‘New Managerialism’ and the Management of UK Universities

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1. The Research Team

The research was conducted between autumn 1998 and the end of 2000, by a team based in the Department of Educational Research at Lancaster University. Members of the team were as follows:
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2. Enquiries

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3. Executive Summary of Research Results

A multi-disciplinary project entitled ‘New Managerialism and the Management of UK Universities’ was conducted by a team of researchers based at Lancaster University between October 1998 and November 2000. The study was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (grant no R000237661). The remit of the project was to examine the extent to which ‘New Managerialism’, a set of reforms of the management of publicly-funded services popular with many western governments, was perceived to have permeated the management of UK universities. The study also explored the roles, practices, selection, learning and support of manager-academics. The first phase of the study comprised focus group discussions with learned societies from several disciplines where respondents considered what was currently happening to the management of universities. The second phase involved interviews with 135 manager-academics (from Head of Department to Vice Chancellor) and 29 senior administrators in 12 pre-1992 and post-1992 universities. The interviews
explored the backgrounds, current management practices and perceptions of respondents. In phase 3, case studies of the cultures and management of four universities enabled comparison of the views of manager-academics with those of academics and support staff.

3.1 Academic managers’ narratives and ‘New Managerialism’

The focus group data suggested that the UK higher education system was now highly managerial and bureaucratic, with declining trust and discretion. Higher workloads and long hours, finance-driven decisions, remote senior management teams and greater pressure for internal and external accountability were mentioned. Phase 2 interviewees noted changes to the environment (reduced funding, massification, research and teaching assessment) but were more positive about the effects. Respondents discussed their routes to management, emphasising personal biographies, gender processes and identities defined by teaching, disciplinary commitment and research. We identified three typical routes into management. Career track managers had early and full acceptance of the management role but were a minority of interviewees in post-1992 universities, often in pursuit of higher salaries or fleeing dissatisfaction with teaching or research. The reluctant manager was found amongst fixed-term Heads of Department in pre-1992 institutions and rejected the label manager. Motivations included fear of incompetence of others as manager-academics. Finally there was the ‘good citizen’ route, often at a late-career stage and found in both pre-1992 and post-1992 institutions, motivated by repaying a perceived debt to the institution.

The project drew on models of ‘New Managerialism’ derived from research on the health service. The efficiency model, ‘doing more with less’, backed up by funding policies and league tables, was perceived as having significantly permeated higher education. We found no evidence of the downsizing model but there was some evidence of decentralisation in the form of partially devolved budgets and internal markets. The learning organisation model was perceived to have some permeation e.g. attempts at cultural change, team-work and strategic activity but not empowerment. Elements of model four, a new value base with higher user involvement for public services model, were not mentioned by any respondent. Higher education displays hybridised forms of new managerialism. Unlike in the NHS, where big organisational changes were introduced, universities have developed within existing structures. Most internal change mechanisms have been subtle (self-regulation of research and teaching performance). A
few manager-academics interviewed had fully adopted ‘New Managerialism’ practices but most had not. However, not embracing management as an activity also has implications for manager-academics’ appreciation of the idea of the virtual university and their capacity to assess risk-taking.

3.2 Management practices and mechanisms in UK universities

Manager-academics’ lives were described as involving long hours packed with meetings, mountains of paperwork and email and the search for additional resources, with research marginalised and little time for reflection. Academic autonomy, the absence of proper reward-structures, long-hours cultures and lack of adequate administrative support for HoDs and Deans all contributed to heavy workloads. Appraisal, target-setting, peer-scrutiny and mentoring were used in negotiating with academic staff. HoDs had to manage increasing tensions between different good performance requirements in teaching and research.

3.3 The organisational case studies

We used data from phases 2 and 3 to explore forms and cultures. We found no clear evidence for the merits of particular organisational types, but de-layering is currently popular (e.g. merging departments into schools). All the institutions studied had devolved resource models but often new appointments were decided centrally. Cultural variations between institutions were strong, based on institutional history, location, niche and size. There were sharp contrasts between stories told by senior manager-academics and the accounts given by other staff. Managed staff claimed high loyalty to their institutions but alleged poor communication, failure to listen, slow decision-making, absence of clear policies and a growing gap between senior management and others.

