

Humboldt versus Neoliberalism

University Academics' Perception of Higher Education Changes
in Germany and England

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Department of Education
Master Thesis 30 HE credits
International and Comparative Education
Master Programme in International and Comparative Education
(120 credits)
Spring term 2014
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Abstract

The name 'Humboldt' is associated with various ideals such as the unity of teaching and research, the freedom to teach and to learn and the community of teachers and students and used to stand for a unified idea of the university. Recent developments and changes like widening participation in and the marketisation of higher education related to the emergence of neoliberalism have challenged those old ideals. Through creating a Humboldt University model based on Humboldtian ideals and a Neoliberal University model reflecting neoliberal ideas the study seeks to illustrate the main changes that have happened. It then evaluates the developments by putting them against the German (the origin of Humboldt's ideas) and English university (the first to marketise higher education). The ones to sense the developments and changes the most are the university academics. Therefore, it was chosen to review the former through the eyes of the latter.

Thus, the study offers a glimpse of how university academics at the German and English institution/institute perceive the changes deriving from comparing the above-mentioned model. How do they relate to the Humboldtian ideals? How do they evaluate recent developments and related discourses in higher education? Are there connections between the countries' university traditions and their perception?

The main findings suggest that academics at the English institute believe more in the old ideals than the German academics who blame mainly massification for its infeasibility. It also shows that recent discourses and their termination are understood differently by the academics. For a new unifying idea of the university, opposing perceptions like the ones examined would need to be brought in line. Can there be one identity of the university?

Keywords

University, Humboldt, Neoliberalism, Academics, Higher Education, Germany, England

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List of Abbreviations

BMBF	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Federal Ministry of Education and Research)
CAP	Changing Academic Profession (Study)
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (German Academic Exchange Service)
EC	European Commission
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EU	European Union
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
LLL	Lifelong Learning
MBA	Master of Business Administration
NM	New Managerialism
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organization for Economic and Co-operation Development
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
REF	Research Excellence Framework
UK	United Kingdom

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1. Introduction

An institution remains functional only so long as it vitally embodies its inherent idea. Should its spirit evaporate, an institution will petrify into something merely mechanical, like a soulless organism reduced to dead matter. Not even the university can continue to form a whole once the unifying bond of its corporate consciousness dissolves. The functions the university fulfills for society must preserve an inner connection with the goals, motives and actions of its members. Thus one must, alas, come to the inevitable but sobering conclusion: The assertion of unbroken faithfulness to Humboldt is the life-lie of too many of our present day European universities and academics. – Habermas, 1987 –

1.1 Background to the Study

If Wilhelm von Humboldt's ideas are "dead" indeed, there are two questions arising: First, what is it that the university embodies today? Second, why are Humboldt's ideas still mentioned in various publications on contemporary higher education? Let us start with question two, which seems easier to be answered. Wilhelm von Humboldt provided the most ideal form of the unifying idea of the modern university. As Nybom (2006) acknowledges, such ideal types remain highly valuable for the understanding, evaluation and reformation of our contemporary universities.

Creating a model based on Humboldt's ideas,¹ thus, is one part of the first step to understand contemporary higher education. The other part involves a second model – a model, which describes our contemporary situation as accurately as possible. There are different terms in circulation: the entrepreneurial university, the service university, the responsive university, etc. In line with the 'Humboldt university' model² chosen, the author decided to use the term the 'neoliberal university' since here it is not one particular function that gives the university its name, but the ideas that stand behind it, namely, neoliberal ideas.

How are the ideas, reflected in the two models, manifested in the German (as the origin of Humboldt's ideas) and the English (as the pioneer in marketising higher education) university? To which degree have Humboldt's ideas vanished? In how far are the criteria and mechanisms of the neoliberal university implemented?

Fuller (2005) sums up that there are two prominent views nowadays: either that the university represents an impossible ideal that has never been realised anyway or that the university tries to serve too many functions and has become obsolete. In this study, the two models established in accordance to Humboldt's and neoliberal main ideas should neither feed into the debate whether Humboldt's ideas

¹ *The model is based on his ideas. It does not only refer to Humboldt's explicit ideas, but also includes deriving characteristics.*

² *Here: The Humboldt University model does not refer to the institution, the University of Berlin, founded in 1810 on the principles of W. v. Humboldt's ideas, but solely to his ideas.*

are dead or alive nor judge the developments connected to the rise of the neoliberal university. The central question here is what has survived from the Humboldtian ideal and how aspects are/could be maintained. What implications can be drawn from new developments – many of which are quite negatively connoted in recent debates. The study presumes that university academics are i) influenced by their specific social and cultural context and ii) that their perceptions perpetuate the context. Thus, university academics are put in the centre of the study. It should be found out how they perceive criteria, developments and changes along the two models and thus, in how far they align with expectations connected to their specific background and tradition.

Taking the described steps into consideration, the following research questions emerge:

1. What are the criteria of the Humboldt and neoliberal university models and what developments and changes derive from comparing them?
2. How far are those criteria embedded in the German and English university? Are any trends emerging?
3. How do German and English university academics perceive criteria, developments and changes along those models?
4. Are there connections between the countries' university cultures and the academics' perceptions?
5. What conclusions can be drawn for the overarching (future) identity of the university taking into consideration results from the above-mentioned questions?

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The study offers a simplified approach to better understand (aim 1) the complexity of contemporary higher education by comparing the Humboldt and the neoliberal university models. There are three main areas in which changes become obvious: first, the relation between university and society, second, the organisation of the university and third, its core activities in teaching and research. In a second step, the developments will be evaluated (aim 2) by putting them against the German and English university. The first implications can be made after this section of the study and expectations with regard to the fieldwork formulated. Through in-depth interviews with each three academics from a German and an English institution/institute more implications can be made and expectations proofed. The specific aims of the fieldwork are therewith to show:

- How the chosen academics relate to “old” ideals,
- How they perceive recent developments and related discourses in higher education,
- How they understand their own role in the university and higher education system.

In addition to the above-mentioned aims, the researcher hopes to be able to draw conclusions from the university academics' perceptions that can represent a little step towards the reformation (aim 3) of the contemporary university, namely its identity/unifying idea, through deduction for new ideals. Thus, the project gives the interviewed academics a voice.

1.3 Limitations and Delimitation

The termination 'neoliberal' was justified in chapter 1.1. Of course there are other terminations available and it can be argued which one is the most suited. The most important aspect is though, that the Humboldt and the neoliberal university models are understood as contrasts.

The paper cannot provide the reader with an intensive analysis of the German and English higher education system since that would go beyond the scope of the paper. A short outline comprising the main characteristics of the German and English university will be given. The term 'university' instead of 'higher education' is used on purpose in order to indicate that only the ideas of the German and English university can be described, but never the complex systems. The term also points to the identity/unifying idea of the university in general, which should be brought closer through connecting ideas about the German and English university later on. When it comes to the English university, some literature refers to the United Kingdom and some to England. In order to make it easy and since the academics interviewed are from an English institute, the author preferably uses the term 'English'.

The fieldwork compensates for the superficiality of the description of the German and English university. Although the study does not include case studies of the German and English institution/institute where the academics interviewed work, institutional and departmental factors form the direct environment of academics. Since in-depth interviews are applied, academics automatically involve their environment in their comments so that insights about the specific environment are guaranteed that way. Considering the size of this study, in-depth interviews could be conducted with only three academics of each one institution/institute. It gives interesting insights and confirms existent data, but cannot be used to generalise in form of 'academics in Germany' or 'academics in England'. Throughout the paper they are strictly addressed as 'the academics at the German institution' and 'the academics at the English institute'. Institution can be used interchangeably with university, whereas I chose 'institute' for the English case. The institute forms part of a university, but is relatively autonomous from it.

Following this point, the academics interviewed study the field of higher education themselves. It can be argued whether interviewing just them has rather positive or negative effects on the study. The author assumes, though, that the academics involved in research of higher education are likely to feel, understand and reflect development and changes within higher education more than others.

The fact that the researcher is German who grew up in Germany and studied her undergraduate studies at a German university is an important aspect that needs to be taken into consideration when it comes to objectivity. The researcher's own values can form an invisible, but undeniable barrier between herself and the subject matter (Bryman, 2012). It is hard to remove it entirely since it is not possible to be without any values (Bray et al., 2007). In order to get a more objective perspective, the researcher tried to adopt the helicopter perspective that, as the name implies, examines the subject matter from a high level of abstraction. In this way, the researcher does not allow her values, perceptions and culture to affect her view in the role of a researcher (Daun, 2009).

Last but not least, the complexity theory that will be depicted in detail in chapter 3.2 points to a last limitation: contemporary higher education is highly complex as well as the concept of identity. Both are very challenging areas in the field of international and comparative education. Thus, the approach that the researcher has chosen is a simplified one and only aims at a better, but never complete, understanding of contemporary higher education, the German and English university and academic identity and profession. Only parts that are considered essential for the paper will be elaborated on.

1.4 Significance of the Research

The university today struggles to meet diverse demands and not to lose its self-defined purpose. In a fast changing environment it is necessary to review and evaluate developments and changes and to find out how to deal with them in the best way possible and so, to redefine the state of art in order to progress from there with new ideas.

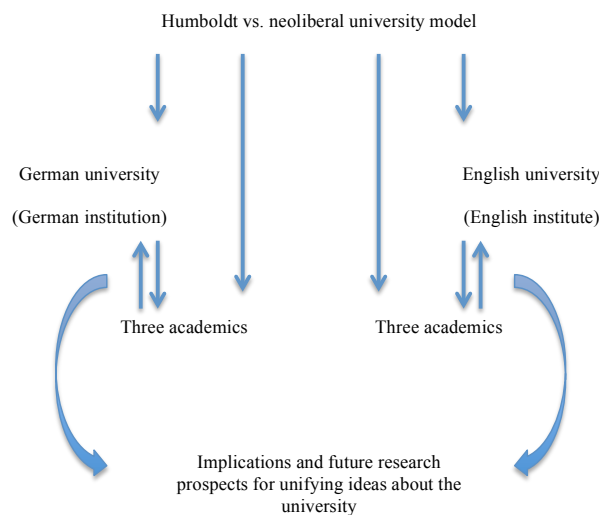


Figure 1: Model representing the Approach of the Thesis

In this study, that is approached through three comparisons that feed into each other: first, it confronts the Humboldt and neoliberal university models on an abstract level; second, the German and English university on a macro level and third, the three academics per each country on a micro level. Their interrelatedness can be illustrated as above.

Thus, the study identifies differences and similarities of the German and English university through the responses of the academics and opens up the possibility to unify ideas deriving from the comparisons of these opposing cases to one single (future) idea of the university. For individual and teams of academics, for academic exchange and collaboration, for politicians and with regard to the goal of the European Union (EU) to establish a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), it may give some interesting inputs and thought-provoking impulses.

There are huge studies that have focused on the academic professions such as the 2007 survey-based study *Changing Academic Profession (CAP)* that compared a multitude of countries distinguishing between types of university and academics. There have been studies on academic identity, for instance by Winter & O'Donohue (2012) and by Whitchurch (2008). The identity or unifying idea of the university has basically been a subject since its existence and uncountable research has been done on it (with regard to our time: Scott (2000), Nybom (2006), Neave (2012), etc.). However, this study is small in scope and scale and will accordingly only be small in its contribution to the above-mentioned research topics in form of confirming data and giving prospects for further research.

2. The Context of the Humboldt and Neoliberal University Model

2.1 Brief History

2.1.1 Prussia 1806 - 1810 and the Spread of Humboldt's Ideas

The university reform headed by Wilhelm von Humboldt was part of a series of constitutional, administrative, social and economic reforms in Prussia. They arose from Prussia's defeat by Napoleon in 1806 (Elton, 2008). The Prussian king wanted to compensate for the physical loss through regaining intellectual strengths. It was a favourable time for various reform concepts, including university ones. The requested reform had to be aligned to the current existence of the state and its demands (Schwinges, 2001). Humboldt's memorandum from 1810 originated in this situation (Clark, 2006) and understood the university in service of the state. His ideas were based on the neo-humanist tradition of the Age of Enlightenment (Knowles, 1977). In 1809/10 Humboldt was head of the section for 'Kultus'³ and education in the Prussian Ministry of the Inner and was thus able to implement his ideas (Schwinges, 2001).

It took until the turn of the century before Humboldt's name was mentioned and his ideas noticed respectively, that his name was connected to long known elements such as the emphasis on research, education through science, and the freedom to teach and to learn and the unity of science. Only then the ideal, the mythos 'Humboldt' was created. Even though some German universities had their own traditions or other practical or educational concepts, Humboldt created identity. His piece 'Über die innere und äußere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin'⁴, accessible only since 1900, legitimated ex post the change towards the university as a research university as a putative long historical tradition that had increasingly occurred from the 1880s onwards. The topos of the Humboldt University is formative for the German university system because it has been repeatedly re-designed through a progression of reception phases in the course of the 20th century, which had a great depth effect (Paletschek, 2001). However, the ideal of the Humboldt University was never congruent to the real university, not even the German university of the 19th century (Schwinges, 2001). Often only certain elements of the model were exported and absorbed. (Schwinges, 2001; Tenorth, 2009).

³ In Germany, the term 'Kultus' always refers to the highest administrative body for the areas school and education, partly also higher education and cultural issues.

⁴ Translation: "About the inner and outer organisation of the higher scientific establishments in Berlin".

The UK was mostly interested in the problem solving capacities and the benefit of German universities for the national community, not in the output and its theoretical foundation. Although Humboldt resided in London for one year in 1817/18 as diplomat of the Prussian king, he did not use his time there to spread his ideas. He was neither interested in the English education system in general nor in the only two existing English universities of Oxford and Cambridge in particular. In the UK, he is generally more known as a linguist and philosopher than for his education and university reforms. It was British authors and scientists who mentioned his name in the context of the foundation of the University of Berlin, such as Sarah Austin, John Stuart Mill and Thomas and Matthew Arnolds, but his ideas were never received as a model (Schalenberg, 2001). According to Schalenberg (2001) there are three reasons for it: Firstly, ‘unity’ in English universities referred to confessional and social unity, but not in terms of idealistic or organisational unity. Secondly, the role that Humboldt attained in the German university system occurred through a specific Prussian-German logic that was not transferable or seen as worth transferring to England. ‘Science’ had a different, and certainly not all subjects comprising meaning, and other elements, for example the freedom to teach and learn, could not be imposed on universities due to their strong institutional autonomy. Thirdly, the English had a different understanding of the state; universities and colleges being relatively autonomous to the state. A single personality, involved in politics, was not to become the demiurge of the evolving British university system.

In many countries the main transfer from the Humboldt university model is its emphasis on research as the main activity of the university. The unity of teaching and research is often found in graduate schools, but for example not necessarily in connection to the freedom to learn (Lundgreen, 2001).

The tradition, at least and supposedly mostly in Germany, to refer to Humboldt whenever minus development is identified within contemporary higher education, is one that occurred after 1945 and was markedly re-vitalised since the 1960s (Lundgreen, 2001). Humboldt serves as projection screen in university discussions either to legitimate the persisting or new reform (Paletschek, 2001). This fact and the overall chapter have also contributed to the response of the introductory question why Humboldt is still mentioned in contemporary higher education literature.

2.1.2 The Rise of the Neoliberal University after World War II

The strongest force behind the transformation of higher education is its rapid growth in size and increase in student numbers after World War II.

Nybom (2006) distinguishes three phases of development: first, the technocratic phase in the 60s/70s for a more “socially relevant” form of knowledge production and administered outside the

traditional research sector, the second phase in the 80s/90s characterised by political interventionism, but labelled as “deregulation and marketization”, which included a different form of funding⁵, peer-reviewing and disciplinarity. The third phase he describes as a “deadly combination” of bureaucratic (phase one) and dual ideological interventionism (phase two) plus at supranational level through EU framework programmes.

The changes in funding resulted in a greater dependence on tuition and private funding, and more intensive contacts with the private sector led to the superiority of applied to basic research (Readings cited in Hohendahl, 2011). According to Readings (cited in Hohendahl, 2011), these pressures necessitated the strengthening of the central administration in decision-making and involved the loss of faculty power. Since the students’ tuition have become a crucial part of the budget of universities, the organisation of the curriculum depends on perceived preferences and wishes of the students. Marcucci and Johnstone (2009) state that it is the students and their families who pay tuition fees that will especially demand accountability, leading to universities becoming more consumer-oriented and efficient. Lastly, forms of bureaucratic quality control were introduced in the sphere of teaching and learning (Readings cited in Hohendahl, 2011).

Since it is assumed that contemporary universities come the closest to the Neoliberal University model, the concepts that the study rests on are strongly linked to this model and will be described in more detail later on.

2.2 Creating Two Models

2.2.1 Humboldt University Model and Neoliberal University Model

Table 1. Humboldt versus Neoliberalism

Humboldt University Model	Neoliberal University Model
<i>University and Society</i>	
<p>Guardian State: The role of the state is to ensure that academia can pursue knowledge without the interventions of sectoral interests. There is the notion of a separation of powers between the world of interests from the world of knowledge (Neave, 2006). On the other hand, the state appoints university teachers (civil servants) in order to protect the university from narrow “guild-like” interests within academia itself (Wittrock, 2006,</p>	<p>Interventionist State/Evaluative State: From the 1960s onwards welfare states put more demands on higher education, which was seen as a key area for policy intervention to promote specific social and political objectives, above all to stimulate economic growth in a global world through being linked to labour market needs (Wittrock, 2006). New and different forms of funding have been introduced to foster these aims (Nybom, 2006). From being the protector of the</p>

⁵ Nybom (2006) argues a systematic underfunding of research and higher education institutions and identifies competitive funding as standard funding procedure.

