

*Ideas and Identities:
Representations of
Australian Public Universities*

Thesis submitted by

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Academicus Australiana



*Actors in great institutions
sit on committees of policies and power
dreaming of documents and dollars
relating narratives of networks and texts
tales of status and states
in wait for another time*

Diane Solomon Westerhuis 2003

Abstract

This thesis is a critical and discursive analysis of Australian public universities from a normative perspective, based on a commitment to values of social justice and equality.

I argue that ideas of universities in Australia have changed over time; that there were two major shifts of ideas since the liberal ideas that were apparent with the foundation of Australia's first university. Different ideas dominated in the 1970s when ideas of universities are described as egalitarian and democratic, but these ideas of universities changed again with reconstruction of Australian public universities in 1988. In the last two decades Australian public universities have been based on ideas that have produced different institutions, described as neoliberal, marketised and, in effect, privatised.

These neoliberal ideas privilege the economic over the social. I argue for a preferred model of equal rights based on citizenship and merit, which includes free access to a higher education in a public university.

The data that are analysed are policy texts, speeches and university mission statements that are representations of identity and agency. This is a critical analysis in which themes and concepts are identified in discourse that represents universities at different times, for example in the speech for the founding of the University of Sydney by Wentworth in 1849, or a speech by Whitlam in 1972 which describes the ideas of universities as free and access based on ability.

However, representations in contemporary mission statements and policy texts illustrate that the identities of Australian public universities have shifted. Findings include themes in texts of transformed relations, actors and communities, and mechanisms and strategies that illustrate changed practices, such as commercialisation, internationalisation and, most significantly, privatisation of Australian public universities. Australian public, not-for-profit universities have become more commercial than their predecessors, undertaking different activities, more governed yet in contradiction more flexible and shape-shifting. Specific neoliberal characteristics and strategies are now evident in their discourse and in practices. These neoliberal characteristics and strategies cross domains and operate at different levels, and in combination they achieve the hegemonic neoliberal project of the state. The consequences are that these neoliberal ideas have reshaped Australian universities.

Australian universities have become altered commercial and international actors in disparate networks and different market relationships. Reflexive Australian universities are very successful in these markets, and take on a marketised, private identity. The mechanisms of this are in place, but the effects are still to be proclaimed. There will, in the future, be no Australian public universities. A normative alternative is offered.

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

Contemporary identities of Australian public universities have been actively reconstructed and redefined by policies and by diverse university activities, notably in policy change beginning with the 'unification' of the Australian higher education system in the late 1980s (Dawkins 1987a). Since the 1996 election of a (neo)Liberal federal government, higher education policy change has accelerated. Contemporary Australian universities have become *internationalised* and commonly undertake commercial and market seeking activities. Ideas of universities have changed, and universities now operate in a sphere of economic and commercial rationalisations in which values and objectives are predominantly economic, notable particularly in a state¹ which emphasises free markets and privatisation (Karmel 2002:2).

Since the 'Dawkins' reforms, attendance at university has increased significantly in Australia, in a process described as *massification*. During the same period, Australian students' 'contributions' towards the cost of a university

¹ The term the 'state' is commonly used in sociological literature when referring to the distinct set of institutions that have legitimate authority to rule a specific territory. In this dissertation *the state* is used when describing the territorial federal state, particularly the Australian state, which used to be described as the Commonwealth of Australia. This is in contradistinction to the *local state* – in Australia the local states of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania, as well as the Northern Territory and Australian Capital Territory. When necessary the local state is identified as such. In some of the historical texts analysed the term 'government' is used when speaking of the form of organisation of the state.

education continuously increased (Australian Bureau of Statistics, hereafter ABS, 2004).

However the reconstructions of universities have consequences for the continuity of public, not-for-profit Australian universities. The idea of a public university is at risk in contemporary Australia, where access to university was a right of citizenship, but has now become a privilege that can be purchased. In Australia 'traditional' ideas of public universities, as nation building and as a public good, are being replaced by different understandings, of universities in markets and of students as customers or consumers of a service, higher education. These transformations of public universities also assume changing precedence for the agency and autonomy of universities as social, political and economic actors, both locally and globally (Westerhuis 2003). These changing ideas of universities are an outcome of changing political rationalities evident in state policies. These have, in the last two decades, brought with them particularly neoliberal ideological stances that are being enacted in the agency and the activities of universities. Such ideologies and political rationalities appear in the speeches of politicians, and have also become increasingly evident in contemporary university texts, in discourses described as managerialist and neoliberal.

The ongoing reforms of our public universities are based on different political rationalities, which use different discourse than those which preceded the 1988 reconstructions, and produce different mechanisms of change in practices, different policies and programmes of the state. The use of these managerialist and neoliberal discourses about and within universities is increasingly evident in practices in which the economic becomes the rationale for all activities. They have been contested, producing debate about the mechanisms of such change and their effects, for example Marginson (2000), Norton (2002a, 2002b) or the submissions to the Parliament of Australia Senate Inquiry on *Universities in Crisis* (Senate Employment, Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education References Committee 2001a).

The dialectic of ideas about universities that is used to frame the arguments of this research will only be useful if placed in context. In this chapter I place myself as researcher in the context of the research, in an Australian public university, during a time of reconstruction and change.

1a. Researcher in Context

As an actor in an Australian regional research and teaching university undergoing such change I was uniquely situated to observe these processes, as a participant and observer, a casual and part time staff member, a 'mature-age' postgraduate student, a researcher undertaking a Ph.D. and President of The Postgraduate Student Association for two years. In these ways I became immersed in the university as subject.

In 1996, I accepted a position in Staff Development in a regional research university that, it was revealed a few months later, was undergoing a financial crisis. Subsequently it became one of many Australian universities to restructure, funded by a programme of the state: the *Restructuring and Rationalisation Programme* of 1998. This programme provided assistance to universities 'to respond to their changing environment and competitive opportunities' (DEST 2002c:n.p.). The programme employed a market philosophy described in *Theory of New Governance*, in which the state was 'rowing not steering', in practices described as new management (see Considine 2001). Under this programme 19 projects at different universities, with a total cost to the state of \$25.5 million, were undertaken. Some projects were not completed. The last payment to universities under this programme was made in 2001 (DEST 2002c).

Since the unification of Australian public universities in 1987, and since the restructure at my regional university, a great variety and number of texts were created especially to guide new management and governance of universities, and there were many amendments to existing texts. The various roles that I occupied

within that university while undertaking research for my PhD and as postgraduate student representative entailed membership on a variety of committees, including Academic Board and University Council. Membership of these committees allowed an intimate view of the processes and rituals of a university network, and of one university in particular, undergoing change. I am a participant in these change processes, and therefore I become one of the actors, part of the study.

These roles are particularly important for my research, as they have allowed access to actors and resources central to the study. During my research I have accumulated many field notes, I have been allowed access to university archives and texts, and staff have given willingly of their time, in many official and informal discussions regarding the changes occurring in their working environment. I have attended national and international conferences where these issues were discussed. Most importantly, my membership of various committees has allowed me to observe the construction and legitimation of texts. I have gained knowledge of the discourses that are appropriate to use in these diverse activities.

This interaction with many actants², including innumerable academic and managerial texts, has been instrumental in my understanding of the complexity of these networks and their change processes, evident in the *Restructuring and Rationalisation Programme* (DEST 2002c). These are programmes universities use to *rationalise* their activities and financial organisation. This rationality redefines their priorities, restructures their roles and identities, and draws attention to just how contested are contemporary or 'traditional' ideas of 'the university'. That these ideas were contested became especially evident at certain times during the research, when after particular experiences I became aware of resistance to

² Following Greimas and Courtès (1983) and Latour (1987) human and non-human actors such as texts, computers, biological or other entities are actants. Actants are defined by how they act or are acted upon in the networks of practice, not by their human or non-human state. This term is used instead of actor when it is intended to emphasize the hybridity or complex nature of an actant, such as a university. When actor is used no assumption is made regarding the humanity of the actor.

particular ideas and rationalities. Two examples illustrate the relevance of these experiences for my project.

Example 1: the Conduct of Conduct

The first example occurred at University Council, where I participated in an intense debate regarding the introduction of a new text into the set of existing university texts. This policy text, *The Code of Conduct, Statement on Staff External Activities, Statement on the Right and Responsibility of Academics to Make Public Comment* (James Cook University [JCU] 2003, 1998) is framed within the unique status of the university - as a public sector organisation with a concomitant range of responsibilities. In this context, it aligns the employment of academics with those of public servants, employed by the state (see Altbach 2000 for a comparison in which this is common practice in Europe but not the United States).

This text reflects the admixture of tradition and change apparent in reflexive universities. It is a document that belongs to a set of documents, used to regulate and restrict the conduct of the agents of the university, particularly academics. The primary document of that set is *JCU: Into the Third Millennium...Our Future and How We Get There* (JCU 2003[1998]), which includes the mission statement of the university, and describes 'the rules and conventions by which we choose to govern our behaviour and comply with our legislative obligations' (JCU 2003:3). *The Code of Conduct* depicts 'five fundamental ethical principles' in the context of traditional academic freedom, as 'essential to the proper conduct of teaching, research and scholarship' (JCU 1999:2).

Ideas that emerge from the discourse of this text are consummate examples of various themes of this research, and so the text is worth quoting at length.

Traditionally, universities are places where academic and research staff have been encouraged to observe and to comment upon or criticise society and its activities. Universities also encourage the

development of new concepts through research and open discussion. The exploration of unconventional views is not merely tolerated but encouraged. The Code of Conduct is not intended to detract from this traditional and independent right to comment on and pursue research into matters of public concern and matters of public controversy. Indeed administrative and support staff, in facilitating academic and research endeavours, should also seek, within the scope of their duties, to protect the exercise of academic freedom.

One of the guiding principles of the University is a commitment to exemplary standards of integrity in all aspects of its affairs. The focus of the Code is therefore upon providing support for staff in achieving those standards. However, where staff conduct falls below the standards outlined in this Code, staff may be counselled in accordance with normal performance management strategies, and in accordance with the provisions of the Enterprise Bargaining Agreement which governs the University's industrial dealings with its staff.

JCU 1999:1-2

This text is used to demonstrate how my research is located within its theoretical and methodological framework. It is an example of how texts define and govern ideas, such as those ideas of universities that are described as 'traditional': of university as social critic, and academic freedom. In this text (and others) such government of conduct is facilitated by a specific discourse; where *performance management strategies* are made normal, they become disciplinary technologies that govern any *traditional* academic freedom.

The discourse of this text also describes and normalises relations; it places staff in a contractual relationship with the university that is industrial and is governed by another new management disciplinary technology, an *Enterprise Bargaining Agreement*. Yet at the time of writing this thesis another programme is planned, in which such collective contractual relations are to be replaced with individual contracts, the *Australian Workplace Agreement (AWA)*. This replacement is described here as a particularly neoliberal shift from the collective to the individual.

During interviews with staff I found that some academics perceive that they *are* 'the university', or agents of the university. Many academics chose

academia as a vocation, many were attracted to the idea of a community of scholars (Smith and Webster 1997:100). The idea of a community of scholars and/or students, such as existed in some of the earliest universities, has been subsumed in the idea of academics as staff in many different contractual relationships with the university; academics are no longer 'the university'³.

The *Code of Conduct* also depicts what it describes as a 'traditional idea', that of academic freedom. Although this freedom, where it existed, was always a matter for self-regulation, it is now framed within the discipline of new management technologies, such as performance management strategies, designed to avoid the risk of failure.

The discourses of the texts described above are exemplary instances of increasing governmentality (Hindess 1997a; Dean 1999; Foucault 2000) and the conduct of conduct (Rose 1999; Foucault 1983, 1991) portrayed in the regulation and governance of universities. The discourse highlights the Foucauldian concept of self-discipline apparent in performance management (Foucault 1991; Burchell, Gordon and Miller 1991; Hindess 1998; Dean 1999). The discourse of these texts links theoretical and methodological aspects of my research.

Example 2: The Re-creation and Representation of Identities

The second example that illustrates the relevance of my experiences for this research occurred when I became involved in the renewal of the mission statement of the university. This experience highlights the importance of particular texts for the changing identities of universities. As a member of various committees, I was able to watch the passage of this text through various incarnations, its re-creation and subsequent endorsement by various committees, to its final recognition at University Council.

³ During the early stages of my research, it was made clear to me by an academic that he considered himself **to be the university**, a concept that was repeated more than once during my research (Westerhuis 2002).

The mission statement was introduced in Australian public universities in 1988, as a requirement within the first 'university profiles' of the (then) Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET 1988a). At this university another re-creation and re-wording of the mission statement began in 1997, at a series of meetings to which the Vice-Chancellor invited staff. These meetings occurred in a climate of intense, heated and continuously contested dialogue, reflecting the importance the participants placed upon the selection of appropriate concepts for their mission statement and the importance they placed upon the ideas contained in such texts. Debate focused on each word, or on a particular word that was not included that others perceived as a priority. It became clear that the participants expected this text to convey a variety of understandings of the ideas and identities of the university for which it was written.

This meetings took on the appearance of a consultation, with the objective of achieving consensus. However, I observed subtle and covert asymmetries of power, in which the organiser and leader of the discussion was the one to summarise and rationalise input from others. Suggestions made by those without power were unlikely to be included in the text. The voices heard most often, and with most approval from others, were those of the Vice Chancellor, pro-vice chancellors, deans, and professors. The author of the mission statement is the university, but the text is created by agents of the university, actors in the hierarchies of power. This creation needs to be understood in the context of the intertextuality of the mission statements and the discourses that are used within them. It should also be noted that the outcomes of this text creation are representations of universities that construct the university as a particular type of subject, which identifies particular research focuses or relations and reflects specific requirements of the state.

Observing the creation of this text it became evident that university mission statements are texts of significant value to this research. Mission statements are significant because they describe the characteristics agreed upon by powerful actors, and these characteristics then become part of the criteria against

which universities are assessed by the state, communities, students, academics and other actants. Mission statements act in a variety of ways to represent, to promote and to reproduce ideas of universities, in such a way defining specific roles and identities of a university.

Sometime later, as an administrative staff member, I was required to complete an annual report for the department in which I was working. At that time management required the mission statement and the goals in the *Millennium Document* (JCU 1998; 2003) to be used as the framework for all administrative departmental annual reports, to define how the activities undertaken were relevant to the goals of the university and its mission statement. Thus texts become mechanisms in the shaping processes of universities. They reproduce ideas of universities as programmes, partially or fully enacted. It is evident that mission statements represent ideas of universities, illustrate ideas in flux, and appear as an intermediary text between actors of contemporary materialising university identities.

1b. Research Problem

There are arguments in the Australian literature about the extent and effects of reconstructions of Australian public universities. In Chapter 2 I present two sides of this argument, the first that that there is insufficient change, that there should be further reconstructions, the second that the reconstructions have had adverse effects and should go no further. I take up this perspective and argue that these reconstructions are not arbitrary; they are the purposive strategies and technologies of a neoliberal project attempting hegemony, which is at least partially successful. Before the 1980s reconstructions, these Australian universities were public instrumentalities that were part of the general extension of rights, 'to all citizens regardless of class' (Bessant 1978:9) an argument discussed further in Chapters 2 and 4. This idea of equality was evident, at least in

rhetoric, in the representations of the earliest Australian universities, and came to fruition in practice in the 1970s. It has now been replaced by ideas of higher education as a privilege and a commodity. Australian universities have become different institutions, described as internationalised, liberalised, marketised and in effect, privatised. I argue that the ongoing reconstructions of Australian universities since the 1980s have already produced fundamental shifts in these institutions, such that they emerge as different institutions from these changes, with different relations and effects at local, state and global levels.

This research problem requires explanation regarding the nature of the institutions that emerge from this change, the different relations and effects of these emerging institutions, and how these have transformed conditioning structures and the agency of public, not-for-profit universities. This produces a social problem; these are political, social and economic changes based on a neoliberal project that privileges the economic over the social, and so exacerbates existing inequalities. I argue instead for an alternative model of equality of access, based on ability and citizenship, to a higher education in a public university.

It is proposed that the effects of these changes include a significant shift in the representations of Australian universities. These representations are semiotic and discursive, and appear in policy documents and other texts: of the universities, the state, and international actors. These representations, because of their semiotic nature, allow discursive analysis and critique of Australian public universities. I undertake this from a critical, normative perspective, formed by a commitment to values of social equality.

The argument is framed in the hypothesis that after the foundation of Australian universities there have been two identifiable and dramatic shifts in Australian ideas of universities. These shifts have produced three phases which I describe as:

1. *liberal* universities with a civilising mission, 1850-1972
2. *egalitarian*, 'socially just' universities, 1972-1987
3. *neoliberal*, internationalised, market universities, post 1988

Aims

The aims of this research are threefold: to assess the evidence for such changes, including different discourses at different times that describe changing ideas of universities; to critically examine the effects in both structure and agency of the most recent changes in Australian higher education, evident in current practices and representations of Australian universities; and to offer a normative and more socially just alternative.

The basis for these aims is straightforward: the most recent events in Australian higher education produce an exemplary case that heralds the privatisation of Australian public universities. Thus this research is a crucial case study of shifts of political rationalities. It is clear that the standpoint from which this critique is made involves normative judgements, and presupposes the possibility of a better way of life (Sayer 2000b), in which equality and the redistribution of public goods are more important than economics. The critique generates a normative alternative, a more socially just, egalitarian alternative. Such a normative outcome of change, that public universities not be governed or ordered by economic rationalities, situates the activities and identities of universities in more profound ethical and social justice values than in the prevailing economic foundations. While this normative alternative remains utilitarian, in the sense that such universities could only be of benefit and useful to citizens, the state and civil society, it retains ideas of universities as a social and public good, and as not-for-profit public institutions.

Scope

The background chapters include descriptions of historical ideas of medieval and European universities and, briefly, universities in the United States, because the ideas that were borrowed from universities in other times and places

are illuminating for this research. It is useful to explore these older ideas of universities, to identify ideas that persist or appear as novel.

However the focus of this research remains a particular case study of Australian ideas of universities during three different time periods, identified with and signified by the discourses that are aligned with specific political rationalities that prevail at those times. These are described here as shifts from the earliest liberal to 'egalitarian' in the 1970s, then to neoliberal from the 1980s to the present. The emphasis is on the most recent, since it was the Dawkins 1988 policy that put in place these significant reconstructions which were brought into being by specific neoliberal ideas.

Epistemology

This research began with specific concerns regarding political and social changes that disturb and infringe upon my views of the way the world is or could be. Recent political and economic shifts in my specific environment of a university, in Australia and in much of the Western world, have produced a 'common sense' way of viewing the world that I can not support. However I am not alone in that I would like to make the world a better place, although I acknowledge the specificity of this notion. To imagine what this better world would look like, I must critique and question the present world.

To critique involves the use of critical sociology;

... taking a position to project ourselves mentally outside of the world as it is given to us in order to invent, concretely, futures other than the one inscribed in the order of things. In short, critical thought is that which gives us the means to *think the world* as it is and *as it could be*.

Wacquant 2004:97 (original emphases)

Such re-imagining of a better place has more potential for enactment when presented as a critical social science. Examples of research that uses critical social science to imagine a better world include the work of Sen (1999), who was so

well regarded that he received a Nobel Prize for economics. Sen sees economics as having a further end than mere profit, and advocates a moral philosophy and theories of equity within studies of economic development.

More recent work of Sayer (2005b) also uses ideas from moral philosophy, in this case to reinterpret empirical studies of class. Fraser's (1997, 2000) moral philosophy is based on social justice, and how *justice interruptus* is an outcome of liberal strategies that produce growing inequalities. Fraser's alternative includes redistribution strategies that are based on status such as citizenship, that transform underlying political and economic structures. The works of Sen, Sayer and Fraser are not utopian ideals. Such alternatives are possible and appropriate for a more socially just alternative.

Thus, this research entails a normative and critical sociology of the type that may 'open up possibilities for rational action to unmake or remake what history has made' (Bourdieu et.al. 1999:187). Bourdieu's rational action is possible. There is a real world out there and, although I may not know it perfectly, or in the same way as others do, there are some consistent aspects of it that are comprehensible and explainable. Most importantly, there are some things that can be changed. Aligned with these philosophies are my perspectives and understandings of how to undertake research that considers political and social dimensions. This research can therefore be defined as explanatory, normative, critical and realist.

The argument formed above is that there has been a significant shift in the identities of Australian public universities. The hypothesis is proposed that there are two distinct shifts in ideas of universities in Australia after the foundational *liberal* phase, the first shift to an *egalitarian* phase, the second to the current *neoliberal* phase. These shifts are depicted in policy documents and other texts, and are evident in the identities of universities.

This argument raises three important points I now explore: the first is the semiotic and discursive nature of the research; the second is that it presupposes that there is a conjunction between abstract ideas and concrete identities of

universities; the third is the contingency of the substantial, internal relations between public universities and the state.

The first point is that the method is inherent in the research. In considering the range of possible methods with which to explore the arguments I have raised, it is apparent that the most effective strategies are discursive. The real world is one that is constantly and effectively structured by language, and there is a contingent location of ideas in texts, which include values and reasons. This research is also inherently critical and best suited to a critical discourse analysis, to assess and critique the evidence for such change and shifts. Therefore this research includes a comparison of different representations, a coherent and practical basis for studying descriptions (of ideas) and how they are constructed (Fairclough 2001b; Potter 2003b).

The second point is more complex. The discourses of these texts present ideas of universities that are particular construals (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2003). From a critical realist perspective in which the world is independent from our knowledge, these can be compared to other (real) structures of universities, and/or the (actual) universities' activities or potential (Sayer 2000a). However one is not reducible to the other, and repetition, or the frequency of occurrence, can not be described as causal. So although I produce a statistical analysis of frequency of concepts in Chapter 8, this is undertaken to mirror and compare analyses undertaken by others, including the agents of the state (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA 1998a). Statistical findings of regular conjunctions do not imply causation. The frequencies of ideas or themes in this research are instead discussed in terms of their interdiscursive interactions with resistant discourse and what produces these discourses. Such understandings come from Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer's critical semiosis, in which reasons can operate as causes, but the effects produced by semiosis are an outcome of how the texts are understood, which can be in one or more ways (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2003).

The research includes examples of texts that illustrate vividly the effects of semiosis and how texts are understood in many ways. One of these examples is the speech of the early colonial Wentworth (1969 [1849]), who successfully negotiated the politics of establishing Australia's first university (see Chapter 4). This speech is described by Gardner as 'the most successful essay in the politics of founding a university'. Gardner explains that Wentworth's ideas of a university in the colony;

... would have to be presented with a discreetly low profile, certainly one without Oxford's 'dreaming spires'.... The novelty and complexity of the problems Wentworth faced make his eventual triumph all the more notable. In essence he had to launch an appeal which would be both conservative enough to win council support and also radical enough to allay democratic suspicions.

Gardner 1979:13

The context of this discourse includes the actor (Wentworth), his potential and his previous actions. Wentworth's speech was construed in many conflicting ways that we know of, as conservative, as 'bunyip aristocracy', as radical and as democratic. This speech offered different people, holding diverse points of view, many different reasons to support him, including: his model of London University which was more radical than Oxbridge; in contrast the suggestion that the establishment of such a university was a conservative idea; his use of Canadian examples and North American land-grant colleges; his reassurance to the Council that there were no dangers to their interests and that he was interested in education and the professions of their sons (Gardner 1979). Even though Wentworth's speech had such diverse audiences, it was successful because of its manifold and diverse resonances. The ideas contributed to the success of the event - the construction of the University of Sydney.