3.4 Improved understanding of the organisation and management of universities; analysis of the selection and training of academic managers

Our research offered no clear evidence that particular organisational structures were more valuable for universities than others but the study offers useful lessons about tenure and selection for management roles as well as on manager-academics’ learning. In post-1992 universities, a formal appointment process was common. Pre-1992 universities largely relied on
colleague consultation with higher level confirmation or informally
identifying suitable individuals. Informal selection mechanisms may exclude
some eligible staff, including women. In the post-1992 sector most
management roles were permanent, whereas temporary posts were common
in the pre-1992 sector. The issue of temporary and permanent roles is
complex. Permanent posts attract willing recruits with appropriate skills and
knowledge, and no need to continue to pursue a research career. But they
are not always seen by ‘managed’ staff as accountable, and may become
regarded as less effective after a while, with no route back to an academic
career. Temporary managers have a steep learning curve, but such posts
allow academics to try out management roles with less risk to their academic
careers and can overcome initial reluctance by good candidates. Manager-
academics in temporary posts may be perceived by their colleagues as more
accountable. Only one-third of our sample had received any formal training
but most had engaged in important informal learning, including seeking out
more experienced colleagues. This aspect of learning was often poorly
supported. Interviewees related early management experiences to more
onerous posts later; they drew on strengths, skills and knowledge involved in
teaching and researching their own disciplines. Few felt that they received
adequate feedback on their management role. In addition, many manager-
academics felt overwhelmed by paperwork and email, yet few universities
studied had a management information strategy perceived to be effective.
4. Full Report of Research Results

4.1 Background

The research explored the extent to which ‘New Managerialism’ (Clarke and Newman, 1997) was perceived to have permeated the management of UK universities. Management in UK universities has already been the subject of research but relatively little cross-institutional work exists (Middlehurst, 1993; Bargh, Bocock et al., 2000). The imposition of ‘New Managerialism’ has been extensively studied in public services from health (Ferlie, Ashburner et al., 1996) to local government and schools (Exworthy and Halford, 1999a) but has been little examined in higher education, except in Australia (Marginson and Considine, 2001). The concept of 'New Managerialism' informing our research project can be defined in relation to three overlapping elements. First, as a narrative of strategic change which is constructed in order 'to persuade others towards certain understandings and actions' (Barry and Elmes, 1997 p 433) in relation to the established governance and management of public service organisations. Second, as an emergent but distinctive organisational form that provides the administrative mechanisms and managerial processes through which this theory of change will be realised. Third, as a practical control technology through which strategic policies and their organisational instrumentation can be transformed into practices, techniques and devices that challenge, or substantially modify, established systems of 'bureau-professionalism' (Clarke and Newman, 1997 pp 68-70).

In theory, 'New Managerialism' constitutes an alternative model of governmental and institutional order for higher education within the UK to that which existed under the compromise between corporate bureaucracy and professional association from the mid-1940's onwards (Smith and Webster, 1997; Jary and Parker, 1998). The latter shaped the post WW2 development of British Higher Education by facilitating a viable trade-off between managerial control and professional autonomy as exemplified in the organisational logic and practice of 'professional bureaucracy' (Mintzberg, 1979). This trade-off has itself been subject to a number of changes in policy and state intervention in recent decades (Henkel and Little, 1999; Kogan and Hanney, 2000). 'New Managerialism' is seen as a new departure because it entails interrelated organisational, managerial and cultural changes leading to a tightly integrated regime of managerial discipline and control (Reed, 1995; Reed, 1999) which is radically different from bureau-professionalism (Hood, 1995; Clarke and Newman, 1997; Webb, 1999). Professionals are
subjected to a rigorous regime of external accountability in which continuous monitoring and audit of performance and quality are dominant (Kirkpatrick and Lucio, 1995; Power, 1997; Deem, 1998; Morgan and Engwall, 1999).

The research also draws upon recent analysis of the academic profession (Altbach, 1996; Enders and Teichler, 1997; Enders, 2001b), particularly the changing environment of academic work and cultures, and internal differentiation within the profession. The changing external environment includes massification; resource constraint, the audit culture and globalisation. Massification changes the relationship between university teachers and students (Trow, 1974), may weaken the link between teaching and research, reduce the academic profession’s status (Halsey, 1992) and lower morale (Fulton, 1996b; Enders, 2001a). Resource constraints have led to lower per-student expenditure, increased staff-student ratios, a relative decline in salaries and conditions of work; and more fixed-term appointments. Audit cultures are claimed by some to have encouraged ‘deprofessionalisation’ or ‘proletarianisation’ of the academic profession ((Halsey, 1992) and routinisation of its labour process (Winter, 1995). However, others suggest a more varied response from academic staff (Trowler, 1998) or argue that British academics are engaged in ‘reprofessionalisation’, re-articulating and strengthening core values around the centrality of research and the value of teaching (Henkel, 2000). It is claimed that global markets for knowledge encourage more entrepreneurialism in universities (Clark, 1998). There is also a contention that university research is now so central to global knowledge economies that highly successful researchers have become “capitalists” whose market power outweighs the capacity of their universities to manage them (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997).