<p>Humboldt, 1810). The university is considered as point of intervention, a catalyst for transformation whose results would find its way out (Neave, 2006, Humboldt, 1810) and lead indirectly, but constructively, to the overall well-being of the state (Elton, 2008, Humboldt, 1810). The university embodies a notion of ‘Bildung’ and the new cultural entity of the nation (Wittrock, 2006, Humboldt, 1810).</p>	<p>university the evaluative state moves to being the protector of society’s interests (economic, social, developmental) and faces the university instead. Since it now functions as “overseer of higher education for the market” (Neave, 2012), the university needs to adjust and to deal with certain interests directly (Neave, 2006). The evaluative state embodies a sufficiently adaptable mode driven by forces external to higher education, primarily market forces (Neave, 2012). In this context, knowledge and research are no longer considered autonomous, individually and curiosity-driven, but associated with a high degree of heteronomy and exposed to outside control and monitoring (Wittrock, 2006). The evaluative state establishes criteria and procedures to provide a comprehensive current-state portrait of all sectors and institutions of higher education. Through regular and reiterative evaluation of the performance of the individual university the evaluative state tries to accelerate the rate of its response, implementation and adjustment. For this purpose, the evaluative state creates self-standing agencies that exercise scrutiny over achievements and performance of higher education institutions (Neave, 2012). “In modern society, the Humboldtian belief that scholars could be provided with the opportunity to pursue knowledge for its own sake and that such endeavors eventually would lead to a useful outcome for society has faded. We want to start off more instrumentally to ensure desirable results” (Teichler, 2006, p. 172).</p>
	<p>Marketisation and Commodification, Privatisation: The process in which the state uses market principles to create greater efficiency in non-market institutions is called marketisation. It is largely based on competition. Now universities, faculties, departments, disciplines and individual academics compete for status and scarce resources. However, policy discourses still emphasise cooperation and collaboration (Currie; Vidovich, 2009). Commodification describes the process of turning social goods (here: higher education) and processes (e.g. degrees) into commodities (Canaan; Shumar, 2008). In teaching, students are likely to be seen as customers, which changes the nature of teacher-student-relationships now characterised by economic exchange. In research, funding sponsorship and partnership have affected the independence of some research and have been likely to focus on applied projects with short-term outcomes (Currie; Vidovich, 2009).</p>

	Since marketisation and commodification are partly based on private financing, privatisation is strongly linked to these developments.
Organisation	
	<p>Accountability: The evaluative state entails a strong accountability system. There exist ‘managerial accountability’ to the government and ‘market accountability’ to customers and can include ‘professional accountability’ to peers as well as ‘democratic accountability’ to the general community (Canaan, Shumar, 2008).</p>
<p>Personal/Positional Autonomy: stands for the shared responsibility for internal affairs of the university (Neave, 2012), with the academics holding strong position in university administration (Teichler, 2014).</p>	<p>Institutional Autonomy: has evolved from changes in funding, quality assessment, institutional evaluation and accreditation procedures. It is responsible for acquiring additional resources and changing its current profile consistent of activities, programmes, courses, responsibility and services (Neave, 2012). That also includes marketing their knowledge (gained through research and training) to certain public and private sector clients (Fuller, 2005). The overall result is the extension of institutional self-management and the reinforcement of leadership (Neave, 2012).</p>
<p>Related terms of Freedom: <i>Academic Freedom</i> refers to both the protection of the scholar to pursue the truth, even if the findings will challenge a society’s established pieties, and the student (or the public) from obliged acceptance of the scholar’s findings (Proctor, 1991, Humboldt, 1810). The <i>freedom to teach and to learn</i> secures the creation of new knowledge and the transmission of such (Wittrock, 2006, Humboldt, 1810). The demand for <i>solitude and freedom</i> is seen as a precondition for and guarantees the social relevance of research and teaching (Teichler, 2014, Humboldt, 1810).</p>	<p>Audit Culture: The evaluative state with its accountability system encourages an audit culture (Canaan; Shumar, 2008). University staff are required to be “governable selves”, which means that they have to internalise structures of auditability to demonstrate their performativity in first order activities (teaching, research, administration) (Ball, 2003). Audit itself proves second-order activities within each of these fields that are designed to meet the needs of the audit. Higher education audit collects information about lines of communication and data flow within the institution (Canaan, 2008) and demands transparency (Henningsen, 2006). According to Canaan (2008) audit does not consider the social process behind education, rather it conceptualises education as a measurable and standardised product.</p>
<p>Time I: Andrew Marvell’s “world enough and time” are the valid conditions of tenure and civil servant status. Academic time is seen as condition for learning, erudition and research (Neave, 2006).</p>	<p>Time II: Time is seen as an instrument for assessing productivity and evaluating quantitative output, performance and achievement at the level of training and research to improve efficiency (Neave, 2006) Academics’ tasks compete with each other for time (Locke, 2014).</p>
Core Activities	
<p>Unity of Teaching and Research: is based on the belief that research benefits if the</p>	<p>The Separation of Teaching and Research: occurs due to policy and operational decisions in</p>

<p>scholar is involved in teaching and that teaching is more creative and qualitatively more demanding if the teacher conducts research (Teichler, 2014, Humboldt, 1810).</p>	<p>order to distinguish the veins in which these activities are funded, managed, assessed and rewarded. It results in increasing offerings for teaching-only posts and research-only contracts (Locke, 2014). Moreover, teaching is more and more taken aside by policies that aim at vocationalising first-degree programmes (Neave, 2006).</p>
<p>Community of Teachers and Students: Teachers and students are equally involved in the process of creating knowledge (Hohendahl, 2011, Humboldt, 1810).</p>	<p>Fragmentation: Related to the separation of teaching and research, academic activities become increasingly fragmented. New divisions of labour are introduced, which also change the perspective on classical academic roles. Due to the need to manage the processes of fragmentation, including internal quality assurance and external evaluation, financial constraints and opportunities as well as new and increasing relations to business, more administrative and management personnel is required (Locke, 2014).</p>

2.2.2 Critical Analysis I

The model shows a downward movement. The relation between university and society determines significantly the organisation within the university, which in turn has an impact on the core activities.

It can be further observed that the university in the Humboldt university model is characterised by an inwardness, which is based on trust in the academics and marked by internal organisation and decision-making. The neoliberal university model draws a portrait of the university as being exposed to external governmental and market forces, obliged to continuously justify and disclose internal organisation, processes and decision-making. Accordingly, the different university models can be characterised as ‘introverted university’ (Humboldt) and ‘extroverted university’ (neoliberal). Again, it seems that it depends on the decision of the government on how to position itself towards the university in how far the university is drawn to the one or other model. Thus, the relation between state and university becomes a crucial concept external to the university, which will be depicted in chapter 3.1.1.3.

Other external concepts that stand in the background of this study are neoliberalism and globalisation as well as massification. In the logic of the described macro and micro levels investigated in this study, the managerialism of the universities will be outlined as a concept for the macro level and academic identity and profession for the micro level. Additionally, complexity theory will be used as the grand theory underling the research.

2.3 Universities

2.3.1 Developments in the German University

After World War II the freedom of research for university professors was even manifested in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany, holding to the status of the guardian state as protector of academic freedom. On the other hand, it also exercised strong mechanisms of supervision, for instance through the appointment of professors. This is not the case anymore since 2002, but the state needs to approve the choice for professors made by the university president. Thus, university professors are still civil servants. Other staff, including junior academic staff, are normal employees and usually obtain temporary contracts. The government provides major resources for higher education (Teichler, 2014). It accounts for about 80% of their total income. Other sources come from third-party funding (18%) and only 2% from operating income (Orr et al., 2009). There are no or only little tuition fees – or rather semester fees – to pay, varying by federal state (DAAD, 2012). Funding for teaching is mostly based on student and graduate numbers and can include teaching-focused indicators that reflect internationalisation. For research, indicators mainly concentrate on the amount of third-party funds that a university earns as well as of doctorates and ‘habilitations’⁶. Publications are used as an indicator only in Bavaria (Orr et al., 2009).

Institutional autonomy has become active legislation in order to re-design and re-distribute functions, powers and authority and to assign them to new units, bodies and committees. By extending the boundaries of institutional self-management (for example the appointment of professors since 2000), one major consequence of the evaluative state has been to weaken the previous administrative hierarchy (emanating from ministry to university: ministerial appointees having legal oversight within universities) and to strengthen the administrative responsibility of the head of university instead (Neave, 2012). The reformulated Framework Law for Higher Education from 1998 for more institutional management and strategy development was based on the three organisational principles of autonomy, diversity and competition and uses deregulation in order to realise these principles (Sandberger, 2002). The federal states had to reform their own higher education laws according to the new principles of the former since it is the federal states that have jurisdictional powers in matter of higher education (Orr et al., 2009). However, according to Orr et al. (2009) and Frankenberg (2004) the managerial autonomy of German universities is limited since the state and the universities in Germany are still structurally interconnected in a way that disables a full implementation of structural reforms associated with New Public Management (NPM), such as output-focused state steering and

⁶ *‘Habilitation’ is the highest possible academic qualification a scholar can obtain, among others, in Germany.*

institutional autonomy. One example for state funding based on comparative performance in order to increase competition among universities is the reform 'Excellence Initiative' (BMBF, 2014a), which rests on the 2004 Social Democrat-Greens coalition government of Chancellor Schroder and his announcement to transform a small amount of universities into elite institutions to compete with the likes of Harvard and Stanford in the global higher education league (Gürüz, 2011).

A very important influence in German university history forms the Bologna Process and the implementation of bachelor and master programmes as well as the introduction of credit points. The Bologna Process has been subject to major debates, for instance, its consequences for students (e.g. Bender, 2009; Bertelsmann, 2012).

Another major change occurred through the introduction of a participatory model for academic self-regulation, in which approximately half of the positions within committees were taken over by junior academic staff, administrative and technical staff as well as students. That entailed the growing power of the government and prepared the way to a 'managerial university' with an increasingly powerful university respectively departmental leadership. It also made space for the 'evaluative university' with a significant rise of assessment in teaching and research, which connects greater self-reflection within the academic profession with greater control over the academics (Teichler, 2014).

Another change has involved the employment and work situation of junior staff. Their position has been strengthened through the spread of doctoral programmes, the introduction of 'junior professorship' and the relativisation of habilitation as typical entry qualification into the professoriate (Teichler, 2014).

Last but not least, the daily work of academics is more strongly controlled and steered. There exist various kinds of evaluation and there is a stronger emphasis on incentives such as the professors' salary being based on the assessment of achievement (Teichler, 2014).

The survey design study CAP, conducted in 2007, found out that the involvement of scholars in teaching and research varies substantially according to institutional type and staff category (Teichler, 2014). Since it would go beyond the scope of the paper to include all forms of institutions and staff, this study will focus on academics at universities for scientifically oriented study, not universities of applied sciences for example.

According to Teichler (2014), the Humboldtian idea of the linkage between research and teaching is today still most clearly embodied in the work tasks of university professors (15%): they are usually required to teach 8-9 hours per week during a lecture period. It is assumed that the overall time they spend on teaching and teaching-related activities equals more or less the time they spend on research and research-related activities. The teaching load is almost uniform for professors at German universities. Junior academic staff has less obligation to teaching, about half as many weekly hours as professors. They spend most of the time on research, either in the preparation of a dissertation or habilitation (Teichler, 2014).

The CAP study also found out through investigating the perception of academics towards teaching and research that they rank research higher than teaching. One non-personal reason for it is the creation of differences in quality between universities, mainly marked through research outputs (Teichler, 2014). One reform programme aiming at promoting science and research and forming elite institutions is the so-called ‘Excellence Initiative’ (DAAD, 2012), which was mentioned before. Traditionally there were no substantial differences between institutions in Germany. Today, academics are stimulated to emphasise research and to take care of visible research results. However, there are also attempts to compensate for this development, namely through awarding prizes for good teaching and reform funds for teaching and learning (Teichler, 2014) such as the ‘Quality Pact for Teaching’ (BMBF, 2014b).

2.3.2 Developments in the English University

The English higher education policy came up with a new strategy and purpose regarding higher education, namely modernisation through marketisation. England has had a long history of institutional autonomy, which is seen as a central and basic principle that permeates English universities. In contrast to the Humboldtian idea that looked up to the state to guarantee positional autonomy, in England, institutional autonomy was seen as a prior condition for academic autonomy. Being aware of the strength of its institutional autonomy, the English were well situated to introduce neoliberal ideas in their university system, such as the competition for resources (both financial and human), the strengthening of procedures of public accountability and the regular verification of institutional performance (Neave, 2012). One of the streams of funding is based on student numbers. The university and the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) agree on a contract range and if the university is over- or under-achieving the target, financial penalties are imposed on the university (Pilbeam, 2009). This procedure stands in connection to the next point.

With the evaluative state emerging, the English university developed towards a regulated system with growing emphasis on active government steering, assured through particularly created ‘agencies of public purpose’ like the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA). There has been a boost of proliferation of agencies of public purposes. With this kind of oversight and verification tools, it is possible for the government to impose its will on the university sphere. Different Higher Education Acts from 1988 to 2004 have had major impacts on the English university. Worth noting is the Further and Higher Education Act from 1992, which secured i) the creation of a unified system that granted university status to former polytechnics, ii) the regionalising of funding systems for higher education, iii) the creation of a corporate model of institutional governance, and iv) standardisation in terms of the model’s role, size, composition across all institutions. The Higher Education Act from 2004 established further national standardisation and introduced differential tuition fees based on system-

wide conditions for determining the amount individual universities could charge their students based on quality of the education provided. Concluding, the English authorities created a dual hierarchy, built on agencies of public purpose being in charge of regular assessment, evaluation and verification of institutional achievement and thereby, incorporated a sophisticated instrument that formed an evaluative mechanism consistent of the linkage of institutional funding and institutional performance (Neave, 2012).

Universities are organised autonomously from national governments. They are free to employ and dismiss academic staff, in setting salaries and deciding on academic structure and course content. They can spend their budgets the way they think in order to achieve their objectives and can dispose their buildings and equipment. To a certain extent, they are able to decide on the size of student enrollment and how to borrow money. Since 2006, they can also decide on the level of tuition fees for full-time undergraduate home and EU students to a set maximum. From 2012 the extent has been widened almost threefold (Locke, 2014). A recent Guardian article stated that an increasing number of graduates fail to pay back their student loans. Experts calculate that the government will not get the financial reward from its policy to increase tuition fees from £3,000 to £9,000 a year, rather it will lose money (Malik, 2014). That simultaneously indicates the degree of influence the UK governments have on universities. They are responsible for the allocation of funding and student loans and determine the conditions attached to these. Regulation and evaluation, as noted above, also belong to their activities. For this reason, there exists a certain amount of intermediary bodies respectively agencies of public purpose such as founding councils, research councils, the QAA, the Office of Independent Adjudicator and the Office for Fair Access, etc. (Locke, 2014). Stronach (2010) concludes that the strength and speed of the UK's audit culture is world-leading.

Higher education institutions are greatly differentiated by institutional origin, historical wealth, status, mission, resources, research activity and income, educational provision and student characteristics. These characteristics influence how changes within higher education policy affect individual universities and how much autonomy they can practically exercise in meeting government demands (Locke, 2014).

As for Germany, there exist different types of higher education institutions and as for Germany, due to the scope of this paper, it will only focus on universities established prior to 1992 when government steering first became fundamental since they tend to have some connection to the Humboldtian tradition.

According to the CAP study, the UK has a quite balanced higher education system when it comes to research and teaching (Arimoto; Locke, 2014). Over half of all academics' contracts require them to teach and research. However, due to changes in policy and recent developments regarding funding, management, assessment and rewarding, almost half of all academics in the UK have either teaching-only or research-only contracts. As in Germany, the emphasis lies on research. External reviews play a greater part in research than teaching. While public expenditure per student on teaching

declined, research and its outputs, remarkably influenced through the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), is one of the few means for universities to increase their income. This development entails the increasing separation of research and teaching. Contemporary circumstances make research and teaching compete against each other for academic time. In total, teaching and research in the UK stand in various relationships to each other (Locke, 2014).

Generally, it is not only the traditional link between teaching and research that gets de-linked, but since other activities that universities undertake accrue (such as service, administration, academic citizenship, engagement, knowledge exchange, collaboration with business and community), academic and institutional activities become more and more fragmented (Locke, 2014).

2.3.3 Critical Analysis II

As this chapter and in parts already chapter 2.1.1 have shown, Germany and the England have different histories and traditions of universities and therewith, a different culture of higher education. They have different preconditions and face different challenges. England is in its tradition and culture closer to neoliberal ideas than Germany. It has a head start in this regard, mainly due to its tradition of institutional autonomy and its idea to bring about modernisation through marketisation. However, it is to be awaited in how far Germany will further adopt the British model, which it does follow due to the Bologna Process (that can be seen as restructuring higher education along Anglo-American ideas of higher education (Hohendahl, 2011)) or search for alternatives. Maybe the question could rather be whether it has another possibility than to follow the neoliberal model.