The third important point is the contingency of the substantial, internal relation (Bhaskar 1989), in this instance between Australian public universities and the Australian state. By this I mean that universities are in a relation with the state that is identified as substantial; there are real connections between the

objects (Sayer 1992). The relations are internal. Public not-for-profit universities would not be essentially what they are without this relationship and the relation is also a defining factor of the Australian state. The state is a different state if it does not include public universities. It is argued here that the symmetry of this relation changes and both the state and universities emerge as different entities, an event discussed in Chapter 10. These relations are of course contingent, in the sense that they are dependent upon time and place and are constructed upon ideas of universities and ideas of states.

1c. Research Design

The research argument described above specifies two time periods of change. These are exemplified by texts which use discourse that contain particular values and ideas, about how the world is, could or should be. These values and ideas produce, and are reflected in, changing relations. These relations and their effects are identifiable in the discourse of texts that are representative of their specific time and place.

The focus of this research is on ideas of universities but, necessarily, because of the relations between them, I look at political rationalities of states and the effects these have on ideas and constructions of universities. The links between ideas and constructions of universities that I make do not imply causation, but are attempts to identify causal mechanisms and to discover if these mechanisms have been activated. This is a specifically critical realist approach (Sayer 2000a:14). The constructions can be described as ideas that are endowed with the 'performative power' to bring into being the very realities they claim to describe including, in the case of neoliberal discourse, a self-fulfilling power (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001; see also Fairclough 2000b, 2001a). For that reason throughout this research I look at the ideas of universities and how they appear in

discourse, in texts and in practice, in the social construction of Australian public universities.

Framework

The social problem of my research argument is semiotic and discursive. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) concurrent with an understanding of semiotics and critical realism is suitable for such research. This is undertaken in a critical discourse framework, based on Bhaskar's concept of explanatory critique (Bhaskar 1986), recommended by Fairclough (2001b, 2001c).

A rearranged version of Fairclough's five stage analytic framework is acknowledged as a guide for this research. Fairclough's framework begins in Stage 1 with an initial focus upon a social problem that has a semiotic aspect. Stage 2 is to identify obstacles to the social problem being tackled, through analysis of a) the network of practices it is located within, b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned, and c) the discourse (the semiosis itself). This Stage 2c includes structural analysis of the order of discourse, interactional, interdiscursive, linguistic and semiotic analyses. Stage 3 considers whether the social order (network of practices) 'needs' the problem, Stage 4 identifies possible ways past the obstacles, and Stage 5 reflects critically on the analysis (Fairclough 2001c:236).

These five stages appear in different order in Parts I to III of this research. Stage 1, 'focus upon a social problem that has a semiotic aspect', is mirrored in the focus upon the research context and argument in this chapter and in Chapter 2, concerning reconstructions of Australian public universities and arguments in the literature about this social change.

Chapters 3 and 4 in this research delineate the 'network(s) of practices' of the past. Chapter 5 describes the networks of practices that appeared in Australian universities in 1988 and thereafter, the relations of 'the elements within the particular practices' (Fairclough's Stage 2a and 2b), and how such networks of

practices are related to programmes of the state. This includes the chronology of social change and the time frames of those changes, and the discursive and semiotic aspects of the political rationalities that drive such changes.

Part II of this research, the results chapters, undertake what Fairclough terms 'interactional analyses' (Stage 2c), with the objective to understand the social problem, how it is entrenched and ordered. The analytic methods are described below.

Part III incorporates Fairclough's Stage 3 and 4, and considers the effects of the dominant representations of neoliberalism that produces or exacerbates social divisions, and leads to my conclusions. In Chapter 10 I reflect on the analyses and findings (Stage 5 of Fairclough) and consider alternatives (Fairclough's Stage 4).

Methods

Appropriate to Fairclough's framework, the methods of this research form a coherent interactional analysis, represented in the linguistic and semiotic analysis of texts, the interdiscursive analysis of interaction and the social analysis of interaction (Fairclough 2001c:240). Chapters 5 to 8 consist of these analyses of the representations of universities in the context of university practices and transformations. These discourse analytical approaches locate genealogical and discursive patterns in the texts. Chapters 6 to 8 use methods described by Fairclough as interactional analyses, the analysis of texts and their texturing work of representing, relating, identifying and valuing; the analysis of their interdiscursivity and hybridity, and the analysis of their language (Fairclough 2001c:239-242). This includes the analysis of identity, agency and metaphor (a rhetorical device used to describe relations) in discursive practices, and the identification of programmes that contribute to the hegemonic project of the neoliberal state, in the social practices of these universities.

Chapter 5 begins with a genealogy, a method adopted by Foucault (1977) after Nietzsche (1956), who studied the origins and meanings of different moral concepts to examine the underlying power struggles which shape subjectivity. In this genealogy I undertake an interdiscursive and social analysis of interaction that follows texts. I then trace the networks of social practices and contexts in which the new genre of the mission statement is inculcated. This reveals the emergence of different social relations and shifts in the nature of the public university, for example in the new brand identities of universities. This analysis is interdiscursive, revealing the intertextuality of university, policy and management texts. Genealogical method is limited by any clear or exact description of method (Carabine 2001) although there are examples of different analytical approaches in diverse areas of interest, such as accounting (Kearins and Hooper 2002) and socio-political critiques (Rose 1985; Howarth 2000; Carabine 2001).

Chapter 6 analyses the themes that occur in the discourse of mission statements. Chapter 7 concentrates on discursive practices in linguistic-semiotic analyses that focus on metaphor and choice of vocabulary or words (Fairclough 2001c:241-242). In Chapter 8 discursive strategies are identified and mapped to show how they attempt the hegemonic project of neoliberalism. These discursive strategies include the dominance of specifically neoliberal keywords and themes in the discourse, their collocation with others that reinforce their dominance, and the depiction of specific activities and economic rationalities as inevitable and natural. In order to render the analysis of the neoliberal discourse in current policies and mission statements as distinct from the earlier liberal and egalitarian discourses, extracts from different periods are provided as events of different combinations that dominate at the time. I therefore analyse collocations in first, three policy texts, and second, the mission statements of universities.

Data

The texts used for analyses are limited to specific Australian political speeches, policy texts, and university texts that represent successful ideas from the time period of discussion. The focus of analyses is therefore limited to Australian universities. At the time of writing this included two private universities and thirty-eight public Australian universities that produce the texts used in this study. Another private university, Carnegie Mellon, is to establish two Adelaide campuses offering both Australian and United States degrees in 2006. This is the first of its kind in Australia and heralds the opening up of the university marketplace in Australia to international competitors. This is discussed further in Chapter 9.

The texts selected for analysis are those that epitomise specific ideas of the relevant time, or that introduce ideas that are successful, become practice, and so have potential or have power. These texts are of three types: political speeches, policy texts and mission statements.

The first two, specific policy statements and speeches, are selected because they describe extant ideas of universities at different time periods, and because these are specific ideas that are enacted and can be identified in practices. These speeches and policies have validity; they contain ideas that are promulgated. They are not, as described by Gramsci, polemics that are 'arbitrary, rationalistic or willed', rather they order, in the sense that they 'create the terrain on which men move' (Gramsci 1971:377). This is made evident in the analyses which produce evidence of their resonance to universities, where the discourse is mirrored, and where ideas are enacted in subsequent practices of universities. These ideas are taken up in policies and changing relations.

There are two new aspects in this research for studies of universities and their ideas. The first is the analysis of mission statements. These are technologies, mechanisms of performativity utilised to represent universities and their relations at the time. The second novel aspect is that unlike other studies described below,

this research includes the two extant private universities, Bond University and Notre Dame University, and the new, though short-lived, private university, Melbourne University Private. These are included because of their shifting relations with the state and because they are part of the Australian university system.

1d. Overview of the Study

To achieve the above aims, the rest of this project appears in three parts. *Part I, Background*, presents a discussion of arguments in the literature and then describes historical and more recent ideas, the conceptual abstractions from which this study originates. *Part II, Analyses*, presents the analyses and results chapters and *Part III, Discussions*, consists of two short chapters that reflect on the analyses, effects of change, and findings.

This introductory Chapter 1 is used to describe the research project, and call attention to the value of the information rich realm of semiotics and discourse, their social and cultural contexts and how they appear in texts. I place the research in context and include a discussion of the research design and framework, together with the epistemological approaches of this research that shifts back and forward between discourse, text analyses and social analysis of change.

Part I, Background begins with Chapter 2 in which I describe different perspectives in the literature associated with this research, including arguments about ideas of universities and the political rationalities that underpin such ideas as liberalism, neoliberalism and those of the social democratic or welfare state. The arguments also refer to how those ideas appear in practice, the constructions and reconstructions of universities and the values and discourses evident in those reconstructions.

Chapter 3 is a study of historical ideas of universities. This chapter identifies relations between church, early modern states, and universities.

Universities are selectively characterised by ideas, for example depicted as Newman, utilitarian and Humboldtian universities. This chapter concludes with a discussion of how these emerged and were moulded by the effects of the Enlightenment, and in particular by early liberalism and the modernisation of states which shifts relations between states and universities.

Chapter 4 distinguishes the three identifiable phases of the hypothesis, in which ideas of universities in Australia are clearly linked to their appearance in constructions of universities and mechanisms of change. All these changes are political, but are characterised by different ideas and broader structural changes that were occurring at the time. This chapter sets up the periodisation of ideas, from foundational and liberal ideas which become the impetus for a later short phase of egalitarian ideas, superseded by neoliberal ideas.

Part II, Analyses, consists of results chapters. Chapter 5 undertakes a genealogy that surveys university texts as representations of universities and explores networks of practices. The mission statement as genre is explored, a genre which is reflexive and is explicitly mediated. This genre develops operationalised discourses and styles as semiotically constituted ways of being, that represent ideas of a university. These representations are overt and publicised, and employ mechanisms of modern commercial practices, such as *brand* identities. I analyse how these mission statements appear as a university genre, their intertextuality in this context of commercial or business practices of marketing, how they become representations of Australian public universities.

In Chapter 6 I identify which themes are prioritised by universities in these texts, and how they achieve order. This is an interactional analysis of the texturing work of representing, relating, identifying and valuing in university texts. In Chapter 7 my aim is to clarify orderings and relations between the themes that appear in such discourse. Specific concepts are related to reflexive representations of university practices in discursive and social practices, and can reveal identity and agency of universities. An analysis of metaphor in mission statements demonstrates how the discourse of these particular texts is instrumental in the

constitution of identities of universities, linked to practices articulated in the project of the state, in strategies which are recognised as expressly neoliberal.

Chapter 8 supports these findings by identifying specifically neoliberal strategies of this hegemonic project. These include: homogeneity across the university system, dominance over other discourses, semiotic tactics that present neoliberalism as the only option, and in the predictable linguistic strategy of the collocation of themes.

This research concludes in two chapters that make up *Part III, Discussion*. Chapter 9 reflects on how ideas are enacted, sometimes contested, and the local and global actors who have power to shift ideas about universities. This shift of ideas has consequences and implications for relations between universities and the state, between universities, citizens, civil society and the communities in which universities have always been involved. What emerges from this change is a different institution, created by specific policy discourse and the drastic consequences of particular changes in university relations and practices, which are now global.

Chapter 10 concludes with a discussion of research findings of neoliberalism, its hegemonic project and of its effects on the identity of Australian universities. This last chapter links these findings back to the research argument and I conclude with normative alternatives to contemporary social constructions of Australian public universities, and proposed future research.

* * *

Part I. Background

Chapter 2

Perspectives

This chapter begins with an overview of a social problem. The problem is described from diverse perspectives, but with a focus on arguments in the literature about reconstructions of Australian universities since the 1980s. The chapter focuses on different views of the nature, extent and effects of reconstructions of Australian universities in the last couple of decades. These perspectives form the essence of debate; they are the signs of struggle over higher education in Australia.

The impetus and mechanisms for such change can be found in the texts of higher education policy, which are couched in a particular dominant discourse described here as neoliberal. Further, the discourse of Australian policies and global higher education policies reveal remarkable similarities, particularly as impetus for change, discussed in later chapters. These contexts of change are produced by what Foucault calls political rationalities of government. The rest of this chapter makes clear the specific political rationalities of liberalism and neoliberalism, the characteristics of this particular neoliberalism, and why the governmentality perspective of this research is valuable for this study.

This research is about Australian public universities, political and social change, however because of their mutual concerns I begin with two brief examples of the contesting literature from the global context. This is because the Australian arguments about universities are founded on remarkably similar concerns from other Western states. These states are, like Australia, implicated in specific global relations with transnational actors. They also have shifting ideas about the role of the state and its relation with universities. These examples describe the contest and protest about the emergence of universities as different institutions after a period of change, variously linked to globalisation, liberalisation or economic rationalism.

The first example is particularly relevant to this thesis for its predictions of changes in universities and the state. Lyotard (2001[1979]) describes a legitimisation crisis in universities and the *performativity* of knowledge. For Lyotard this knowledge is postmodern, represented as a game of language in which the goal is the creation of new and ever changing social linkages. Universities are implicated in these new social linkages because of their centrality in the creation of, and contributions to, knowledge. Lyotard predicts that technological change separates knowledge from the 'knower,' thus also from *Bildung*, the training of the mind, an essential of the Humboldtian university (see chapter 3 below). 'Knowledge ceases to be an end in itself, it loses its 'use-value' ' (Lyotard 2001:5), it is now a commodity and produced in order to be sold, consumed in order to be valorised. In the market for knowledge nation-states lose their privilege in the production of knowledge, and learning circulates along the same lines as money.

This is salient when we consider that the ideas of universities, for example in the earliest of Australian universities, are linked to their utility to the state to produce citizens for the state. Universities produce knowledge for its 'educational' value or political (administrative, diplomatic, military) importance. In contrast, for Lyotard the significant distinction is instead, as with money, between 'payment knowledge' and 'investment knowledge', as 'the question of knowledge is now

more than ever a question of government' (Lyotard 2001:9). The function of the state changes, and the power to make decisions is increasingly determined by questions of access to information (Lyotard 2001:14). The prescient Lyotard is also relevant here because access to universities, and to knowledge, form part of the argument of this thesis.

The second example is that of Readings (1996), who argues that 'The University' is 'in ruins'. For Readings, universities in the West (Britain, United States, France) and their practices of scholarship, teaching and research produced a culture which was legitimised by its nation building activities, including the education of citizens for the nation-state. This Humboldtian university was the producer, protector and inculcator of an idea of national culture. This culture of nation-building became particularly evident in the welfare state, in what can be described as a post-war social contract. Readings uses the concepts of the university of reason and university of culture to describe this Humboldtian university. However this is replaced by the university of 'excellence', which becomes 'no longer primarily an ideological arm of the nation-state but an autonomous bureaucratic corporation' (Readings 1996:40). Readings deplores the replacement of this unique culture with economic tenets, which produce graduates as economic objects, rather than as subjects or citizens. Thus appears the universities in ruins, in which economic imperatives replace the nation building culture of universities. This is a shift from a perspective in which the institutions of the state (particularly universities) and its citizens build the nation together, to one in which 'there is no such thing as society' (Thatcher 1987) a notion discussed further below.

These two examples of ideas about universities in crisis, and the nature of their shifts in relations with the state, are reflected in Australian perspectives discussed below.

2a. Reconstructing Australian Universities

In this section I briefly describe the literature and then specific arguments. The historical material is sparse. Although there are many histories of particular institutions, there is very little in the way of published histories of Australian universities. In 2000 Macintyre and Marginson pointed out that 'The only comparative study [of Australian universities] was written twenty years ago, and stopped short of the twentieth century' (Macintyre and Marginson 2000:53). The study they are referring to was Gardner's 1979 publication, *Cap and Gown, The Standard Histories of Five Universities*, in which Gardner details the politics and the personalities, including 'God-Professors' and early women graduates, who contributed to the founding of the earliest universities in Australia and New Zealand.

However there were other studies. Macmillan (1968) undertook *Australian Universities, A Descriptive Sketch*, which provides some context for the three decade hiatus between the wars and the post World War II establishment of universities up to the 1960s, a time of shifting social mores and political rationalities. The Macmillan account is a rather conservative history which describes the establishment of different institutions but does not explore to any great degree the political shifts or contests that accompanied many of these events.

Another study by Bessant (1978) undertook *A Critical Look at the Functions of Australian Universities Since 1939*, which describes the political and sociological context for understanding the shifts in ideas of universities in Australia between 1939 and the 1970s. Bessant's observations about the relations of universities with the state and with citizens are particularly relevant. Bessant notes that between the wars universities were 'stagnant', then there was a quite unexpected growth in university participation in the forties and early fifties. In contrast to current policies, this was the outcome of social rather than economic concerns, 'not simply the result of utilitarian demands for skilled workers but part

of the general extension of rights to all citizens regardless of class' (Bessant 1978:9). This expansion integrated different, closer, relations between the states (both local and federal) and universities, and is described by Bessant as 'a decisive period in the emergence of the universities from obscure, almost private and somewhat independent institutions, to becoming public instrumentalities' (Bessant 1978:9). Their public nature also changed relations between universities and citizens, as they became more open to access by all classes.

More recent literature is of a very different nature, and belongs to a sometimes heated and critical debate about the reconstructions of universities in the last few decades, and the neoliberal nature of those reconstructions. The very titles these authors choose reflect their concerns and resistance to current state policies. Marginson is pessimistic, he titles a review: *Higher education after the election: it will get worse before it gets better* (Marginson 1998). Coady's volume discusses *Why universities matter, a conversation about values means and directions* (Coady 2000). Pratt and Poole's article describes *Global Corporations 'R' Us? The impacts of globalisation on Australian universities* (Pratt and Poole 2000). The globalisation theme also appears in Currie and Newson's edited volume *Universities and Globalization: Critical Perspectives* (Currie and Newson 2000), which includes observations relevant to the findings of this thesis, about universities as *The Service University* (Tjeldvoll in Currie and Newson 2000). These and many other writings in academic literature, in popular press (Kelly 2000) and in the public arena, echo Quiggin who writes about *Resolving the university crisis* (Quiggin 2001). This is an extension of the earlier argument of Quiggin (1999) that it is not globalisation but neoliberal policies of market-oriented reform that have increased inequalities.

Marginson and Considine (2000) hold similar views, that the 'fall' of universities is a 'paradise lost', and that globalisation and neoliberal policies are responsible for the loss. However for Marginson, unlike others such as Joseph (2002, see below), these two are not synonymous. Neoliberal policies are described in much of the Australian literature as economic rationalism (since

Pusey 1992), which has led to *The Enterprise University* (Marginson and Considine 2000; Gallagher 2001; Macintyre 2001), which appears as a business and market activity that attracts customers and is a private good. The effects of this shift on universities include changes from policy to governance and from academy to global business. The consequence is that Australian universities conform to market policies. The enterprise university is 'the emergent institutional type', which Marginson and Considine conclude is a 'new phase in the history of the university' (Marginson and Considine 2000:4).

These authors argue that reconstructions have undesirable effects on Australian public universities, including the '*Unbalancing of Universities*' (Davis 2002), the '*Bonfire of the Universities*' (James 2000), the '*The death of the university*' (Anderson 1997; Manne in James 2000) and most often including '*The Universities in Crisis*' (for example Polya 2001, the Senate Employment, Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education Referral Committee 2001a, and Cooper, Hinkson and Sharp 2002). This literature on the decline or crisis of universities was a response to the 1987/1988 'Dawkins' reforms, which were the impetus for a substantial and striking change in universities, such that universities are described as reconstructed. The problem, argues Coady (2000), is the effect of such reconstructions, that the 'privatising reforms' represent the loss of 'significant and valuable intellectual and cultural tradition' (Coady 2000:24). In essence Coady's argument is that these reforms privatise, and so transform, the public university.

It is these different perspectives about policies that restructure universities that are the core of the debate. There are two main arguments. The first is about the policies themselves and mechanisms that lead to the privatisation, 'liberalisation' or marketisation of the public Australian universities. The second is about effects such as equality of access. These are both signs of a hegemonic struggle concerned with the shifting of relations between the state and public universities, and between universities and citizens, and the outcomes of such shifts.

The debate could be said to come from four protagonists: academics, Vice-Chancellors, 'think-tanks' and the state. Although they do not all fit neatly into opposing views, they all produce arguments about what is happening or has happened to Australian universities.

Academics and Vice-Chancellors

Coady's publication included critical perspectives of newly-established policies and created some controversy over academic freedom and the role of academics as critics of society. The controversy was enflamed by the rejection of the publication by the Board of Management of the Melbourne University Press, for reasons including that 'there is no room in a very limited market for such works' (Fraser 2000:240). This market focus has probably always been apparent in the publishing business, but is now also a central focus in the strategic plans of the university to which the University Press belongs: the University of Melbourne. The book was later published by a commercial publishing house, with the addition of an 'Afterword' that critiques the values and ideas that allowed its rejection.

These values and ideas are evident in the perspective of the University of Melbourne Vice-Chancellor at the time, Gilbert, who ran together two different arguments. Gilbert publicly advocated that universities should embrace marketisation, commercialisation, corporatisation and privatisation. He also advocated the dominance of efficiency over equity in Australian public universities (University of Melbourne 2000). The University of Melbourne is known for its innovation, enterprise and technological advances, and so could be described as a Schumpeterian university¹, arguably the most commercial or entrepreneurial of Australian universities. Its ventures include the floating of shares for its technologies, the establishment of many overseas campuses as an

¹ The economist Schumpeter is described by Jessop (2001:2) as 'today's emblematic economist'.

effect of its strategy of *internationalisation* and, with some controversy, the construction of the Melbourne University Private.

Gilbert was also the Chairman of *Universitas 21* (an international association of research intensive universities), and describes ideas that universities must be research institutions, and that they must be publicly funded, as heretical. Gilbert asserts that the ten most scholarly institutions in the world are private universities and they are the most exemplary in their commitment to 'the essential idea of a university' (Gilbert 2000:36). His arguments are examined in more detail in later chapters, but a central concern for Gilbert is that,

The greatest threats to academic freedom and the institutional autonomy of universities in the 20th century actually came from governments, not private patrons. Totalitarian environments exemplify that most clearly, but liberal democracies are not exempt. The attaching of strings to funding has been a conscious control mechanism much used by successive Australian governments.

Gilbert 2000:36

Such control mechanisms of state intervention were clearly concerns of Gilbert's in the difficult accreditation processes of Melbourne University Private. The university found difficulty in complying with state regulations. It also did not gain acceptance with the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC), and eventually folded in 2005. Gilbert voiced his concerns in his role as Vice Chancellor and therefore a member of the AVCC. The AVCC's relationship with the state is one of continual flux, and there are continuous shifts of policies, evident for example in their *Positioning Australia's Universities for 2020, An AVCC Policy Statement*. In this statement Gilbert and his colleagues assert that there is a 'clear requirement for further investment, and a more flexible university regulatory framework, for universities to achieve national social, cultural and economic development' (AVCC 2002:1).

This statement is an example of the fairly continuous critique of state policy that the AVCC produce, this time in response to the policy of 2002 (DEST 2002a). The AVCC respond by declaring that universities 'need the freedom to develop their own alternatives and relevant accountabilities, with rewards for

success. Resort to single policy options to solve the problems is not workable. An integrated package of change is required' (AVCC 2002:3). However while the AVCC called for further change the universities all complied with ongoing state policy changes, many of which came with strings attached to funding.

At the same time as the University of Melbourne was commercialising and privatising, in their strategic plan and elsewhere they describe how they are *Developing an entrepreneurial culture* (University of Melbourne 2000). This entrepreneurial idea clearly emanated from outside Australia, for example in the European Union's innovation program, and its main development plan, the Lisbon Strategy, both based on Schumpeterian economics (Schumpeter 1950). A commonly cited source is Clark (1998), who writes about *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organizational Pathways of Transformation*. Clark describes processes of transformation that took place over a fifteen year period in five European universities, and recommends 'organizational pathways of transformation' that include a 'diversified funding base' (a euphemism for reducing or limiting public funding); and an entrepreneurial culture in which academics become entrepreneurs.