There is also differentiation between academics (Fulton, 1998), with disciplines an important factor (Clark, 1983; Clark, 1987; Becher, 1989). However, professional values like the balance of teaching and research and views about institutional management/governance, appear constant across disciplines (Fulton, 1998; Henkel, 2000). In the UK, differences in working conditions persist between the pre-1992 and post-1992 institutions (Fulton, 1996b) but the unified national system has reinforced pressures for convergence (Fulton, 1996c). The separation of resource for teaching and research has increased scrutiny of academics’ performance by managers (Fulton, 2001; Enders, 2001a). The increasing complexity of academic work means that simple distinctions between ‘academic’, ‘administrative’ and ‘support’ staff are blurring (Cuthbert, 1996). Financial pressures have led to
a shift in the balance between permanent and temporary staff. There are also other issues of inequity in the profession, including social origin and prior educational experience (Halsey and Trow, 1971; Halsey, 1992) as well as ethnic and gender inequalities. The latter have become highly visible in salaries (Bett Report, 1999) and in management (Deem, 1998; Deem, 1999).

4.2 Research Objectives

1. The acquisition of new knowledge about how university academic managers perceive and tell narratives about current and recent university management and the development of theory about ‘New Managerialism’ which is consistent with these perceptions and narratives. Data from all three phases of fieldwork addressed this objective.
2. The illustration of management practices and mechanisms currently found in different UK higher education institutions. Phases 1 (focus groups), 2 (interviews) and 3 (case study) data were all relevant to this objective.
3. The description and explanation of current organisational forms in four case-study HE institutions Although this objective was primarily addressed in the case-study phase, phase 2 interview data also proved relevant, as did university web-sites.
4. Using analysis of the data collected to improve our understanding of the ways in which universities and their core activities may best be organised and managed and making a contribution to future policy on the selection and training of academic managers. Phase 2 and 3 helped improve our understanding of university management and organisation, including gaining the views of ‘managed’ staff. We are seeking different ways of contributing to future policy on selection and training/support of manager-academics.

4.3 Methods

The project was organised in three phases:
In Phase 1, 12 focus group discussions were conducted with academics, manager-academics and administrators from UK learned societies. We gathered respondents’ perceptions about what was happening to the management and running of UK higher education. We included different disciplines because much research has noted the centrality of disciplines to academic identity (Clark, 1987; Becher, 1989; Huber, 1990). We also explored views on ‘New Managerialism’ and changes to the context of UK higher education, notions of collegiality and accountability, and whether
there was thought to be a glass ceiling for women trying to move into senior manager-academic positions.

In Phase 2, we carried out semi-structured interviews with a range of manager-academics from Heads of Department (HoD), through Deans, up to Pro-Vice Chancellors (PVCs) and Vice Chancellors (VCs), at 12 UK universities. Together with phase 3 interviews of a similar range of people in a further 4 universities, we conducted 135 interviews with manager-academics. The term manager-academic is preferred to the term academic manager in the original proposal, as the latter could refer to professional administrators as well as academics holding management roles. We also interviewed 29 senior administrators, so that we could explore whether administrators and manager-academics saw themselves working for common aims. We also wondered if administrators might be a source of New Managerial influences on higher education. All interviews covered careers and selection mechanisms, training and support for management or administration, work and home-life balance, management practices and routines, views about change, work anxieties and pleasures, attitudes towards institutional management and organisation, recent developments in the external context of UK higher education, and issues related to management and gender processes. In choosing universities, we selected a mix of pre-1992 and post-1992 universities in a range of locations, with different academic emphases and sizes. We recognise the limitations of interviews, which provide a snapshot of perceptions rather than actual practice. Nevertheless, because we interviewed manager-academics from HoDs to VCs, we could compare and contrast what those at different levels said about institutional approaches to management and organisation. Our sampling strategy included both women and men respondents and a cross-section of subject disciplines. But our interviewees may not necessarily be typical of all manager-academics in UK universities.

In Phase 3 we made use of phase 2 data to select a small number of institutions for more detailed study. We made our choice of four universities based on size, type (pre or post-92 institution), location, number of site(s) and academic emphasis. We also chose universities where the current VC had been in post for at least three years. We first conducted a similar range of interviews with manager-academics and senior administrators as in phase 2. We then collected and analysed documentation from each institution (e.g. mission statements, operating statements, corporate plans, published teaching reviews, annual reports). We also did on-site observation (including
attending meetings) and conducted interviews and focus groups with a broad range of university employees, including support staff and also representatives of Student Unions.