On the other hand, England's higher education system is more balanced in terms of research and teaching than Germany's. Generally, most of the academics are still interested in integrating research and teaching (Teichler; Arimoto, 2014). In Germany only 15% of all academics, namely university professors, have a real balance between research and teaching (Teichler, 2014), while over 50% of academics in the UK have contracts requiring them to research and to teach (Locke, 2014). However, there has been a decline in the extent to which British higher education approaches the Humboldtian ideal (Arimoto, 2014). There is the trend of homogenisation of higher education (Shin; Cummings, 2014) with higher education systems increasingly adjusting to one specific model, apparently the neoliberal university model. The following expectations for the fieldwork can be drawn from this first section:

- English academics will identify with their university more strongly than Germans.
- On both sides there will be a strong emphasis on research.
- Funding will be a topic for discussion.
- English academics will suffer more from control mechanisms than Germans.

3. Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Concepts

3.1.1 External Developments

3.1.1.1 Globalisation and Neoliberalism

The term ‘global’ stands in reference to worldwide in scope and substance and takes distance from the concept of ‘nation’, but without negating it. Generally, globalisation is the flow of people, values, ideas, knowledge, technology, capital, goods and services across national borders. It affects countries differently because of their individual histories, traditions, cultures and priorities (Knight, 2004). Gürüz (2011) argues that economists define globalisation more narrowly “as the integration of commodity, capital, and labour markets” (p. 1). The neoliberal approach to globalisation stands absolute positive for globalisation. It is considered as an inevitable result of technological and economic changes, which resulted in the opening of markets, free trade and free movement of capital, flexible labour markets, privatisations as well as a drastic restriction of the welfare state and of the general role the state plays in economics. From a neoliberal perspective, globalisation is seen as benefitting everybody, including the environment, since it entails continuous competition to develop and improve efficiency and advances the spread of knowledge and growth. The more open and flexible the markets are the greater the degree of concentration of income and wealth (Fotopoulos, 2001).

The neoliberal attitude towards the state and the market, together with the crisis of capital accumulation in the 1970s and 1980s, has amongst others led to declining state spending in higher education (Canaan & Shumar, 2008). Neoliberalism weakens the idea of a “public” university and with it, public funding. Contemporary universities are grounded in normative and functional labour divisions and build on expertise and specialisation (Scott, 2006). There are two neoliberal assumptions underpinning higher education: i) universities should compete to sell their services to students (seen as “customers” in a marketplace), and ii) they should produce specialised and highly trained workers with high-tech knowledge, which will make the nation and its elite workers able to compete “freely” in the global market economy (Canaan & Shumar, 2008).

Johnson (2008) summarises what neoliberalism imposes on higher education worldwide. Universities are expected to:

- become “businesses for other businesses”,

- be embedded in the knowledge and other requirements of “other businesses”,
- function like businesses,
- match external links,
- be sites for direct investment and capital accumulation, not only through privatisation and subcontracting their traditional activities and services, but also through innovating for the knowledge economy and being “creative” or cultural industries,
- be sources of skilled labour, management training, production design, technological knowledge and skills and therewith, sources of employment,
- have major “regenerative” impacts on their localities,
- be increasingly self-sustaining through student fees, research contracts, alumni contributions, sale of land and other resources,
- have a wide range of commercialised activities,
- have branches across the world, and
- have large numbers of overseas students.

Generally, they must compete either with established academic capital or with a new niche or brand (Johnson, 2008). Currie and Vidovich (2009) mark that globalisation and neoliberal ideology have a strong impact on academic work since they are integrating rationales for most changes influencing and occurring in institutions. They also note that consequences deriving from globalisation and neoliberalism, that will be described in the following, overlap.

3.1.1.2 Massification

In 1950 the world’s population was 2.557 billion and 6.329 billion in 2012, which reflects a 2.5-fold increase. Enrollment in higher education institutions worldwide increased from 6 million to 1,444 million, which is a 24-fold increase in the same period. The emergence of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and the internet has been transforming our society into a knowledge society characterised by increased importance of knowledge and a well-trained workforce that both can apply know-how and is able of analysis and decision-making based on information (Gürüz, 2011).

Massification represents a major challenge in contemporary higher education. Student numbers have increased significantly since the end of World War II. In order to deal with the new student masses, new universities were established, the new and traditional ones often either professional or academic oriented in their approaches and curricula (Fredriksson, 2013). The increasing number of students and universities also entailed the demand for standardisation for better comparability and exchange (Pasiás; Roussakis, 2009), at the European level was realised through the Bologna Process (EC, 2013). At the same time, there is the urge for diversification in order to be

nationally and internationally competitive (Fredriksson, 2013). Due to globalisation, these trends are global concerns.

Since the welfare states have intervened and been demanding more and more from higher education, higher education can be seen as a key policy arena for promoting specific and political objectives as well as for stimulating economic growth through the linkage with policy-perceived labour market needs (Wittrock, 2006). Universities are able to take more scientists and students to secure the advance of knowledge. Technological progress facilitated and implicated the process of higher education becoming more expansive and more specialised (Hohendahl, 2011).

The impact massification has on academic work is an increased workload as long as funding does not increase with student numbers. The student body is getting more diverse (in terms of age, race, ethnicity, nationality, economic status, culture and language). This might mean for academics the need to change their teaching styles and to add hours to their already huge teaching commitments in order to meet the mentioned different needs (Currie & Vidovich, 2009).

3.1.1.3 State, University and Industry, Funding and Knowledge

This sub-chapter builds on the state-society-relation that was elaborated on in the created model and was marked as crucial for all changes that have occurred since state intervention. Additionally, it will include ‘industry’ in its considerations and therewith, will deal with the threefold-relationship of the university, the state and the industry. Linked to it are changes in funding and knowledge production and transfer.

Initiated by the Thatcher government in the UK, the role of the state in the economy began to decline and socio-economic policies based on market forces became more. These policies affected the governance and financing of higher education worldwide (Hira, 2003). Newman and Couturier (2001) refer to this development as “the invasion of the academy by market forces”. Generally, it can be spoken of a shift from the welfare state to the market state (Canaan & Shumar, 2008), from the “regulatory” to the “evaluative” state (Neave, 1998) and “from dependence on regulation and oversight (by the state and on funds from the public purse) to using the market as a means of ensuring public purposes” (Newman et al., 2004, p. 32).

The perceived inefficiency of the state, meaning its slow and bureaucratic response to all circumstances, have led to the assumption that the markets, being more rational and efficient, are more adequate for finding solutions to social problems and meeting social needs (Canaan & Shumar, 2008). However, state intervention is not the “antithesis of the free market, but its necessary accompaniment” (Johnson, 2008). The state as “service provider” is replaced by the state as “enabler of market provision” (Bobbitt cited in Rutherford 2005, p. 6). It is argued that nations are best competitive if

public organisations are subjected to market rules, underpinned by neoliberal logic (Canaan & Shumar, 2008). Thus, higher education has been transformed to be responsive to demand and competition (Gürüz, 2011). Its institutions, departments and individuals are urged to compete among each other, both in the public and private sector, and to apply economic rationality as their modus operandi (Canaan & Shumar, 2008).

Governments started pressuring universities to do more with less (Gürüz, 2011) and governments are increasingly applying cost-sharing in order to decrease government investment in higher education to be able to meet the growing demand for higher education (Marcucci & Johnstone, 2009), that means students and employers contribute to the cost since they also benefit from higher education services (OECD, 1990). Therewith, the choice among different tuition fee policies becomes of great importance. There exist different rationales for demanding tuition fees or not (Marcucci & Johnstone, 2009). Since universities increasingly lack resources (Shattock, 1995; Marginson & Considine, 2000), they are forced and encouraged to pursue alternative sources of funding (Shattock, 2003). That can for instance happen through commercialising the skills and expertise of the university's academic staff (Pilbeam, 2009).

Related to the different sources of funding, Gürüz (2011) mentions that the differences between public and private, for-profit and non-profit institutions get blurred. A typical private institution usually gets some revenue from public sources and a typical public institution generates its income in addition to the public sources from private sources like tuition fees, donations or performed services. Specifically with regard to transnational education, some public and non-profit institutions conduct for-profit business. The overall shift from social benefits, traditionally associated with higher education, to individual benefits makes academics and their work to reposition within society (Currie & Vidovich, 2009).

The politicisation of higher education and with it, research, have changed the function of universities from being responsible and valuable academic and national cultural centres to being “development or innovation centres” for the national and regional economy (Nybom, 2006). In today's global knowledge society, knowledge and people with knowledge are the main elements of developments, the key drivers of growth and the major parameters of competitiveness. On the labour market, higher skills are needed. Continuous updating and adapting to changing demands as well as the creation of new knowledge are of importance, which emphasises the need for lifelong learning (LLL) (Gürüz, 2009).

Universities are considered essential for the training and wealth generation in the knowledge economy (Canaan & Shumar, 2008). Just as nation-states have used the universities to train the next generation of bureaucrats and politicians, the industry has invested heavily in research and training for managerial purposes of its own enterprises (Fuller, 2005). As to teaching, universities are required to serve a diverse student body, next to the relevant age cohort, they need to deal for instance with working students, part-time students, students taking courses that lead to new vocational

qualifications, etc. (Hore, 1992). In this context, van der Wende (2002) speaks of an “earning and learning” market that is coming up in many countries, as students tend to study and work in parallel. Research is considered central in the process of innovation and is moving away from the university. Pressure is put on higher education to meet the “needs of the industry”. All in all, universities are urged to be flexible, adaptable, responsive, productive, efficient and competitive. Forces of change are not longer understood in political terms, but occur as uncontrollable and unpredictable functions of the economy and market (Neave, 2006).

Canaan and Shumar (2008) argue that there exist three major implications of the growing instrumentalisation of university research and of the closer relationship between universities and corporate interests: i) humanities and social sciences are pushed to the periphery by making less budgets available for them or by bringing research in these disciplines in line with more profitable forms of research at the university, ii) due to economic thinking greater individualism is encouraged, which also supports accountability, thus, individuals can compete more successfully in the marketplace, and iii) the increased focus on market-oriented research and focus on widening participation, which also includes the reaching of the less privileged that need educational support, have resulted in lecturers being more accountable for student performance (Canaan & Shumar, 2008).

In conclusion, the new triangle “contract” aims at rapid and continuous adjustment of society and its talents to unpredictable and short-term demands of a knowledge economy and represents the opposite of the Humboldtian ideas (Neave, 2012).

3.1.2 Internal Developments

3.1.2.1 Macro Level: Managerialism

New Managerialism (NM) or New Public Managerialism (NPM) stand for a transformation of universities from ‘communities of scholars’ into ‘workplaces’ (Smith; Webster, 1997; Deem; Johnson, 2000). It entails a shift in cultural values and discursive forms based on which public services are represented, conceptualised and legitimised. More specifically, the focus on the public domain has been narrowed in favour of more extensive use of market-based principles with competition instead of collaboration as the cultural imperative (Deem et al., 2007). Since the late 19th/early 20th century managerialism has been an influential ideological movement in all modern societies (Enteman, 1993; Parker, 2002), Margaret Thatcher being at the forefront to introduce it in the late 1980s/early 1990s in the UK (Canaan, 2008). Managerialism insists that managing and management are functionally and technically essential to the achievement of economic growth, technological progress and social order in any modern economy. It is believed to deliver the most efficient and effective forms of planning and organising work through an integrated set of ideas, practices and mechanisms and irrespective of time,

place and value. It regards 'management' as a practice that is superior to any other organisational governance form (Townley, 2002).

Deem et al. (2007) distinguishes between three forms of managerialism: First, neo-corporatist managerialism that they describe as an "inherently unstable and uneasy blend of Keynesian economic policy, state welfarism, political pluralism, industrial tripartism, and Fordist-style management" (p. 7). Second, neoliberal managerialism emerged in the late 1970s/early 1980s and is described as "anti-state/pro-market", "anti-provider/pro-consumer" and "anti-bureaucracy/pro-network" (Deem et al., 2007). Free markets and private business are considered as impeccable in solving governmental and organisational problems (Rose, 1999). The application of market mechanisms for public services is assumed to lead to strategic effectiveness and operational efficiency in public life (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993; Du Gay, 2000). Thus, neoliberal managerialism embodies the ideological basis and strategic political rationale for NPM (Pollitt et al., 1998; Clarke et al., 2000; Newman, 2001). Third, the move towards neo-technocratic managerialism is marked by new discourses around "personalization", "customization", "localization", "co-production" and "empowerment", which redefines and modernises public services as practice of collective learning and development through self-management (Leadbeater, 2003). Professional service managers work no longer in a directive and controlling way, rather, they operate in a more reflexive, advising and counselling way. Technocratic managerialism rather believes in metrics than markets, thus, sophisticated performance measurement mechanisms and procedures have been introduced to realise customer-driven competition between service providers (Deem et al., 2007) as well as to enhance accountability and performance itself (Thrift, 2005).

What does this mean for the university and its academics? NPM stands for a change in staff management and in staff professional identities through the application of quasi-market mechanisms in management and through giving more powers to "quasi autonomous non-governmental organisations" in order to regulate the universities (Canaan, 2008). It has reduced direct government involvement in higher education, but governments keep being indirectly involved in university management since they rely on performance indicators (Shin & Cummings, 2014).

With the university being a multi-actor setting including a new administrative class of university managers and external stakeholders (Teichler, 2004), the need for greater institutional accountability has emerged (Neave, 2012). Accountability is both closely linked to institutional autonomy and audit.

The contemporary interpretation of institutional autonomy is marked by the burden of gaining additional resources and changing its activities, programmes, courses, responsibilities and services. It leads to increased institutional self-management and the reinforcement of the leadership function of the university through creating the optimum administrative structures. Institutional autonomy has its origins in the corporate business practice, its purpose having shifted from contemplative and spiritual

to applied and expeditive (Neave, 2012). The main functions that a university must have if it is to exercise institutional autonomy are listed beneath:

- “to decide independently the areas which would engage its commitment,
 - to endorse specific value systems and to define capital, career systems and incentives,
 - to decide independently on the basic institutional principles and forms of institutional governance,
 - to control the criteria of access both for students and academic staff,
 - to define its strategic tasks and to set institutional goals,
 - to determine both the formal and informal links to be developed with other sectors of society,
 - to assume full responsibility for the decisions taken and to be fully accountable for them”
- (Stichweh cited in Nybom, 2007)

Accountability is essential for fulfilling external obligations of the university. It becomes obvious that it is a ‘downward’ accountability that is activated in order to resist ‘upward’ accountability, so Power (cited in Strathern, 1997) states. To achieve changes the other way around, from individual to institutional level, it requires a democratic form of leadership (Elton, 2008). Both managerialism and accountability together do not sit well with professional autonomy, academic freedom and trust (Currie & Vidovich, 2009). Currie and Vidovich (2009) argue that trust has been damaged by the constant surveillance of neoliberal mechanisms in universities. Although managerialism and accountability are general trends across the world, some European countries are taking a lighter approach to accountability.

As mentioned before, accountability is linked to auditing (Watson, 2011), in a managerialistic drive to improve efficiency and effectiveness (Currie & Vidovich, 2009). Auditing is reshaping university life by making most aspects transparent and calculable. It is subject to performative scrutiny and not only proofs those working within it, but also involves them in self-scrutiny. Auditing has some basic components: i) the independence of matter being audited with government control from the distance, ii) the introduction of evidence gathering and the examination of documents, iii) the production of new objects and activities to be assessed through indirect methods of control, iv) auditing scrutinises institutions, departments and individuals to an “ideal”, and v) auditing needs universities, departments and individuals to be interested in performativity. Generally, auditing claims to gain knowledge about the institution’s data flow and lines of communication, it wants to know how it works as an organism (Canaan, 2008).

Principally linked to the emergence of an audit culture is the change of the “concept” of academic time. Within an audit culture, time is an important factor for assessing productivity as well as for judging quantitative output, performance and achievement. Therewith, academic time is increasingly controlled by the public domain (Neave, 2006).

To answer the previously asked question where managerialism leaves the university and its academics in a few sentences: It is possible to read these developments in a pessimistic way as Readings (1996) talks about “the university in ruins” and Freidson (2001) regards academics as reduced to technical experts fulfilling their tasks in the service of the economy. In optimistic terms, it opens up promising possibilities for the emergence of robust and more complex management and governance structures with hybrid forms of management and collegiality, which could lead to the university at the leading edge of “knowledge intensive organizations” and its academics being “knowledge workers” (Deem et al., p. 28).

3.1.2.2 Micro Level: Academic Identity, Profession and its Environment

Before going into academic identity and profession, it is important to note some important aspects about academics’ direct environment, their university.