Clark's text is cited extensively by universities and the state, for example by the Secretary of the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, Gallagher (2000b), in *The Emergence of Entrepreneurial Public Universities in Australia*, a paper presented at a Conference on higher education of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), in Paris in September 2000. The theme of the entrepreneurial university is also evident in conference papers from *The Idea of a University: Enterprise or Academy?* conference held in 2001 at the Australia Institute in Canberra. An argument which extends from Clark, for example by Gallagher (2001), is that increasing privatisation and commercialisation are necessary and not irreconcilable with 'traditional' ideas of universities which have changed over time. They contend that this is just another change that reflects changes in society.

Such ideas are contested by many academics. Marginson and Considine respond, in their analysis of *The Enterprise University*, that their 'central discovery and core argument' is that Australian universities 'now seem less sure of themselves. They are constantly being reinvented, yet are less capable of genuine self production than before' and that 'in becoming the Enterprise University, the university seems at risk of losing sight of its own distinctive features and achievements'. Their concerns are that 'the changes they make are forced upon them, and they show little capacity to forge unique adaptations' (Marginson and Considine 2000:6).

Such critical response is joined by others, for example James (2000), titled *Burning Down The House, The Bonfire of the Universities*, published by the Association for the Public University. James describes the concerns of this Association, formed in 1999, that 'the role of the university is being undermined by government policies on the one hand, and by corporatist administrative practices on the other', and that:

In recent times both Labor and Coalition governments have implemented policies that effectively reduce universities to mere business enterprises. As a result Australian universities have moved towards administrative structures and ideologies based on the business corporation - structures entirely inappropriate for carrying out the proper role of a university.

James 2000:13

Other protests link intervention by the state in universities to university autonomy and academic freedom, for example in *The Subversion of Australian Universities* (Biggs and Davis 2002), its political perspective also clearly marked by its publisher's title, the Fund for Intellectual Dissent. This publication includes a chapter on *The Unbalancing of Australian Universities* (Davis 2002) in which Davis describes in great detail a history that appears as a battle between ideas of universities. This publication represents many academics in a robustly contested debate over the reconstruction of Australian universities.

It is primarily academic literature that describes university reconstructions as undesirable. The positive accounts of how these reconstructions have changed Australian universities for the better, more often than not, come from other quarters. Particularly pragmatic Vice-Chancellors are sometimes enthusiastic about the possibilities. For example Hay, Vice-Chancellor at Deakin University from 1992-1995, described Deakin Australia as 'a wholly private arm of the university... selling certificate and associate diploma programs'. Hay extolled the virtues of the newly commercialised and market driven university. Hay predicted that within 10 years half Deakin's income would come from these and other non-commonwealth sources, and that this was the future for higher education in Australia (Maslen 1993:5). Ironically Hay was right in his predication, for reasons other than good business practices of the university. Ten years later, the sources of funding of all Australian universities had expanded exponentially from sources other than the state, primarily because the state cut university funding drastically (see Karmel 2000).

Other Vic-Chancellors believe the reconstruction has not yet gone far enough in creating market universities that must compete to survive. The Vice-Chancellor of Murdoch University critically describes 'a policy vacuum', in which Australia's universities remain the *Last of the Great Socialist Enterprises*. By this Schwartz (2000) explains that the regulation by the state of the university system protects 'the less popular' universities and courses and decides how much students pay. Therefore universities do not think of students as 'customers', and they do not have to act in markets or in competition with each other. Schwartz believes they should, as higher education is increasingly an international enterprise and he explains that there is a demographic time bomb ticking away. For Schwartz the present funding arrangements will not be able to cater for the demand in the near future. Australia needs a deregulated university system which, Schwartz concludes,

should lead to a much changed higher education landscape. There will be fewer institutions. Most will be larger, but a few will be smaller. Customers will have greater choice and greater control over

what gets taught and when. The country will benefit from having stronger institutions

Schwartz 2000:11

Here is a Vice-Chancellor who uses the discourse of markets - including concepts such as competition, *customers*, *choice* and *markets*, and proposes that more overtly market policies are needed, which will create a much changed higher education landscape. Schwartz states that universities '**will be forced** to change' because they are now in global competition, and 'universities **will have to** be market and customer oriented' (Schwartz 2000:9, my emphasis). For Schwartz, 'there is no alternative', an argument I return to below.

Think-tanks and the state

Vice-Chancellors are characterised by Norton as a 'roadblock' and part of 'a powerful coalition opposing change' (Norton 2002b:2). This characterisation is illogical, given the examples above of calls for further deregulation and reconstruction by Vice-Chancellors.

Norton is a key figure in the university debate. In 2002 he was the Director of the *Liberalising Learning* programme of the Centre for Independent Studies,² and a campaigner for further reforms, particularly for the *marketisation* and *liberalisation* of universities, arguments published in *The Market for Tradition* (Norton 2002a) and *The Unchained University* (Norton 2002b).

Norton proposes that the reconstructions of Australian universities need to go further, and is critical of those who argue that already 'traditional' universities as we knew them have disappeared. Norton points particularly to those he describes as 'traditionalists like Coady and Manne' (Norton 2002b:9), a term I will also use to facilitate this discussion. Norton's critique uses examples of

² The Centre for Independent Studies begins its web page with a quote from Hayek; '*We must make the building of a free society once more an intellectual adventure, a deed of courage. If we can regain that belief in the power of ideas which was the mark of liberalism at its best, the battle is not lost.*', see <http://www.cis.org.au/> (last accessed 2005).

'traditionalist' views, including James' preamble in *The Association for the Public University* (James 2000), Monk's submission to the West Review of Higher Education (1998), Manne (cited in James 2000) and Coady (2000).

Norton agrees with his adversaries that there is a 'crisis' in universities, but for Norton the crisis is the 'creation of policy', that there has been insufficient change. Norton's claim reflects current state political rationalities, including the idea that 'markets would work to enhance Australian higher education'. Norton's warrant is that further reforms

...could produce significant improvements in relatively short periods of time. If we removed the regulatory obstacles to investment in higher education financial pressures would ease, and if we introduced market signals we could allocate the investment more effectively

Norton 2002b:1-2

This claim is supported by another claim, about the nature of ideas of universities as 'traditional'. Norton argues that he has sympathy for 'the Coadys and Mannes of the world', but that 'disagreement with the traditionalists turns on one little three-letter word — that they are defending *the* idea of the university' (Norton 2002a:12, original emphasis).

Norton's argument is based on a false premise, that these 'traditionalists' mourn '**the**' idea of a university. Norton states that these views are demanding that a single idea of 'the' university be reinstated, and that they 'defend the university as an institution that is not utilitarian' (Norton 2002a:8).

This is not the case, as argued strongly by Coady, one of Norton's identified 'traditionalists'. In the text that Norton quotes, Coady describes 'ideas as ideals: Newman's outlook', whose 'primary interest is not in trying to fix eternally the usage of the word 'university', but in seeking to provide an educational ideal'. This strategy of treating 'idea' as 'ideal' is a philosophical one, a semantic strategy that makes clear 'the error of commentators who simply declare universities to be rightly committed to whatever current or historic roles they have assumed or have been viewed as having' (Coady 2000:5). Coady links this back to Newman's 1852

(1976) speeches, *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated: 1. In Nine Discourses Delivered to the Catholics of Dublin; 11. In Occasional Lectures and Essays Addressed to the Members of the Catholic University.*

One wonders if Norton had read Coady's arguments in detail before making his assertion about 'the' idea of traditionalists, as Coady points out that this strategy has 'the merit of fending off some by-now routine, painful detours into amateur philosophy of language which seek to show that we are wrong to talk about 'the university' and its 'idea' '(Coady 2000:5). Nor can it be said that these traditionalists idealise any historical ideas of universities, for 'We need not think that there was a golden age of universities when the ideal was realised fully or nearly so: the history of such institutions, as of all institutions, abounds in corruption, unjustified privilege, mediocrity and venality' (Coady 2000:5).

Coady, like other traditionalists, does not describe an ivory tower past where university culture is valorised, although this may be apparent in the discourses of Newman (1976). Coady is not unusual, there are many other descriptions of universities as privileged institutions which, except for a short period in Australian history, are decidedly un-egalitarian and elite.

This is the modern university which perpetuates ideological purposes of conferring and legitimating privilege and social position. For example Marginson describes the elite professional schools of universities which confer positional goods (Marginson 1992, 1997a). James reminds us that 'this is not to say that in the past they were simply places of learning and light' (James 2000:6). Hindess describes 'hotbeds of elitism', ranking systems within and between universities, and universities that 'develop significant relationships with economic, political and social elites' that attract disproportionate numbers of high status or wealthy students (Hindess 2004:232).

The second part of Norton's argument is that creating markets would allow what he calls 'traditionalist' university educational and vocationally oriented degrees to 'flourish side by side' (Norton 2002a:8). His argument is that 'traditionalist' strategies have been 'to demand that 'the' idea of a university be

reinstated' and passionately claims that this is neither desirable nor possible, a position he does not substantiate with evidence. Norton supports his perspective that 'we should not sacrifice the aspirations of so many people for advanced but vocational education in this way, and no democratic government would even contemplate it' with the argument that 'The traditionalists *have to* find a means of maintaining both the vocational university and the traditional university. And the best way to do that is to create a market system' (Norton 2002a:13, my emphasis). This argument is a version of the theme 'there is no alternative' (TINA). Maintaining both the vocational university and the traditional university is a commendable objective, however the second statement, that the best way to do this is with a market system, is an assumption that does not follow from the first statement.

The inevitability, that 'there is no alternative', of Norton's argument is described below as a specifically neoliberal strategy, as is the endeavour 'to create a market system'. Some, such as Connell (2002 and below), argue this has already proceeded too far, that markets have already substantially restructured Australian universities. They point out that state policies have successfully reshaped universities to become *internationalised* so that universities compete in international markets for students as consumers (see Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs [DEETYA] 1996c), that research has become substantially *commercialised*, practices described by, for example, Knowledge Commercialisation Australasia, (2002) and the *Commercialisation in humanities, arts and social sciences*, (CHASS 2004), and that universities are *marketised*, processes described by Marginson (1997a, 2003) and discussed by Meadmore (1998).

Connell describes how far it is believed these strategies have already transformed Australian universities:

In education, neo-liberalism has followed the general line of commodifying human services, promoting markets and shrinking the public sector. Where markets do not already exist, the strategy is to create them by corporatising public institutions, forcing them to

compete against each other and thus behave like profit-maximising companies - a process far advanced in Australian universities and TAFE³.

Connell 2002a:30

A primary concern that follows from such transformation of universities, for Connell and others, is that an effect of these restructures is the underpinning of the elite status of universities, and the strengthening of the financial privilege of access. This occurs with the increasing cost of participation. It is this issue that is sometimes described as the 'equality project', in which an argument is presented that universities should remain public institutions, and access should be equally available to all based on ability.

Marginson describes this 'equality project' as one in which there is some convergence between liberal philosophies on one side and Labor or socialist education philosophies on the other, although they understand the concept differently (Marginson 1986). The liberal idea of *equality of opportunity* is focussed on increasing opportunities for the individual, in which a student's merit rather than ability to pay fees is the basis for who should benefit (Whitlam⁴ 1972). Introduced in 1972 by then Prime Minister Whitlam, this philosophy utilises a discourse of egalitarianism that was the impetus for the 'free' higher education period in the 1970s and 1980s in Australia.

The 'left' view, for Marginson and others, is also one of equality of opportunity, but one that is equal for all social groups rather than individuals, sometimes described as the *equality of outcomes* perspective. The objective is the establishment of equal access of all social groups to higher education and the labour market (Marginson 1986, 1993).

³ TAFE is the acronym for Australian Technical and Further Education system of colleges in Australia.

⁴ Gough Whitlam was leader of the Australian Labor party, and prime minister from 1972–1975. During a budget crisis in 1975, he and his government were controversially dismissed by the Governor General of Australia.

Norton describes this commitment to equality of outcomes as 'one of the Left's defining characteristics' but argues that support for this project is inevitably linked to support for higher taxation, and that reforms should not be opposed just because they might cause greater inequality. Norton's argument is that income inequality 'is less important in itself', after all, 'money isn't everything' (Norton 2002c:41, 42). For Norton and others inequality is less important than the furtherance of market systems in higher education and the trend towards privatisation arrangements (Norton 2002c).

The furtherance of market systems and further 'liberalisation' is also about the resilience of universities. The relation of the welfare state with universities was clear, the state undertakes public provision of higher education and universities are primarily public institutions. A role of a welfare state is the redistribution of resources, and another to maintain the rights of citizens. In Australia for fifteen years (1974-1989) this included the right of equal access to universities based on ability, with the abolition of fees for higher education 'in the cause of greater equality' (MacIntyre and Marginson 2000:61).

However with the changes in rationalities that have accompanied the neoliberal shift, the role of the state in this provision has been minimised, and according to the Minister of the time, access to higher education is not a right, but a privilege that must be paid for (Nelson 2005). Further 'liberalisation' will exacerbate consequences for the cost of university access, therefore access increasingly depends on ability to pay.

Marginson's 'equality project', includes both equality of access to education and education as an instrument to promote equality in society. In Australia under the early liberal, then welfare state, equal opportunity for all in access to education was initially equal access to primary education, then secondary education, and eventually higher education or the tertiary sector, which includes colleges. In 1972 the policy speech of Prime Minister Whitlam, stated that 'Education is the key to equality of opportunity. Education should be the great instrument for the promotion of equality' (Whitlam 1972:7). From the 1974

academic year fees were abolished at universities, colleges of advanced education and technical colleges, and the (Commonwealth) state assumed full responsibility for financing tertiary education.

Such a goal of equality of opportunity in and through education appeared to unite for a time the opposing liberal and socialist education philosophies, but as Marginson argues, the liberals and socialists actually saw equality of opportunity in quite different ways. The neoliberal equality was equality of opportunity and upward mobility for individuals, which differed from the democratic socialist perspective of equality of opportunity for all social groups, in equal access to higher education on merit (Marginson 1986:47-48). For neoliberals, universities should offer a service for which the consumer-student pays. There is a 'user pays' system that operates in markets, and market mechanisms should apply.

The neoliberal argument for furtherance of market mechanisms is one for universities to further their presence as actors in global markets. Such a possibility was discussed openly at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conference, *Global Forum on Quality Assurance, Accreditation, and the Recognition of Qualifications in Higher Education* in Paris in 2002. It was suggested that some World Trade Organisation (WTO) members 'support the efforts of the WTO to ease restrictions on the import and export of higher education and attendant services' (Eaton 2003:14, UNESCO 2002).

It is argued here that there are serious consequences of treating higher education as trade services, like other services such as insurance, computers, or other public goods which have been privatised, such as utilities and water. Further 'liberalisation' or inclusion of Australian public universities as a service in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), will have consequences, including the loss of status of Australian universities as a public university.

Further liberalisation and marketisation strategies mirror a global programme for higher education in advanced neoliberal democracies (Vidovich and Porter 1997; Slaughter 2000), and shift relations between public universities and the state (Neave 1998). Such a shift in relations is the centrepiece of the

analysis described above of Readings (1996), who links his argument of the destabilisation of the Humboldtian idea of a university (described in Chapter 3) with the dissolution of the nation-state and economic globalisation. I argue in this research that the Australian university is now even more an institution of the state, however this is now an economic, market relationship. This new relation replaces an earlier relationship that was focussed on the public good, when ideas of universities included those of a 'civilising institution', which Readings describes as the legacy of the Enlightenment, as protector of national cultures (Readings 1996:5).

The diversity of universities over nine hundred year of history marks the longevity and persistence of universities, however it also is evidence of such an ability to adapt and change, especially in response to relations with the state. The Australian state has shifted political rationalities dramatically, from its colonial beginnings as one of world's first social democracies, to the establishment of socialism and the welfare state after World War II, to a specifically neoliberal state since the 1980s, acting in world markets and politics. These most recent changes have particular implications for the relations of the universities with the state, and changes in shape of universities. Such shifts have produced structural change and shifts of agency in university/state relations that have changed higher education in Australia dramatically. These effects are produced by the political rationalities that bring them about, to which we now turn.

2b. Political Rationalities

In this section I examine liberal and neoliberal political rationalities, in the context of global change and the Australian state. This is followed by considerations of mechanisms of global actors and local effects, viewed from a governmentality perspective.

These are political rationalities that are described in places as ideologies, and sometimes as hegemonic. This concept of ideologies is described by Gramsci, in the sense that they are specific systems of ideas that are coherent, although without negative connotation (see Gramsci 1971:376). Ideologies that are historically organic, in Gramsci's terms, are necessary to a given structure (Gramsci 1971:377).

Gramsci differentiates between domination and hegemony, particularly in the oppositions of state and civil society. Such hegemony is achieved by domination over others, although no rationality is ever dominant without resistance or opposition. Further, to achieve hegemony, a dominant ideology must have 'spontaneous' consent, and be supported by state coercive power (Gramsci 1971:12). This is what legitimates an order of discourse, which can be analysed to identify particular social structuring of semiotic differences. These differences appear as part of the legitimising common sense which sustains relations of domination (Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Fairclough 2001a). That legitimising common sense appears in political rationalities and their projects such as Liberalism, Social Welfare and Neoliberalism.

Liberalism

The earliest discussion of liberalism is probably John Locke's (1690) *Two Treatises of Government* (see Ashcraft 1986), but a liberal political party did not appear until 1812 in Spain, the century in which classical liberalism became firmly established. This was possible because of the emergent political structure of the state, in conjunction with what Foucault calls a 'problematic, new at the time, of 'society' (Foucault 1997:75). With this new concept of society came a need for government of that society, through the state and its institutions, a need that resonated at the time in many places with liberalism, which declares the rule of the state on the basis of public reason. This liberal rationality is reflexive and economic, society is the 'precondition and final end' which enables the technology

of government. However government should be limited, it is in place to allow or create the conditions for individual freedom and autonomy.

In response to this liberalism economists broke away from mercantilism and cameralism, and became the measure of government, represented by markets. It is here that the interest in markets is especially useful, for liberalism can be understood as a critical reflection of government practice, and the market is the measure of that government, which must be limited and not impede freedom. So a general understanding of liberalism was established that advocates progress and reform, but that was especially focussed on freedom.

Liberalism was selected at this time for its resonance (see Jessop 2004) in the milieu in which it emerged, generally a predominantly hierarchical society with an emerging affluent middle class. Liberalism was reinforced and inculcated by interests and groups such as property owners, 'objective interest correlations' of the bourgeois public sphere (Habermas 1991:63). Others it appealed to included freemasons, student associations and the 'Decembrists'⁵. Liberalism was appealing to many because there was a polymorph of different liberalisms, in Portugal, Spain, America and France for example, where liberal, conservative and revolutionary regimes alternated.

Clearly different versions of liberalism are contingent on their histories, they are time and space dependent. However it can be said that early liberalism generally included themes about democratic liberalism (as opposed to *libertarianism*), political liberalism, individual liberty, and freedoms — of speech, press, conscience, and association. This liberalism also set in place calculable populations that could be governed, through programmes with normative mechanisms: economically (taxes etc.), statistically (census and electoral roles), medically (hospitals and health services) and legally (laws, prisons), and defined communities through specific notions of autonomous citizenship.

⁵ Russian officers, influenced by liberal ideals while serving in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars, who rose against Czar Nicholas I in 1825

Social Welfare

It is generally understood that in a welfare state it is the state that has responsibility for the welfare of its citizens, typically protecting people against poverty through various payments and providing health care, education and housing for those in need. In common with liberalism, the welfare state also produces programmes with normative mechanisms to govern populations and achieve its socialist, democratic objectives.

The earliest social welfare state can be identified in the social insurance scheme introduced in Germany in the 1880s, emulated in Britain in 1911. However it became more widespread in the aftermath of World War II, following a meeting of powerful states at Bretton Woods, where (free) trade was advocated as the path to prosperity and peace. The contest of ideas that was later to produce neoliberalism began then as a struggle for the 'Commanding Heights' of the economy (Yergin and Stanislaw 2002). Perhaps in response to concerns about totalitarianism, it was the welfare state that emerged at this time, and Keynesian economics, which advocated that states control national and global markets. This Keynesian economics dominated capitalism and appeared in diverse socialist and social democratic states.

By the late 1940s Britain had become the first comprehensive welfare state. This is a particular type of welfare that was strongly related to its socialist political rationalities. By the mid-century Keynesian policies promulgated the welfare state throughout most of Europe and western democracies, in which the state controlled particular industries and utilities, described as a mixed economy (Keynes 1936). These states used Keynesian models to regulate the economy, including trade policies and mechanisms of protection and redistribution.

By the 1970s Australia had become a typical welfare state, although Bryson argues that the Australian version of the welfare state differs substantially from that of other welfare states. In Sweden, for example, state policies were

concerned with the 'welfare', or quality of life, of all its citizens. In contrast in Australia,

Welfare is not about all citizens but about those who are poor or relatively poor. Perhaps even more curious is the fact that a certain negative evaluation is associated with the receipt of 'welfare.

Bryson 1991:486

This Australian welfare state provided the basics of income, housing, education and health for the needy, but it became expansive and regulatory. Castles (1989) argues that Australia was a different welfare state on a different basis, explaining that during the twentieth century welfare in Australia was always residual, and often conflicted with state policies. This conflict is evident in the stark contrast between differing political rationalities at the time. Bryson's and Castles' perspectives have much in common with Offe (1984), whose reflections on the future of the welfare state were gloomy and prescient, correctly predicting that policies would shift substantially.

The Keynesian welfare state was supported by the ideas of philosophers such as Galbraith who wrote of *'The Affluent Society'* (1958) and Rawls (1971) whose moral philosophy looks for alternatives to the injustice and unfairness of unequal treatment, particularly in the redistribution of rights and resources. This was a topical theme after social experiments of the 1960s became problematic and in the 1970s when economic disorder was perceived to be commonplace in the social and economic policies of many states. This became a period of 'crisis' and major social restructuring, producing evolutionary mechanisms for change (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2003; Jessop 2004). The shifts that followed were caused by the extraordinary spread and consequent dominance of the neoliberal political rationale.

Neoliberalism

Although contested the welfare state remained dominant until the economic turmoil of the 1970s, when critics of Keynesian economics were recognised as justifiable. Two were awarded Nobel prizes for economics, von Hayek in 1974 and Friedman in 1976. They advocated a different economics, a framework of ideas in which the rights of the individual are pitted against a state that appears coercive. It was soon after this that followers of these policies of Friedman and von Hayek became heads of states, with the election of Thatcher in the United Kingdom in 1979, and then Reagan in the United States in 1981. It was in this context that neoliberalism eventually prevailed.

Von Hayek's treatise, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944)⁶, depicts problems of the power of states. His solutions were those of the unplanned economy and free competition, with an emphasis on liberty rather than security. Friedman described (with Rose Friedman) how the free market can effectively produce a balanced and non-inflationary rate of economic growth (Friedman and Friedman 1980; Friedman 1982), during a time when full employment was the goal of many states.

These new governments of Thatcher and Reagan inculcated and promulgated neoliberal policies, often in support of each other and in compliance with global policies set up by those strong states at Bretton Woods. By the 1980s concurrent policies appeared in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A., directed at trade liberalisation and supply-side economics. These were common economic policies which advocated small government and were supposed to limit state interventions. Using market liberal economics they attempted to promote economic growth by cutting taxes and by minimising government regulation of enterprises. One of the strategies to achieve this was limiting public services, public utilities and institutions, replacing these with market mechanisms.

⁶ Von Hayek wrote his 'political book' unwillingly, as he felt it would prejudice the reception of his 'more strictly academic work' (von Hayek 1944:5).

Such theories and ideas spread throughout Europe during the 1980s and 1990s, supported by the growing networks of money and capital, made more efficient by increasingly sophisticated technologies and by constant corroboration.