4.4 Data analysis

We used a combination of a relational-database (Filemaker-Pro) which allowed us to organise and store extracts of data from focus groups, interviews, case study interviews/observation and documentary analysis, and Nud*ist (which was used for phase 2 interviews). We aimed for maximum discussion of categorisation and organisation of data and constantly reviewed contrasting interpretations.

4.5 Results

4.5.1 University academic managers’ narratives about current and recent university management; the further development of theory about ‘New Managerialism’

Our focus group data suggested that respondents perceived the UK higher education system to be much more managed and bureaucratic than previously but also managed in a way consistent with ideas about efficiency, performance monitoring, target-setting and private-sector models of running organisations. A decline in trust and discretion placed in academics was frequently mentioned. Significant changes to the environment of universities perceived to encourage more management were the massification of student intake, a decline in the unit of resource for teaching and the rise of quality assessment for teaching and research (globalisation was scarcely mentioned). People talked of higher workloads and long hours, finance driving most decisions, remote senior management teams and greater pressure for accountability. There were widely-held perceptions that collegiality was being replaced by more overt line-management. But some respondents felt teaching and research quality assessment had increased teamwork, which may illustrate Henkel’s (2000) point about the reworking of academic identities. We found, as noted in the literature on ‘New Managerialism’, evidence of perceived attempts at strategic and cultural change, of new organisational forms which supported this (especially cost centres) and illustration of the control technologies (such as performance review, appraisal and encouragement of self-monitoring). Respondents
referred also to the use of external monitoring mechanisms such as RAE for internal management purposes too, for example moving non-research active academics onto teaching-only contracts.

In the second phase interviews with manager-academics and administrators in a cross-section of different universities, we searched the accounts provided both for common/dissimilar elements and perceptions/views related to ‘New Managerialism’. The majority of accounts were consistent with focus group responses in identifying similar key external changes to the environment of higher education, notably funding, massification, research assessment and teaching quality review. Many interviewees were relatively positive about the effects of change on their roles and management practices. Respondents recounted their own career trajectories, their route into management roles, how work impacted upon home-life. They also discussed the kinds of learning they’d engaged in and support received for their management roles, as well as specifying what kinds of management approaches they thought effective with academics. They also described the anxieties and pleasures of their jobs, with paperwork, finance and staff personal problems often sources of worry and (for manager-academics) research, nurturing academic disciplines and student/staff success sources of enjoyment. Many elements noted by Henkel (2000), Altbach (1996) and others about academic identities - the continued importance of teaching, research, and disciplines - were evident. Administrators enjoyed supporting the work of academics. Almost all our manager-academic respondents tried to retain research as a parallel strand of their work-identity. Gender processes were also found to be important in shaping careers, with nearly two-thirds of all respondents believing that gender had affected their own careers and that gender was relevant to management approaches adopted by women and men (Deem, 1998e; Deem and Johnson, 2000). The notion that gender processes may be relevant to academic identities is largely absent from previous studies, which have tended to treat gender as a variable.

We noted three typical but permeable routes into management for academics. The first was the career track route (a minority of respondents, mostly in post-1992 universities), where an early-career decision is taken to pursue a management role. This group self-identified as managers. Motivations for becoming a career-track manager included enjoying management, exercising power and institutional politics, becoming dissatisfied with teaching and research, and seeking a higher salary. The second route was the reluctant-manager route, especially typical of HoDs in the pre-1992 institutions, where such roles are usually temporary. Some had
been coerced and others feared that someone else might make a worse head of department. But motivation came from seeing staff and students succeed and obtaining good results in teaching or research assessment. Finally there is what we have termed the ‘good citizen’ route, where an individual chooses to take on a more senior management role (e.g. at PVC level) often at quite a late career stage, in order to give something back to their institutions. This last route may be declining, as manager-academic roles occur earlier in careers.