As universities are shaped by their environment, so do the structures within it reflect the tasks it has to perform and the coordinating mechanisms needed to accomplish these tasks. Certain activities have to be performed in particular ways, which might be more effective than others (Pilbeam, 2009). Scott (1995) distinguishes three pillars of institutions: First, the regulative pillar that emphasises rules, laws and sanctions that monitor and reward behaviours. Second, the normative pillar is formed of social beliefs, values and norms that are internalised and imposed by others (Scott, 1995). While values describe what is desirable and represent an aim that actual performance can be evaluated against, norms specify how things should be done. Thus, developing and defining roles with expected patterns of behaviour is based on the normative pillar (Pilbeam, 2009). Third and last, the cognitive pillar is dependent on actors interpreting the environment with regard to “rules that constitute the nature of reality and the frames through which meaning is made” (Scott, 1995, p. 40). In line with the ontological perspective of constructivism chosen for this study, it is emanated that reality is socially constructed through meanings that are maintained through social interaction (Pilbeam, 2009).

Lee (2009) argues the importance of the department as environmental surroundings of academics. According to her, external rules and procedures of the department are a reflection of internal ideas, values and goals about its role both in the institution and larger society. Other than the institution, the larger discipline influences the academic department. Clark (1984) conceptualised departmental culture as academics being members of the academic profession at large, the national system, the institution, and the discipline.

Blackmore and Kandiko Howson (2010) created a model on academic motivation. Their study has focused on departments and how staff considers prestige. It shows intersections of different spheres of activity.

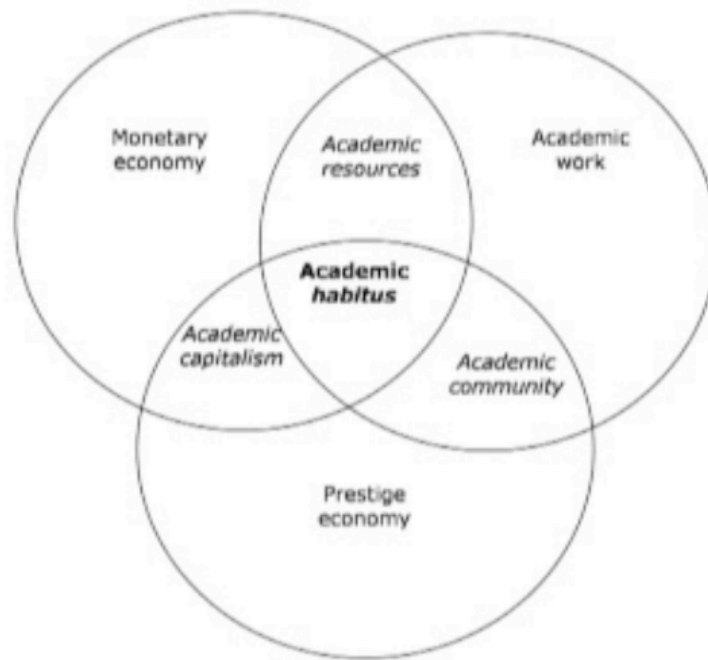


Figure 2: Model of Academic Motivation by Blackmore and Kandiko Howson (2010)

Academic work consists of research, teaching and consultancy. They found out that this is what motivates academics the most and brought them into their work since they enjoy the subject they study. The monetary economy reflects the salary in most cases provided by the university. The overlap of these two ideas is the prestige economy, which is academic resources such as academic community, libraries and laboratories. The next intersection, academic community, comprises departmental, disciplinary and subject-bases peers outside the institution. Academic capitalism reflects the need of academics to apply for grants and funding, sometimes at the border with markets, and depicts an increasing role in academic life. Finally, the individual academic inhabits the sphere connecting all spheres, negotiating her or his identity and role within this dynamic context of overlapping spheres.

The stronger focus on universities in a nation’s economy has led to significant policy changes that affect and transform academics’ professional identities and their working conditions. The impact of changes tends to vary between countries and within countries as well as between and within universities (Currie & Vidovich, 2009).

Traditionally, scholars have had a strong say in academic matters of administration at the university since they alone were the ones understanding the substance of research and teaching very well (Teichler, 2014). This collegiality is now replaced with top-down line management (Neave, 2012).

Academics’ identities and roles are being transformed in large parts through practices of accountability and the emergence of an audit culture (Canaan, 2008). The introduction of these practices of accountability led to a “loss of control”, an “intensification of labour”, “increased administration”, “perceived marginalisation of teaching” and a “stress on measurable performance

indicators” (Avis cited in Avis, 2005, p. 210). Academics face work intensification of first-order activities teaching, research and administration since resources are scarce, student numbers increase and demands for greater “research activity” come forward (Ball, 2003). Ball (2003) speaks of an ontological insecurity that adds to this intensified workload, namely second-order activities like performance monitoring and management. These second-order activities require spending a lot of time on demonstrating what comes from producing performative information about first-order activities. Thus, academics contribute to becoming self-managing individuals and render themselves auditable. Therewith, a new kind of subjectivity is created (Canaan, 2008). Researchers, teachers and administrators are judged and monitored and at the same time encouraged to judge and monitor (Canaan & Shumar, 2008). According to Canaan and Shumar (2008) this development depicts a transformation of researching, teaching and administering into commodities that are measured and scrutinised in a neoliberal manner rather than seen as processes through which teachers gain intrinsic pleasure and are able to realise their identities. Universities UK (2007) reported that due to increased fees and the familiarity of technological support, students are seen more and more as consumers “who demand up-to-date information about educational ‘goods’, ‘24/7’ access to facilities, quality services and personalised treatment” (p. 10).

Johnson (2008) created an “ideal model” of the university based on neoliberal ideas: internally, student-teacher relations will be transformed with teachers losing control over curricula and teaching methods as well as the balance of teaching and research. Central management may take over functions that used to give academics some everyday control and flexibility with their students such as time-tabling and monitoring of student submissions. The division between managers and academics as professionals or workers will be strengthened and formalised. Additionally, business personnel should be called in at levels of administration for accountancy reasons. Academic units (schools, centres, departments, faculties) should be transformed into businesses or “cost-centres”, which makes it harder for departments or faculties to develop their own intellectual strategies that do not focus on marketability. Therewith, it also becomes more difficult to cross-subsidise activities for their social value (e.g. conducted by the humanities).

According to Currie and Vidovich (2009), neoliberal ideology has forced academics to be more entrepreneurial in order to compensate for the decreased government funding. They are engaging increasingly with business and industry as sources of funds as well as adapting to cultures and structures coming from the corporate world. Additionally, academic work goes beyond traditional boundaries and academics are required to take on roles as academic developer, learning adviser, multimedia specialist or educational technologist. The broadened notion of ‘service’ includes further tasks for the academics in particular and universities in general: leaderships and community engagement, emerging technologies, fostering academic leaders and knowledge workers (who perform a range of administrative and academic roles) and third-mission knowledge-exchange activities with

industry and community (Krause, 2009). In this context, Whitchurch (2008) speaks of so-called ‘third space’, which depicts the new relations between academic and professional domains.

Davies and Petersen (2005) also argue that the restructuring of higher education is in line with neoliberal ideas. They find a double agenda in the restructuring that is difficult to resist since the volumes of agency and choice of which neoliberalism speaks actually operate within the constraints of measurable performance. Thus, neoliberalism “sets intellectual workers free to produce their critiques and at the same time and through the same practices governs them, shapes what they do and what they desire. There are two technologies at play here turning us into governable subjects – a technology of agency and a technology of performance (...)” (Davies & Petersen, 2005, p. 93).

According to Pilbeam (2009), the future challenge for universities consists of developing coherent structures that maintain legitimacy with key stakeholders, but demonstrating efficiency in their activity at the same time in order to achieve a balance. It is peculiarly hard in a dynamic, fast-changing environment like we find ourselves in nowadays. In a globalised world academics confront many common changes in matters of academic work such as decreased government funding, massification, work intensification, privatisation, marketisation and instrumentalisation of teaching and research as well as the importation of corporate managerial structures with increased accountability and decreased autonomy and freedom (Altbach, 2005; Currie et al., 2006). Again, the extent of changes differs across countries or institutions (Currie & Vidovich, 2009).

3.2 Theory: Complexity Theory

Plsek and Greenhalgh (2001 cited in Elton, 2008) write, “In complex systems, unpredictability and paradox are ever present, and some things will remain unknowledgeable. New conceptual frameworks that incorporate a dynamic, emergent, creative and intuitive view of the world must replace traditional “reduce and resolve” approaches” (p. 234). Thus, complexity theory might have a mathematical basis, but its outcomes are best understood qualitatively (Elton, 2008). In connection, there is a general turn to the material and the ontological. By material underlying structures and processes that are reforming culture and identity is meant. The ontological refers to a “understand(ing) (of) the sets of complex relations we find ourselves in” (Shumar, 2004, p. 825). Both can be perfectly applied to current developments in higher education and referred to academics. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the theory can simultaneously be taken as a limitation since it is almost impossible to understand the complexity of phenomena within higher education.

4. Methodological Framework

4.1 Research Approach and Strategy

Every research approach is based on five considerations: certain concepts and theories, an epistemological and an ontological perspective, the values of the researcher and other practical considerations. Judging from the comparison of the quantitative and qualitative research strategy provided by Bryman (2012), the strategy most suitable for this study is the qualitative one as will be argued in the course of this chapter.

Table 2: Differences between quantitative and qualitative research strategies (Bryman, 2012, p. 36). The italic marks are made by the author to show which parts are valid for this study.

	Quantitative	Qualitative
Principal orientation to the role of theory in relation to research	<i>Deductive; testing of theory</i>	<i>Inductive; generation of theory</i>
Epistemological orientation	Natural science model, in particular positivism	<i>Interpretivism</i>
Ontological orientation	Objectivism	<i>Constructionism</i>

Generally, qualitative research does not try to delimit the areas of enquiry by asking very specific research questions, rather it asks fairly general questions (Bryman, 2012) – if it does at all (Cars, 2013). For this reason, the structure is kept at a minimum in order to increase the possibility to authentically reveal forthcoming aspects of the social world that have not crossed the researcher’s mind (Bryman, 2012).

4.1.1 Role of Theory and Concepts

Concepts underlie our understanding of the social world. They do not only help us to organise our research with regard to its purpose and aims, but also with regard to our findings. Usually, it can be distinguished between deductive (associated with quantitative research) and inductive (associated with qualitative research) approaches to the relationship between theory and research, which also has implications for concepts (Bryman, 2012). In this specific study, the concepts serve both as representation of key areas around which data is collected (deductive) and as reflection and organisation for the data collected (inductive). According to Bryman (2012), these positions do not

mutually exclude each other. Starting with key concepts still leaves the possibility open to revise concepts or find new ones emerging from the reflection.

Theories serve as explanations of observed regularities. Again, the relationship between theory and research in qualitative research is mostly inductive. The researcher developed theoretical ideas that emerge from her or his data rather than forming them before data collection (Bryman, 2012). The complexity theory, which can be characterised as grand theory and operates at a more abstract level, is the only theory depicted before data collection. Due to its characteristics, it does not claim to guide or influence the researcher in collecting the data, but stands in the background of the research in order to provide better understanding.

4.1.2 Ontological Perspective

Qualitative researchers typically take on the ontological perspective of constructivism (Bryman, 2012) as did the researcher here. Within constructivism, social reality is seen as constructed by social actors (Bray et al., 2007). Social properties are perceived as outcomes of the interactions between social actors (Bryman, 2012).

Qualitative research seeks to gain insights into the social reality and actions of the social actors since “(t)he world (...) is constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it” (Potter, 1996, p. 98). This approach derives from discourse analysis. Identifying discourses played a crucial role in analysing the data and looking at their contents and the language used was important for interpreting the former.

4.1.3 Epistemological Perspective

This research was approached from an interpretive perspective, which once more verifies the choice of the qualitative research strategy for the particular study.

Interpretivism is concerned with the understanding of the social world by examining the social actors' interpretation of it (Bryman, 2012). The interpretive perspective is grounded in Weber's understanding of sociology as a science of social action. The 'Verstehen' (understanding) of people's social action, which means why people do the things they actually do, forms the basis of sociology (Education Portal, 2013). From an interpretivist perspective, research does not seek to explain ('erklären') human behaviour (like the positivist approach would do), but emphasises the understanding and interpretation of social action (Bryman, 2012).

Accordingly, by interviewing people the researcher gained insights into their thoughts about their social world. In the course of data analysis, the researcher tried to interpret their social world and social action as much as possible with regard to their perspective. It follows that the whole process of interpretation is based on assumption rather than on demonstration.

Since discourses did play a role in the data analysis of this research project, critical realism was likely to be automatically applied. It recognises the reality of the natural order of events and discourses within the social world. If structures that generate these discourses and events are identified, one is not only able to understand the social world, but also to change it. Critical realism searches for generative mechanisms from which the observed regularities in the social world emerge and examines how they operate in specific contexts (Bryman, 2012).

4.1.4 Values of the Researcher and other Practical Considerations

As already mentioned under limitations, the researcher's values consistent of her beliefs and feelings automatically and significantly affected the research and its outcomes (Bryman, 2012). The parameter of personal values and the possibility of losing objectivity as a researcher should be kept in mind at all times.

In view of the research strategy, the study was exploratory in its approach. It left open the possibility to generate new theory (Bryman, 2012). After all, "all social research is a coming-together of the ideal and the feasible" (Bryman, 2012: 41).

4.2 Research Design, Sampling and Method

4.2.1 Comparative Design

A research design that perfectly fitted the scope and feasibility within this comparatively small research project is not existent. Rather, the author had to adapt her research to a known design, here the comparative design, as well as possible.

First, the comparative design involves the studying of two contrasting cases (nations, organisations, communities) by using more or less identical methods. It implies that social phenomena are better understood if compared in two or more contrasting cases (Bryman, 2012). Here, the same interview guide was used and the responses from academics in the German and English university systems were contrasted against each other, but without the assumption that they are direct opposites. The interest for comparing these two cases evolves from the history of their contexts: the German university very much associated with Humboldt's ideas and the English one known for its early marketisation strategy related to neoliberal ideas.

Second, when applied in the framework of qualitative research strategy, the comparative design takes the form of a multiple case study. As the term already reveals, a multiple case study occurs when more than one case is examined (Bryman, 2012). As outlined in limitations, due to scope and time constraints as well as feasibility reasons, the researcher was not able to conduct in-depth case studies, although the basic case study entails a detailed and intensive analysis. Because of the high complexity of both systems and the changes within it, as it has been pointed out earlier, the aim of the study was to break down the complexity into a simplified cluster to achieve better understanding. The fieldwork, even though only small, tried to compensate for the superficiality through the exchange with academics from both countries in order to gain deeper insights into their environments.

4.2.2 Sampling

Generic purposive sampling was the method (Bryman, 2012) applied for the choice of academics. The researcher approached six academics at two classical-sense universities⁷ (three academics from a German and three from an English institution/institute) that were both involved in teaching and research. Additionally, they are all involved in higher education research since the researcher expected them to be more sensitive to the changes and nature of higher education than other academics and thus, hoped to get a more sincere picture of discourses in the same social world. The gender/age division was taken into consideration, so academics from both genders and of younger and older age were interviewed. In the English case, snowball sampling occurred since the researcher came in contact with a PhD student at the English institute who advised her on possible interviewees, mainly in accordance to their research interests of academic profession and academic identity. More information to the single academics will be given under 4.5.

4.2.3 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used in order to collect data from the academics. The method was chosen in respect of the constructivist and interpretive approach underlying this research and with regard to the aim to gain insights into the academics' perceptions, beliefs and the meanings.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face with the help on an interview guide. The interview guide and a small summary of the research were given to the interviewees one day in advance for familiarisation reasons. In Germany, the German version of the interview guide was used. Thus, the interviews there were led in German. In the process of data analysis the responses made by the academics at the German institution were transcribed and then translated into English. In most cases the venue of the interview was the academic's office, in one case an available teaching room,

⁷ *Both institutions were established prior to 1992 and stand for scientifically oriented study.*

generally, in quiet and mainly undisturbed settings. All interviewees permitted the use of a recording device for the storage of the data. Thus, the answers could be captured verbatim, which allowed an exhaustive examination of the participants' responses. In terms of an in-depth or qualitative interview, the interview process was held flexible in the sense that the researcher followed the script only to a certain extent. While the interview guide covered fairly specific topics, there was much room left for how to respond to the questions. In contrast to structured interviews, the participants had great flexibility to express themselves in their own terms and even to address other relevant issues.

4.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

The thematic analysis process was used for the management, analysis and interpretation of the collected qualitative data. More specifically the Framework approach to thematic analysis was chosen, which was developed by the National Centre for Social Research in the UK. Ritchie et al. (2003, p. 219), describe this approach as a “matrix based method for ordering and synthesising data”. According to Bryman (2012) the approach resembles a SPSS spreadsheet based on the construction of central themes and subthemes.

The data was collected around the changes that derived from the comparison of the Humboldt university model and the neoliberal university model. The themes could be identified on the basis of these criteria and in which ways they possibly affect academics. Thus, the academics' environment forms the third main theme. Accordingly, sub-themes were identified through general recurrent discourses in both the German and English interviews. Sometimes answers fitted to more than one sub-theme. Discourses are interrelated and overlapped. The responses from the academics in Germany and those in England were seen as two entities. In each case one recurrent discourse was found not to come up in the contrasting case.