The Neoliberal Hegemonic Project

The increasing dominance of this neoliberalism can be posited as a response to the emergence of welfare states. However it is argued here that the rise of this neoliberalism can be understood better as struggles for hegemony. While taking on some characteristics of ideology, it cannot be described as such. These are strategic and considered struggles that entail contradiction and compromise, and are dependent on time and space. It is however possible to describe the formation and general patterns of this neoliberalism, just as Foucault, in his lecture of 1979, gave different descriptions of German post-War liberalism and the liberalism of the Chicago School (Hindess 1996b; Lemke 2001).

It is clear that few political parties or groups achieve power without some compromise. In undertaking compromise one group manages to convince another group that their objectives will be achieved by entering into an alliance in which the first group is the leading partner. For this particular neoliberal hegemony to be successful, compromises were made with contradictions of earlier classical liberalism that are important to note for this research. It is this confluence of elements which form the nucleus of the neoliberal hegemonic project.

This first contradiction is epitomised by Thatcher, and her declaration that 'There is no such thing as society' (Thatcher 1987). This is indicative of the compromise they had to have, with tensions created initially by early classical liberalism. This classical liberalism found itself at odds with the new society which had allowed its expansion, yet society was its object.

There were tensions between this society and individualism. *On Liberty* (1850) was an attempt by John Stuart Mill to resolve this tension, to reconcile the conflicting interests of individuals and society, at a time when a political

rationality of individualism was competing with liberalism for acceptance. The individualism of the Enlightenment advocated freedom of the individual, which in its extremes condemned all forms of collective, whether 'nation', 'state', or 'society'. In liberalism individualism translated to freedom from government regulation in the pursuit of a person's economic or social goals. The compromise of individualism is where liberalism differs from socialism or communism, other forms of government which focus on collective interests. Hindess (1996) locates the difference in the figure of the community of autonomous persons, which is ambiguous: it is both natural autonomy and an autonomy that is created by government programmes.

Liberalism's compromise with individualism is perhaps most apparent after World War II in human rights discourse, brought about by twentieth century oppressions of individuals. This discourse appeared in the post World War II hiatus, a space for states and societies to be restructured, for different hierarchies of power and different political rationalities to emerge. It was here the mechanisms for (neo)liberalisation were created: the United Nations in 1945, and institutions such as the World Bank and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, later GATS), which takes trade 'liberalisation' as its mission. The different world after war allowed different ways of thinking about that world, including the new economic and social arrangements of neoliberalism in von Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* (1944) and its compromises in *Individualism and the Economic Order* (1948).

By 1980 when Thatcher voiced her objections to society, she did so in defence of individualism, in the compromise which separates 'the government' and individuals. Individualism promotes the autonomy of individuals, but in a paradoxical characteristic of neoliberalism, Thatcher rejects programmes that were put in place to promote autonomy. These tensions are evident in this quote of Thatcher:

I think we've been through a period where too many people have been given to understand that if they have a problem, it's the government's job to cope with it. 'I have a problem. I'll get a grant.'

'I'm homeless, the government must house me.' They're casting their problem on society. And, you know, there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look to themselves first. It is our duty to look after ourselves, and then to look after our neighbour.

Thatcher 1987:10 in Dean 1999:151

This position is a repudiation of liberal programmes such as public housing, designed to promote autonomy, in order to govern autonomous communities of individuals, who must be able to 'look after' themselves.

The second contradiction between classical liberalism and neoliberalism is one of means and ends, linked to the tensions of the liberal contradiction of society and the individual. Under nineteenth century liberalism, economic growth was the means by which society was served. Under neoliberalism, the state is governed to perpetuate the market, and economic growth has become the end. What was the test (the market) has become the objective, the creation or sustenance of the market.

In order to perpetuate markets another compromise appears, this time with conservatism and its concerns for social order. Conservatism's objectives are to conserve the institutions of society, including family, property and hierarchy, the conservation of which depends on the intervention of the state. The uneasy compromise appears in the contradiction which requires state interventions, yet the neoliberal project requires a minimalist state. In Australia the neoliberal compromise is the maintenance of these institutions by the state. Marginson describes this as a 'deeper symbiosis' in which liberals and conservatives adopted the norms of the other. In this compromise both conservatism and neoliberalism came to see market competition as an instrument for maintaining stable and predictable human behaviour (Marginson 1997a:57).

Hindess might argue that such an interpretation would not be unreasonable, but that it would certainly be incomplete, that neoliberalism it is not simply a counterpoint to a decline of the Left or a conservative compromise, but a

shift of focus within liberalism itself. Neoliberal market mechanisms are more than just the maintenance of order; they are a repudiation of earlier liberal programmes (Hindess 1996:77). This is evident in the Thatcher quote above, which repudiates earlier programmes that were intended to promote autonomy, which contrarily appear to undermine the autonomy of the individual. This repudiation of earlier programmes is common to neoliberal projects in Thatcher's United Kingdom and in 1990s Australia. For example Dean describes the development of programmes such as 'Work for the Dole' in Australia that repudiates earlier welfare unemployment programmes. This is part of the establishment of markets in services that 'mark a shift in the instruments of government', and build on policy from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Dean 1998:90).

These common strategies are linked by global neoliberal policies such as OECD policies, which it is argued here, are particularly reflected in policies of higher education in Australia. This point is important for our understanding of the hegemony of global and state neoliberal projects. This differentiation of the global and state highlights that hegemony is layered in states, regimes and the world system (Gamble 1994). The neoliberal global hegemonic project epitomised by the OECD produces an entire system of values and attitudes that support the status quo in power relations that has become apparent in specific states and regimes.

Hegemony may appear across both state and regime, vertically and horizontally. Gramsci used the example of Fordism, as a new form of hegemony which used both coercion and force to make 'the whole life of the nation revolve around production' (Gramsci 1971:285). The example of Thatcherism emphasises the consent and contested aspects of such hegemony (Hall and Jacques 1983; Jessop, Bonnett, Bromley and Ling 1988 on Thatcherism; Wood 1998 for a critique).

The distinction between classical liberalism, which considers the state as a *laissez faire* state and the individual as one who would naturally act in an economically rational manner, and the neoliberal political rationality, one in

which the state has a different relation to markets and to the individual, is semiotic and discursive. In Gramsci's definition, the current dominant neoliberal discourse would be identifiably bourgeois, with its economic values and rhetoric. This neoliberal state is organised on market principles, and must direct and organise individuals and institutions in a like manner, using technologies of rule such as strategies of deregulation or 'relocating experts within a market governed by rationalities of competition, accountability and consumer demand' (Rose 1996:41). Relations with individuals have shifted from the earlier welfare relations, to one in which individuals are citizens who must make choices and have obligations and responsibilities to be economic citizens and consumers. Thus welfare programmes are reduced in line with a general withdrawal of the state in 'privatisation' programmes.

The convergence of such policies in many states is apparent horizontally, in many different policy areas, and vertically, in many states and international institutions, characteristic of hegemony. Although Bell advises that this 'neoliberal policy convergence in all policy areas is not inevitable' he also states 'there is little evidence of such discretion in Australia where neoliberalism has seemingly triumphed in all areas' (Bell 1997:363). While Bell argues that there is a neoliberal policy convergence, he argues against this as an overwhelming globalisation thesis. Yet there is a relationship between neoliberalism and globalisation that should be explored further.

Globalisation and Neoliberalism

Neoliberal programmes and mechanisms of government appear ubiquitous or remarkably similar to many others in time and place. Marginson describes this as the 'good fortune' of neoliberalism that it coincided with a qualitative increase in 'globalisation, a process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements were receding' (Marginson 1997a:57).

It is more useful to understand globalisation as a process or mechanism of neoliberalism, or even that 'globalisation discourse is in fact neoliberalism' (Joseph 2002:203). Joseph's argument is an articulate one, which describes globalisation as discourse, a strategy used by neoliberal politicians to justify their policies (Chapter 8 examines a related strategy that 'there is no alternative'). For Joseph 'the globalisation thesis serves the interest of the hegemonic project of neoliberalism' (Joseph 2002:203), and the hegemony of neoliberalism is based on the 'deregulating' policy of dominant states, most notably the United States.

Following this reasoning it is clear that the characteristics of neoliberalism as a political rationality resonated with the objectives of particular states. After World War II these states had the power to create transnational actors, such as the World Bank and later the World Trade Organisation, to facilitate the rationality, in a self-reinforcing cycle. Taking Joseph's reasoning further, 'neoliberalism' can be understood as referring to a political project that removes obstacles to 'the development of new capitalism' (Bourdieu 1998b; Fairclough 2001b:128). This includes the removal of strong welfare programmes of states, the restructuring of the relations between economic and non-economic and a rescaling of relations between the global and the local (Jessop 2000a; Fairclough 2001b). The capitalism is new because it is rescaled and restructured, described by Jessop as a re-networking of social practices (Jessop 2000a). An exemplar of such social practices that have been re-networked are the Australian public universities, that have been restructured into a system that can be governed differently, shifted into economic markets, rescaled ('internationalised') and reconstructed (as a service industry in global markets). This has been achieved using specific ways of ordering described here as governmentality.

2c. Governmentality

The governmentality perspective adopted in this research is based on the premise of political rationalities of government that originates with Foucault's concern with government and liberalism. This approach is useful to think of political rationalities, not merely as 'a retreat into the categories and dreams of political philosophy' (Barry, Osborne and Rose 1996:6), but as more than ideology, which would be limiting as it does not reach in to ways of thinking about government, the social and political spaces.

Foucault's *Governmentality* lecture and his lectures at the Collège de France become the basis of this school of thought, producing for example *The Foucault Effect* by Burchell, Gordon, and Miller, (1991) and *Foucault and Political Reason; Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and Rationalities of Government* by Barry, Osborne and Rose (1996), as well as many conferences, papers and other publications.

The theme of Foucault's Governmentality lecture of political rationalities is described by Lemke (2000:2) as the link between Foucault's previously disparate themes of the genealogy of the state and the genealogy of the subject and ethics. Gordon (2001: xxiii) notes that this was Foucault's response to the contemporary ascendancy in Germany and France⁷ of neoliberalism.

It is worthwhile to review the lengthy definition of governmentality as defined by Foucault:

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

⁷ In 1975 Prime Minister Raymond Barre undertook to move France sharply toward a free-market economy, reversing three centuries of government direction.

2. The tendency that, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led toward the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, and so on) of this type of power-which may be termed 'government'-resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of knowledges (*savoirs*).

3. The process or, rather, the result of the process through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gradually becomes 'governmentalized.'

Foucault 2000:219-220

Foucault described this as the paradox that allows the state to survive, the only real space for political struggle and contestation (Foucault 2000:221). More importantly for this research, it is:

... this governmentality, which is at once internal and external to the state-(since) it is the tactics of government that make possible the continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state and what is not, the public versus the private, and so on.

Foucault 2000:221

This redefinition of what is public is of particular concern to this research, and the tactics of government that shift the definition of Australian universities from public to private, away from the responsibility of the state to a reliance on markets.

The historical policy texts explored in this research represent the redefinitions of universities in state policies, and the redefinitions of state obligations of redistribution, and therefore what is 'public' and private. This emerges from the redefinition of the state, in the shift from welfare to post-welfare, described as post-socialist by Fraser (1997). This redefinition must redefine state policies, of state provision and entitlement (at one stage to a free higher education) of a distributive state, to the supervisory approaches of the neoliberal state. This neoliberal state has a different relation with universities, it is

now the responsibility of universities to locate funds from elsewhere, other than the state, through commercialisation and student fees (the user-pays principle). These recent changes include shifting mechanisms of increased supervision by the state combined with increasing self regulation by universities.

This governmentality framework in which Foucault places neoliberal political rationalities allows us to link these programmes and effects, evident in discourse and practice, and to identify strategies of neoliberal rationalities. State policies and programmes are seen by their effects, for example in programmes which problematise, in order to render the individual as an economic subject. The effects of these programmes are evident in both practice and discourse, for example in privatisation. The Australian public utility, *Telecom*, was reconstructed as a new hybrid public/private institution, *Telstra*, however full privatisation is the objective. Fifty percent of the utility was floated, and individuals were encouraged to buy shares, in a policy that overtly aims to create more active economic citizens. The theme was that 'every Mum and Dad' would buy shares and become shareholders. The effect was clear; many individuals who had never owned shares became economic actors in a much expanded market. Such effects of programmes upon markets are predominantly neoliberal in character.

The governmentality approach is useful to describe in this way particular political rationalities by identifying their constitutive elements and in some cases their effects, although these are not always evident. These constitutive elements are represented in diverse texts, in which particular semiotic and discursive characteristics make them amenable to discourse analyses. In this discourse concepts, and combinations of themes, constitute a specific sets of ideas that can be described as a particular political rationality. Thus concepts, themes or phrases, although these may not have a 'one-to-one relation to the objects to which they refer' (Jessop 2004:164) can be attributed, for example, to a neoliberal political rationality.

Their semiotic characteristics are relevant to the success or failure of these particular neoliberal rationalities, which may depend on reshaping material realities to correspond to the semiotic construction of what 'ought' or 'should be'. This is apparent in neoliberalism which produces a normative discourse, which by its political rationality must continue to restructure the individual, the state and the social to ensure their amenability to markets. The market must have free trade and institutions must become actors competing within markets, for the success of the neoliberal project.

An example of the semiotic characteristic of this neoliberal rationality is apparent with the initial re-introduction in Australia of student fees for university study in 1989. These were described euphemistically as 'contributions' (in the Higher Education Contribution Scheme or HECS), then in a more recent shift in discourse, when 'vouchers' became politically precarious, they were translated to student 'entitlements'. In some cases a programme may fail, but the effects can be obtained through different discursive strategies, mechanisms and practices.

Students become active in markets for education, responsible citizens who have choice in their investment in education, they also become active economic citizens when they take up student loans. This is a calculable undertaking which the state governs, from a distance, through universities as the agents. As agents these universities collect fees and keep performance statistics of students as output.

Such programmes, their mechanisms and effects can be identified within this governmentality framework. The mechanisms may be global or local, and the effects may conflict with the objectives. An example of a political rationality, concerned with minimisation of the state, is described in one Australian policy as *Mutual Obligation*, in which the state objective

... is to strengthen individuals-in-community rather than extend the reach of central government ... in programmes which might otherwise involve armies of public servants spending sums of money which sound like telephone numbers.

Abbott 2000 n.p.

This programme of the diminution of the state and the economic responsibility of citizens is mirrored in other neoliberal states - New Zealand, Denmark and Sweden - where attempts to restrain the size of the public sector included 'the opening up of government provision of services to competition', which in effect separates public policy from the production of services, and shifts responsibility for service quality to the consumer and the workings of public choice (Schwartz 1994a).

From a governmentality perspective these become, in effect, government at a distance and self-government of individuals (and individual organisations) that reconstruct relationships, institutions and organisations (such as universities). That the latter reconstructions are also in compliance with global or extra-state policies such as Trade Agreements, or policies of international actors such as World Bank, UNESCO or the OECD, is evidence of the convergence and dominance of such political rationalities, and in some instances the dominance of their international policies over state policies. The use of common discourse by these actors indicates the shifting nature of the state and increasing interaction in global networks of once state-centred actors, including universities.

It becomes apparent that other mechanisms are set in place, to shift the responsibility from the state to the self governed and economically rationalist individual, often in a contractual relation with the state. The rationality of 'choice' is focussed on the individual (and some groups of individuals such as the family, but only certain types of families), or individual organisations, rather than collectives (for example universities rather than a higher education system). It is accompanied by moral and economic imperatives, the 'responsibility' of the individual, and plays down any state responsibility to provide 'public' equivalents, such as public utilities or public higher education. The effects are clearly to translate any consequences and risk to the individual and the market, and the focus on the individual becomes both moral and economic.

The coherence of such programmes is evident. Hindess is able to describe 'a degree of programmatic coherence representing the emergence of a new regime

of government', in this case 'an overall shift in the nature of liberalism' (Hindess 1997b:22). Given this coherence, it is possible to examine the rationalities with confidence, that they are identifiable and describable as a study of government, mechanisms and their effects.

Such studies of government would address that dimension of our history composed by the invention, contestation, operationalization and transformation of more or less rationalized schemes, programmes, techniques and devices which seek to shape conduct so as to achieve certain ends.

Rose 1999:3

From this perspective these activities and their instigation, for example that portrayed by Miller and Rose (1990) as government at a distance, appear as mechanisms utilised to encourage self-governance and self-discipline. Jessop perhaps more aptly describes 'metagovernance', a term used to describe the enhanced role of the state in managing forms of governance, requirements for self regulation, and intervention in the case of governance failure (Jessop 1998).

The mechanisms that produce self-regulation of institutions are analogous to that of the increasing regulation of the self (Rose 1990), portrayed so famously by Foucault (1991, 2000), redefined in governmentality literature as the practices of self-regulation of liberal and neoliberal forms of governance (Miller and Rose 1990; Gordon 1991; Hindess 1997a; Barnett 1999). In what appears to be a contradiction, the increasingly supervisory role of the state is apparent in policy texts. One example is *The Quality of Higher Education* (DETYA⁸ 1999b), which exhorts universities to undertake *processes of performance management, quality assurance, strategic planning and global benchmarking*. These and other texts become parts of a set of tools and techniques of governmentality, which explicate and control the conduct of the institutions of the state, utilising a particular discourse transposed from another described as *new management*. Thus the tools and techniques are used to name and frame that which is within their competence

⁸ At the time the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA), now the Department of Education, Science & Training (DEST)

or which is the business of a state, one which is continually redefining itself and aspects of the public and private. It is possible to identify mechanisms and effects of such particular discourse that translates university activities to those of business, industry or commerce, from where the discourse originates.

These texts and tools that are continually changing, aligned to changing state policies and practices, increasingly guide universities. Legally universities are also regulated by University Acts, and they conform to other regulations that control the businesses and activities of universities, such as commercial activities, numbers and types of enrolments and student fees. These Acts and regulations are defined by continuously changing legislation and policy documents, which represent the programmes of the state of that time, the technical means by which the state shapes and reshapes practices and institutions (Dean 1999:18). This ensures the regulation of both '*conduct of conduct*' and '*practices of government*' (Dean 1999:10).

It is in these policy documents that the state creates a politics of discourse, in which it problematises that over which it claims agency. Thus

... statecentric modes of management subject these features of our lives to 'policy', i.e. to reflective, rational, deliberative and purposeful discursive interventions, such as the *White Paper on Higher Education*.

Yeatman 1990a:153.

Yeatman's (1997) examples of contracts as a pervasive technology of government include previously public services contracted to private and community agencies, agreements made by the unemployed such as '*work for the dole*', and *enterprise agreements*. These are clearly contracts that are 'the core of an autonomous rationality of government' (Hindess 1997b:18). To this list can be added the increasing *contractualisation* of academic teaching. These diverse technologies of *contract* or *audit* and *performance* (Dean 1999:168), are continually being added to the assemblages of governance of universities by the

state. They are orderings that bring about incremental change to the norms of society.

These terms originate in other discourses, terms recontextualised in university practices until their origins become obscure. Assemblages of discourses of these texts, and the technologies of neoliberal governments they represent, are recreating our understanding of government, the state and public institutions such as the public universities. They do this by constructing discursive formations which are sufficiently powerful to reposition agency and transform the position and identity of public institutions. These transformative processes establish régimes of truth (Foucault 1980:131), which create new norms for the identities of public institutions, in some cases reshaping them completely so that they are no longer public but private, or some combination of both. However it is through these discursive formations that it is possible to analyse such shifts.

In this chapter I have looked at the arguments about 'traditional' ideas of universities and reconstructions of Australian universities. The arguments are clearly about the extent to which Australian public universities have changed and whether these changes should go further. The arguments are about the effects, and the political rationalities described here that produce the mechanisms that bring about these effects. Governmentality is the perspective used in this research to understand and recognise specific mechanisms and effects. In the following chapter I explore the context from which these transformations of universities emerged.

* * *

Chapter 3

A History of Ideas of Universities

Universities have always been significant actors in Western states, and are now foundational contributors to national economic growth. Current Australian universities are described as belonging to a unified system, as an international(ised) service industry and an export industry in a knowledge-based economy. These universities are utilitarian and are made accountable using economic criteria. These are substantial shifts of agency and structure from that of earlier, pre-Dawkins universities.

There are clearly discontinuities in the history of universities and there are diverse ideas that contribute to any contemporary identity of universities. In this chapter I scan essential ideas of universities that appear at the time of the foundations of the earliest universities, and ideas that became established with the formation of both medieval and early modern states. The chapter continues with a narrative of historical ideas and the effects of these ideas on universities from the Enlightenment to contemporary Australia.

This is not a progressive history, rather a series of diverse illustrations of historical ideas of universities. The aim in this chapter is to highlight the persistence and continuity of universities, to establish a background for the research that follows, from which to investigate the mechanisms of change and its effects.

These ideas of universities are signs, they signify different concepts and ideas using specific words, and as Bhaskar notes, sometimes metaphors and analogies in specific concepts (Sayer 2000a:36). These are not conflated with the referent, although it is expected there is some coherence between the signifier, the

signified and the referent. There has never been a single 'idea of a university', contra to Norton's (2002a, 2002b) arguments. Ideas of universities, the signifiers that make up any discourse of universities, are contingent, multiple and diverse, and are agential in the referent they constitute and at times are active in the transformation of universities. Although universities persist over time, they are continuously reshaping their identities. There is, however, a unity of discourse of universities, not based on the 'permanence and uniqueness of an object'; rather, it is based 'on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed', as Foucault describes, in his discussion of a different discourse (1992:32-33).

It is this space of emergence that produces new phenomena, that makes possible and defines the transformations of universities, and their identities through time and space. It is here that there are discontinuities in the ideas of a university, yet some ideas persist, and appear in the constitution of contemporary universities. Of interest is the interplay of contemporary rules about the space in which various objects emerge, objects 'which have properties which are irreducible to those of their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their existence' (Sayer 2000a:12).

Objects of this discourse do persist and reappear in different relations; for example the ideas of utilitarian universities, and of traditions of learning and enquiry, of the dissemination of knowledge and the education of scholars. There are also discontinuities of connections or networks, such as the relations between universities and the political authority of the church or patrons, or mechanisms of economics, politics and ideologies. This discussion begins with the emergence of an idea of a corporate university, it describes other ideas that have persisted in diverse contexts, and it concludes with historical shifts and changing relationships of universities and states.

3a. Early Ideas of a University

University, Middle English - (Old and Modern) French. *université* - Latin. *universitas* the whole, the whole number (of), the universe, (in later juridical lang.) society, guild, corporation (whence the medieval academic use *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*)

Onions 1991:2420

Universities in modernity, although diverse, are derived from the European medieval *Universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, translated as the university of masters and scholars. These earliest known universities appeared prior to the emergence of the modern state, and belonged to no state, but were bodies of scholars from many different regions. They emerged as associations of students or masters, who travelled to centres where noted teachers of philosophy, law or medicine lectured. Emerging in this space before modern states, universities formed relations with church and local communities, with students and intellectuals.

The schools described as *Studium Universale* or *Studium Generale* were the origin of an idea of a university that has persisted, and was echoed by Newman in 1852. Newman spoke of the *Studium Generale*, or ‘School of Universal Learning’, which:

... implies the assemblage of strangers from all parts in one spot: - from all parts: else, how will you find professors and students for every department of knowledge? and in one spot: else, how can there be any school at all? Accordingly, in its simple and rudimental form, it is a school of knowledge of every kind, consisting of teachers and learners from every quarter.

Newman 1998:3

The Corporate University

University: A class of persons regarded collectively; a corporate body –1678. The university of the chancellor, masters, and scholars, is one corporation 1868.