We also examined our interview and focus group data for perceptions of a move to a more managerial culture in UK universities. We found it helpful to do this using Ferlie et al.’s four models of ‘New Managerialism’ (Ferlie, Ashburner et al., 1996), arising out of their research on the health service. The models are not mutually exclusive and also represent different historical stages in the development of ‘New Managerialism’. The efficiency model, often best described as ‘doing more with less’ and backed up by funding policies as well as by league tables, as introduced to the NHS in the late 1980s reforms, was perceived by almost all respondents as having significantly permeated universities. The second model is a downsizing and decentralisation one. There was no evidence of downsizing in our study, although the sector is just now beginning to experience this. There was evidence of some decentralisation. This included devolved budgets, internal markets for space and other services but according to our respondents, devolution was only partially realised, with budgetary autonomy over hiring new staff rare. The third model is that of the learning organisation (Easterby-Smith, Burgoyne et al., 1999), in which there is emphasis on cultural change, team-work, empowerment of employees and strategic scanning of the horizon. Respondents in all three phases reported attempts at cultural change. People in senior posts claimed to be engaged in strategic activity, though recent research on the gap between Vice-Chancellors’ claims to do strategic work and their actual practice (Bargh, Bocock et al., 2000) should be borne in mind. Team-work was much mentioned in focus groups and in phase 3 but less in phase 2. Empowerment was scarcely mentioned. Indeed some ‘managed’ staff felt that they were now held more responsible for their own performance without additional support. The final model, an endeavour to provide a new value-basis for public services and greater involvement of service users in deciding what should be provided (Ranson and Stewart, 1994), was not mentioned by any respondent. This may partly be because as Henkel (2000) and others have shown, the old values of higher education are still strongly held by academics.
The data collected has allowed further development of a variant of New Managerial theory placing particular emphasis on hybridisation (Reed, 1999). Unlike in the NHS, where early reforms introduced radical organisational changes and a new cadre of managers from outside health, in universities ‘New Managerialism’ has developed within existing organisational units and without significant recruitment of manager-academics from outside education. Under half the administrators interviewed had private sector experience of industry, mostly many years ago. There were almost no manager-academics with recent industrial experience, although most in the health field had experienced the NHS reforms.

The mechanisms manager-academics use to get academics and support staff to perform at the required level are subtle rather than crude (Reed, 1999). They include encouraging self-regulation of research and teaching quality (in relation to more explicit financial and performance criteria), making changes to workload allocation and establishing informal peer-scrutiny of performance. Nor had the manager-academics we interviewed easily absorbed ‘New Managerialism’ – for each one who had, we found three or four who felt uncomfortable about most of its manifestations. Ambivalence about management in general, however, may have implications for manager-academics’ appreciation of the potential for virtual universities and their capacity to assess and take risks. For many ‘managed’ staff we spoke with, managerialism and management were equivalents. Concerns were raised about manager-academics over-using their authority or being poor managers, over-emphasis on finance-led decisions and senior manager-academics becoming cut-off from staff and students (Deem and Johnson, 2000).

4.5.2 Illustration of the range of management practices and mechanisms currently found in UK higher education institutions

Manager-academic respondents described their lives as full of formal and informal meetings, from large formal committees to one-to-one encounters, mountains of paperwork and email, searching for new resources and most importantly, motivating and persuading colleagues. Many saw themselves as change agents, yet few reported sufficient time to think, reflect or plan. Competing activities had to be constantly juggled, with spill-over into home life and many reporting 60-70 hours per week spent mainly on management rather than research (Deem and Hillyard, 2001). Long hours seem related to four factors. The first is the extent to which academic autonomy remains
largely intact (Halsey, 1992; Altbach, 1996; Fulton, 1996b; Henkel, 2000) despite changes to academic working conditions. Academic work is creative, like some other knowledge-work occupations (Blackler, 1995) and persuasion (or ‘herding cats’) is widely thought to be the most workable approach. Management performance techniques varied from meetings with individual staff and appraisal or invoking of a discourse which says ’this is the real world and we have to survive in it’, to mentoring and holding staff meetings in which those failing to achieve the required standards in teaching and research were exposed to peer scrutiny. The setting of income and RAE score targets was widespread. Some manager-academics described using performance-measurement techniques for research to get academics unsuccessful in research to ‘choose’ early retirement or teaching-only contracts. Techniques for teaching performance mainly involved work-allocation decisions unless, rarely, very poor performance required invoking disciplinary procedures. Tensions between academics’ teaching and their involvement in research were often difficult for HoDs who had to resolve the implications of these tensions for students and quality assessments. The second factor encouraging long hours is that there are few monetary or in-kind rewards at the disposal of manager-academics. The reward for hard work in universities, some of our phase 1 and 3 respondents claimed, is a further work. Almost all manager-academic respondents declared that carrots work better than sticks in motivating academics but there are, as the Bett Report noted, few carrots available (Bett Report, 1999). Where there are monetary rewards available, as some interviewees noted, these are often for research, not teaching or administration. So persuasion takes up a great deal of manager-academic time. The third factor is a longstanding cultural emphasis on long hours in universities, although traditionally these hours have been spent on research, not management. We noted that some male respondents, particularly in senior posts, believed that the job can only be done with long hours. Such views may affect both the effectiveness of and whom become manager-academics. Finally, at HoD and Dean level, respondents reported little administrative support for their work and so had to spend further time struggling with budget details and paperwork.