Table 3: Presentation of Discourses

<i>Discourses existent in both cases</i>	<i>Discourses existent in one case</i>
<p>Theme 1: Discourses originating from the Humboldtian Tradition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subtheme 1.a): Unity of Teaching and Research - Subtheme 1.b): Freedom and Autonomy - Subtheme 1.c): Scholarly Community - Subtheme 1. d): Personality Development <p>Theme 2: Changes connected to the rise of the Neoliberal University</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subtheme 2.a): Third-party Funds/Funding - Subtheme 2.b): Knowledge production - Subtheme 2.c): Mass University/Widening Participation - Subtheme 2.d): Employability - Subtheme 2.e): Quality/Time/Control <p>Theme 3: <i>Academics' Environment</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subtheme 3.a) Identification - Subtheme 3.b) Atmosphere - Subtheme 3.c) Relation to other Staff - Subtheme 3.d) Students - Subtheme 3.e) Flexibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “German” side discourse: Bologna Process - English Subtheme 2.f): Marketisation <p>Extra:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - English phenomenon: Non-traditional academic careers - German concern: Academic Citizenship/Community Engagement

The search for discourses rather than the use of the pre-existent topic fields left room and pays attention to what is on the academics' minds and what they consider to be chiefly important. This approach is advantageous when discussing the identity of the university later.

Extracting the data from its context and categorising it according to the identified sub-themes implies the danger of losing the connection between the particular statement and the circumstance in which it was expressed. For this reason, the researcher put a mark hinting at its origin behind every statement so that it could easily be traced back to its specific context. Statements were kept in the same order in the sub-theme charts in order to guarantee order and precision (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994).

As last step of data analysis stands the critical and interpretative analysis of the meanings that have been divided into the themes and sub-themes. When conducting interpretative analysis, the researcher has to keep in mind the objectives of qualitative research, which are “defining concepts, mapping range and nature of phenomena, creating typologies, finding associations, providing explanations, and developing strategies” (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994, p. 186). These aims of qualitative research have to stand in reflective relation to the interviewees' values, beliefs and attitudes. The researcher must be cautious and as objective as possible when it comes to the interpretation of the analysed data.

4.4. Ethical Considerations

It is necessary to follow ethical principles in order not to harm any participant. Thus, the participants should not be treated as pure objects of study, but as human beings whose personal lives and work environment should be protected from consequences disclosing sensitive information.

Therefore, anonymity was guaranteed to the participants in this study through the handing out of a consent form. The analysis and interpretation of their statements was conducted very carefully. Since the researcher aimed at gaining the trust and acceptance of the respondents in order to obtain reliable and in-depth data, deception was prevented.

Since the participants were academics who are involved in research as well, it emanates that they are aware of ethical issues themselves and would not have let themselves been harmed in any way.

4.5 Presentation of Participants

In total, six academics were interviewed. Three academics were interviewed at a German institution that has a department of higher education research, thus, all interviewees, two research associates at different stages and one professor, are involved in higher education research. In comparison, three academics were interviewed at an English institution/institute that has a centre of higher education

studies, thus again, all interviewees, one middle-aged reader and one younger and one older senior lecturer, are involved in higher education research.

The institutions differ in the sense that the English institute is more of a graduate school than its German “counterpart”. The former offers master programmes in the field of higher education, whereas the latter only offers courses on higher education in the framework of educational science.

Another difference lies in the interviewed academics themselves. In Germany there exist two clear academic “professions”, the one of professor (with the highest level of education: habilitation) and what the researcher translates as research associate (original: wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter). Most of the time research associates work on their dissertations and often occupy half a position at the university, which gives them teaching responsibilities. In comparison, academics at the English institute have diverse backgrounds that will be explained in more detail later on. Nevertheless, all academics interviewed have professional and academic knowledge of the field higher education.

Moreover, the researcher says “academics at the German/English institution/institute” because one academic at the English institute is French and in order to indicate that the researcher does not try to generalise.

All these similarities, but particularly differences, have to be kept in mind when looking at the data retrieved since it provides better understanding when comparing the German and English university.

Table 4: Presentation of Participants

	<i>University</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Background</i>
Interviewee 1	German	Research Associate	Male	30-40	Academic
Interviewee 2	German	Research Associate	Female	30-40	Academic
Interviewee 3	German	Professor	Male	60-70	Academic
Interviewee 4	English	Reader, Co-director	Male	50-60	Professional/ Academic
Interviewee 5	English	Reader, Course Leader	Male	40-50	Academic
Interviewee 6	English	Senior Lecturer	Female	50-60	Professional/ Academic

5. Research Findings: Presentation and Discussion

5.1 General Findings

The findings are presented by theme and sub-themes that resulted from the Framework analysis. As already mentioned before, they represent not only discourses determined a priori through topic fields and direct questions, but also those that have risen from the data analysis since the academics interviewed called attention to them.

Applying a different kind of methodology, the study partly confirms and gives some interesting insights that only qualitative research can provide to existent data, such as the CAP study, which is based on surveys. In total, it draws a mixed picture when it comes to academics personally confirming or opposing overarching discourses. Some pre-assumptions, having the contexts of the German and English university in mind, might be approved, others not.

5.2 Discourses originating from the Humboldtian Tradition

5.2.1 Unity of Teaching and Research

The debate whether Humboldt is dead or alive is not new. Humboldt's ideal of the unity of teaching and research that professors are involved and equally competent in research and teaching is a set expectation in many countries regardless of connecting it to Humboldt or not.

Throughout the interviews, the interviewees addressed the unity of teaching and research without always being directed to this aspect. When it was asked to name some positive and negative aspects of German higher education, interviewee 1 states:

From my point of view, it's fatal that it is claimed that the unity of teaching and research means that people who do research also do teaching. It becomes a farce, a heading, empty. Of course teaching has to be based on research, of course it is an ideal – d'acore – but one has to professionalise it, especially in the mass university.

Under the same rubric, interviewee 2 says:

I think that the unity of teaching and research is both positive and negative. So in theory it's good, but in practise it sometimes doesn't work. Some people are forced to do teaching, which sometimes doesn't lead to high quality teaching.

Interviewee 1 and 2 are both research associates at different stages of their dissertation and both are required to do teaching. Interviewee 3, the professor, also expresses his concerns when he is asked in how far research and teaching influence each other:

I think that the unity of research and teaching is quite an illusion. Okay, one is not allowed to teach something that does not align with up-to-date research. But very often teaching is far away from one's own research.

Both interviewee 1 and 3 use quite strong vocabulary to make clear that the unity does not exist in its most ideal form. It is “empty” and an “illusion”. In contrast, academics at the English institute express their belief in the unity:

One thing is the belief that it is good that teaching and research are combined, are done together and that they influence each other despite the fact that everything else renders them separate. (interviewee 4)

It is a two-way process really. (...) So I try to really link my teaching and research. (interviewee 5)

These answers suggest the active role that stands behind unifying teaching and research, which is revealed by the words “despite” and “try to really”. This is further proved through interviewee 1.

But I do still believe it's up to the university or faculty or department or team or an individual academic that if they wish to and they can see the positive aspects of combining teaching and research that they should try to do that and take a strategic approach to it. (interviewee 1)

Interviewee 6 gives an insight into why it might be quite possible at the English institute.

It is not really that we have a syllabus, it is more that they look at the interests, specialisms and expertise of individual members of the staff and get the programme together by that, I mean on this level, not on undergraduate level.

This confirms interviewee 4 in saying that *there is a sense in which it is very important* at the institute and the academics' belief in a unity of teaching and research.

It seems likely that the academics at the German institution connect an over-idealised picture to the unity of teaching and research according to their tradition and thus, have a rather critical standpoint in how far it is practicable. Moreover, as outlined in chapter 4.5, the institutional environments differ and surely influence the academics' belief system.

When they were asked what they think of teaching only posts and research only contracts they were all rather skeptical towards this idea, but shared some related ideas, which will become a topic under the category 'flexibility' in chapter 5.4.5.

5.2.2 Freedom and Autonomy

The loss of freedom and autonomy of academics over the last past years resembles another debate related to the general Humboldt discourse. Solely the academics of the German institution mention their great freedom and autonomy, peculiarly in relation to satisfaction, whereas the academics at the English institute are more reluctant when expressing their satisfaction.

I'm more satisfied than I might sound. You have an extremely high autonomy in all areas. I can in a limited way decide on research and teaching contents, my working place and time. You don't have this extreme high level of autonomy anywhere else. I want to take advantage of this autonomy as long as I can. That is what holds me here. (interviewee 1)

In teaching it is not ideal how it is solved. It is relatively far away from an ideal picture. In my work I'm actually very satisfied. I have huge freedom to organise my workday life and in what I want to write my PhD thesis on and what I want to deal with. My academic work is definitely fun for me and very close to an ideal. (interviewee 2)

The way in which interviewee 2 expresses herself implies that teaching does not belong to her academic work. That leads to the strong assumption that she counts herself as one of the persons, she mentioned previously, that are forced to do teaching. Since she is not free to choose in this aspect, she refers to autonomy and freedom only to research.

Even though the real situation is far away from this ideal picture, it would be almost insane if professors complained about their work situation. I think the situation of professors, despite all problems and weaknesses that we have, is societally extremely privileged – the huge freedom to be able to choose the work topics, many certainly praise the timely flexibility that I don't notice... You have a huge highly protected free space to think and express what you

want. The German professors are absolutely well paid and secure as civil servants. (interviewee 3)

The older academics all confirm that there are developments that have led to high constraints, limitations and restrictions, but that the picture is fragmented (dependent on status, contracts, institutions, even gender) (interviewee 4) and that there remains a high free space (interviewee 3).

5.2.3 Scholarly Community

This sub-theme and its categorised data have some similarities to ‘Unity of Teaching and Research’ in the way that academics at the German institution are more critical towards the concept of scholarly community than their counterparts at the English institute.

What one certainly has in many subjects is the idea of exchange between teachers and students, for instance in form of seminars. I don't want to claim that it is a community. That is too much for me to say. There remains class distinction. Of course it is togetherness. (...) You cannot afford the integration of students in research. We do not have chairs and computers for that. It could work if we had adequate equipment and if you prepared them that what they are doing there is a real task and not only side effect. The term 'community' is excessive; it remains on a rhetorical level. (Interviewee 1)

Well, that is in times of the mass university somehow far away from reality. (Interviewee 3)

Interviewee 4 of the English institute elaborates the most on community and explicitly includes it in his ideal picture. Generally, considering their relation to their students sheds more light on how they all define community, which will form chapter 5.4.4. A summarising implication for this chapter can thus only be made after discussing subtheme 5.4.4.

I think despite marketization and competition between institutions and individuals as well, even within institutions, there is still a deep-seated notion that education is about collaborating and working together and not working against each other. So despite all these metaphors of competition and war and aggression and contrast and conflict, most people would use positive initiatives of working together, learning together and learning from each other, collaborating and creating something, more than on individual parts, and sharing knowledge and expertise. So I think that this endures despite changes in the context. (interviewee 4)

I think the ideal would be for me personally and generally that all, students and academics and those focusing on professional services and administrative staff, to be all equal member of a learning community, of an academic community. It's easier with a MBA⁸ when people come mid career (...) and you know, it's much easier to feel that everybody is equal sharing the knowledge compared with when you are doing an undergraduate programme, people coming straight out of school. So that's a different kind of relationship. Nevertheless I think it would be good if people could be inducted in a learning community, as students as well as staff, they are continuously learning disciplinary wise. (interviewee 4)

Again, it suggests itself that the academics at the German institute might define scholarly community more narrowly along Humboldt's idea, whereas in England the idea of a community is more easily defined. And again, it seems as though it has to be initiated consciously as well as actively. Interviewee 6 confirms that *they try really hard here to create a community of scholars*. The environment and offer of programmes certainly also plays a very important role.

5.2.4 Personality Development

First of all, personality development is the translation of another educational aim ascribed to Humboldt: Persönlichkeitsbildung. Another possibility to translate the term would be 'character formation'. The researcher hopes by making the original term as well as two translations available to the reader to provide a better understanding of what is hidden behind this concept.

Second, the concept itself is quite blurry since it is hard to say how it comes about. Interviewee 1 mentions personality development when it comes to the purpose of higher education and says

In Germany it is half realised, it simply happens.

This reflects how blurry the whole concept is. Interviewee 4 also expects higher education to be...

... about personal gain for students and graduates (...), which I think should be half, or less than half of what higher education does.

The researcher categorised the following statements and ideas under this sub-theme since she considers them as important for further implications as will be shown in chapter 6.1.2.

⁸ MBA = Master of Business Administration, particularly for professionals.

Back then in the 19th century one might have mentioned personality development. I rather call it intellectual ability; that means to be able to question circumstances, to critically reflect knowledge and so on. (interviewee 3)

That there's a belief in that education can liberate people whatever their restrictions are, chains or whatever it might be, poverty or a limited mind-set. (interviewee 4)

Another major area is to open up opportunities for individuals, groups of individuals and communities to new possibilities, as students or employees, people in the communities that universities operate in by opening up their facilities, knowledge, even small businesses. Everything in education is about changing behaviour. And I think this is sometimes lost a bit or biased in particular ways. But I think it's not only broadening the mind, but also influences how people act, so it's about changing behaviour. In the sense that clearly the student behaviour would change, by studying and learning and being in contact with other people they would otherwise not be in contact with, help them decide what they want to do, but it's increasingly mature students, too, so to help them set themselves in their lives, or to open up a different direction to a dead-end job... (interviewee 4)

To raise the attainment and aspiration level of the individuals who have an attitude for academic studies. (interviewee 6)

All in all, there exist different, but somehow similar ideas of what could fall in this category. Again, it will be part of a greater discussion in chapter 6.1.2.

5.3 Changes connected to the Rise of the Neoliberal University

5.3.1 Third-party Funds/Funding

The reason why the sub-theme is called third-party funds and funding is because academics at the German institution refer to financing as 'third-party funds' and the academics at the English institute as 'funding'. In general terms, this sub-theme is about financing both teaching and research.

With the increasing importance of higher education for economic and societal benefits, government funding has been reduced. Interviewee 2 sees the connection between the two developments:

I think when it comes to research it is more the external sources, from the economy or European Commission. So I think it depends on the funding, be it that the state doesn't give as much to the universities and the universities don't have financial means to finance free research. Thus, I think it is a result of the priorities that are decided on state level that research is done that should be used in the end or that has application orientation.

The academics at the German institution tend to lament the lack of money and funding and their dependence on third-party funds more directly than academics at the English institute, whereby particularly the German professor expresses hard critique. Research associate, interviewee 1, states:

Basically I think it's right that projects are financed project-related, but if that all happened in addition to adequate basic funding, then it all wouldn't be a problem. The problem is that we have to keep our daily business running through third-party funds. The basic funding is so tight that in the end one cannot do research without any funding. With regard to teaching, it works out somehow, then we let more students take part in the course (...) I sometimes think that the lamentation you hear is too much since nowadays there exist more third-party funds than ever before. (...) Third-party funds are research.

One comes to terms with the financing resources. I'm used to the way it is.

The professor, interviewee 3, considers the continuous under financing of universities as a weak point. Despite reforms like the 'Quality Pact Teachings'⁹ the gap between the demands of students and higher education financing has not decreased. *But*, he states, *one has to say that money is not everything*. Additionally, he points to the fact that universities have to question themselves from time to time since they do not necessarily use their money in the most effective way. He seems the most upset about the following:

When it comes to research I think this absolute fixation on third-party funds is wrong because this research is not necessarily relevant research, can be, but does not have to be. There are research fields, in which you cannot do without third-party funds. (...) But to define a successful researcher through third-party funds, I think that is completely crazy. Therefore, I would appreciate if this fixation on third-party funds partially decreased.

⁹ *Within the frame of the higher education reform 'Quality Pact for Teaching' universities get financial support for the improvement of both study conditions and environment and the quality of teaching (BMBF, 2014b).*

In total, the academics at the German institution seem to be more concerned about financing research than teaching. In contrast, much of what is in the academics' minds at the English institute centre on financing teaching through tuition fees. Most of them agree with the rationale behind tuition fees to a certain extent as with regard to taxpayers who subsidise higher education, although the gain is first and foremost private (interviewee 4 and 5), but are worried about the future (interviewee 5). When it comes to research, interviewee 4 reveals some possible strategies of the institute on how to generate money:

Any funding from the Higher Education Funding Council (...) has been reduced. So it's vulnerable on a number of fronts, so the imperative to generate income from other sources, so for example whenever we do research we don't spend it all on other people, but retain some kind of surplus for other activities at the institute, the imperative to sell the MBA abroad, maybe to do it in China or Singapore or Europe (Europe I think would be more collaborative). Or particularly maybe to run an international version of the MBA so that we can charge international ... (...), so there are imperatives and pressures to make money that we can earn and use it for other purposes in terms of staff or be a bit more autonomous in which kinds of research we do and you know, the REF¹⁰ has been quite a driver although the money you get is not great, but it's the reputation you get from the REF, which has driven institutions a lot over the past few years.

It seems that academics' perceptions vary when it comes to higher education financing. Looking at the range of answers may suggest some further implications. Above all in connection to the sub-theme 'quality/time/control' some interesting connections are expected.