Onions 1991:2420

This medieval *universitas* of scholars, either students, for example in Bologna, or masters such as in Paris (see Table 1 for the dates of establishment of these universities), was the original corporate model. The idea emulated the medieval guild system, which persisted for some time. For example Hobbes, writing in 1651, described:

That which is now called a University is a joining together, and an incorporation under one government, of many public schools in one and the same town or city, in which the principal schools were ordained for the three professions: that is to say, of the Roman religion, of the Roman law, and of the art of medicine. And for the study of philosophy it hath no otherwise place than as a handmaid to the Roman religion: and since the authority of Aristotle is only current there, that study is not properly philosophy (the nature whereof dependeth not on authors), but Aristotelity. And for geometry, till of very late times it had no place at all, as being subservient to nothing but rigid truth.

Hobbes 1998:445-446 (ch. 46:13)

This corporate university is quite different from the contemporary corporate university model that we currently describe in a different business-management sense (for this see Gallagher 2000a). However, it is this concept that produces the present idea that 'the academic *is* the university' (Gilliver cited in Westerhuis 2002).

Knowledge Producers

The origins of these earliest universities were in the church, and many grew from monasteries or cathedral schools such as the Cathedral School of Notre Dame, which later became the university at Paris. However, this too was contingent, for the dominance of theology was contested in the twelfth century, when different knowledges contested church domination. As Davies writes, the

... 'twelfth-century renaissance' established the principle that secular learning had value apart from theology, although it was not acceptable that educational institutions should be set up without licence of the Church.

Davies 1997:361

Other scholars also attribute the beginnings to a knowledge revival or renaissance in the twelfth century, when there was a 'great influx of new knowledge into Western Europe' (Haskins 1965:4). These new or revived knowledges included the Arabic numeral system, Euclidean geometry, Greek medical knowledge and, very importantly for the later emergence of states, Roman law, which had been almost lost during the so-called Dark Ages.

These universities were the sites of experts or intellectuals. Students travelled to hear them lecture, and formed nations of students in foreign towns. These nations resided together for protection in colleges. In this way, the University of Paris (about 1150) became a leading centre for theology and philosophy, Bologna (1088) in Italy for law and Salerno (1173) for the study of medicine.

Table 1. Earliest European Universities, 1088-1391

(after Davies 1997:1248 'European University Foundations 1088-1912')

* University founded from an older institution, (dates) indicate refoundations

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These and later universities usually presented what was called a liberal arts curriculum, consisting of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and the *quadrivium* (music, astronomy, geometry, and mathematics). These were a prerequisite for professional studies of theology, law, or medicine. Latin was the academic language, and the universal language of Europe and of the church; a mechanism that was to persist until very recently in both the church and some universities such as Oxford. Lectures were delivered by summarising or expounding on texts, students made copies and were expected to memorise the text. At the end of his studies (no women students were recorded), a student wrote and defended a thesis or tract, and if successful, was then awarded a master's or doctor of philosophy degree which licensed him to teach.

Universities, as the creators and disseminators of knowledge and the site of experts, have retained the right to grant degrees. The idea of the universities as the location of intellectuals and experts (not synonymous), and the centre of knowledge, has also persisted, although is now contested, for example by professional bodies, research centres and think tanks.

Fees and Degrees

Medieval church-funded universities were created to educate theology students and clerics; others took on various students who could pay for their lectures. However there were scholarships available at some of these early universities; for example at the university of Montpellier in 1369, for students in grammar (Thorndike 1975:249). Montpellier is perhaps the earliest indication that there was an idea of a public good in university education.

Professors created their own associations, which had authority to establish examinations and thus to grant licences to teach. This licence was the earliest form of an academic degree (Haskins 1965). These degrees were postgraduate, awarded after completion of the first liberal course of study, which was then followed by a professional degree. These ideas constitute a system of academic

practices reflected in the continuity of the *Licence* in France, and in contemporary Masters and Doctoral degrees.

An academic of today would recognise much that was familiar in universities of the later Middle Ages: lectures organised over a semester, and the textbooks and readings in the classics. There is continuity in some of the traditions preserved for graduation ceremonies, and examinations, described by Foucault as exercises of power (Foucault 1991:187). These examinations and ceremonies of graduation represent the autonomy of the university and its power to confer degrees and recognise an individual's credentials.

3b. Ideas and the State

Early modern states emerged through struggles for power between medieval empires, kings and local lords, machinations¹ which entailed warfare and military power. During such times of military and political upheaval, success depended on the ability to organise military strength, or on the 'means of coercion' (Held 1995:53). Military legitimisation of power was in some ways mitigated by the revival of Roman law, taught at universities, that authorised local rulers' sovereignty, legalised private property, and allowed for taxes. Schwartz describes the formation of states as founded on 'lawyers, guns and money' (Schwartz 1994b:18ff.).

The shifting political authorities of church and state were the stimulation for the foundation of many early universities (see Table 2). Universities were useful to monarchs and to the church; they not only educated their young for careers in church and state, but also retained some control over the knowledges of God (theology) and of law.

¹ The term comes from Machiavelli (1940) who wrote a treatise in 1532 that advised 'the Prince' how to govern and maintain power

Table 2. European Universities, 1401-1600

(after Davies 1997:1248 'European University Foundations 1088-1912')

* University founded from an older institution, (dates) indicate re-foundations

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

The control of knowledge which had previously belonged to the church was now located in experts in universities. Such control enhanced the status of universities, and of the state in which they were located. The ideas of universities as dispensers of truth and guardians of initiative and independence originated at this time, and legitimised these early universities. Riddle (1993) observes that prestige was the primary reason for establishing universities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However their utilitarian aspects were also of primary importance, to a prince establishing authority and the legitimacy of the state, and to the local region, which benefited financially from the presence of a university.

The extraordinary growth in the number of universities during the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century appears at the same time as a growth in the belief of knowledge as an agent of comprehension and thus of control, and an increasing use of statistics and gathering of knowledge. Foucault (2000) describes this as shifting power to 'government' in processes which transformed the state during this time. These government strategies were adapted from the Church by the state. These included, for example, questionnaires, particularly those intent on empire building (Burke 2002:126). The knowledges required for these technologies shifted from the church to universities, and so universities formed new relations with states. The universities that were established at this time most often persisted, and student numbers increased, as the nobility fitted themselves to rule in the emergent modern state. These were the elites who controlled government, they were also those educated in the universities or who employed those from universities.

However the earliest of princely states were short-lived - with a few exceptions their success was so limited that, by Davies' estimation, not one of thirty sovereign states on a map of 1493 survived 500 years (Davies 1997:456). The nation-states that followed were better at survival, legitimated by political apparatuses which 'reflected and/or represented the views and interest of its citizens' (Held 1995:49). This modernist invention differentiates the nation-state

from its precursors in many ways, particularly in mechanisms that became state apparatuses. Foucault describes the change:

... from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries onwards, there was a veritable technological take-off in the productivity of power. Not only did the monarchies of the Classical period develop great state apparatuses (the army, the police and fiscal administration), but above all there was established at this period what one might call a new 'economy' of power, that is to say procedures which allowed the effects of power to circulate in a manner at once continuous, uninterrupted, adapted and 'individualised' throughout the entire social body.

Foucault 1980:119

Foucault's state is political and its nationality is prescribed by fixed borders. The state's political nature is expressed by its internal configuration of state and civil society, which consists of interest groups and political parties that contest ideas of policy, and which fight over the distribution of resources. Universities were situated within these growing nation-states by location as a site of knowledge; for example their status which had become evident much earlier, during the Great Schism. They produced educated citizens, were instrumental in the building of nation-states and they attracted international funds.

Riddle's (1993) analysis of the relationships between university and state finds that the relationship is linear: when the state's importance increases, so too does the power of the market and the subordination of universities (and church) to the state. Riddle links the control over knowledge to this linear relationship, supported by evidence that shows how monarchs restricted citizens to their own, by now national, universities (Riddle 1993:53). Whereas once universities consisted of many nations of students, later it became a nationalised university, located within the boundaries of the state. Restricting citizens to national universities was a strategy that offered the state, and the monarch as its representative, prestige and control. In situations where these newly emerging states were competing with other states and with the church for power and

legitimacy, the control of knowledge was a status symbol as well as a source of power. Universities and the state had entered into a long, persistent relationship.

Legitimation and Privileges

The earliest medieval universities usually included a charter from the church, were endowed or patronised by popes, bishops, emperors, monarchs or municipalities, and were extended privileges or protection by these powers. Such privileges eased tensions of town and gown, by placing students and academics under university regulations. For example in Paris there were tensions within the community between citizens and the university, whose students and teachers were treated differently in law. The support of the Capetian kings gave the university protection and status, particularly from the people of the town in which the university resided. Such tensions were common between universities and the communities in which they were located. This is evident in university records which have survived from Padua, Heidelberg, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Bologna and elsewhere from as early as 1170, for example the *Papal Defense of Student Privileges* (reproduced in Thorndike 1975). Rait (1969) and Cobban (1975:75-95) give further evidence for the tensions between university and town.

Such monarch or church protection also regulated the giving of licences, or the conferring of degrees, by confining this privilege to the associations of scholars. This power enabled the emerging autonomy of universities and reduced ecclesiastical or other control of universities. These legal arrangements are reflected in the contemporary University Act. In Australia, at the time of writing, University Acts are a local state requirement that legitimates and protects universities, in the use of the title university and in the entitlement to award degrees. Other regulations of activities of universities and university campuses are reflected in the power of the Rector and in the punishment for student refractions in various contemporary university statutes and legislations.

Governance

The management of medieval university affairs was the prerogative of either the associations of masters or the nations of scholars. Some early associations of students were able to regulate the professors and their lectures. The early colleges of masters and professors laid down the organisation and administration of their universities, by setting up collegial systems. These collegial systems appear in the earliest *Studium Generale* of which Newman spoke, and were initially divided into four or five faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine, Arts or Philosophy, and Music, all incorporated by charter. Internal governance consisted of a self-governing academic body (Davies 1997:361). These ideas of governance and representation are contested in contemporary Australian universities, for example in council membership which includes state representatives and students.

Colleges were often autonomous and separated from the town. In some cases colleges took over parts of the town, for example in Paris, Bologna, Oxford and later in Cambridge. These unique collegial systems, similar to Guilds, consisted of and were governed by councils or faculties, or fellows who belonged to one of the colleges. Such arrangements of colleges and faculties as the university still persist in many places. Within these organisational structures there are other historical continuities, such as the positions of deans and rectors. In Australia deans are no longer elected but are appointed, usually under contract, but they persist, as are rectors of the university (in some universities supplanted by the chancellor), and professors. Colleges have persisted, for example, at Oxford and Cambridge, and the college system and its ideas have been taken up in many American universities.

Student representation is evident in these earliest of universities, for example the student associations of Bologna. These were nations of students that reflected the structure of medieval guilds; they were powerful enough to negotiate rentals in the town and the prices of books, which were sometimes so expensive

they were hired out. Students paid fees to professors, and at some universities professors were placed under bonds by students, who regulated the times and places of lectures.

Autonomy

The earliest foundations of universities placed them under the control of the powers of the time. Initially this was the church; later it was feudal lords or towns under the rule of a monarch who exercised authority over universities, particularly in emergent early states. Haskins describes ‘the great age of professorial control’ (Haskins 1965:50), when medieval universities were in many ways much more autonomous than today, particularly those founded by the church.

The emergence of the modern state created more diversity in the governance of universities and from this diversity emerged different ideas of universities. Many of these developing states took on the patronage of existing universities, and many more universities were created, in what is described as the ‘expansion of the university movement’ (Wieruszowski 1966:177).

Universities had some autonomy under the privileges proffered by the church, by particular popes or by kings, and in some cases by the citizens of the towns in which they were located, for example at Ferrara in Italy (see below). This autonomy and the status of universities became apparent when Europe was divided by a ‘great schism’ in the church, beginning in 1378 and continuing until 1418. During this time, when there was extensive political manoeuvring over the elections of popes, the universities played an important role as policy makers and advisors (Swanson 1979:1). It was their identity as autonomous institutions and as international communities in a very real sense, which gave them such status.

However we should be critical of generalisations about such autonomy. In writing of *The Great Schism* (of the church) Swanson contends that:

The lingering notion of the international status of the universities as representatives of the supra-national community of learning meant that they could be conceded the authority to debate and pronounce on the means of attaining the reunification of the divided church. Not, admittedly, that they could do this with impunity, but nevertheless with a good deal of independence.

Swanson 1979:2

Swanson points to this time, in which there were also reformations of various states and empires, as one of a generalised economic crisis. This was reflected in changing relationships between the universities and the higher, generally secular, authorities. The power of the church was reduced and princes and governments sought more effective control over their academics, subjecting the universities to increasing restrictions on individual movement and independence (Swanson 1979:10).

In contrast to Swanson, Cobban does not attempt to generalise, noting the difficulty with the sources that are so localised, pointing out that the relationship between the medieval universities and society has not been adequately explored, as the materials for such an undertaking are so diversified and so widely dispersed, 'synthesis can only be partial and tentative' (Cobban 1975:218).

While these relations may not be clear in the historical records, examples from the university texts can be used to highlight particular cases. The 'generally secular' authorities Swanson refers to were an apt description for the end of the fourteenth century in Florence and other Italian universities, which at the time transferred university financing to the state budget and so diminished university autonomy (Swanson 1979:10). However the situation in Europe during the later Middle Ages is much more complex. Changing politics of church, state and empire exacerbated tensions for all universities, and their ideas, although remarkably similar and continuous, reflect local and regional contexts. In some universities the church retained a great deal of control, particularly those with theological colleges, for example at Dublin, Cambridge or St. Andrews. In some Italian universities, for example, the universities became more dependent on the

town in which they were situated, ruled by town statutes such as at Ferrara. In other universities the scholars were autonomous, for example at Paris, where scholars were able to write their own statutes, and to prosecute citizens, such as an ‘unlicensed woman surgeon’, who practised medicine without their approval, examination or licence (Thorndike 1975:289-290).

Utilitarian ideas

Thus universities take on contingent identities suited to the local context in which they emerge, although there are shared ideas in many places which construct these early universities in a common mould. For example most early universities had a utilitarian mission to educate clerks and professionals for the church such as at Oxford and Cambridge, for the legal profession as at Bologna, or physicians, as at Salerno. This was a time of professional education and elitist institutions. Their contingency was based on relations with the state, ruler, or community in which they were located. These differences have been described as cultural, and a few examples support this description.

There is evidence for clear distinctions between the utilitarian and legal culture of Italy, southern France and the Iberian Peninsula, and the exploratory intellectual atmosphere produced in the different contexts of northern France and England (Cobban 1975:218).

In Italy the utilitarian identity of the university is apparent in a letter from the citizens of Ferrara to their Prince, asking that the university be re-formed (see Text 1. *Reasons For Re-Establishing A University At Ferrara*). It is of note that not only are the citizens interested in the commercial advantages, but that they also see an advantage for the townspeople to have access to a university education. They mention the status the university would bring to the town, and they are still concerned for this a year later when they write another letter which attempts to rid the town of ‘*ignorant school teachers*’ who have set up shop since

the university reformed (Thorndike 1975). This letter is the earliest evidence for ideas of universities as a public good, of benefit to the region and the community.

In contrast the unique Scottish universities emerged is typical of the regional diversity that should produce differentiation, and yet contrarily Cobban concludes that 'there are only a finite number of ways in which university components can be arranged, and most of these found expression in the medieval situation' (Cobban 1975:235). Table 2 gives the dates for university foundations during the later Middle Ages and through the Renaissance. Dates for the Reformation, a time of the emergence of humanist thought and scientific discovery that become so important to university activities, are ill-defined (see Davies 1997:469ff.).

Local context becomes even more significant during the Renaissance and Reformation. In general there was a continuation of classical studies in universities, but humanist philosophies were also prominent. The Reformation refocused studies in universities on religious doctrines, aligned with Catholic or Protestant Churches that controlled the universities. Most universities again became the focus of theological studies, and emphasised ecclesiastical education, producing predominantly priests and ministers. Others focussed on professional education, producing lawyers and physicians.

In summary the earliest ideas of utilitarianism can be described as initially predominantly church-oriented, although some universities had become independent of the church. As early as 1401 Cambridge won freedom from ecclesiastical control over the selection of the Chancellor. At Oxford academics were able to teach sciences and mathematics based on Aristotle, which was not allowed at Paris, where a Papal ban on Aristotle had been imposed in the early thirteenth century (Cobban 1975:107).

Text 1. Reasons For Re-Establishing A University At Ferrara

Signed By Joannes De Gualengis, Judge Of The Board Of Twelve Wise Men Of Ferrara, Eight Wise Men, And Twenty-Three Citizens, January 17, 1442

A supplication was directed to the illustrious and mighty prince, Leonello, marquis of Este etc. and our exceptional lord, from a number of the most respected and prudent citizens of Ferrara, in which they suggested to that prince an outstanding boon for this his city, that he reform its university ...that a university be established in this city, which step would be of the greatest utility, praise and honor.

For, to begin with its utility, strangers will flock hither from various remote regions, and many scholars will stay here, live upon our bread and wine, and purchase of us clothing and other necessities for human existence, will leave their money in the city, and not depart hence without great gain to all of us. Moreover, our citizens who go elsewhere to acquire an education and take their money there, will have an academy at home where they can learn without expense, and our money will not fly away. Besides, there are many excellent wits in this town of ours which remain undeveloped and lost, whether from the carelessness of their fathers or their own negligence or lack of money. These will be aroused by the presence of a university and the conveniences for study, and will be enabled to pursue their education without great expense. What praise, what honor there will be for our city, when the report shall spread through the whole world that we have our own seat of good disciplines and arts. Great indeed and one sought by every city, should opportunity offer....: That a university be set up in this city, and may it be a great success. And they chose the undersigned jurists and eminent citizens to cooperate -with our prince in selecting Reformers of this university after the custom of other universities.

Borsetti, *Historia almi Ferrariae gymnasii* 1735:47-49,

cited in Thorndike 1975:333-334

In general the independence from the church of these universities was tempered at first by the influence of monarchs, also reflected in the utilitarianism of universities, and later by the state apparatus that would more closely govern university activities in many places. Autonomy of universities was influenced by increasing mercantilism, and the status that universities bring to their community, the town or state in which they are located.

Humanism

Humanism is an idea that places humans at the centre of a world view, and which emerged from the 'New Learning' of the fifteenth century. This intellectual movement looked back to ancient texts, and emphasised a linguistic and literary education. Humanism, which preceded the Enlightenment, was at first resisted in many universities, such as Cologne. Adherents to the older academic syllabus were denounced as obscurantists by the humanists who gained a foothold at Cologne (University of Cologne n.d.). Humanism was eventually successful in the Cologne university colleges, which adopted the title *gymnasia*, an atypical occurrence for Germany but similar to university colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. This new humanism prevailed in Cologne and elsewhere in the form of scholastic humanism which allowed an historical, progressive understanding of history and laid the beginnings of empirical sciences.

Humanism gave prominence to the idea of the state analogous to a person: autonomous and sovereign. This state was able to enter into contracts with, and could police, the citizens. It was the reasoning of Humanism that allowed the development of the modern nation-state, and allowed the state to become more powerful than the Christian church. It is from humanism that the modern state and the Enlightenment emerges, an Enlightenment that transforms pre-existing relations of will, authority, and use of reason, and allows diverse political rationalities.

3c. Enlightenment Effects

The Enlightenment appears as a watershed of ideas, a time when ideas were enriched or created anew. The Enlightenment metanarrative of rationality has influenced the provision and delivery of higher education in most contemporary Western universities². Specific identities of universities are produced by emergent ideas, characterised by their focus on specific activities, roles or values they portray over time, and by the appearance of new forms of scientific discourse, the ‘wrinkles traced for the first time upon the enlightened face of knowledge’ (Foucault 2003:259).

These Enlightenment ideas come out of ideas about the state and its citizens formed by the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. It was primarily from this treaty that a new European system of states emerged, with specific rationalities of government, including understandings about society and its governance. This was a period of self-conscious awareness by writers and philosophers that were living in a new period of new ideas. They defined themselves against the past by initiating the term, *The Enlightenment*. They emphasised the rational organisation of society, the unqualified importance of utilitarianism, education for moral development and the logic of the ‘new’ science. Such notions can be seen as leading to the emergence of early liberal ideas.

These approaches are described by philosophers and economists such as Adam Smith who, in 1776, undertook *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Smith 1998) and William Paley who wrote, in 1785, about the *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (Paley 1833). Jeremy Bentham's

² Non-Western universities are not included in this research; however ideas of Western universities have been transferred in different combinations to Asia. They appear as different identities; for example as state apparatuses in the contemporary expansion of China’s higher education system, which has been continuing for two decades of change, particularly in the development of governance and financing systems. There is also an emerging industry of education, imitating ideas of higher education from the United States (Pepper, 1996) and definitively taking on utilitarian ideas. These universities are a remarkable juxtaposition of both political control and the free market.

1789 *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (Bentham 1970) claimed a scientific empiricism and moral justification for the principle of utility, which he and others advocated as a basis for reform. In 1863, John Stuart Mill supported these principles in *Utilitarianism* (Mill 1960).

The ideas of these authors were preceded by, and are epitomised in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, produced in many volumes over many years (Diderot 1985 [c1765]). Collaborating with well-known writers such as Voltaire and Montesquieu, the *Encyclopédie* became a powerful propaganda weapon against ecclesiastical authority and superstition. Under the French semi-feudal social hierarchy of the time, the *Conseil du Roi* (Council of the King) was able to suppress the first ten volumes and forbade further publication. Diderot persisted with the project and the remaining volumes were secretly printed, so that 17 volumes were completed by 1765, and additions continued up to 1780. The writings of these philosophers of the enlightenment criticised French institutions under the monarchy and helped bring about the French Revolution of 1789-1799.

One of the most significant figures, Rousseau, a colleague of Diderot, influenced writers such as Kant, Goethe, Robespierre and Tolstoy, particularly with his treatise of the *Social Contract* (1762). Rousseau wrote that humans are, in essence, good and equal in the state of nature, but the rise of civilisation and the introduction of property, agriculture, science, and commerce is what corrupts them (the latter is a cogent argument against the dominance of markets). Under the social contract, governments and educational systems are created to correct the inequalities brought about by that rise of civilisation (Rousseau 1968).

Early Liberalism

Liberalism (defined in Chapter 2) emerged in the period of change was created by the American and French Revolutions and was consistent with empire building and expansions of states. The objects of its discourse were citizens and freedom, new objects which produced new knowledges and a 'social problem'.

Citizens were now identified and counted, borders were strengthened and the state 'policed' (with policies and statistics). The state was actively engaged in markets and the relations between the state, the citizen and markets. This is the modern sovereign state, its emergence described by Foucault as co-determined by the emergence of the modern autonomous individual (Lemke 2001:191). This is the liberal capitalist order that emerged from its mercantile past, described in detail by Adam Smith, who emphasised the role of the state in markets, a role that by the middle of the 19th century was growing, even though *laissez-faire* doctrine was still influential in the making of policies.

Liberalism, and its alternatives from which it is constituted, belongs to a range of political rationalities. All began with the same objects of discourse, in a space described as 'the field of tension created by the simultaneous development of transactions between states and markets, especially as they concerned labor, and between states and citizens' (Katznelson 1996:26). New mechanisms were required to make such connections between these newly recognised actors, and they emerged as ideas that were of great import to the changing identities of universities. New social sciences developed from new policy making and attempts to administer 'the social problem', which successfully contested and built upon different utilitarian approaches to universities and education, and became the platform for liberal and democratic reforms, creating subsequent fundamental changes in society.

The effects were evident, universities became more reflexive, they persisted and their numbers grew (see Table 3), although there were challenges to a number of traditions and in various places universities acquired different identities. What follows are descriptions of some of these diverse identities of universities. These are descriptions of ideal types in the Weberian sense, utilised here to discuss the relations of the state and universities, and different political rationalities and ideas that dominate those relationships.