4.5.3. Current organisational forms in UK universities

Both our case-studies and phase 2 interviews yielded considerable data about organisational forms. The term organisational does not refer only to the ways in which academic activities are grouped but also includes the organisational cultures of institutions and how members of basic units relate
to the whole. In multi-site institutions, sites far away from the main site were often not experienced as networked sites but as at best loosely-coupled (Orton and Weick, 1990; Parker, 1992). Any organisational sense-making (Weick, 1995; Weick, 2000) which went on was often confined to particular sites or units. Institutional loyalty appeared stronger amongst support staff than others and was greatest at single-site institutions.

All institutions studied had departments and/or schools and most had faculties. We reached no firm conclusions about how important the precise mix was. To assess this fully would necessitate a different study, combining qualitative data from interviews or observation with detailed quantitative data about institutional achievements and performance indicators. There was some evidence of certain organisational changes being fashionable, for example merging smaller departments into schools but in phase 3, we found such changes were sometimes resisted by staff involved. All 16 universities had some form of devolved resource model, with basic units as cost centres. Complete devolution (including hiring of staff) was rare. Thus institutions could use remote steering of policy whereby it could be declared that cost-centres made their own decisions even though in practice some power was retained by the centre.

Cultural variations between institutions appeared stronger than we had expected. Institutional history, perceived niche and mission, absolute size, the extent of staff long-distance commuting, campus bases and the existence of multi-sites were key factors. A number of post-1992 institutions but fewer pre-1992 universities, had invested heavily in management development. We saw no indications of the isomorphism in universities which some ‘New Managerialism’ theorists see being imposed on public service organisations by funding mechanisms, consultants and socialisation of new recruits (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Clarke and Newman, 1997). In the case studies there were some sharp contrasts between more optimistic stories of achievement and change told by manager-academics, especially at senior levels, and the more pessimistic accounts given by some support staff, Students Union sabbaticals and ordinary academics. Though both recounted higher workloads and more emphasis on responsibility for doing things, managed staff and students talked of poor communication, failure of senior management to listen, slow decision-making and absence of workable policies. New technologies were seen as exacerbating the gap between staff and senior manager-academics. Regular emails from senior management were thought no substitute for personal contact. Many managed staff felt that their institutions were very slow-moving, describing them as dinosaurs
or large elderly oil-tankers and wished for a clearer sense of direction from senior managers.

4.5.4 Using the research data to improve our understanding of the ways in which universities may best be organised and managed. Contributing to future policy on the selection and training of academic managers.

Although there was considerable organisational variation between institutions, this was mainly cultural rather than structural. New VCs may undertake structural changes but it was perceived by others that the previous structures gradually crept back. However, the selection processes used for academics in management roles and the support of manager-academic learning once in post emerged as important policy issues.

Selection and tenure of manager-academics for their roles varied considerably across pre-and post-1992 institutions. Whilst a formal appointment process was common for all levels (often following external advert), in all but one post-1992 university, a mix of colleague consultation (usually followed by confirmation at senior level), and simply picking individuals believed to have the relevant skills, was found in pre-1992 institutions. These patterns are not unrelated to tenure of office. In the post-1992 sector, most management roles were permanent. Temporary posts were more usual in the pre-1992 sector, although fixed-term posts at PVC level were found in both pre-1992 and post-1992 universities. Selection mechanisms are important because they determine who is excluded as well as included. Informal selection mechanisms may exclude some individuals with high potential. It was notable that the small number of women in posts above HoD level in our study had mainly only reached those posts quite late in their careers (especially in the pre-1992 institutions), and thus were not always in a position to proceed further (for example to Vice Chancellorships). This needs further investigation. We encountered only a tiny number of manager-academics from black ethnic minority groups but this too may be a group excluded by informal selection methods from holding management posts.

The issue of temporary and permanent management positions is important but complex. Permanent posts have the advantage of willing incumbents, properly remunerated for their work, who can build on their acquisition of skills and knowledge and are not distracted by the need to pursue a parallel career in research. However, permanent post-holders are not always perceived by other staff as being very accountable.
Furthermore, permanent managers who do not move on to higher posts may gradually become less effective. Temporary posts allow academics to try out management; some initially reluctant recruits become enthusiastic later and others can return to their purely academic duties. Temporary manager-academics were more perceived by colleagues as remaining more accountable to staff. But temporary positions mean loss of talent once the post ends and at senior levels re-entry to academic life can be difficult, especially in science subjects.