5.3.2 Knowledge Production

The content of this category turned out to be very much dependent on i) the field of higher education, ii) personal preferences and iii) external funders.

With regard to i), it can be noted that higher education studies is very much an empirical, practically oriented field of study (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4) and often linked to some kind of (political) consultation (interviewees 2, 3, 4). In how far it is practically/application oriented, societally relevant or utility oriented can depend on iii) external funders, which often comprise funders from the economic sector, the European Commission as well as Ministries (interviewees 2 and 3). Notably, interviewees 2, 4 and 5 stress that academics should not only be dependent on external funders, but also be free to choose their research topics. For interviewee 4 some funded projects triggered his

¹⁰ REF stands for 'Research Exercise Framework', but is now replaced by the RAE 'Research Assessment Exercise'.

interest and he continued with researching the areas. When it comes to personal preferences, the majority prefers to produce application oriented, societally relevant knowledge and to contribute to mode 2, although this most of the time does not exclude the use of certain theories. Generally, there is almost no basic research, although interviewee 4 marks:

It's struggle and it's a very important struggle that we do develop theories and conceptional frameworks out of our research, and our thinking and our discussions since it has been a bit light around theory. Many theories have been done to death (...). That's a kind of touchdown; everyone refers to that. We need to move on from there. (...) It would be helpful to future researchers to be able to draw on these theories and to apply it to new areas, develop new areas.

In this context, interviewees 4 and 5 from the English institute once again mention the importance of combining research and teaching.

5.3.3 Mass University/Widening Participation

The double title of this sub-theme shows once more the use of different terms. The academics at the German institution tend to apply terms like 'mass university' and 'explosion', whereas academics at the English institute use terms like 'widening participation' or 'expansion', which seem to be less negatively connoted. But interviewee 2 also includes the benefits of "massification" in his expression:

The mass university has widened participation chances. It is not only bad, but also means that people can be reached that could not be reached forty years ago. The problem again is the financing. (interviewee 1)

With regard to the question, which developments have affected their academic work the most, interviewee 3 responds:

First and foremost, the explosion of student numbers. They are not in all study programmes, but in many and have changed the environment very much because teaching and assessment tasks have increased. (...) I consider the explosion of student numbers as rather critical with regard to the consequences on the work at the university. Basically the demand for education is something that cannot be legally controlled. Despite the 'quality pact teachings' and so on

the degree of capacity utilisation of the university has increased – that has to be considered as rather critically.

Interviewee 4 also mentions widening participation in his answer to the same question, but is quite neutral in his expression.

And also issues around widening participation and trying to encourage a broader segment of the population into higher education.

Interviewee 6 addresses yet another aspect.

Well, I think higher education is certainly more accessible to people than in my time. So that's a positive aspect. I think a negative aspect, it's a coin with two sides, is that students come out with an expectation that cannot always be fulfilled. The counter argument is that higher education is not wasted since it gives you an approach throughout life, not just enter a higher level of employability. (...) But I think there are some points that have not been thought through in this country. Students have aspirations that can't be met in terms of the employment they are getting. They don't always appreciate the fact that the learning they are getting can be useful for its own sake. There are kinds of indicators that people with higher education have better lifestyles, healthier lifestyles, better relationships...

The differences between the statements of the academics at the German and English institution/institute may stem from the different contexts. In England, widening participation implies more income through tuition fees and as interviewee 6 points out, the feeling of the need to satisfy and meet students' expectations. In contrast, in Germany widening participation means to have fuller lecture halls and less resources per student. Tuition fees are a controversial discussed topic in Germany, which retained focus in the 2000s. Most federal states introduced and then abolished tuition fees after only a short period of time again. Despite higher education reforms (like the mentioned 'Quality Pact Teachings') it is apparently a struggle to compensate for the greater demand of students. On the other hand, interviewee 1 mentioned with regard to teaching, *that it works out somehow, then we let more students take part in the course*. Maybe the more critical attitude stems from personal aspirations to improve teaching.

I would generally wish that the topic teaching is taken more seriously and that we have more co-operations and co-ordination in teaching. (interviewee 3)

As it seems, teaching is a topic itself that will need to be discussed in greater detail and will certainly come up in the course of presenting more findings.

5.3.4 Employability

This sub-theme will particularly open up some links to personality development belonging to the previously discussed framework. It seems quite unclear what is hidden behind the concept of 'employability' since academics tend to use the term quite differently. In the following, the researcher will list the essential ideas that centre on the term to gain an insight of what the interviewed academics connect to the concept. Most responses are given with regard to the question of the purpose of higher education.

The preparation for a qualified vocational preparation. Not any employability story, but for a clear, demanding, qualitatively high professional life, for instance, for engineering there exists a clear professional line. And then there are quite general skills. When they aren't clear professions, then one has to be more creative: to connect projects to "special study" (Fachstudium), integrate them into the studies, not extra-curricular, to let the practice be derived from the subject. In my opinion, that is better than if you study 5 points for any soft profession things and then you make a language course and a rhetoric course and then that is supposed to be your vocational preparation. (interviewee 1)

The words interviewee 1 uses reveal his opinion on what he regards as usual employability discourse. He seems to see a difference between vocational preparation and qualified vocational preparation, which would involve more thinking into how practicality can be provided in the framework of studies.

On the one hand to educate students and to pull them up to critically, scientifically thinking individuals, but also to create a certain employability, to prepare for the labour market. (interviewee 2)

With regard to teaching and study, through the Bologna Process - although it is not coercively said with the Bologna Process, but it's the German reception to point the Bologna Process towards employability, I think that is highly problematic for many reasons... Connected to it is the discussion in how far the task of qualifying for a profession is function of the university, plus the preparation for research, pulling up of young academics, and I would introduce something like intellectuality, reflection capacity, intellectual curiosity, however one wants to

call it. There are people that say that the task of universities is the transfer of professional qualifications. I consider that to be rather narrow. I think that higher education stays and falls with transferring scientific competences, like research based competences and that they are also transferred when there are occupational fields in which graduates are occupied where they don't need those. That actually belongs to the constitutive self-conception of universities. But I think we are turning universities into vocational training institutions if we do without these specifics of higher education. (...) We are moving towards the situation in which every second in one peer group takes up higher education studies. That the professional qualifications function is to be taken more seriously than in the 19th century where universities could say: scientifically qualified is equal with professionally qualified – that is definitely not the case anymore today. 80% of students don't plan to take up an academic career, but want to pursue professions outside the scientific system. That means that the universities have to think about their professional qualifications function. But I think that it has to be different at the universities than at vocational schools or dual training. What is added to higher education is to critically evaluate professional tasks, so to say to develop a scientific perspective on occupation. And that is what makes the specific difference to other institutions. By now, we have 15.000 bachelor programmes, they specialise more and more. I consider that a fatal minus development. I think the purpose of bachelor programmes is rather a broad qualification because one can guarantee the flexibility of graduates only in that way. The tendency of an increasing specialisation already on bachelor level, I think, is labour market wise problematic because it limits the graduates' options. (interviewee 3)

What becomes obvious here is the importance of the Bologna Process in German discourses. His statement goes in the same direction as interviewee's 1, but more vehemently. He seems to be afraid that employability means vocationalisation and stresses what is unique to universities, namely the critical and scientific competences taught there.

Interviewee 6 understands employability more in terms of linkage to and students' chances on the labour market, so less interpretative, but more for what the pure word 'employability' means. At the same time she points to the importance that higher education should also stand for increasing attainment and aspiration as well as learning for its own sake.

To raise the attainment and aspiration level of the individuals who have an attitude for academic studies, but that's changing, and then there are certainly also socio-economic agendas, which are concerned to the tax payers when education is publicly funded, but I would say raising attainment and aspiration feeds into employability, raising the ability of the individuals to meet the needs of employers. I think it's difficult to separate the two. (...) I think a negative aspect, it's a coin with two sides, is that students come out with an expectation that

cannot always be fulfilled. (...) But I think there are some points that have not been thought through in this country. Students have aspirations that can't be met in terms of the employment they are getting. They don't always appreciate the fact that the learning they are getting can be useful for its own sake. (Interviewee 6)

These statements and ideas do not mutually exclude each other. What can be said is that there is a general need to define the concept of 'employability' better. To summarise the responses, academics envisage the following:

- Integration of project-based studying, thus the practice derives from the subject
- Critical evaluation of professional tasks
- Development of scientific perspective on occupation
- Attainment and aspiration
- Higher education is also about learning for its own sake

Additionally, the German professor opposes very much the employability discourse that is going on in Germany. Vocational training in Germany has a very long tradition and has recently, in the course of the economic crisis, proven advantage and thus, attracted attention of other countries. The importance of vocational training in Germany and how it must differ from universities might therefore be a strong and relevant debate topic. He therewith points to aspects that might be of importance later when it comes to discussing the identity of the university.

5.3.5 Quality/Time/Control

This sub-theme summarises three areas, which are seen to be interrelated. During the presentation the attempt will be made to treat them separately as well for reasons of clarity.

Quality

I do think that despite the bachelor/master reform there is high quality, that the students are urged to discuss much and to work things out themselves. It is much less like teaching in school than in other countries, that it is urged towards self-dependency and independent thinking. (interviewee 2)

The German higher education system is judged very very critically. Of course there are several weak points. But I think that all in all the state and quality of the German higher education system is better than its reputation. (interviewee 3)

And I think, generally speaking, the quality of higher education in this country¹¹ is pretty good. Maybe not always as good as we think it is, we have some issues and problems, but it has somehow quite a good standard in terms of global standards. (interviewee 4)

It would be interesting what the reasons are for being judged critically on the side of Germany and why the quality is of high standard on the side of England. It may have to do with more transparency on the side of English institutions: the REA, league tables and rankings where English universities are known to be quite highly ranked. For Germany, it probably has to do with the state-university relation and institutional organisation as depicted in chapter 2.3.1.

Repeatedly now, it also becomes obvious that the ‘Bologna Process’ or here, ‘bachelor/master reform’ is only mentioned by academics at the German institute and the word “despite” in this context suggests its overall negative perception.

Time

Primarily, the older academics state that everyone is very motivated and spend much time on their job, but even then have to compromise a lot since it is not possible time wise to do it to the standard they wish to (interviewee 3, 4, 6).

Actually the week should have 20 hours more. But I think that is a common thing. Everyone is very engaged and everyone has the same problem, namely that one actually wants to make it better than one can achieve realistically. One always has to make compromises, most of all when it comes to teaching. (Interviewee 3)

It's difficult to strike the balance really because... (...) And it's definitely more than a full-time job (60 hours per week) because they are interested and committed professionals. It's not that they are inefficient or anything, it's quite a difficult job. It's a quite difficult time, to keep job security you need to do a bit extra. (interviewee 4)

I mean this is actually one big negative aspect, not so much lack of money (...), but I would say that time pressure is really disheartening because you can't do things as well as you would like to do. I would say that this is the biggest negative aspect because people want to do high quality work and provide high quality service to their students... (interviewee 6)

That shows that academics are highly motivated in their jobs, but that for the academics at the English institute it is also connected to job security since unlike German professors, they are no civil servants.

¹¹ Here: England.

Additionally, teaching once again becomes a part that is compromised in, which should be kept in mind.

Quality/Time

Academics at the German institution all agree that a certain evaluation belongs to teaching and regard it as very important. Two even mention to do more than the university expects when it comes to evaluation, such as seminar reflections and feedback loops. Interviewee 2 also reveals that evaluation forms have only been distributed at the German university since last term. Generally, it can be said that quality assurance in teaching at the German institution seems to be only at its start as Interviewee 3 confirms by saying:

For a long time it has not been a topic in teaching at all, the direction is right.

On the other hand he also points out that...

... there is quite a lot what is going on in the area of evaluation. One would have to basically discuss in how far that is reasonable. That there is quality assurance in teaching I think is absolutely right. I'm still not sure about the procedures since it always happens on the level of single courses, but we don't do, for instance, systematic evaluations of programmes and that is far more important. If on institutional level whole programmes do not work, it's much more dramatic in its consequences – that aims are unclear, students do not find a job and the study structure is not right and the student counselling does not work right and the placement is not proper. By that I don't mean that there shouldn't be any more course evaluations. But I miss quality assurance on institutional level.

When it comes to research one can sense the different stages the academics at the German institution are at. Interviewee 1 is almost done with his dissertation, thus, has more experience:

And when it comes to research it would indeed be better if we had to do less documentations, but that is less in the area of quality – there are reports, once a year, I mean okay, it forms part of it if one gets money for it. I don't feel patronised by that. But it would be quite good if we had the resources, if we had someone who really does do the entire organisation. If we get money for it, of course I would consider it as legitimate if we therefore had to prepare a presentation, for instance. (...) But as I said, the whole administration costs time. I don't really need that. I basically think that a performance-means-distribution is worth considering. One has to see what are adequate indicators. It depends on the discipline. (...) If one had the equipment or financing – that would actually meet international standards, we do not have

that, we are one third beneath other countries when you look at the numbers of the OECD comparison, it is a catastrophe what is spent – many people would see that more relaxed. What one is not allowed to forget of course is that it would be a frontal attack on mode 1¹². Okay, but that is from my point of view adequate and legitimate because knowledge production has changed.

Interviewee 2 is at the beginning of her dissertation project. Her picture looks as follows:

Research is not controlled at all, except by my supervisor who every now and then comes in and asks how it goes, nothing central.

With regard to research, I have never experienced that. Does it exist? Of course it does, but is it done? Maybe through publications, proposals, they are examined. The problem is that it does not really depend on how good the research is, but how many third-party funds one acquires, how many graduations one has. But is that really a sign of quality? All in all, quality assurance in research is underdeveloped. (...) It depends, if it has a control mechanisms, I think it is contra productive, but if it is a mutual learning mechanism, ... conferences have taken place increasingly. (...) I would call it collegial assessment. If I think of 'assessment' only, I think of 'from above', contra productive. (interviewee 3, professor)

The picture that the academics at the German institution communicate here strongly confirms what had been said about the German university before so that its influences are reflected through the academics' responses.

At the English institute quality assurance is already that far that interviewee 4 sees it rather embedded in the institute than feels its control mechanisms, which can be understood as a positive development and the movement to neo-technocratic managerialism:

I think in terms of quality assurance it is possible to play the game and to satisfy those who need to be satisfied and to keep them away from you know the core, your activity. Even this MBA periodical review was quite straightforward. It's quite possible to do that. But actually in terms of how we might change the MBA I don't see it related to it. Once we get the review out of the way (...), it's a validation process, so I don't want to throw new ideas into the pot because it might de-stable our process. I want to see it as a stable programme respondent to

¹² He refers to knowledge production mode 1 that is driven internally and determined by the producers themselves (Fuller, 2005) and stands for autonomous and individual, curiosity driven research. It stands in contrast to knowledge production mode 2 associated with a high degree of heteronomy and exposure to outside monitoring and control (Wittrock, 2006).

participants', students' feedback and keep it up to date, but that's all. All other ideas we might have, I keep those quiet. The enhancement is somehow separated from the quality assurance. And how I see the quality of what I do in terms of publications, research, teaching, programme and so on, is not really affected by quality assurance. It's a different kind of process and I'm separating the two. And I think actually quality assurance in the UK has become less interventionist probably, externally anyway, because it has become much more embedded in the institutions' work, they have their own reviews etc. So if that makes ourselves more accountable, then okay, but I think in a way we can feel we can control it in a way. Maybe we are deluding ourselves.

His point of view is very interesting with regard to separating quality assurance that has to be done from quality enhancement that he/they want(s) to do. He also tells about the MBA periodical review, which interviewee 3 criticised as non-existent at German institutions.

Interviewee 5 approaches the topic from a more “philosophical” perspective. As interviewee 3, he distinguishes between quality for development and transformation and quality for control.

I think quality assurance as an instrument can be for the best and the worst. I think it's okay in the sense, so I mean if some quality assurance if it's about development and transformation, good for the student, then I think it's good. But then I think it goes too fast sometimes and then is about control. I don't feel controlled. If it's about quality for value of money, then it's different from quality for development. I don't feel controlled here. I think for teaching it's different, maybe more now than a few years back (...) More about quality enhancement rather than purely value for money. I think there could be less. Most of the time it makes you reflect, I think it's like any kind of like, coming back to the fee-paying students, you kind of have a responsibility towards students, taxpayers, so I don't have a problem with that. Except if it's done to control or to prep the costs. (...) Not the case here. I'm back with the golden age... I think there is a danger that we go the other way, like in control, I think we are still in the middle and I'm worried about the future. I mean at present I think the balance is there.

The way they deal with quality assurance processes seems to differ. Whereas interviewee 4 states *to satisfy those to be satisfied* and *to get it out of the way*, interviewee 6 takes a more critical approach, which seems to confirm the overall discourse about academics' time for quality assurance. For research, interviewee 5 and 6 agree that the RAE takes up very much time. Additionally, interviewee 5 indicates that the RAE not only proves quality, but also influences the use of theories in research.