Table 3. Selected European University Foundations, 1600-1900

(after Davies 1997:1248 'European University Foundations 1088-1912')

* University founded from an older institution, (dates) indicate refoundations

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Enlightenment Universities

The first model could be called an Enlightenment or rational utilitarian model, based on nation-building. This model emerged from the French Revolution of 1793 that emphasised 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. French universities were replaced by professional schools (*grands écoles*) and faculties, although they did not become teaching institutions until the 1870s. Their primary purpose was nation-building, which entailed educating the elite and training social scientists and scientists, so producing national leaders. The faculties were designated as university in 1896, however they did not appear in the shape of a university as we know it until 1968.

These French universities were characterised by 'its complete subjection to the central government' (Ben-David 1977:16). This idea of a university was the epitome of the idea that it should serve the state, its priorities were national development. Unlike other universities, for example in England, it did not appear discriminatory, but should be accessible to all on merit. This was a university for the public, but the public and academic freedom was not as important as the state. Democracy was central, but the individuals' liberal education was subsumed in the cause of the state. This model of a nation-building university focussed on state priorities that reshaped the university. The French state governed universities through its control of the finances, academic appointments and standardisation of national programmes, reinforcing national unity. This French model was adopted in other countries such as Italy and Spain and their colonies.

Universities in other states retained more autonomy, but the utilitarian idea of the university as state apparatus spread elsewhere. In *Der Streit der Fakultäten* (Kant 1798), translated as *The Conflict of the Faculties* (Kant 1979), Kant voiced concern at the potential loss of academic freedom, and described how law, medicine and theology were becoming subservient to the service of the state. It was this service to the state which confirmed the role of universities as the

protector of 'the nation's cognitive structure' (Delanty 1998:8). In Germany culture was linked to nationhood, a coupling that was instrumental in the establishment of Humboldt's University of Berlin in 1810 (see below). Delanty identified this as an Enlightenment model of a university, in which:

... the idea of the university served the function of not just providing the state with functionally useful knowledge but also an important transmitter of national heritage.

Delanty 1998:9

There were other ideas extant at the time. In 1852 Cardinal John Newman, an Oxford graduate, delivered a series of lectures and essays addressed to the members of the Catholic University in Dublin.

Newman Universities

Newman's *The Idea of a University* continues to be cited as the definitive description of a general liberal education at universities - an 'Oxbridge' tradition of a liberal education, which has its own intrinsic value, and which carried the influence of Aristotle's ideas on the development of human potential which he outlined in the *Politics*. Newman described in detail this thesis of a liberal education, presenting it as a theory of knowledge, in which the purpose of a university education is not linked to employment, or economics, but rather a:

...cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a candid, equitable bearing in the conduct of life-these are the connatural qualities of a large knowledge: they are the objects of a university ... *independent of sequel*.. Surely it is very intelligible to say, and that is what I say here, that Liberal Education, viewed in itself, is simply the cultivation of the intellect, as such, and its object is nothing more or less than intellectual excellence...

Newman 1919:121 (my emphasis)

Newman was following an aristocratic or elite tradition of a liberal education designed for gentlemen, not usually women, nor the working class. Although catering to limited professions, such as the law and church, the notion was that a university education could be *independent of sequel*, an idea that belonged to the philosophical tradition of a pre-Enlightenment hierarchical society. The education of a gentleman was not linked to employment as a sequel to his education. This idea of a liberal education is about knowledge, aimed at opening the mind of an individual to the fullness of thoughts and ideas and to teach the person to think independently. This education is not just training for a specific vocation, trade or profession, which is later described as *techne*.

Newman Universities could be identified as corporations, independent communities of scholars, and are exemplified at Cambridge and Oxford. Their ideas were based on the very early guilds that were the models for medieval universities. High levels of funding from the church, bequests and donations from alumni were balanced by funding from the state. This allowed somewhat more autonomy than other universities from the state, but was very much influenced by the church. The relationships of universities with the church and their alumni were essential for these universities, and elite church and public service positions were invariably filled by graduates of these institutions. The model can be identified in Newman's *The Scope and Nature of University Education*, first published in 1852. This series of lectures was evidently a plea for the status quo and the importance of religion in education. Academic freedom was elevated, and knowledge was important for its intrinsic value. In contrast to the Scottish universities, this university education, with rare exceptions, was an elite pre-occupation.

It is clear that the idea of a university is contingent. At this time the relationship between university and society was with the upper class, and gentlemen, whose sons were the students, who were given the opportunity of higher learning and openings in the professions or the church. This relationship with the church was continuous with a quite remote past, a relationship which in

Newman's time was contested. The contest was heated, fired by the recent second French Revolution, and a failed attempt to restore the Church to supremacy in France. Church supremacy was paramount in the predominantly religious organisations of Oxford and Cambridge, which were divided in Newman's time by 'the Oxford Movement', in which Newman was central (see Faber 1974). This was a move to take the Anglican church back to its Catholic roots, contested by both Wesleyan Evangelicals, and early rationalists within the Anglican church, known as Liberals and modernists.

Poetically Faber describes how 'Oxford likes the taste of old wine too well; is too fearful of losing some subtle unanalysed residual value, to throw it away. But the wine has lost its potency' (Faber 1974:163). Although Oxford and Cambridge retained their status, alternatives to Oxford and Cambridge appeared. These were not elite, church based universities, and emerged at a time and space in which the relations of church and university were changing, and the increasing influence of the state was becoming apparent. Newman identified strongly with the religious basis of a university, and his Discourses were written in protest at this change, such as the 'godless institution' of the University of London (established 1826) where Dissenters and Jews, those denied access to Oxford and Cambridge because of their religion, could study.

In post-Enlightenment societies this idea of a university for the elite continued, as did the contest of ideas. Ideas of universities were reshaped, such as the idea of a corporate university. Others retained their form but were contested, for example in university governance. The utilitarian idea and university autonomy persisted, but in some places were synthesised with later ideas of Humboldtian universities, described below. This synthesis means that by the 20th century many universities in Western states looked like each other, most were no longer linked to the church and all were organised by disciplines, some of which were new knowledges. The ideas of universities became permeated with contemporary, local and national interests and perspectives. These have in places

been replaced or enrolled by different contemporary ideas, thus creating diverse university ideas and identities that emerge over space and time.

Many local innovations during this time became global, for example university based research and the qualifications of graduate education culminating in the PhD, signalling the Humboldtian University (below). These qualifications are connected to ideas of intellectual standards and universities as a stronghold of independent inquiry, supported by the idea of academic freedom of which Newman spoke, but more often turning to the utilitarian rationalities of the time.

Utilitarian Universities

In contrast to humanist ideas, utilitarian ideas from the earliest foundations of universities persist in contemporary universities. Medieval Scottish universities and some continental European universities of that time focused on teaching for the professions, for example in medical teaching and chemistry. The University of St Andrews, founded in 1411 under the auspices of the Pope and the earliest university in Scotland, could be described as a utilitarian university with its focus on knowledge for the professions, rather than knowledge for its intrinsic value, common at the time.

In Scotland the state exerted much more influence than the church. For example the University of Edinburgh was founded in 1583 as the 'town's college' by the Edinburgh town council, under a royal charter granted by James VI. By the eighteenth century it provided students, regardless of class, with a practical education, particularly in mathematics and science programs, at moderate fees. The emphasis was on education for employment. This model was also popular in the colonies of America and Australia, and formed the basis for universities established in new colonies and states during the 19th century.

According to Mandel, this transposed the utilitarian idea that the function of the university

... was primarily to give the brightest sons – and, to a lesser extent, also the daughters – of the ruling class the required classical education and to equip them to administer industry, the nation, the colonies and the army efficiently.

Mandel, 1972: 16

Humboldtian Universities

After 1800 the autonomous German universities were free of clerical control and princely patronage, and developed an emphasis on philosophy and modern scholarship. The earliest Humboldtian university can be described as a modern university for the first time. This modern university was influenced by a German Idealist movement, and centred on *Bildung*, which roughly translates as educational character shaping. It was *Bildung* that produced the uniquely cultural addition to nation-building activities of universities, and contributed to the exceptional trajectory of the state in Germany during the 19th and 20th centuries. These 19th century German universities emerged as a new idea of a university, different from its precursors in two ways, the unity of teaching and research, from which the research universities developed, and the production of the national culture.

Whereas the focus in older universities had been on teaching, this idea of a university combined research and teaching in a relationship that created knowledge. Described as a research university, the aim was to create and advance knowledge. This independent research focus pre-supposed academic freedom to pursue enquiry without intervention from the state. Yet it was here that the relationship shifted between universities, science and the state, when the university oriented knowledge and science to the 'spiritual and moral training of the nation' (Lyotard 2001:32). It was here that the furtherance of the national culture, a process begun in schools, produced cultivated individuals, who would take up elite positions in the power structure of the state, and be role models for the conduct of other citizens. This is the modern university that produces citizens

who have the capacity for self-regulation required for the state and its liberal rationality of government (Hindess 2004:231).

The ideas of this research intensive Humboldtian university transferred to other states very quickly. The Oxford and Cambridge Act 1877 described university activities as 'religion, education, learning and research', retaining links with the church, but shifting the relationship between research and graduate education which was to become ubiquitous in elite universities in industrial states. German models in which demands for specialised knowledges and research cultures were signified by seminars, also produced growing numbers of research institutes and laboratories.

This model spread with empire, including the colonies of North America and Australia, and was imitated in many other states. Although these Humboldtian universities in other states held some ideas in common, each were contingent on the state in which they developed, the non-German universities were not purely Humboldtian. The Cambridge and Oxford model united ideas of Newman and Humboldt in a unique combination that has built upon the elite status and religious basis of these universities, and the individualised relations between professors and research students. The first graduate schools in the U.S.A. combined the Humboldtian with a different emphasis on the humanist and utilitarian ideas of the development of the individual, located in the unique private/public diversity of institutions which are described below. This combination of teaching and research is now common in most Western universities, although in Australia at the time of writing the separation of research and teaching is portended. This highlights the significance of ideas of universities and their relation to the state and its citizens.

It was noted above that in this uniquely cultural addition to nation-building the Humboldtian universities are seen as the treasure house of a nation's culture. The pervasiveness of this Humboldtian model is notable, and requires further exploration regarding the influence of universities on the culture of the society in which it is located. To maintain knowledge, universities need freedom to transmit

ideas and generate knowledge. The modern emphasis on utilitarian and vocational studies is seen by some to threaten this knowledge base and so the culture of the nation. Universities are described in this way as a civilising influence, for example, by Bloom in the *American Mind* (1988). In Australia Gilbert (2003b) asserts that universities are in danger from '*heretical ideas*'- that universities should be research institutions, and that they must be publicly funded. Gilbert was writing as Vice Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, the most 'economically rationalist' of universities in Australia.

The universities described above have all been very successful organisations which have persisted over time. These older universities are accorded great status, for example the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Paris, Prague and Bologna. These and later universities are modelled on ideas that have become ubiquitous, such as the Humboldtian ideas of research and teaching. The next chapter sets an historical framework within which to examine the condition of Australian universities, their civilising mission and why the idea, that a university should be publicly funded, could be described as *heretical*.

The different ideas and models of universities described in this chapter are defined by the relations between states and universities, in which social change of the state is reflected in changing ideas of universities, for example in France or Germany. These models were all tempered by different political rationalities of states, such that changing political and economic rationalities produce different ideas of universities, which consequently alter the shapes of universities, their relationships and identities. These political rationalities are also examined in the next chapter.

* * *

Chapter 4.

Framework of Australian Ideas

An argument framed in Chapter 1 is that, after the foundation of universities in Australia, there have been two identifiable and dramatic shifts in ideas of universities. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a framework of these shifts and the effects of change at different times in Australia's history, to understand the ascendancy or dominance of different ideas of universities at different times.

The texts that are used to assess the evidence for such change are speeches and policy texts that construe universities in different ways. These are not necessarily constant conjunctions or one-to-one representations of a particular university in Australia at the time, the ideas are transitive dimensions. They are ideas that correspond to the practices of universities, described in this chapter and the next. The ideas are offered by particular actors, experts because they have specific knowledge; they are both legislators and interpreters as defined by Bauman (1987). They are frequently quite passionate about their ideas of universities. These are not mere observers; they enact or contribute to changing ideas of universities in Australia. Their texts are selected for this research because of their power or potential, evidenced by their success, they are enacted.

These are therefore good examples of texts that show how ideas contribute to the constitution and inculcation of ideas of universities. The genres of the political speech and the policy text are those which promulgate ideas that are previously or subsequently enacted. The style is authoritarian, often patriarchal or paternalistic, aligned with the speakers' identities, those of Prime Ministers,

Ministers, in one case a Dean and another a Vice-Chancellor.

The analysis of these texts is undertaken from a critical realist perspective (Bhaskar 1986; Archer 1995; Sayer 2000a). With this come assumptions about ideas of universities. The first is that any construction of universities needs some reference points, and these reference points are either the construals described here or some other construals that are available at the time. The second follows Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2001) that the success of the construal depends on how it, and the construction, respond to the properties of the materials used, including social phenomena such as actors and institutions. If they respond in the same way, there is a conjunction, and the construal has some similarity to the construction.

The construals offered here are discursive representations of universities, many of which are successful when there is a relationship between the ideas and the contemporary (real, intransitive) universities or the (actual) universities' potential in what they do or their activities at the time. The comparisons that I make here, of transitive and intransitive, of ideas and constructions of universities, do not imply causation, but can however distinguish particular causal mechanisms that have been activated, a specifically critical realist approach (Sayer 2000a:14).

As intransitive realities, universities have properties which make them particularly resilient (although not infallible), yet they are amenable to particular directions of change. This is especially so in relations with states, relationships dependent on, and shaped by, the level of autonomy of universities, so the political rationalities of the state are the context in which these are discussed. These are part of the contexts of these texts and their discourses are all political, some are contested. In each representation the speech or publication is written at the time of transformations of ideas, or when the roles of universities are controversial or have been problematised.

There are some time periods in which universities are resilient to change, for example between World War I and II, times which are not discussed in detail here. In the same way, the excerpts are selective and purposefully highlight ideas

considered to be most relevant to this project. No doubt I have missed some texts, and ideas, that could have displayed different notions. However these are historical examples of the extant ideas of the time and serve my purpose to explicate those particular ideas of universities, the political rationalities and the discourse within which they are represented.

4a. Foundational and Liberal Ideas

The idea for the first Australian university appeared at a time when the colonies were not yet federated. The earliest of these colonies, New South Wales, established the first university as a not-for-profit, public university. This University of Sydney was granted legitimacy by a remote Queen Victoria in 1850.

The year before, when describing why a university was necessary for the colony, William Charles Wentworth (1793-1872) spoke of the university as a public good, he emphasised that it was the paramount duty of the Government to provide for the instruction of the people, and that

... to a considerable extent the education afforded by the institution will be free..... the main object of this Bill, its greatest and most important object, is to advance the cause of education amongst all classes

Wentworth October 1849 cited in McLeod 1969:22

Wentworth's address and its politics were concerned with all things colonial, and the materials of construction were local, giving the earliest universities the description of 'sandstones'. However the 'sources for staff, curriculum and organisation were wholly dependent on the English and Scottish examples' (Bessant 1978:2), particularly the University of London, although with alternate ideas from Oxford and Cambridge.

At this time the new colonies were highly competitive, Victoria had only lately become a colony separate from New South Wales, and Queensland was still

governed from Sydney. Gold was discovered in New South Wales in 1851, when the population of the colony grew very quickly, until free settlers outnumbered convicts. Wentworth reminded the colonials that the trip *home* to England took about 60 days, and was undertaken by any of the *colony's sons* who required a university education.

This included Wentworth, the wealthy son of a convict, who attended the University of Cambridge, and returned to New South Wales to become an explorer, a wealthy landowner, and to practice law. He founded the newspaper the *Australian*, in which he appears as an advocate for free speech and the underdog. He was an extraordinary mixture of radical, socialist, liberal and conservative, who advocated a greater measure of self-rule for the colony, but disapproved of the growing democracy. Wentworth fought for the emancipists¹, but was also known and sometimes ridiculed for his (failed) attempts to create a 'bunyip aristocracy' in the colony, in imitation of the English aristocracy.

Wentworth's speech was the second reading of the bill in October 1849 to establish the University of Sydney, given in the Legislative Council, where it was applauded, passed through committee, and subsequently enacted in the Senate². The second reading was slightly different to the first, which was publicly reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 September 1849, and was a matter of some comment in the colony. The second reading was clearly amended by Wentworth to consider the audience it would receive in the Legislative Council, and its primary concerns were for responsible self-government in a colony without a local educated upper class.

¹ former convicts who had been transported primarily from England, Scotland and Ireland

² The main excerpt here is from the speech printed by the Government Printer in 1896 as a state document, cited in *An Anthology of Australian Speeches* (McLeod 1969).

Text 2. W.C. Wentworth, *For the University Bill*, 4 October, 1849

The endowment which the Bill will give to the university will enable the Senate to send home for professors to accomplish the great object of the measure. It will, in fact, set the institution in motion, and I take it that for a year or two it is of little consequence where the peculiar local habitation of the university may lie, or what shall be the local habitation provided for its professors. The latter, in all probability, as in England, will prefer to reside in private habitations... The Bill I have now the honor to introduce to the notice of the Council is derived from the Bill for the foundation of the London University ... The standard of education in the colony will then be regulated by the university.. Those who receive its degrees will be recognised equally with those who have received similar degrees at home... It will lead to the increase of the education of our youth of the higher classes, not only in amount but in degrees. Nor will this advantage be conferred on the higher classes alone, for it must be remembered that the only expense to which students at the university will be put is the expense of the classes: they will not be required to reside at the university, and therefore, to a considerable extent, the education afforded by the institution will be free.

It is to be an institution intended for the purposes of secular education only... The broad principle upon which the institution is founded will admit all... the wider the spread of education, the higher the degree to which it is carried, the more elevated will the tone of morals in this colony become...

London University was founded on the same principles as those contained in this Bill. The preamble states "that it was for the better advancement of religion and morality, and the promotion of useful knowledge" ... by increasing education, by diffusing enlightenment, by softening and elevating the habits and manners of the people, will greatly advance the cause of true religion. It is not by stunting the intellect by suppressing intelligence, that Christianity is to be promoted. Continued ...

Another argument which has been used against this Bill is that it is a Bill for the rich and not for the poor. I deny that this objection has any force. The main object of this Bill, its greatest and most important object, is to advance the cause of education amongst all classes...I see in this measure the path opened to every child in the colony to greatness and usefulness in the destinies of his country. I see in this measure the unerring finger which points out to the poor man's child the road to all that is respectable in position -all that is lofty and dignified in the estimation of his fellow countrymen. So far from this being an institution for the rich, I take it to be an institution for the poor.. though what were termed the wealthier classes of the community might be able to send their sons to Europe, such a course was always resorted to with extreme regret, and oftentimes could not be resorted to at all. Looking at the largely-increased population of the colony, in saying that the education of the higher class of youths in this colony has degenerated I believe this to have been the case already, and I cannot conceal from myself the disastrous effects it has had, and must have, on this community. The self-government for which we have sought so ardently will be but a worthless boon without the educational advantages this measure holds out.

The originators of this measure: it has its origin without these walls-in the depth of public opinion-and we are only the active agents to give that opinion force and effect... until on every cottage the light of education and civilization shall shine, and the better aspirations of the patriot and the philanthropist shall glow in every heart. Our legislation will be purified from that dross of interest and party which but too often clings to the most exalted philanthropy of our nature. It is a fulfilment reserved for our sons, perhaps for our sons' sons, but we shall have the proud consciousness of having done our duty... and through the instrumentality of such institutions as I am now advocating a more peaceful regeneration of the liberties of mankind may be effected.

I believe that from the pregnant womb of this institution will arise a long line of illustrious names-of statesmen, of patriots, of philanthropists, of philosophers, of poets, of heroes, and of sages, who will shed a deathless halo, not only on their country, but upon that university we are now about to call into being.

Wentworth 1849 cited in McLeod 1969: 18-25

The ties to England are clear, Wentworth's introduction stating that '*London University was founded on the same principles as those contained in this Bill*'. Like London the new university '*was for the better advancement of religion and morality, and the promotion of useful knowledge*' (Wentworth 1849, see Text 2).

The first draft of the Report of the Select Committee included the proposal that:

... the means of obtaining a liberal education at a very moderate cost must be extended to all members of the community. This they (i.e. the Committee] consider to be the proper aim of all education, since its tendency is to break down the arbitrary and conventional distinctions of society, and to restore the primitive and natural equality of man.

Wentworth September 1849 in MacMillan 1968:4

These words did not appear in second printed report, and there are different interpretations of the importance of these ideas to the establishment of universities in Australia. MacMillan describes these words as 'an expression of early nineteenth-century liberalism at its best' and that,

More important, and apart altogether from the vexed question of the social ideas of the one who penned them, the fact remains that the sentiment underlay the foundation of Australia's first university and written or unwritten it was to motivate all the groups and individuals who secured the establishment of further universities in the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century.

MacMillan 1968:4

However Gardner claims this is part of Wentworth's 'popular propaganda', and that 'Wentworth had been so carried away with his own rhetoric that he needed to be reminded to keep his radical mask for the right stage' and that colleagues convinced Wentworth to 'descend from the dangerous level of theory to a simple, popular appeal:

He saw in this measure the path opened to the child of the poor man, to the highest position which the country could afford him.

(Cheers.) So far from this being an institution for the rich, he took it to be an institution for the poor.

Gardner 1979:16

As Gardner reminds us, there was no attempt to convert Sydney University into an institution for the poor; however the idea to *advance the cause of education amongst all classes*, construed in London and then Sydney, was enacted in the legal document for the University of Sydney, which begins;

Whereas it is deemed expedient for the better advancement of religion and morality and the promotion of useful knowledge, to hold forth to all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colony of New South Wales, without any distinction whatsoever, an encouragement for pursuing a regular and liberal course of education.

University of Sydney Act 1850:1

The choice of London as a model was symbolic. Debate about universities in the nineteenth century was polarised, divided between utilitarianism and a model of humanitarian or liberal education, framed by Newman in his Discourses of 1852, which advocated the idea of a university based on the Oxford and Cambridge tradition. The religious component contained in Newman's ideas was the most controversial and political in the colony, and were to be the basis for reform and restructure within two years.

In contrast to a Newman university, in which knowledge is important for its intrinsic value and achieved by a general liberal education, Wentworth's ideas of a university are more utilitarian, akin to the Scottish idea of a university, and the University of London. London was founded by Jeremy Bentham and put in practice his utilitarian model, a university dedicated to dissemination of knowledge to the community and *to all classes*, which catered to the working classes by including evening lectures and open admission.

Such promotion of useful knowledge was pre-eminent in this idea of a university, and the University of Sydney was a university for all religions, and

was to remain a secular university. In a relatively short speech for a piece of legislation, Wentworth devotes some space to what appears to be a controversy over the religious aspects of this university, a particular idea in the colony of NSW that was also contested when schools were established. This continued a much longer history of contest between state and church over education, evident also in the medieval contest between church and the emergent state, and in contemporary state funding of private and public schools.

In the full text of this speech there is reference to Paley, a British theologian who enunciated the idea of utilitarianism in its characteristic form. It is evident that Wentworth had no need to explain who Paley was, Paley's ideas, or the reference to enlightenment. *By diffusing enlightenment and by softening and elevating the habits and manners of the people* Wentworth appears to be combining both the secular and religious, and the utilitarian and liberal ideas of a university. This is utilitarian, enlightened and has aspects of a liberal education which inculcates values, a civilising influence in the *softening and elevating the habits and manners of the people*. The cause of religion would be served without the university being a religious institution.