All manager-academics would benefit from more support for and recognition of, their own learning. It is sometimes argued, by UK politicians and funding bodies, that manager-academics are poorly prepared for their roles. In phase 3, some managed staff said academics did not make good managers. However, whilst only about a third of our sample had received any significant formal training for their role, most had engaged in important informal learning, along the lines of the processes described by Lave and Wenger in their research about how occupational skills are passed on in communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). People explained how early experiences of running courses or research groups had helped them prepare for more onerous posts later. Individuals also drew on the particular strengths, skills and knowledge involved in their own disciplines as support for management roles. It was noticeable that many of our sample consciously sought out informal encounters where they could exchange information and experiences with others in management roles, whether inside or outside their own institution. A few learned societies provided such opportunities too. There was little indication in several institutions of the existence of appraisal of management performance. Few in our sample felt that they received adequate feedback on their management role. In addition, many manager-academics felt overwhelmed by paperwork and email and felt that their institutions did not have an effective management information strategy in place.

4.6 Activities

Team members have presented a considerable number of papers to academic and ‘user’ audiences in both Europe and North America. A list of these is in appendix 1. Dissemination seminars were offered to all universities that participated in the study. The team ran (at its own expense) an invitational academic conference on the project at Lancaster in June 2000. A Universities UK & Society for Research in Higher Education sponsored Symposium on the project findings will be held on June 20th 2001.
4.7 Outputs

1. Data-sets are being deposited with Qualidata at the Institute of Education in London.
2. Five articles have so far been published or accepted for publication. Further papers, directed at both academic and practitioner audiences, are being prepared for publication (see Appendix 2). A book contract is also being sought.

4.8 Impacts

The project has attracted a high degree of interest amongst academics, manager-academics and staff development professionals. The original plan to use the research results in short courses in the Unit for Innovation in Higher Education at Lancaster is no longer possible because of the unit’s closure last year. However, Professor Deem is exploring alternative ways in which to make practical use of the research in the training and support of manager-academics. Several personnel directors of universities in England have expressed interest in using the research results to inform their development of a Human Resource Management strategy as required by HEFCE. A workshop on the HEFCE-sponsored 94 group’s management development programme is to be run by Professor Reed and Professor Fulton at Essex University in 2002. Professor Deem and Dr Johnson are giving a session at a HESDA Management Development conference in June 2001.
References


Appendix 1: Conference and seminar papers

1998:
Rosemary Deem, 'New managerialism and cultures of universities', invited paper for Centre for Policy Studies Seminar Series, Leeds University, November
Rosemary Deem, ‘Globalisation and cultures of 'new managerialism' in universities; is the local dimension still important?, paper to Society for Research into Higher Education Conference, Lancaster University, December

1999:
Mike Reed and Stephen Watson ‘The Concept of Managerialism in Higher Education', Association of Business Schools Research Conference, March
Rosemary Deem, 'Talking to university managers - methodological dilemmas and feminist research strategies' and 'The Challenges of New Managerialism and Engendered Management Practices in Universities - beyond the 'Third Way'? refereed papers presented to American Educational Research Association Conference, Montreal, April
Rosemary Deem and Oliver Fulton, ‘New Managerialism and the academic manager’ Committee of Scottish of Higher Education Principals and Society for Research into Higher Education seminar, Glasgow, May
Mike Reed, ‘New managerialism and the management of UK universities’, paper to ‘Re-organizing Knowledge: Transforming Institutions’, conference, Amherst, USA, September
Rachel Johnson ‘Collegiality and the management of UK universities’, paper to British Educational Research Association conference, University of Sussex, September
Rosemary Deem, 'Managerialism and UK Universities', Roehampton Institute, September
Rachel Johnson ‘ Managerialism and Collegiality in Higher Education’ seminar at Sheffield Hallam University, November
Rachel Johnson ‘Who are the manager-academics?’ seminar at the University of Aston, November