I'm not sure about research. I think the research exercise takes too much energy and has a control aspect. I think it influences our discipline. I'm a political economists and I know that

there are not many papers that would publish critical political research. So it's about power. Power is the big word. The priority of discipline, the dominant theories have all the journals and if you write something more critical there are only a few journals. So yeah I think it has an influence on the balance of power within the disciplines. RAE takes more energy than QA. But they are different processes. It depends on the people. (interviewee 5)

The research exercise I've been involved in before, the time it costs is enormous. So you know, I think the tolerance is going too far. In older times where institutions were sort of funded by the public purse whatsoever were not audited enough. But now I think someone has to take a step back and see how this influences students, lack of time for your students. I think that's a huge issue. People just have not time for conversations. I feel it's becoming much more tightly controlled. (...) Academics try to minimise it because it distracts them from their actual work. (interviewee 6)

Both of them mark that the research exercise involves a lot of work and takes time away from other important tasks. Particularly interviewee 6 points to the importance to deliberate about whether a balance could be achieved.

Control

Despite the differences in the systems, none of the academics seems to feel really controlled. They seem quite aware of the mechanisms and *play the game* (Interviewee 4), but are not contributing to being scrutinised without knowing.

5.3.6 Marketisation

This sub-theme is a solely English one. Academics at the German institution never mention the term 'marketisation'. That reveals immediately how far Germany is away from a truly neoliberal university model as marketisation depicts one of its major aspects. The academics at the English institute mention it mainly as main development that has had a major effect on their work and as a negative asset of English higher education.

On the other hand I'm very critical of attempts to marketise higher education, to make it into a commodity, to make students into consumers, to increase competition between institutions and reduce collaboration or attempts to collaboration. (...) The negatives, I think some of the policies over the last past years haven't been very positive or helpful. I think they pushed us too much into a particular direction, which is towards marketising the system, towards greater competition of institutions and individuals and against collaboration. It's leading or it always

was a quite hierarchical system, or British class system, with large league tables and rankings with Oxford and Cambridge on top and others that want to copy them, but have never really been able to since they haven't got the resources or the reputation that Oxford and Cambridge have. And I think that this is not very helpful. I think it would be better to have a greater sense of equity and parity, different kinds of institutions and that they do well in what they do and be praised and complemented for that rather than trying to be a world class research intense university that all our leaders go to. That's not possible. That's what other people try to do. And that's this entrenched sort of hierarchy. (interviewee 4)

Stratification of the system is very important. It can be an advantage in the sense of diversity, it depends, it's difficult to think that all universities can do the same, distribution follows. Marketisation I would put as a negative aspect. (interviewee 5)

Thus, they regard marketisation as a negative asset, which turns education into a commodity. However, revealing the plan about selling the MBA abroad or making it international seems to go exactly in this direction. On the one hand, marketisation apparently forces them to be creative and innovative when it comes to generating income; on the other hand, it is seen as a negative aspect when it comes to turning education into a commodity, students into consumers and increasing competition between institutions. Marketisation is a very ambivalent aspect of English higher education. Innovation in higher education in England is very high. If marketisation drives institutions to be innovative, it could be understood as positive. When it comes to increased competition between institutions and individuals it seems to go against academic principles. The question is whether the negative aspects of marketisation can be turned into positive ones through sticking to academic ideals.

5.4 Academics' Environment

5.4.1 Identification

It seems to be characteristic for the academics at the German institution not to identify with the university, not even with the faculty, but with their field of study: higher education research. When they were asked how they define their role at the institution, they responded:

I fulfill my tasks. It is very strongly so that we define ourselves subject wise. We define ourselves by higher education research. We have contacts with higher education researchers in Germany and abroad and these contacts are often better than with those next door. There are necessary co-operations. (interviewee 1)

I realised that I do not have any relation to the university. It might be because I haven't studied here that I only identify myself with the chair, higher education research. But it also adds to it that I did not study pedagogics. We are a bit like the island at the institute; we do not really belong here. (interviewee 2)

You have asked for weak points before, and one of the weak points compared internationally is that university professors identify themselves relatively little with their institution. By and large, the identification of the scientific personnel with their institution is very low, lower than in other countries. But now with relation to the own self-picture, I think most of the university professors consider themselves as researchers, but I take teaching seriously, I invest much time into it, but subjectively I always have the feeling that one should do more for it. But that then collides, we have five or six projects on-going and that takes quite a lot of time, I work actually continuously on the biennial education report, I have lots of functions... And these take you up completely. And every now and then I would also like to read a book or write an essay. (interviewee 3)

The fact that professors supposedly consider themselves as researchers underlines the high scientific orientation that Germany is known for. Again, teaching suffers and time constraints become obvious. What interviewee 3 considers as negative point in Germany happens on a higher level in England, namely:

In terms of negative things, because of this competition between institutions, an overarching sense of affiliation with your own university, particularly between senior academics, they don't see the whole conception of higher education in the UK, in England, and we are all part of the single higher education system, or education system, there is very much more concern about their own university or the survival of their university. (interviewee 4)

Interviewee 5 seems to confirm the identification with the own institute.

Course leader, teacher, researcher. I like the institute very much. I mean it's been 13 years, it's a long time. When I say I'm not involved in managerial decisions, I mean I'm involved here and I'm concerned and stuff. I've got the institutional loyalty very much. And there are some things that the institute contributes to society very much, widening participation, so I subscribe to that very much.

In contrast to the German professor, he also defines himself as more than a researcher, namely also as teacher and course leader.

When it comes to in how far their expertise with regard to higher education counts or has influence at institutional or institute level, the answer is mostly 'no'. Interviewee 1 is the strongest in his expression:

My expertise is not asked. There is no demand whatsoever. Zero. (...) If management means to make decisions, to take over responsibility and not only to be decorative supplementary sheet in boards where others have majority based on status, then I can imagine it very well. Okay, in addition to everything else I would not want to do it, but in an adequate..., if it was part of my work tasks, I would definitely take it over. With adequate proxy. Then I would also address things that I do not address now since nobody listens anyway. I have a temporary positions (...), the incentive to really get involved is small.

The researcher remembers interviewee 1 to be very precise in his answers and as having great ideas in how to improve and change issues with regard to teaching, research, the institution and even German higher education. Through the threefold negation in the beginning, the expressions *not only to be decorative supplementary sheet in boards* and *then I would also address things that I do not address now since nobody listens anyway* it seems to imply some kind of frustration.

Interviewee 2 does not have any influence either. Although in contrast to interviewee 1, she does not have any interest in getting engaged and taking part in decision-making, which she concludes derives from her deficient identification with the university.

Interviewee 3 is indeed constantly asked to take over functions at the university, but...

... (w)e have so many projects and so many interesting things to do and that interests me more than taking over any functions where you actually only get frustrated.

A reason why one gets frustrated may lie within the structure of German universities and he himself will give a hint later when it comes to the sub-theme of flexibility. For the academics at the English institute, interviewee 4 depicts very interesting insights.

I think some individuals probably do have a bit of influence with the current director of the institute and maybe with some senior managers because they have been university managers themselves. Individuals within the centre do. (...) But it's interesting. We are going to have a meeting and discuss how we can contribute in any way, advice, consultancy and how we are

going to talk to the director about it. (...) The director did talk to individuals for advice. (Here: about a possible merger)

The point is interesting because it shows that although the director asked for individuals' expertise, his team decided – self-initiated – to come up with some ideas and advice. Though then, in contrast to the young research associates in Germany, the atmosphere to be able to speak up might form an important ground to take this self-initiated step.

5.4.2 Atmosphere

This sub-theme as well as the following one is very much marked by differing from person to person, from institution to institution and within an institution. Overall it can be said that the academics interviewed value a high degree of collegiality, less cooperation and flat hierarchy, the latter is at least valid for the academics at the German institution. Interviewee 5 speaks of quite hierarchical structure. The explanation that interviewee 4 gives links to some other points already discussed in the course of the presentation of findings and can be seen as a little push to think about it more.

It is largely collegial. I think that everybody is under pressure. And that is one thing that I was to say about that the institutions is the important entity, the survival of the institution, rather than the broader education, it's the increased managerialism, often referred to as the new public management, but I think it has moved away from there now. And particularly the drive to generate income, which is linked to a survival instinct of institutions, to create a surplus, whether it is from teaching or research or consultancy activities. (...) sometimes it's much more easy to collaborate with colleagues elsewhere because in a sense you are competing internally as well as externally for the funding because it's more and more limited, less and less money is available. We are increasingly competing with colleagues down the corridor, particularly since there's less and less funding nationally. So it doesn't necessarily lead to collaboration although that would be nice! And in a way it opens up new opportunities if we look beyond education, higher education, for example further education, post school, but nonetheless not higher education in the UK, and maybe secondary education and the links between the two and then also employment and professional development or development of professionalism, see there are links as well, so new opportunities for funding open up as well.

This statement suggests that the atmosphere at the English institute is affected by managerialism and strict financing flows, but in a way it forces them to be creative and innovative to obtain funding through, for instance, linking higher education to other fields of study.

5.4.3 Relation to other Staff

As already indicated, this sub-section has the same characteristics as the previous one. Generally, the academics interviewed often collaborate with other higher education researchers, not so much with other teams of their own faculty and researchers of other disciplines. However, the sub-theme gives some interesting insights into the German system in particular, which is confirmed to be quite traditional, and the academic profession in general being still quite individualistic although collaboration exists.

There are professors, associate researchers, administrative staff, IT specialists, generalists, in science management, who are usually career changer doing quality assurance or university development, these strategic areas. (...) There is no tradition of university management. You still have the structural majority of professors in panels. Associate researchers, students, who are all gone in 3 years. And then you traditionally have the administration, but strategic management that we do research on is not yet implemented. (interviewee 1)

I would say that we are probably more collegial than we are collaborative, so that means we come together and have seminars and exchange ideas and thoughts and we work together a bit to do projects, but there's quite an individualistic element. We have our particular interests we tend to go for. We probably don't go and sit down and say here are our strengths, these are our priorities and think how we can bring those together as a team, we have not really tended to do that. I would like to do that more, to sit down and think: What is the centre? What are our main activities, where do we put our efforts, what do we want other people think of us, what do we do on our website and outer presence? We do have collaborative projects, maybe 2 or 3 of us, but not as entire team. So it is collegial, we are friendly and share and do conferences together and talk well of each other when we are outside and people outside see us as a team, but not as collaborative as we might because it's still a very individualistic kind of profession. (interviewee 4)

Interviewee 6 confirms both Interviewee's 4 statement here and his previous one about the atmosphere being marked by pressure.

I have a very old-fashioned idea of collegial environment where people collaborate and help their students and develop new research themes and ideas and that's basically what I came in to do. But in practice of course it's not like that. These days everyone is assessed against the funding they bring in, the students they bring in and obviously, you can't run an institution without considering these factors. There needs to be a balance. But I think most people try to

focus on their academic work and be as autonomous as they can within the practical constraints of day to day, you navigate around, I mean there are enormous pressures to take.

5.4.4 Relation to Students

As mentioned under sub-sector ‘Scholarly Community’ this theme is important to get a better understanding of academics’ perception of a community. One major observation has to be noted from the beginning. Provocatively, it is asked whether the academics regard their students rather as belonging to the community of scholars or as customers of the commodity “higher education”. As could be expected, the academics at the German institution do not link the term ‘customer’ to marketisation and the students’ financial investment, but assume another meaning behind it, which is the concept of the “credit point collectors”, students who only study because they receive a paper, a degree in the end. Except for the older female senior lecturer, interviewee 6, who seems to see it more in the German way when comparing it to the times when she studied, the academics at the English institute link it to the investment students make when studying.

I think it is, for instance, not trivial to deal with these credit point collectors. There are some colleagues that say: They don't belong here, that's a university. I don't think so at all. One has to see that one also takes their interests seriously and to add to that. And we can partly also make that to research aspects. (interviewee 1)

There are both students who only take in the knowledge, who see it as entertainment through which they want to get knowledge presented and there are others who have more intrinsic interest. So I think it's rather a decision that they take, whether they understand themselves as consumers or part of the scholarly community. (interviewee 2)

One has to say that we have 2.3 million students and of course you find all kinds of different behaviour types. The consumer who with great efficiency, but with a minimum of effort wants to achieve a maximum of success, that exists, who have profoundly rational study behaviour. That is annoying. But of course that doesn't describe the overall picture. We have relatively many intrinsically motivated students here, with quite intellectual engagement and interest, they are permanently under pressure because our study organisation causes it, but I have the impression that one can more often meet students here that are profoundly engaged and interested. But of course there are also those, the “madding through”, who just try to somehow... One tries a little to find out who is a bit more interested and more engaged and then to support them specially. And then the type who has clear ideas of where to go and the intellectual type. (interviewee 3)

It seems to once again depend much on the person. Whereas interviewee 1 tries to take an active role in changing students' attitudes towards studying, interviewee 2 appears to be more passive and lets the students decide which role they want to play. Interviewee 3, once more, mentions the high numbers of students. He encourages those who seem interested and engaged to him, the others "annoy" him. With regard to scholarly community, it does not give us any new insights. Nevertheless, interviewee 3 mentions the model of the group university, students being included in the decision-making process, which others view critically, but he regards as positive. Then again only a few special students take part, which ventures the guess that the academics at the German institution understand a scholarly community to have to happen between everyone (all teachers and all students) engaged at the university. Interviewee 6 from the English institute seems to take a rather "German" perspective:

Well, it seems to me that students don't always appreciate the commitment that is done to their side and sometimes they are quite instrumental in their approach. I'm teaching in a graduate school, but I'm talking more generally, undergraduate, but it seems it's not so much about the learning, but getting a piece of paper. Obviously there is an aspect to it. But students sometimes tend to have quite a narrow base to build on and not willing to follow hints... I mean I'm old, but when I was young learning was more for the sake of it, but then maybe not enough towards employability, so the other way around, but I think sometimes, especially when people have to pay for it, it creates pressure on people to make it worthwhile in financial terms. So I personally, although it's not popular to think, would question the expansion on those grounds.

The other academics at the English institute first connect it to marketisation and then to a scholarly community.

Well, it's kind of a mixed picture in a sense because we run a MBA where you can charge higher fees because people see there is an immediate pay-off. It's clear business. We charge more on the MBA than any other master's course. And to one degree, we see our master's as run-off. We would look at the market and see what can we charge, what are individuals and institutions willing to pay in the market. So in that sense you can say that we are seeing them as consumers. But as soon as they come onto the course, they are pretty much part of a community and a network. A large part of what people get out of the course is working with one another. We call them participants and not students. But it makes sense to the point that they contribute to the course as much as we do because it's all part of experience. And we also to some extent depend on word-of-mouth marketing. (interviewee 4)

I think they are fee-paying students, there's the idea of scholars, which is the old one and then the..., but you have to take into consideration that they make a massive investment. Some people call them customers, but I call them students. I really believe in co-production and co-creation. But they are postgraduate students. So it makes a big different approach in pedagogy. (interviewee 5)

They both point to some interesting points: Firstly, that the sense of a scholarly community is among others possible because they deal with graduate students, more mature students. Secondly, that they not only “objectify” the students because they pay fees, but also because they “need” them after graduation for reasons of marketing. However and again, interviewee 6 confirms that *they try really hard here to create a community of scholars.*

5.4.5 Flexibility

One point, which might explain the frustration the German professor points to when saying that one gets frustrated with other functions at the university, is the inflexibility of German universities:

One of the weak points is certainly that German universities, let's say, have the dynamics of staplers. It is very hard to change something. They are from themselves rather conservative institutions and not so terribly open to change and reform. It takes enormous time and nerves when one really wants to change something structurally.

What is characteristic about this sub-theme is that all academics, regardless from which institution, have similar ideas about flexibility that they all mentioned without any directed question towards this topic.

I do think that one has to connect research and teaching, but in my opinion one can do that periodic wise. I find for myself that I have a biennial rhythm when it comes to publications. Why shouldn't one do a bit more teaching during this time? (interviewee 1)

I think what is negative with the German higher education system is that it is not that flexible. Lifelong learning has been implemented very weakly. The awareness is almost non-existent. (...) I would say that young people who have done their A levels go to university, that university is done and created for them. But another thing that we don't have in Germany is that it isn't socially just, that it's rather for the privileged that come from a good parental background that study. (interviewee 2)

I think we should be able to concentrate on teaching at a certain point in our career, earlier on or later on, often later on because actually research productivity goes in a life circle. People do their research, I mean it differs in disciplines, but many do their best research early in their careers and then come and dry out. Does not always happen. It all has peaks and troughs. But I don't think that if you concentrate on teaching that you then are for the rest of your career excluded from doing research. I think it shouldn't be categorised like that, but be more flexible in career preparation. And also there need to be more parity between people concentrating on teaching and those concentrating on research, whereas here and many other countries reputations are built on research only. And you can't become a professor when you concentrate on teaching. The criteria are there in theory, but you look at the facts who is being promoted to professor and these are those who have done good research. So there needs to be greater parity between the two. (...)I think it would be very important that there is a greater sense of flexibility in the career and not this separation between teaching and research and a greater parity between the people who doing different activities, teaching and research, in terms of promotion and reward, etc., moving between institutions or within institutions. And that there is a greater possibility for different individual academics to work abroad or maybe even moving there semi-permanently, but there are for example limitations such as pensions. (...) If pensions are not portable, it's not quite so easy. (interviewee 4)

I do think that not just more time, but also more flexibility, more choice on how much time to spend on different tasks because the work is quite innovative. It's hard to be innovative in a box, sometimes you need to move side wards, it's not a linear process. I think it's different in different sciences really. (interviewee 6)

This leaves implications whether 'flexibility' could be the new kind of 'autonomy' and 'freedom', above all for academics at the English institute since they regard themselves as apparently less free and autonomous than the academics at the German institution.