Wentworth understood that the university is not identified by its buildings and that the Professors (brought from *home*) would probably, as in England, *prefer to reside in private habitations*. The building fund could wait! This university was to be autonomous, and moreover it would have governance over decisions about student accommodation, even if that were to be private. The medieval idea of a university as corporation continued in the new colony.

Wentworth's idea of a secular university would also allow *the standard of education in the colony... be regulated by the university*, a legitimisation of the university authority and autonomy. This legitimisation remains in contemporary universities although is now contested by the contemporary policy discourse, which would give the state Minister of Education, Science and Technology the right to allow or disallow specific courses (DEST 2002a).

Wentworth also recognised *there is a power of expansion in a university which no other scholastic institution possesses* and described his visions of the future of the university, not just for the colony, nor the hemisphere, but for the *whole region*. This is an interesting concept of the university as a public good, for the colonial state, and for the region. It is evident that Wentworth's ideas of a university included that of a civilising influence which would provide an educated and professional citizenry for the good of the state. He proposed that these ideas were *in the depth of public opinion - and we are only the active agents to give that opinion force and effect* placing the university in the public domain. The public would benefit from this university, *until on every cottage the light of education and civilization shall shine*. This signifies the university as a civilising influence, the metaphor of the light of education linked to enlightenment and its associated rational and utilitarian values. The same allegory can be found in university mottoes such as James Cook University's '*Crescente Luce*', which translates as 'light ever increasing' (JCU 2002:iii).

However Wentworth's focus on utilitarian ideas was tempered by his Cambridge education, the outcome a mix of ideas about universities that was common in England as well as the new colony. Bentham's (1789) instrumentalism had become 'common sense', but was challenged by arguments about culture and class situated universities as disseminators of culture and knowledge that revolved around classical learning. Such arguments were contested by Arnold (1859) and conflicted with those described above of Newman (1852). Although these ideas are quite disparate they persist alongside each other. The idea of a university as a means of liberal education, because of its long history, now appears in Australia as a traditional idea of a university, and universities have become increasingly utilitarian, particularly in the education of the professions.

Universities have also remained relatively class situated, until the 1970s in Australia. Significantly the aim to be *an institution for the poor and for all classes* would appear to have been rhetoric. When Wentworth advocated an institute for the poor, it was on the basis that it would be cheaper for students because they

would not have to live in colleges, not because it was free. The construal was different to the construction, and while there was later some experimentation with evening classes for the poor, in Australia there would be no free higher education for 120 years. This was in stark contrast to experimental ideas emerging elsewhere at the time. For example the Free University of Brussels was founded in 1834 as a reaction against the Catholic domination in higher education. The Free Academy in New York in 1849 (later to become the City University of New York (CUNY)) was a tuition-free institution of higher learning, which enabled many poor immigrants social mobility.

In Australia the five early universities that were to follow the University of Sydney (see Table 4) were also founded on this mixture of utilitarian and liberal ideas of a university, which included the idea of a university as civilising influence. However their emphasis was on the professions, the university was a state institution, and its activities were in the national interest of the colony or early Australia. These ideas are probably best expressed by Professor John Woolley, Professor of Classics and Logic and first Principal of the University of Sydney, from 1852 to 1866, when he stated in his Inaugural Address:

The idea of a university is two-fold; it is first, what its name imports, a school of liberal and general knowledge, and secondly a collection of special schools, devoted to the learned professions. Of these, the former is the University, properly so called. The second is complementary and ministerial. The former considers the learner as an end in and for himself, his perfection as man simply being the object of his education. The latter proposes an end out of and beyond the learner, his dexterity, namely, as a professional man.

Woolley 1852 in Macmillan 1968:4

Wentworth and Woolley both define clearly in their discourse the two foremost ideas of universities in the latter part of their century. These are the liberalising idea that universities are a moral and social improver in which knowledge is desirable for its own sake, and the utilitarian idea of a university that makes available professional training at the highest level.

Table 4. Year of Establishment of Australian Universities, n=39

(note these are the year of the state Acts, not necessarily when they began teaching)

University	Year	University	Year
University of Sydney	1851	Unified National System	1988
University of Melbourne	1853	Northern Territory University*	1988
University of Adelaide	1874	Queensland University of Technology	1988
University of Tasmania	1890	University of Notre Dame	1989
University of Queensland	1909	University of Western Sydney	1989
University of Western Australia	1911	Charles Sturt University	1990
Australian National University	1946	University of Ballarat	1990
University of New South Wales	1949	University of Canberra	1990
University of New England	1954	University of Technology, Sydney	1990
Monash University	1958	Australian Catholic University	1991
La Trobe University	1964	Edith Cowan University	1991
University of Newcastle	1965	University of South Australia	1991
Flinders University of South Australia	1966	Central Queensland University	1992
James Cook University of North Queensland	1970	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology	1992
Griffith University	1971	Swinburne University of Technology	1992
Murdoch University	1973	University of Southern Queensland	1992
Deakin University	1974	Victoria University of Technology	1992
University of Wollongong	1975	Southern Cross University	1994
Bond University	1987	University of the Sunshine Coast	1996
Curtin University of Technology	1987	Charles Darwin University	2004

*now replaced by Charles Darwin University (2004)

The University of Sydney, and Melbourne which followed shortly after, were founded on these ideas, and particularly the utilitarian idea that their university was a means of providing education for potential employees of the state.

These were not just ideas; these nation-building activities were put in to practice. In Melbourne in 1853 Hugh Childers and Judge Redmond Barry, advocates for the establishment of the University of Melbourne, had in common with Wentworth the idea that a university was a public good. They had the same objectives, to civilise the colony and provide professional training for the men (and later women) in four faculties: the Faculty of Modern History, Literature and Political Economy, the Faculty of Mathematics, the Faculty of Classics and Ancient History, and the Faculty of Natural Sciences.

The University of Melbourne: A Brief History describes a continuing debate between those who favoured 'a traditional classics-dominated curriculum, and those who argued for more utilitarian, profession-oriented courses' (University of Melbourne 2002). The utilitarians were as successful in Melbourne as they were in London and America: Law, Medicine and Engineering were introduced before the end of the century. The first woman graduated in 1883, however there was little or no mention of ideas of equality, and universities remained elite institutions.

Background to Change

The federation of Australia in 1901 divided responsibilities for various functions of government between local states or territories and the Commonwealth. Education became a responsibility of the local state, including the enactments and legislature for universities. The colonial Universities of Adelaide (1874) and Tasmania (1890) were established along similar lines to the first two universities. By the turn of the century utilitarian and vocational ideas of universities in Australia were much more evident 'than was the case in the early English and Scottish universities. They were also more directly associated with,

and reliant on, government largesse' (Bessant 1978:2). There were political controversies over 'functional' studies such as engineering replacing the classics as the focus of knowledge, experiments that occurred at the University of London (where Bentham presides) but not Oxford. These functional ideas were seen as appropriate in Australia where experiments were undertaken that included part-time and evening instruction at the universities, and in Mechanics Institutes, both utilitarian efforts to educate a new public service for the new state.

Ideas did not only come from London, as was evident in 1903, when a Royal Commission on The University of Melbourne was formed to look into the governance and operation of the university³. This Commission enquired on various matters, such as *the work of the University as a seat of learning and culture*. The evidence of Prof. W.H. Moore (Text 3), Dean of Law at the time, is useful. Moore builds on ideas from Wentworth and London, then cites vocational and cultural ideas of a university from America.

Moore tells us that the new University of London is to *hold forth to all classes and denominations an encouragement to pursue a regular and liberal course of education*. The continuity of ideas from Wentworth, and the University of London, is clear, and the practice of a regular and liberal course of education is undoubtedly constructed from those ideas. However the idea that the university is *for all classes* is less than successful in practice in Australia, where the universities remained elite institutions, primarily because of expense. There were few scholarships, and with no compulsory secondary schooling in Australia, they were rarely taken up by the less wealthy or working class.

³ it was discovered in 1902 that the Bursar had been siphoning off large sums of University money and that it was effectively bankrupt (University of Melbourne n.d., see Scott 1936).

Text 3. Evidence of W. H. Moore to the Royal Commission, 1903

...The first subject contained in the circular sent to me by the Commission to which I wish to refer is the work of the University as a seat of learning and culture. The function of a modern university can hardly be stated better than in the terms used by the Royal Commissioners who recently drafted the constitution for the new University of London, to 'hold forth to all classes and denominations an encouragement to pursue a regular and liberal course of education: to promote research and the advancement of science and learning, and to organize and extend higher education.' In relation to the same university, I may also quote what was said by Professor Rücker, the recently appointed principal, in 1899:-'Two notes are predominant above all the rest. The first is that a university is a place where education is combined with the advancement of knowledge: the second, that the teaching of a university is based on the principle that knowledge is desirable for the influence which knowledge and the search for knowledge exert upon ourselves, and not merely for the power which they confer of improving our external surroundings. The first of these characteristics distinguishes a university from a school, the second from a workshop or college with purely technical aims.' Virchow describes the aim of university study as 'a general scientific and moral culture together with the mastery of one special department of study.' Nowhere has the record of the predominant features described by Rücker -that is, the feature in which education is pursued less for its material results than for the influence it exerts upon ourselves-been so constantly apparent as in the older universities in England: and no country owes more to its universities than does England to Oxford and Cambridge for the high character of its public life, and the devotion of its public servants. It is enough to point to the anxiety to obtain university men for the Indian civil service and for the army as a recognition of the value of the university training, even where it is wholly non-professional in character. Continued

That is particularly apparent at the present time in the reports that have been made in regard to army education. Very great importance has been attached to the army being able to get men from Oxford and Cambridge that is, without any regard to the professional element in the training at all.

The recent developments in university life in England, and more particularly in America, recognise that the aims of a university are to be attained not by the cultivation of one or two branches of knowledge alone, that there is no necessary divorce between utilitarian and liberal studies, and that the highest utility may be combined with, is, in fact, hardly attainable without, a high culture. In a country where every one has to make his living, a university can only be truly national by association with the life's work of the people. If you would attain national culture you must set to work by liberalizing the occupations in which men spend their lives-by giving a man an intellectual or artistic interest in his work, some satisfaction which will compete with the material reward. This is the truth insisted on by Professor James, of Chicago, the founder of commercial education in the universities of the United States, when he says:--We must conquer the uneducated and half-educated people of this country for secondary and higher education by offering them courses of study which, while they are of a strictly educational character in the best sense of the word, shall also have some bearing upon their future everyday life, shall have some direct relation to the work they are called upon to do in the world.' Unless a university in a country like Australia can do this it must be something of an exotic, and must languish. A university which contains only one or two professional schools will be far from achieving this end: it might even stimulate an unhealthy growth in the community-the overcrowding of the more 'obvious' professions, It should be able to point the way to every student within its walls to some calling suitable to the diverse wants of the community and the talents and the inclination of the individual.

Moore cited in Clark 1957:585-586

In this text appears a new idea for universities in the new federation of Australia, *to promote research and the advancement of science and learning, and to organize and extend higher education*. This is the idea of a university with a research culture, translated from the Humboldtian model of university education that had become common in Europe, and was to later incorporate the PhD and graduate research in Australia.

This also legitimates another idea, of university autonomy, that it would be universities that organise and extend higher education. The Professor then goes on to describe the advantages of *high culture* and that *there is no necessary divorce between utilitarian and liberal studies, and that the highest utility may be combined with, is, in fact, hardly attainable without, a high culture*. This reinforces those ideas of a civilising influence of a university, the elite nature of universities with their *high culture*, and the notion that a university offers a utilitarian professional education. The ideas are supported by examples of practice in another colonial context, the Indian civil service and the army, linked to Oxford and Cambridge universities, emphasising the status of such professions.

However this is followed by and linked to *the truth insisted on* by the Chicago example of *commercial education*. The metaphor to conquer is used: *We must conquer the uneducated and half-educated people of this country* which denotes the battle they (the universities) will have in civilising the uneducated, and the utility of the courses of study that have a direct relation to the *work they are called upon to do in the world*, which gives this the essence of a religious calling. The utilitarian ideas incorporated into the findings of the Commission were acted upon and Agriculture, Dentistry and Education were introduced as professional studies (University of Melbourne 2002), an extension of the utilitarianism of Wentworth.

The University of Queensland was established in 1910, followed by the University of Western Australia (1913). These were the last of the 'traditional' universities, now described as sandstones. These early Australian public universities were established on two ideas of universities, the idea of a university

as a moral and social improver, or civilising influence, desirable for its own sake, and the idea of its utilitarian value as the means of providing an education and accreditation for professionals, needed for building the new nation.

There followed a long period, until after World War II, in which no new universities were established. The six Australian universities, forced to rely on government grants, 'remained aloof', looking to British examples and standards, 'they stagnated and ossified' (Bessant 1978:5). They continued to follow a model of public universities that offered professional education, but they remained elite institutions, too expensive for the working class. In the first half of the century many Australians were illiterate, most did not complete high school, and university was out of their reach (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002a). These universities can be described as utilitarian, liberal and elite, ideas which permeated the foundation of all Australian public universities.

Post War Nation building

The foremost twentieth century periods of university development and growth occurred after World War II. The context was one of shifting political rationalities, based on Keynesian ideas such as *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (Keynes 1936). The consequences were global, the growth of welfare states such as the United Kingdom, some European states such as the Netherlands and eventually Australia, all arranged around such Keynesian economics.

In Chapter 2 I described the compromise of liberalism with individualism after World War II and the focus on human rights discourse as a reaction to twentieth century oppressions of individuals. The United Nations produced the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (based on the *United States Bill of Rights*, *the Magna Carta*, and the *French Declaration of the Rights of Man*), which was adopted in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly at Paris.

This was also the context for the creation of global institutions which were to have increasing power over universities, and the source of many attempts to

adapt earlier ideas of universities to these developments. The foremost is the statements in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, that

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

United Nations 1948:Article 26:1

This was the first time that individual rights were considered on a global scale. Although not the first time that free higher education was considered, it firmly establishes the universal right to higher education and equal access on the basis of merit. It was also the first global problematisation of social structures⁴ undertaken by global actors, most of them agencies of the United Nations, such as the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). UNESCO was founded in 1946 in Paris, with the aim to promote collaboration among nations through education, science, and culture. This agency created by the powerful (Western) states at the time, has become the impetus and source of ideas and policies and structured higher education in many states.

In Australia these ideas were to take effect very quickly. The Education Act of 1945 established a Commonwealth Office of Education, and the Commonwealth University Commission. The latter was a mechanism to shift the governance of universities and relations from the local state to the Commonwealth (federal) state. The Commission acted as an agent in the increasing regulation and intervention in universities affairs.

⁴Although it should be noted that the telecommunications, weather, intellectual property rights and postal services had been considered in a global context much earlier. The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) was founded in 1865 in Geneva, the Universal Postal Union (UPU) in 1875 at Bern, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in 1878 in Geneva, and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) founded in 1883, also in Geneva. They all became affiliated with the United Nations at a later date.

With these mechanisms in place new ideas about access to higher education and universities were possible. The Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme was established to allow access to returned servicemen, and a five year scholarship scheme was available for others (Whitlam 2002). Although still not accessible to all, as the scholarships were competitive and limited, higher education was more accessible on the basis of merit, as described in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

It could be said that for the first time in Australia access was not based on financial worth, and other ideas were also shifting. In 1945 the first PhD was established in Melbourne, following the Humboldtian research model of professional education in which the training of experts is located in universities. The Australian National University was established in 1946. This was the first of a *redbrick* model of universities that were to follow, but a unique university in Australia. It is unique because of its focus on research and its status as the national university; it remains the only university to be enacted by the Commonwealth⁵.

The policies of the new Commonwealth Office of Education reinforced ideas of universities that contribute significantly to the economic and social good of the nation. In Australia in the aftermath of war there was a rapid increase in student numbers, including ex-servicemen taking the opportunity offered in 1950 by the newly established Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme. Australian universities responded rapidly, by 1971 Griffith University was the eighth university to be established after World War II.

The scholarships were mechanisms introduced by the state to widen access and participation, and denote different ideas of universities and different relations between citizens and universities, and between the state and universities. They signify the shift in the elite status of universities and their characteristic as public institutions and they were part of a general extension of rights of citizens, regardless of financial status or class. Bessant describes this shift as 'sociological

⁵ Since 1891 the title of the federated states of Australia, now more often known as the federal government, i.e. the state.

rather than economic' (Bessant 1978:19), noting it occurred also in Britain after World War II. This was a critical time in the emergence of different ideas of universities, and the idea and the enactment of a citizen's right to access higher education. This also locates universities in all domains of political and civil society, in the cultural, political and economic realms. Different ideas of universities contribute to their construction, relations and agency.

University Reports

Two reports that follow these changes specifically link ideas of universities and the economic and social good of the nation. The first of these reports was *The Murray Report* of 1957 that describes the dramatic increases in student numbers after World War II, the scholarships and the shifting relations that were part of the role of the universities in the 'nation building' project of the post war era (Marginson 1997b).

The second is the *Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia to the Australian Universities Commission*, known as the Martin Report (1964) which considered all tertiary or higher education, including technical colleges. It followed closely the British *Robbins Report* of ten months earlier in the increased emphasis on equality of opportunity, but the Martin Report differed in its emphasis on tertiary education as a binary system and as a national investment in human capital.

The Martin Report linked nation-building efforts of the state to increased access using scholarships, in both universities and teacher-training colleges:

In 1963, about 49 per cent. of all university students received some financial assistance for the payment of fees. The Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme is the most far-reaching award: in 1963, 19.7 per cent of all students held commonwealth scholarships. Teacher-training awards of various kinds were next in importance from the point of view of numbers: 18.3 per cent of students held these awards. In addition, university part fee concessions were made in respect of 5.8 per cent of total enrolments and they were received in the main by

qualified teachers pursuing part-time courses. Other scholarship schemes accommodated a relatively small number of students.

Martin 1964:19

This report included an analysis of '*Tertiary education and socio-economic class*', as a source of 'unnatural inequalities in education', those 'which do not rest on differences of endowment' (Martin 1964:43). It noted considerable differences based on occupational backgrounds, much greater than would have been expected from the basis of measured ability. Equality of opportunity was expressed in the view that 'the Australian objective should be the provision of higher education for all who have the desire and the capacity for it' (Martin 1964:49).

The report noted that rising incomes made longer schooling possible, and that there were two motives for higher education. These were personal aspiration and 'community needs for highly educated people', but that:

In Australia it is widely accepted that higher education should be available to all citizens according to their inclination and capacity. This provides opportunity for individuals to achieve their aspirations, and at the same time serves the needs of the community in creating an appropriate climate for a dynamic and advanced economy. It does not mean that the provision of higher education for all who have the desire and the capacity for it should be pursued regardless of cost; but it does mean that it should be the objective towards which Australia should work.

Martin Report 1964:1.41

Although the objective of access based on 'capacity' is tempered by economics, it is the objective towards which Australia should work. The idea is encapsulated in the recommendations of the report for the continuance of university scholarships, and for the expansion and increase of scholarships at technical and other tertiary institutions, including 'all able applicants' (Martin 1964:199). The report acknowledged that restricting higher education to a smaller fraction of the population was *certainly not in the economic interests of the nation*, yet recommended that universities should be restricted in size, and that the

Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) that would take up the increasing demand. The report reinforced the binary system, and recommended the growth of the colleges rather than the universities. This system imitated to some extent the Californian system of different institutions (without the private component), described in an influential publication the year before by Kerr (Kerr 1963). In this way the Martin Report helped 'to ensure a continuing inflexibility and lack of innovation' (Bessant 1978:24).

The Martin Report may have described an egalitarian objective, yet the ideas of universities of this time belong to a state with a conservative political rationality. In this rationality society is reflected in its structures, and universities reflected the divide between working class and the elite. The Prime Minister of the time, Menzies, described these ideas of universities as a 'balanced blend of the instrumental and cultural' (Davis 2002:48). In an excerpt from a much longer speech delivered to the Australian College of Education in 1961 (Text 4 below), Menzies depicted the idea of a 'civic university' as one of nation building, and one of two priorities. He began with the acceptance of the first utilitarian task, *to train as many students as possible in bodies of knowledge which will make them more competent to deal with the practical affairs of life. These were described as competent workers in industry and responsible electors and those they choose for the duties of government.*

This was separated from the second, greater task, identified as *Civilisation* which *is in the hearts and minds of men* (still no women!), the civilising influences of philosophy and dignity: *We must recapture our desire to know more, and feel more, about our fellowmen; to have a philosophy of living; to elevate the dignity of man*, a dignity which is then linked to the moral righteousness of religion. This patriarchal discourse is conservative and religious, reflecting the liberal conservative nature of the state political rationality that was soon to be contested.

Text 4. Speech by Menzies to the Australian College of Education, 1961

I fear that in this address which, you will have no difficulty in understanding, I have had to prepare in stolen hours in a period of great political pressures, my remarks have been unduly discursive. But it may be at least not harmful if I sum up my own thesis. Education in Australia has two great tasks. One, which it would be aloofly academic to ignore or to disparage, is to train as many students as possible in bodies of knowledge which will make them more competent to deal with the practical affairs of life. We must train and equip more competent workers in every branch of every industry: more and better scientists and technologists: more and better administrators, engineers, doctors, and lawyers: more trained and dedicated educators: more and more equipped and responsible electors and those they choose for the duties of government. This is a great and costly task. To the extent that we fail in it, we will imperil our own material advancement.

But the other great task is even more important. It is a common, but attractive error, to think of modern advances in applied science, from the telephone to television, from the motor-car to aircraft to rockets and space vehicles, as in themselves the proof of advancing civilisation. These are among the mere mechanical aids to civilisation. They may be wisely or wickedly used. Civilisation is in the hearts and minds of men. It will advance or fall back according to the use we make of knowledge and of skill. In spite of all we have had to our hands, the twentieth century has seen more of greed and inhumanity, more of war and barbarism, more of hatred and envy and malice, than any of us could have foreseen ~ we were young and hopeful. We have seen great skill employed with hatred; science with envy; diplomacy with threat and blackmail; the distraction, as I personally believe, of too many skilled people from improving the lot of mankind upon earth to a tremendous competition in space, in which prestige threatens to out-match usefulness. We must recapture our desire to know more, and feel more, about our fellowmen: to have a philosophy of living: to elevate the dignity of man, a dignity which, in our Christian concept, arises from our belief that he is made in the image of his Maker.

The tasks of the educator in this century have not ended. Properly and thoughtfully considered, they are only beginning.

Menzies 1961: 11-12

Global shifts

The global context in which this occurs needs to be explored to understand the Australian environment. A watershed appeared, beginning in May 1968 in Paris, in which initially students, then others, participated in protests that became global, on significant political issues that were important to the relationship of universities and students, and the roles of universities.

In Paris students were joined by unions and other organisations, and the protests paralysed the country, eventually bringing down the government. Bourdieu (1988a) describes this as an elite versus democratic power struggle around the 'state nobility'. In France universities are state institutions, and the elite schools educate approximately sixty percent of the students from the dominant class (those who have cultural capital), about twice as many as other schools. Academics come from these schools and acquire further cultural capital with state nominated academic titles. Thus the cycle of status is perpetuated as the cultural capital is then passed on to their children. This cultural capital is necessary (but not sufficient) to join the dominant power structure in France. Power is therefore constituted through a *Hegelian spirit* or *esprit de corps*, an ethos that is enacted around academic success (Bourdieu 1998a). Bourdieu attributes a major cause of the student riots in France to:

... the great increase in the student clientele which is partly responsible for the unequal increases in size of different parts of the teaching body and, thereby, the transformation of the power relations between the faculties and the disciplines and, above all, within each of them, between the different teaching grades.

