues. Indeed, one of the key arguments for university integration in Slovenia is to address issues of duplication, waste and a lack of incentives in the system. However, the current quality measures only go a limited way in addressing these issues.

3. Conclusion

Evidence suggests that attitudes are shifting within the two Slovenian universities, particularly amongst senior leaders. This includes the acknowledgment for a more *integrated* university. Accordingly, there are an increasing number of initiatives to this end that are taking root, particularly the recent implementation of longer-term strategic planning and quality management.

Yet overall there remains a degree of variation as to how the two universities interpreted and enacted such change. While favourable attitudes and initial actions were detectable, they certainly were not universal. Dichotomies were apparent between and within universities as to how integration was defined, from where it should be initiated, and how to achieve it. Certainly, UM demonstrated a more determined attempt by the rectorate to integrate whilst UL evidences a rather more democratic, ad-hoc, yet not altogether ineffective, approach.

Socio-cultural and historical identities, coupled with scepticism towards transnational policy discourses, prevents the whole-hearted adoption of change. This may be justified given the negative fallout of recent market-oriented HE policies, such as a burgeoning private sector with questionable quality and integrity, the troubled implementation of the Bologna process and the increased demands on the professoriate with little demonstrable benefit. Such

features may not just be particular to Slovenia but symptomatic of academia at large in Continental Europe.

As Bleiklie & Kogan (2007: 481) note: "In European public systems, the extent to which rhetoric based on the corporate management ideal has been followed up in practice varies and exists in a sometimes uneasy relationship with bureaucratic steering and the social responsibilities of universities as civil service institutions". Therefore, the current changes towards more integrated universities may in fact be less far-reaching that the political rhetoric suggests, buffered by traditional characteristics and modes of organisation.

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Appendix

Central European Higher Education Cooperation (CEHEC)

1st Conference Programme

Main challenges to universities in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)

January 28-29, 2015
Budapest, Hungary

Conference Theme:

This is the first of a series of annual conferences organized by the Center of International Higher Education Studies (CIHES) at the Corvinus University of Budapest and the Central European University (CEU) in collaboration with partners from the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia as part of the Central European Higher Education Cooperation (CEHEC) project.

The conference brings together researchers, policy and university leaders (practitioners) and other experts on higher education in CEE region but also in other regions of the world. The aim is to stimulate academic discussion on trends and key issues in the region's higher education. It is also to enhance academic collaboration and practice/experience sharing in the areas of higher education and science and research policies.

The target groups of Conference are higher education and policy researchers, university leaders, as well as other stakeholders whose work is key for the good performance of higher education institutions. The goal is to build a professional network for sharing expertise, success stories, and new ideas, as well as to provide support to the relevant stakeholders in higher education.

CEHEC Project Partners:
Center of International Higher Education Studies, Corvinus University of Budapest
Central European University, Budapest
ISC Foundation, Budapest
Faculty of Social Sciences, Center for Social and Economic Strategies, Charles University in Prague
Polish Rectors Foundation - Institute of Knowledge Society
Perspektywy Education Foundation (Poland)
Tertiary Education and Research Institute (Czech Republic)
Faculty of Central European Studies of Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra (Slovakia)

Programme

Wednesday January 28, 2015

Venue: Corvinus University of Budapest, Main Building (Budapest, Fővám tér 8.), Room 2001

13.00 – 14.00	*Registration*
14.00 – 14.05	Welcome: prof. József BERÁCS (Corvinus University of Budapest, Center for International Higher Education Research, executive director)
14.05 – 14.10	Opening: prof. László SZAKADÁT (dean, faculty of Economics, Corvinus University of Budapest)
14.10 – 14.15	**Plenary Session I.** Chair: prof. Liviu MATEI (Central European University, Hungary, provost and pro-rector)
14.15 – 14.35	**The Transformation of University Governance in Central and Eastern Europe: its Antecedents and Consequences** prof. Liudvika LEISYTE (University of Dortmund, Germany)
14.35 – 14.55	**Financing universities in post-communist countries – a comparative study** prof. Ernő KESZEI (Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary)
14.55 – 15.15	**Challenges for modern universities: Finding the balance between teaching, research and third role.** dr. Aleš VLK (Tertiary Education & Research Institute, Czech Republic)
15.15 – 15.40	**Discussion**
15.40 – 16.00	*Coffee break*
16.00 – 16.20	**The selected deregulation requirements towards HES reforms in Poland** prof. Jerzy WOŹNICKI (National Council for Science and Higher Education, Poland & Polish Rectors Foundation - Institute of KnowledgeSociety)
16.20 – 16.40	**Recent reforms in Austrian higher education: from state agencies to public enterprises.** prof. Hans PECHAR (University of Klagenfurt, Austria)
16.40 – 17.00	**Recent developments in the autonomy and governance of higher education institutions in Hungary** dr. Gergely KOVÁTS (Corvinus University of Budapest, CIHES)
17.00 – 17.30	**Discussion & concluding remarks**
19.00	Welcome dinner: Academy Club, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (9 István Széchenyi square, Budapest, 1051)