2000
Rachel Johnson 'Collegiality and the Management of Higher Education', School of Education/Learning and Teaching Institute, Sheffield Hallam University, February
Rosemary Deem ‘New managerialism- are UK universities resisting it? presentation to Dept of Educational Studies Seminar, University of Surrey, February 10th
Rachel Johnson ’Focus Groups: Collaborative Exploration or Collective Fudge?’ talk to School of Education, Reading University, March 9th
Rosemary Deem ‘Women and men manager-academics in UK universities – doing things differently?’ , Lancaster Institute for Women’s Studies seminar series, March 22nd
S.H. Hillyard 'Biography and the career of the sociologist. The case of W.I. Thomas and the Chicago School.' British Sociological Association conference 'Making time Marking Time,' University of York, UK, 17-20 April
Rosemary Deem and Sam Hillyard ‘Making time for management – the careers and lives of manager-academics in UK universities’ British Sociological Association conference University of York, UK, 17-20 April
Rosemary Deem – ‘New managerialism, gender and time’ presentation to Women and Management Agenda group, Lancaster University, May 10th
Rosemary Deem ‘Who are the manager-academics in UK universities and what do they do?’ invited presentation to Missenden Abbey Management Centre, ‘Institutional Management Priorities’ course for senior university managers, Buckinghamshire, May 18-19th
Rachel Johnson 'New Managerialism and the Management of UK Universities' Faculty of Cultural, Legal and Social Studies, University of Central Lancashire, May 30th
All members of the project team: papers presented at an academic project dissemination conference ‘New managerialism and the management of UK universities’, Lancaster University, June 13-14th
Rosemary Deem ‘New managerialism and engendered management practices? The manager-academic in contemporary UK universities’ External lecture series, School of Education University of Birmingham, June 21st
Symposium on 'New managerialism, manager-academics and organisational change'. At the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers Conference (CHER), Windermere, 14-16th September:
Rachel Johnson, Oliver Fulton, ‘“Tales of Management and Change in UK Universities: Rationales, Rationalisations, Ventriloquism, and the Taken for Granted”; Rosemary Deem ‘Engendered management and the changing organisational cultures of universities’; Rachel Johnson ‘How Manager-Academics Resolve their Learning Needs: An Educational Management?’
Stephen Watson and Mike Reed ‘Managerialism in UK Higher Education’, paper presented at the Annual General Meeting and Conference of the Association of Business Schools, Oulton Park Hotel, Leeds on Tuesday 17th October
Rosemary Deem, Rachel Johnson, Oliver Fulton, Stephen Watson ‘Manager-academics, managerialism and managing change in higher education – ready for the challenge of the 21st century?’ symposium at the Society for Research in Higher Education Annual Conference, Leicester, December 19-21st; papers:
Rachel Johnson, Rosemary Deem, ‘The student, the manager-academic and the university in the 21st century: tensions and contradictions’; Oliver Fulton and Rachel Johnson, ‘Resources in the management process’; Stephen Watson ‘Senior Management Decision-Making in HE and the decline of collegiality’
2001
Rosemary Deem and Rachel Johnson ‘The student, the manager-academic and the university in the 21st century: tensions and contradictions’ paper to Graduate School of Education CLIO seminar, January 17th


Rosemary Deem and Rachel Johnson ‘Learning to be a manager-academic in UK universities – coping with current and future risks and uncertainties’, paper to be presented to ‘Cultures of Learning: Risk, uncertainty and learning’ Conference, Bristol, April 19-22nd 2001

Mike Reed, invited presentation to Conference of Student Service Managers, March 2001

Rosemary Deem, ‘Managing yourself and your team: research findings and practicalities’ session on new Heads of Department Training Course, University of Bristol, May 2001


Forthcoming papers

Rosemary Deem, ‘Gender processes, new managerialism and the practices of manager-academics in UK Universities’ for ‘Rethinking Gender, Work and Organization’ Conference, University of Keele, 27-29 June 2001

Whole team: one day symposium on the project, jointly sponsored by SRHE and Universities UK, London June 20th 2001


Mike Reed and Oliver Fulton, invited workshop for the 94 Group of Universities HEFCE funded Management Development Project for PVCs, University of Essex, 2002
Appendix 2: Publications

1998:
Rosemary Deem 'New managerialism' in higher education - the management of performances and cultures in universities. *International Studies in the Sociology of Education* 8 (1): 47-70

2000

2001
Rosemary Deem ‘Globalisation, new managerialism, academic capitalism and entrepreneurialism in universities; is the local dimension still important?’ *Comparative Education* 37, 1, pp 7-20

Completed and accepted for publication


Rosemary Deem 'Talking to university managers - methodological dilemmas and feminist research strategies' *Sociology*

Mike Reed and Rosemary Deem ‘New Managerialism: the manager-academic and technologies of management in universities – looking forward to virtuality?’ in Robins, Kevin and Webster, Frank (ed) *The Virtual University? Information, Markets and Managements* Oxford University Press