6. Summary of Main Findings, Conclusion and Future Research

6.1 Summary of Main Findings

6.1.1 Changing the Meaning behind the Humboldtian Ideals

The comparison of the two cases has shown that academics at the English institution believe in the unity of teaching and research as well as a scholarly community and try their best to combine teaching and research as well as to establish and maintain a community of scholars. Mostly teaching master programmes they might have better preconditions to do so, but specifically interviewee 4 makes it seem like one has to be proactive in realising both of it. Maybe the approach that interviewee 6 describes, namely that the syllabus is created in accordance to academics' research interest, is worth a consideration and can function as good practice for being able to combine teaching and research. It seems like the academics at the German university connect the ideals strongly to Humboldt, see it strictly as an ideal that belongs in the past and consider the lack of money and the mass university as responsible for not being able to realise these old ideals. The research shows that the ideals have survived and are still regarded as positive, good and above all, feasible by others, but that they do not have to or rather should not be connected to the name of Humboldt, so to avoid understanding them too strictly. Instead, one can use the ideals of the unity of teaching and research and scholarly community to adapt it to nowadays time and establish them actively to realise it to the extent it is still possible today. The group university, which is mentioned by interviewee 3, could already be regarded as one step towards establishing a scholarly community.

6.1.2 Defining existent Concepts anew

Personality development is associated with Humboldt, but in contrast to the unity of teaching and research and scholarly community this concept is blurred and needs a complete revision. Higher education is to a degree about private and personal gain for the students. Maybe it is possible to summarise the academics' statement that go in the direction of personality development as follows.

Education opens up opportunities for individuals, changes their behaviour by studying and learning and being in contact with people they would not otherwise have met and thus, education can liberate them, e.g. to lead healthier lives and have better relationships. If they have an attitude for academic studies, it is supposed to raise their level of attainment and aspiration through learning how

to question circumstances and to critically reflect knowledge, so to say to develop an intellectual ability. The students should understand that this should not only lead to a higher level of employment, but provides them with a particular approach throughout life.

This implies first, that the concept of lifelong learning has to be realised to its fullest and that higher education should make social mobility possible. It means that the notion of a scholarly community needs to be established and that higher education should not lose what is its constitutive self-conception, as interviewee 3 puts it, namely, the development of scientific competencies and the ability for research-based reasoning. Lastly, students might need to be supported in disengaging themselves from overarching discourses about higher levels of employability and higher salaries through studies, and help them understand what higher education is about and which should always remain a part of it, namely, the sake of learning itself.

In a way linked to personality development is the concept of employability. Although it can be roughly described as developing abilities that will enable someone to find a job on the labour market, it seems like academics have different imaginations how to develop these abilities and see it in different lights. Interviewees 1 and 3 of the German institution seem to connect employability to more superficial, vocational training-like mechanism in order to make the students more employable. Interviewee 6 links the fostering of personal aspiration and attainment to employability since she thinks that the former feeds into the latter. In her way of expression, interviewee 2 separates educating students towards critically and scientifically thinking individuals from creating certain employability, whereas interviewee 3 emphasises the development of a scientific perspective on occupation. Thus, the concept of employability is very unclear. It leads to the need for discussion about what universities should understand by employability and how they want to “fill” it. Here, once again, an informative basis what the concept of employability could include:

- Integration of project-based studying, thus the practice derives from the subject
- Critical evaluation of professional tasks
- Development of scientific perspective on occupation
- Attainment and aspiration
- Higher education is also about learning for its own sake

6.1.3 Differences between the two Cases and their Implications

Some differences between the two cases may be self-explaining ones considering their system backgrounds and preconditions.

Whereas the German institution has just introduced evaluation forms and thus, is only in the beginning of quality assurance in teaching, interviewee 4 sees quality assurance not as interventionist anymore, but embedded into the work of the institution. Quality assurance on institutional level, what the German professor wishes, exists at the English institute. When it comes to research, on the English side there is the RAE, which mechanisms the academics at the English institute see rather critical. In Germany, the proof for quality with regard to research occurs through funding applications, journal publications and conferences only. However, the academics at the German institution indicate that it could be developed more and that they would be willing to do more if that included more money for their research.

That leads to the aspect that only academics at the German institution seem to enjoy their huge freedom and autonomy space, which they mention in connection to their satisfaction. The academics at the English institute talk about a “mixed” picture and would value more time for research. This is linked to yet another point. As interviewee 3 says, time constraints often lead to compromises in teaching, it seems that the academics at the English institute rather compromise to devote less time to their research. That again might also be an explanation why the debate around tuition fees seems to be important for the academics at the English institute, whereas those at the German institution seem more concerned, logically since tuition fees have been abolished in Germany, about research funding. However, it reflects the overall focus on science orientation in Germany and how they define their roles, namely rather only as researchers than also as teachers. The academics’ ideas that centre on flexibility might be valuable for considerations how to better deal with teaching and to find a solution in this regard. It might also have the potential to replace the ideal of freedom and autonomy, for a start at least for the academics at the English institute, since having the possibility to be flexible implies a certain degree of freedom and autonomy.

Although marketisation is perceived negatively by the academics of the English institute, it seems like it forces them to be creative and innovative and opens up new fields of ideas. Thus, it does not only enforce negative aspects like an increased competition between institutions and individuals, but also pushes in the direction of flexibility. The academics at the English institute have not all pure academic backgrounds. Two of them were involved in professional careers. In contrast, at the German institution all academics had pure academic backgrounds. By that it could already be argued that the English system is more permeable, tolerant and flexible. Again, the ideas the academics had about flexibility should be noted, taken seriously, done more research on and developed strategic approaches on since they are valuable insights towards a future of the university.

Equally important might be the ideas interviewees 1 and 3 have with regard to academic citizenship respectively community engagement, that includes an understanding of the university as societal protagonist and students as societal protagonists. Thus, it is important that society orientation is part of the studies. Additionally, university should not only be understood as an education institution, as an institution for the production of new scientific knowledge, but also as public venue,

in which societal discourses take place. The public function of science should be intensified through increased societal-political engagement of professors and questions like where to our society develops, what relevant problem we have in the areas of nature and environment. That could, for instance, happen through professors leaving the universities and visit schools and series of lectures outside the university. Both agree that this aspect of higher education is underdeveloped in Germany. The researcher would like to throw in the idea that a scholarly community might be a starting point from which academic citizenship and community engagement can be built on and developed from.

6.2 Conclusion and Future Research

All in all, the research has shown that only freedom and autonomy are left from the Humboldtian ideal in the perceptions of the academics at the German institution. The rest is regarded as not feasible in times of the mass university. On the other hand, it is far away from the neoliberal system because its structure is still based on the old organisation of university professors having a structural majority and of the university administration.

The English institute values old ideals like the unity of teaching and research and scholarly community. At the same time most characteristics of the neoliberal university apply for it, although perceptions around, for instance, audit culture, time and separation of teaching and research, do not seem, at least not in this case, to be as intervening and damaging as other discourses might suggest. Rather, it seems that the English institute has moved on from the neoliberal university since academics are used to its characteristics and have found their way to deal with it, the changes are so to say institutionalised, as one could argue in future research. So what comes next? If it is already time to define a new identity of the university, at least for the case of the English institute, what does that imply for the German institution? Surroundings are changing fast, the future is uncertain and flexibility seems to be the key word to face a fast pacing world and to meet its demands.

So here are some questions to think about, to leave the reader alone with, and at the same time challenges the call for more research:

- Is there only one identity of the university? What is it?
- Is marketisation only a problematic issue or is there a chance in it? Could its negative consequences be minimised in some way?
- Is there only one academic profession? What should the academic profession look like in the future?
- Should there be a divide between undergraduate and graduate schools?
- How can flexibility be integrated into higher education on all levels – system, institution, personal (academics and students)? How can it solve existent problems?

Last but not least, the researcher likes to conclude with a wish that interviewee 5 states at the end of the interview:

Probably (that) a higher education system will still leave some space for the unknown.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide (English)

Neither the name of the institution nor the participants' names will be mentioned in the thesis work. The participants will be informed about their anonymity in advance. Furthermore, the basic structure of the interview will be shortly outlined with regard to drawing "should-be" and "is-like" situations. The topic fields lie within a tension area between these "should-be" and "is-like" situations. The term "academics" refers to researching and teaching academics at universities. The interview guide will be handed out to the interviewees one day in advance so that they have the possibility to prepare themselves and acknowledge how many questions there are to be answered and how much time it will approximately take.

SHOULD-BE	IS-LIKE
I Purpose of Higher Education	
II Relation to Institution/Institute	
III Academic Work/Academic Community	
IV Effects of the Knowledge Society	

Introduction

- Name, age, gender, position in university (to be filled out in advance by interviewer)
- Number of years employed, other positions outside universities, number of years active in these positions (to be asked at the beginning)

- During your career, which developments in higher education have changed your working life the most?
- How do you assess these developments?

Topic Field I: Purpose of Higher Education

1. In your opinion, what are the three (or five) main purposes of higher education?
2. What are the most positive aspects about higher education in England?
3. What are the most negative aspects about higher education in England?

Topic Field II: Relation to Institution/Institute

1. In how far does your expertise influence managerial decisions at university and institute level?
2. Where do you position yourself in relation to your university respectively institute? How would you define your role?
3. How would you describe the atmosphere between the various staff (academics, managers, administrators) at your institution in terms of collegiality, collaboration, hierarchy and competition?

Topic Field III: Academic Work/Academic Community

1. Please draw an ideal picture of the role and work of academics, for instance, what should they be occupied with the most, what kind of knowledge production/transfer (mode 1 (disinterested, theoretical) or mode 2 (externally driven, socially and economically relevant) should they conduct, which role should they fulfil in their university/institute, what should their relationship be like to colleagues and students, ...

2. Comparing this with the real situation, how satisfied are you with your academic situation?
3. Would you describe your relationship to academic peers of your own discipline within your institution rather as collegial, collaborative or competitive?
4. What is the relationship with academics outside your institution marked by?
5. Do you conduct joint projects with academics of other disciplines? How would you describe the atmosphere during these projects?
6. Do you see your students rather as belonging to the community of scholar or as customers of the commodity “higher education”?

Topic Field IV: Effects of the Knowledge Society

1. In how far have you changed your research and teaching approaches from mode 1 to mode 2 knowledge production and -transfer?
2. Was this change rather self-initiated, a call from above (university or even state) or a claim from the students? (With regards to the latter, does it depend on degree level?)
3. In which aspects does your research influence your teaching and your teaching benefit your research?
4. Teaching and research are most certainly not the only tasks that you fulfil anymore. What other tasks do you, can I say “have to” take up?
5. How does devoting time to other activities than teaching and research affect the outcomes of the latter?
6. It can be argued that you spend time on making the outcomes of teaching and research more transparent and auditable, to assure its quality instead of making it more qualitative by devoting more time to preparing and working on it. Canaan and Shumar (2008) claim that you contribute to making yourself “auditable”. That leaves a negative connotation. How do you judge all kinds of mechanisms and processes for quality assurance that lead to more transparency and information for third parties?

Conclusion

- Overall, in how far do you feel to have lost power, autonomy and freedom in your daily work?
- What do you wish for the future of academics?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide (German)

Weder der Name der Institution noch die der Teilnehmer werden in der Masterarbeit genannt. Die Teilnehmer werden über ihre Anonymität im Vorweg informiert. Außerdem werden sie über die grundlegende Struktur des Interviews in Hinblick auf das Zeichnen von „sollte“ und „ist“ Situationen aufgeklärt. Die Themenfelder liegen in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen diesen „sollte“ und „ist“ Situationen. Der Begriff „Akademiker“ bezieht sich auf forschende und lehrende Akademiker an Universitäten. Das Leitfadenterview wird einen Tag im Vorfeld an die zu Interviewten ausgehändigt, so dass sie die Möglichkeit haben, sich vorzubereiten und in Kenntnis darüber sind, wie viele Fragen im Laufe des Interviews beantwortet werden sollen und wie viel Zeit dies ungefähr beansprucht.

SOLLTE	IST
I Zweck der Hochschulbildung	
II Beziehung zur Institution/Institut	
III Akademische Arbeit/Akademische Gemeinschaft	
IV Effekte der Wissensgesellschaft	

Einführung

- Name, Alter, Geschlecht, Position an der Universität (im Vorfeld vom Interviewer auszufüllen)
- Anzahl der Jahre in Anstellung, andere Positionen außerhalb der Universität, Anzahl der Jahre in diesen Positionen (zu Anfang zu erfragen)
- Welche Entwicklungen in der Hochschulbildung haben Ihre Arbeit im Laufe Ihrer Karriere am meisten verändert?
- Wie bewerten Sie diese Entwicklungen?

Themenfeld I: Zweck der Hochschulbildung

1. Welches sind Ihrer Meinung nach die drei (oder fünf) Hauptzwecke der Hochschulbildung?
2. Nennen Sie bitte die positivsten Aspekte des deutschen Hochschulwesens.
3. Nennen Sie bitte die negativsten Aspekte des deutschen Hochschulwesens.

Themenfeld II: Beziehung zur Institution/Institut

1. Inwieweit beeinflusst Ihr Fachwissen Managemententscheidungen auf Universitäts- und Institutsebene?
2. Wo positionieren Sie sich in Beziehung zu Ihrer Universität bzw. Ihrem Institut? Wie definieren Sie Ihre Rolle?
3. Wie würden Sie die Stimmung zwischen den verschiedenen Angestellten (Akademikern, Managern, administrativen Personal) an Ihrer Institution in Hinblick auf Kollegialität, Kollaboration, Hierarchie und Konkurrenz beschreiben?

Themenfeld III: Akademische Arbeit/Akademische Gemeinschaft

1. Bitte zeichnen Sie ein ideales Bild der Rolle und Arbeit von Akademikern, zum Beispiel, womit sie am meisten beschäftigt sein sollten, welche Art von Wissensproduktion und -transfer (Modus 1 (unabhängig, theoretisch) oder Modus 2 (nutzerorientiert, sozial und ökonomisch relevant) sie ausführen sollten, welche Rolle sie an der Universität/dem Institut einnehmen sollten, welche Beziehung sie zu ihren Kollegen und Studenten haben sollten, ...

2. Verglichen mit der Realsituation, wie zufrieden sind Sie mit Ihrer akademischen Situation?
3. Würden Sie Ihre Beziehung zu Akademikerkollegen Ihrer Disziplin an ihrer Universität eher als kollegial, gemeinschaftlich oder konkurrierend bezeichnen?
4. Wodurch ist Ihre Beziehung zu Akademikern außerhalb Ihrer Universität gekennzeichnet?
5. Führen Sie Gemeinschaftsprojekte mit Akademikern anderer Disziplinen durch? Wie würden Sie die Stimmung während solcher Projekte beschreiben?
6. Sehen Sie Ihre Studenten eher als zu der Wissenschaftsgemeinschaft an der Universität dazugehörig oder als Abnehmer und Verbraucher der Ware „Hochschulbildung“?

Themenfeld IV: Effekte der Wissensgesellschaft

1. Inwiefern haben Sie Ihre Herangehensweise an Forschung und Lehre von der Wissensproduktion und dem Wissenstransfer Modus 1 zu Modus 2 verändert?
2. War diese Änderung eher selbst-initiiert, eine Aufforderung von oben (Universität oder sogar Staat) oder eine Forderung der Studenten? (Was letztere betrifft, kommt es auf deren akademischen Grad an?)
3. In welcher Hinsicht beeinflusst Ihre Forschung Ihre Lehre und kommt Ihre Lehre Ihrer Forschung zugute?
4. Forschung und Lehre sind wahrscheinlich nicht mehr die einzigen Funktionen, die Sie erfüllen. Welche anderen Aufgaben, darf ich sagen „müssen“ Sie aufnehmen?
5. Wie wirkt sich der Zeitaufwand für andere Aktivitäten neben Lehre und Forschung auf diese aus?
6. Es wird argumentiert, dass Sie Zeit damit verbringen, die Ergebnisse Ihrer Lehre und Forschung transparenter und prüfbarer zu machen, um deren Qualität zu sichern anstelle es qualitativer zu gestalten, indem Sie mehr Zeit auf die Vorbereitung und Arbeit daran aufwenden. Canaan und Shumar (2008) behaupten, dass Sie dazu beitragen, sich selbst prüfbar zu machen. Das hinterlässt eine negative Konnotation. Wie beurteilen Sie alle Arten von Mechanismen und Prozessen zur Qualitätssicherung, die zu mehr Transparenz und Information für Dritte führen?

Konklusion

- Inwieweit verspüren Sie einen Verlust von Rechten, Autonomie und Freiheit in Ihrer täglichen Arbeit?
- Was wünschen Sie sich für die Zukunft von Akademikern?

Appendix 3: Confirmation of Data Use

I (the interviewee) herewith confirm that the data collected through the interview can be used by the interviewer for the data analysis within the scope and on an anonymous basis.

Place, date

Signature

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