Thursday, January 29, 2015

Venue: Central European University, Monument Building (Budapest, Nádor u. 9, 1051)

8.00 - 9.00	*Registration (Monument Building, Popper Room, 102)*		
9.00 – 10.20	**Plenary Session II. (Monument Building, Popper Room, 102)** chair: prof. Ildikó HRUBOS (professor emerita, Corvinus University of Budapest)		
9.00 – 9.20	**Addressing challenges in higher education in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe** prof. Liviu MATEI (Central European University, Hungary, provost and pro-rector)		
9.20 – 9.40	**Equity in the Romanian Higher Education System. A national perspective on the existing policies and future challenges** Cezar HAJ (Public policy expert at the Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding (UEFISCDI)		
9.40 – 10.00	**The demand for tertiary education in Slovakia: Interests and fields of study** Martin GUZI (Masaryk University, Czech Republic)		
10.00 – 10.20	**Discussion**		
10.20 – 10.40	*Coffee break*		
10.40 – 12.00	**PARALELL SESSION I.**		
	Governance – system dynamics and change *Room: MB 102* Chair: József TEMESI	**Internationalization of HE in the CEE** *Room: MB 103* Chair: Agnes LEYRER	**Teaching & Learning** *Room: MB 203* Chair: Edina BERLINGER
10.40 – 11.00	**University governance in the Visegrád countries** Gabriella KECZER (University of Szeged, Hungary)	**Higher Education: Challenged by Internationalisation and Competetiveness** Edit Rohonczi (University of West Hungary, Hungary)	**Access to the higher education for disadvantaged** Edina BERLINGER and Krisztina MEGYERI (Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary)
11.00 – 11.20	**Translation of the modernization agenda in higher education governance in post-communist countries. The case of Slovakia.** Renata KRALIKOVA (Central European University, Hungary)	**Scientific cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian universities: Preliminary research results** Iryna DEGTYAROVA (Dnitropet reginal Institute of Public Administration, Ukraine)	**The Experiences and Views of Next Generation Ph.D. Students on Education** Zsuzsa KOVACS and Orsolya KERESZTY ELTE (Eotvos Lorand University, Hungary)
11.20 – 11.40	**Governance through transparency tools: The case of Romania HE reforms** Norbert SABIC (Central European University, Hungary)	**The real benefit of an exchange programme: Moving from credit mobility to degree mobility** Janka HUJAK (University of Pannonia, Hungary)	**University degree: a key to success? –An analysis of social representation** Annamária DOMBI – Lilla KOLTÓI – Paszkál KISS (Eotvos Lorand University, Hungary
11.40 – 12.00	**Mismanagement as a Policy Endorsed by Legislation: A Key Deformation of the Slovak Tertiary Education System** Jozef HVORECKÝ (Vysoká škola manažmentu, Slovakia / City University of Seattle, USA)	**Expanding geographical spaces on the global map of the of the University of Pécs's internationalization** Zsuzsanna CSASZAR (University of Pécs, Hungary) and Tamás WUSCHING (University of Pécs, Hungary)	

12:00 – 13.20	*LUNCH outside Gellner room/MB 103*

13.20 – 14.40	**PARALLEL SESSIONS II.**	
	Governance – system dynamics and change *Room: MB 102* Chair: József TEMESI	**Research & Development and Third Mission** *Room: MB 103* Chair: Norbert SABIC
13.20 – 13.40	**The European Patterns of „HOMO ACADEMICUS" and the chances of its evolution in current Hungarian higher education** Daniel DEÁK (Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary)	**Ensuring the competitiveness of knowledge as the fourth mission of Higher Educatio** Laszlo HORVATH (Eotvos Lorand University, Hungary)
13.40 – 14.00	**An exploration of integration and how universities do it: A Slovenian case study** Andrew G. TRAVELLER (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)	**Central European Institute of Technology: Facing the Challenges** Jiri NANTL (TERI, Czech Republic)
14.00 – 14.20	**Knowledge or competence based higher education. The case of Romania** Liliana Eva DONATH (West University of Timisoara, Romania)	**Special effects of central higher education network on the career after graduating** Roland HEGEDŰS (University of Debrecen, Hungary)
14.20 – 14.40	**What do conscious citizens see? Role of higher education in setting social priorities** Annamária DOMBI – Lilla KOLTÓI – Paszkál KISS (Eotvos Lorand University, Hungary)	
14.40 – 15.00	*Coffee break*	
15.00 -16.30	**Plenary Session III: Discussion** **(Monument Building, Popper Room 102)** Chair: Liviu MATEI and József BERÁCS Discussion about the future of CEHEC collaboration, brainstorming about potential new initiatives and projects (based on identified themes). **Annual strategic progress reports about Hungarian Higher Education, published by CUB-CIHES – A conceptual framework and future development** prof. József BERÁCS (Corvinus University of Budapest, Center for International Higher Education Research, executive director) Concluding remarks	