Bourdieu 1988a:128-129

The protests and subsequent changes in France, described as the Fifth Republic (i.e.1967-1968), transformed the previously relatively autonomous *grandes écoles* which produced the elite, Bourdieu's state nobility. The outcomes of change were less autonomy, a privileging of economics in the disciplines, a

reshuffle of working class access and a new utilitarianism, sustaining the persistent idea of a utilitarian university.

Such radical protests are in the context of their time, and occur in other states. In America student activism became widespread, from the free speech movement at University of California at Berkeley to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), protests against American involvement in the Vietnam War, and protests about racial discrimination, culminating in the 1970 Kent State shootings in which students died while demonstrating.

Like others around the world, the Humboldtian university remained elite, was undemocratic and not able to educate and cultivate the larger numbers requiring equal access to university education. Habermas lists three issues for West German students who protested: for free speech, against a knowledge factory (about conditions), and for student power (their access to decision making). He draws conclusions that the 'university was supposed to educate and cultivate, but it did not train masses or experts' (Habermas 1989a:21).

In Australia violent protests on campuses during 1970 and 1971 were related to issues such as the Vietnam War (the state had introduced conscription), democratic representation, and the relevance of courses and research at universities. Students sought alternatives, such as that described by Marginson (2002:111) as 'a Gramscian university with social justice and political democracy at its core'⁶. These included egalitarian ideas of equality of access and redistributive rights of citizens, and they were soon enacted in different ways.

⁶ Gramsci's 'Prison notebook' was re published in 1971

4b. Egalitarian Ideas

In Australia during the 1970s there were two marked shifts in the ideas of universities. The first was a concession to the idea of student representation in universities, which created different relations of students with universities. The second was the enactment of the ‘free higher education’ rhetoric of Wentworth, when access based on ability became a right of Australian citizens and higher education fees were abolished.

This was a consequence of the election of a new government in Australia in 1972, and the new Prime Minister who brought in a very different regime to those which had gone before. E. Gough Whitlam was Australian Prime Minister from 1972-1975. He was a recipient of a university scholarship, and graduated in Law from the University of Sydney in 1946 (Whitlam 2002). The text discussed here is that of a speech by Whitlam of 1973, shortly after his announcement that Australian higher education fees would be abolished. It was delivered at the Harvard Club of Australia; the excerpts are taken from the beginning and towards the end of the speech.

Whitlam began the speech by recognising the relationship between Australia and Harvard University, and thanked them for the *Harvard Australia* scholarships. The most controversial component of the speech, captured in the later part of the excerpt, was the reiteration of the recent policy announcement that abolished university fees for Australian students. It is clear that Whitlam had more than one agenda. The relationship with America was an important one, as was the need to elucidate his ideas of universities and their relationship with *Government*.

Text 5. Address by Whitlam at the Harvard Club of Australia, Sydney, 1973

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Whitlam asserted that the relationship between universities and governments was a '*striking bi-partisanship*' in which '*Governments of all kinds have accorded the universities an autonomy, a status, a financial security in keeping with their importance as defenders of certain primary intellectual and civilised values*'. His description of the relationship between governments which *accord* universities autonomy, status and financial security was patently not an equal partnership. This reinforced and extended the control of the state over universities, clearly a strategy of governance. The other agenda was to reinforce the relations between Australia and the United States, in this case included as *governments* in common. It was the *free universities* that Australia and the United States *hold most dearly in common*. The link of the two countries in World War II reinforced the context.

This passage achieved its two objectives, positing Australia and the United States as equals and their governments as benign. Most importantly it accorded universities freedom and autonomy, ideas that have persisted since the earliest of universities. However for Whitlam that freedom and autonomy has boundaries, and it was a reinforcing of boundaries that Whitlam achieved in this speech. He initially located universities as *independent centres for far ranging thought*, then as *social critic*, and then asserted that *universities have remained relatively isolated from public affairs except through student and staff demonstrations*. This was a reproach, in the context of recent student demonstrations supported by some academics. This was linked to the change that must occur; there must be *a marked shift in the relationship of universities to the rest of society*.

It was Whitlam, as agent of the state, who had the task *to involve the universities and the community they serve more closely in each other's welfare, to draw the universities more deeply into a deliberate and participating commitment to the public good*. In this passage universities (and academics) were subjectified as servants of the community, but knowledge had not yet become a commodity. Academics were the '*unacknowledged legislators*', who would commit to the public good, rather than any good they were demonstrating about. It was not until they had been admonished that their commitment was elaborated. Whitlam

warned universities that they must be careful: *Universities can no longer assume that their future is secure. To be secure, 'we' (government) must aim to involve universities peacefully in society, working in harmony with elected governments to meet the community's economic and social need.* The community's needs must be the public good to which universities were to commit, were identified as both economic and social.

This was an egalitarian discourse. Free education was equated with a free society and Whitlam associated ideas of academic freedom with that free society – more than economic interests and quite separate from trade, a link that was not emphasised until much later. For Whitlam free higher education was a public benefit. One of the community's needs that universities would meet was *drawing people at all levels into a matrix of informed debate and enriched contemplation*, an acknowledgement of the contribution of universities to public debate. This was a university for all people, who would receive the public benefit of a university education. While the rhetoric for equality of access had been present before in discourse, this was now put into practice.

Free university access to all citizens, on the basis of merit, remained in place until 1989. Attuned to societal expectations, such access created a more equitable situation in which opportunity and ability were more often to become deciding factors in participation in higher education, rather than the school one had attended, one's family or financial status. This idea became dominant and flowed across different representations and practices in the Australian welfare state. This understanding of a university was popular and many academics and politicians today have been the beneficiaries of these ideas. However such notions as universities as a public good did not fit with the economic market theory that was becoming dominant in the policies of other states, and soon there was a marked shift in Australian state policies.

Welfare state crises

The Whitlam government controlled an explicitly welfare state that was an alliance between working and middle classes. This state implemented many reforms, including free higher education, and dramatically increased government spending and interventional policies. As described in Chapter 3, in 1975 there was a financial 'crisis' and the government was dismissed. A conservative (Liberal – National) government was subsequently elected.

This followed a global trend of the 1970s that accelerated in the 1980s. It became apparent that many socialist and welfare states, such as Britain, the Netherlands and Australia, were rejecting the Keynesian economics adopted after World War II, in favour of those of von Hayek (1965), Friedman (1977) and Buchanan (1975), which ultimately came to dominate Western democratic politics. The new Australian government of 1975 brought with it changes in policy, of 'new federalism' and the winding back of the state, influenced by these theories. These policies did not sit well with the welfare policies in place.

By the early 1980s there were writers in Australia and elsewhere declaring that the welfare state was in crisis (for example Graycar 1983; Offe 1984; Mishra 1984). Although there had been some critique of the welfare state prior to this, the majority of these publications followed a conference in 1981 which problematised the welfare state. The conference was held by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an international organisation that exists to promote economic growth and expand world trade. Clearly welfare state policies were not attuned to these objectives. The OECD concerns are specifically neoliberal and are reflected in their policies, which after this conference were also reflected in Australian state policies. This is a relationship described by Henry, Lingard Rizvi and Taylor (2001) as 'a Post-Keynesian Policy Consensus'. Beilharz, Considine and Watts (1992:90) point out that 'Internationally, the think-tanks of the business sector encouraged this right turn'. The example of internationalisation policy in Australia is one that reflects OECD policies and

their attention to global economic and trade relations. These same policies recommend alternative funding for universities from sources other than the state, that is, from business and industry.

Further examples emphasise the relation. With input from its member states, including Australia, OECD policy (for example OECD 1992 on quality, or OECD 2000a on institutional management) were mirrored in Australian policies (on quality DETYA 1999b, on institutional management DEST 2002f) that unite educational and commercial priorities. These overtly similar policies are concerned with neoliberal themes of human capital investment and commercial development, in which educational purpose is measured by how much students earn the year after they graduate or by the volume of international education exported (Marginson 2005). These measures 'echo the broader processes of the commodification of what was once regarded as 'the public sphere' ' (Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor 2001:174). These are specifically neoliberal ideas, elaborated in the Australian and university context below.

4c. Neoliberal Ideas

In Australia a Labor Government elected in 1983 undertook reforms that are described as economically rationalist, in which the state created 'Accords' with business and labor (unions) and encouraging entrepreneurial activities in both public institutions and private enterprise.

However it was five years later that the most significant change in Australian higher education occurred. The precursor to that event was another OECD conference, *Education and the Economy in a Changing Society*, in 1988. It is apparent that this conference conflated education and economic issues, in which 'the skills and qualifications of workers are coming to be viewed as critical determinants of effective performance of enterprises and economies' (OECD 1989:18). The conference chairperson was John Dawkins, then Minister for

Employment, Education and Training in Australia, and it was framed in a discourse of globalisation in which the 'orientation of its analysis and its linguistic strategies' created 'a rhetoric of justification for a tighter connection between educational systems and the world economy' (Apple 1992: 127). In the words of the chairperson, Dawkins:

A society which does not respond to the needs of its disadvantaged groups will incur the heavy social and economic costs of underdeveloped and under-utilised human resources. From this viewpoint . . . I see the goals of equity and efficiency in our education and labour market arrangements as fundamentally compatible rather than conflicting.

Dawkins in OECD 1989: 13

Thus matters of social equity, which replaced equality as a concept, were framed by a dominant concern with economic efficiency. This was a conceptualisation by the OECD of the relationship that was strongly conditioned by the organisation's ideological commitment to global trade and internationalisation. The degree to which this was attributable to Dawkins, 'in both shaping and refracting the OECD's policy agenda in education' is apparent in the texts of the speeches and publications (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry 1997:70) but this attribution could also be inverted. Both policies were being written in 1987, and Dawkins was involved in both. Although Australian policies in educational and public sector restructuring were seen as innovative in achieving goals of 'efficiency with equity', upon Dawkins' return to Australia he used OECD analyses to support his new policies for the unified national system, apparent in the policy texts produced in both 1987 and 1988 (Dawkins 1987a, 1987b; Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET), 1988a, 1988c). The new policy specifically privileges the economic over the social, it describes education as economic, links equity to efficiency and performance, and creates 'a more competitive performance based method of allocating resources' (Dawkins 1988:5). Fundamental consequences for Australian public universities were to be expected.

In 1988 new policy shifted identities of universities dramatically. Known as the 'Dawkins reforms', this policy restructured Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) and teachers colleges as universities, and amalgamated them with existing universities. The two important consequences were that universities were now part of a system with other quite different institutions, and that they were located in a service industry. This dramatically changed the structure of higher education in Australia, creating new universities and new ways of thinking for college teachers who were now academics, for students of colleges who were now university students, and for the state which now controlled many more universities. During the 1970s five universities had been established, bringing the total number of public universities to eighteen, and these had been assured of funding by the state. In 1987 two new universities were included, one public university and the first private university, Bond University.⁷ Then another sixteen universities were established over the next four years, and others were merged or amalgamated. The outcome was that the numbers of universities in Australia doubled in that time, by 1990 there were twenty-eight universities, two years later there were thirty-six universities (see Table 4). These universities now had to compete for funding, were much more regulated, and were part of a much larger university system.

There was another important consequence. Unification attempted to make uniform the diversity of ideas (of universities) that existed at the time in Australian universities and are associated with particular cultures. Amalgamations that were successful may be attributed to a utilitarian and technical cultural tradition, for example at the University of Technology, Sydney, which retained its technological network culture. Another example was the heterogonous culture apparent at the University of Queensland that could absorb cultural differences while retaining an elite, *sandstone* culture and identity. However the

⁷ Bond University was founded by an entrepreneur who was to later be convicted of criminal activities and the university was at different times in the hands of overseas interests.

amalgamation at the University of New England was unsuccessful and resulted in 1993 in de-amalgamation.

These universities had quite different histories and constructions, yet within the new system they were all recognised as a 'university'. There were many changes to cultures of colleges to conform to ideas of universities, for example that they should be research institutions. All universities were required by the 1988 state policy to identify these priorities, and to identify themselves uniquely in texts such as mission statements.

Post-unification changes

There were a series of further policy shifts that are described here as neoliberal, that further established the political rationalities introduced in 1987. These policy texts included new ideas and expectations, using discourse focussed on concepts such as 'performance', 'accountability' and 'quality', that were inculcated in universities by 'performance criteria' and 'performance indicators'.

The discourse that appeared with these policies took on distinct characteristics, including an economic focus, particularly of commercial activities and situating universities in business or commercial relationships. An example is utilised here from the executive summary of the policy, *The Quality of Higher Education* (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA) 1999b). This policy redefines ideas of the universities and their relationships, particularly with students. This text locates students as customers of the services of universities. This relationship is one that has been redefined, from that described by Wentworth and Menzies as the university as civilising influence on *the hearts and minds of men*, to a commercial relationship in which the student invests.

It redefines the activities and values of universities, from the value of disinterested research and knowledge for its own sake described above, to that of a provider of commercial services, which is *to provide value for money through teaching and support services and through providing resources*.

Text 6. 'The Student as Customer' (DETYA 1999b)

The student as customer

In Australia, a university education is now a significant investment for students, whether they pay fees or contribute to the cost of their education through the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS). There is an increased focus on the student as customer and client, and pressure on institutions to provide value for money through quality teaching and learning support services, including access to tutors and teachers as well as flexible access to learning materials and resources. Universities are focusing on the student as customer/client in various ways.

DETYA 1999b: n.p., excerpt from executive summary

This relationship between university and student has become one of *techne*. It is part of the political rationality described by Rose (1996) as styles of neoliberal rationalities that appeared after World War II. The state is exhibiting the neoliberal rationalities Rose describes, actively creating the context in which entrepreneurial and competitive conduct is possible (Rose 1996). The unified national system also is an example of the state actively creating the conditions in which competition is facilitated, and legitimated through the competition policies that were also created at this time. Such policies and legislation legitimate and normalise the ideas brought about by this particular political rationality.

There is a defined shift of meaning that occurs when students become customers⁸. This extends and changes the university's identity, to one which markets commercial goods, and employs the discourses of consumerism, marketing, and management rather than the earlier discourse of Whitlam about equality and welfare, or Menzies' discourse about knowledge to civilise. This shifts the idea of a university to a different context through the student/customer/client, placing it in a new management context such as one which requires 'total customer satisfaction' (TCS), part of a collection of practices including Total Quality Management (TQM), and other practices that become known by their acronyms. However it is not the practice but the exchange of context, the normalisation and legitimation of different ideas and rationalities - a Foucauldian discursive rupture that signifies the appearance of different discourse which displaces previous discourse.

Resistance was not always overt but appeared in practice, such as enterprise bargaining where industrial resistances were not unusual. Vidovich describes the reaction of universities to the implementation of 'Quality Policy' (DETYA 1999b).

⁸ This is a re-identification of students that anecdotally has met some resistance from academics although apparently not from administrative staff or students.

The central argument is that the *raison d'être* of such quality policy is to enhance the accountability of universities to external stakeholders, especially government. In the Australian higher education context, it could be argued that specific policy on quality, which appeared in the 1990s, constituted 'unfinished business' from the Dawkins reforms of the 1980s. Minister Dawkins clearly set an agenda to achieve tighter Commonwealth Government control across all sectors of education in order to serve 'the national interest' and he focused on higher education first because he was able to use financial 'carrots' and 'sticks' more directly in that sector. His White Paper (Dawkins, 1988[1987a]) foreshadowed the use of performance indicators as the basis for funding universities, but by 1991, when he moved to become Treasurer, the performance indicator project had stalled. His own Performance Indicators Research Group was cautioning against their use (Linke, 1991), and there was also a growing negative reaction from the sector generally. Quality policy then provided an alternative mechanism to achieve a less direct form of control.

Vidovich 1999:1

Another example of the furtherance of this discourse comes from another policy text, *Higher Education at the Crossroads* (Department of Education, Science & Training (DEST), 2002a), see Text 7 below. The metaphor of *crossroads* links higher education with previous descriptions of technological highways and pathways, such as Clark's (1998) *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organizational Pathways of Transformation*. Clark's study of European universities described processes of transformation, including a diversified funding base and an entrepreneurial culture, that were adopted in Australia and elsewhere, including New Zealand and Canada.

In the discourse of *Higher Education at the Crossroads*, universities are different actors. Instead of individual universities, they become in practice elements of the larger concept of a system of higher education. *Higher Education* is a more pragmatic explanation of function than the more elusive idea of a university. This became common practice after universities were unified, re-identified as just one institute in a group of higher education institutions. *Universities* are not as often the subject of the discourse, *Higher Education* is

often reified in capitals, and the context is of services. Thus this policy document begins with very functional discourse, about *the purposes of higher education*, and its *significant functions in our society*.

Learning is now for life, *It* (higher education) is the subject. Higher education now takes on ideas that were previously identified with universities and with colleges. This includes the *pursuit, preservation and transmission of knowledge*. It extols the *value of research, both 'curiosity-driven' and 'use-inspired'*. It *enables personal intellectual autonomy and development*. It *provides skills formation and educational qualifications to prepare individuals for the workforce*. It *helps position Australia internationally*. However the emphasis is more oriented to skills and capabilities rather than any esoteric knowledge, *techne*, evident in the **application** of knowledge, is important.

Following the 1999 policy which identified students as customers, this policy identifies individuals, *young Australians developing their abilities for the labour market*, and ensures *choice*, a specifically neoliberal concept that focuses on individuals rather than groups⁹. In the same way intellectual activities (including research) become individualised, and the objectives are the workforce and the nation, i.e. Australia, specifically its positioning internationally. Individuals are offered alternatives, they can choose to undertake competency based or trade skills for the labour market. Universities are seen as a personal investment - in contrast to Whitlam's university in which the state invested.

⁹ Phillips identifies key words and formulaic phrases which form configurations of vocabulary or lexical collocations that worked to condense the source discourses into one framework, forming Thatcherite discourse. The three keywords are *choice, community and enterprise*. (Phillips 1998:848).

Text 7. Higher Education at the Crossroads (DEST 2002a)

Higher Education at the Crossroads: an Overview Paper

a. purposes of higher education

Higher education fulfils significant functions in our society. It values learning throughout life. It promotes the pursuit, preservation and transmission of knowledge. It extols the value of research, both 'curiosity-driven' and 'use-inspired'. It enables personal intellectual autonomy and development. It provides skills formation and educational qualifications to prepare individuals for the workforce. It helps position Australia internationally.

The Government has emphasised that not all Australians may wish to undertake higher education. Acquisition of competency-based vocational and trade skills are an equally appropriate choice for young Australians developing their abilities for the labour market. However, for increasing numbers of Australians, universities are perceived as the most appropriate way to invest in their future.

The Government sees the purpose of higher education as much greater than preparing students for jobs. It regards higher education as contributing to the fulfilment of human and societal potential, the advancement of knowledge and social and economic progress. The main purposes of Australian higher education are to:

- inspire and enable individuals to develop their capabilities to the highest potential:*
- enable individuals to learn throughout their lives (for personal growth and fulfilment, for effective participation in the workforce and for constructive contributions to society):*
- advance knowledge and understanding:*
- aid the application of knowledge and understanding to the benefit of the economy and society:*
- enable individuals to adapt and learn, consistent with the needs of an adaptable knowledge-based economy at local, regional and national levels:*
and
- contribute to a democratic, civilised society and promote the tolerance and debate that underpins it.*

Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST), 2002a:1

The individual is not only identified but developed, a recurring concept; *It enables personal intellectual autonomy and development... to prepare individuals for the workforce... young Australians developing their abilities for the labour market... inspire and enable individuals to develop their capabilities to the highest potential.* This treatment of individuals is purely vocational and resource oriented, it belongs to the human resources management concept of business and industries which operate in the marketplace.

The style of the text, for example the use of dot points, is a typically modernist approach. The genre took on this style with new management, notable first when describing the introduction of new management discourse in university texts from 1989 (DEET 1988a), associated with the introduction of university profiles.

4d. Effects of Change

The responses by universities to the policies that are described here were not surprising. In the new competitive environment each university competes with others for funding, guided by these policies. An example of one university's approach is remarkable, embodied in a speech by the Vice Chancellor of the University of Melbourne. Gilbert described 'Some Heretical Ideas About Universities' at *The Menzies Oration* (Gilbert 2003a), reported in the national newspaper as *Barbarians at the Gates* (Gilbert 2003b). Gilbert is an outspoken critic of policy and a powerful advocate for his university, one of the most prestigious universities, a sandstone that has responded by being overtly commercial, innovative and entrepreneurial in practice.

Gilbert begins by asking if, by focusing on the instrumental characteristic of universities that is '*part of the 900-year-old idea of a university*', we lose two other ideas, *the valuing of knowledge and inquiry for their own sake*, and *the civilizing mission of sustaining well-founded civil societies*.

Text 8. Gilbert, excerpt from *The Menzies Oration 2003*

'Some Heretical Ideas About Universities',

But is something being lost in this apotheosis of the vocational, the practical, the applied and the useful? As instrumental institutions, 21st century universities will preserve part of the 900-year-old idea of a university, but what of the other two enduring characteristics identified earlier in this analysis: the valuing of knowledge and inquiry for their own sake, and the civilizing mission of sustaining well-founded civil societies? Will the idea of instrumental utility, pursued to the exclusion of all else, reduce the ancient paradigm to a rudimentary utilitarian parody of its historic richness? If so, the fault will lie partly within the academy itself. For at a time when, arguably, the world needs powerful civilising institutions more than ever, universities seem to be losing the capacity, and even the will, to tackle the great philosophical and moral questions through which humankind seeks meaning and guidance, and through which humane, sustainable civil societies are built.

Continued....

Continued...

*The third heresy, if I may paraphrase a passage from T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, is the greatest evil. The heretical idea that all universities should be research universities, will, left unchallenged, make higher education as a whole much more expensive than it might be, and much more narrowly focused than it should be. The idea that public universities - and particularly the public funding of universities - are somehow uniquely legitimate is also heretical. It will leave universities in jurisdictions where it prevails increasingly unsustainable financially without making access to them any more equitable. But the heretical idea of the exclusively instrumental university threatens to rob humankind of the subtle and formative civilising influences through which, historically, universities have sustained and enriched fragile civil societies. That would be an incalculable evil. What a costly irony it would be if universities, inheritors of a great civilizing mission to promote critical inquiry, encourage original critiques of conventional wisdom and embrace moral seriousness, ended up producing the great idiot savants of history, sophisticated barbarians possessing terrifying power and knowledge, yet bereft of the guiding values and wisdom to use their stewardship prudently, wisely and justly.*

Gilbert 2003a:23-24

Gilbert warns that universities are in danger of becoming *pared down* by *heretical ideas*. The outcomes for Gilbert are different institutions of professional education, targeted research, research training and technology transfer. Gilbert turns contested ideas on their backs. For Gilbert the heresies are, contrary to received opinion, that universities should be research institutions, and that they must be publicly funded. The resort to a heresy metaphor adeptly locates Gilbert's ideal university as a (medieval?) sacred idea, about to be despoiled by *Barbarians*, with all that label implies. This is not surprising as Gilbert's University of Melbourne, particularly under his Vice-Chancellorship, has become perhaps the most proactive and businesslike of any in Australia. This university takes on multiple missions, with many ideas of universities juxtaposed: private/public, teaching/research, global/local.

At Melbourne the *well-articulated technology transfer functions* have been privatised and are market focused. Ironically it is this university whose mission statement is most succinct and least revealing (perhaps intentionally). The most disturbing notion here is that Gilbert makes heretical the idea that the state funded public university is *uniquely legitimate*, in contrast to Whitlam's reassurance that universities should be secure in their funding, so allowing autonomy and academic freedom. The idea that a public university can be funded by other than public funding opens the way for the commodification of research and teaching, and the restriction of research and teaching to utilitarian objectives. Gilbert acknowledges this, but this too is a *heretical idea of the exclusively instrumental university* [that] *threatens to rob humankind of the subtle and formative civilising influences through which, historically, universities have sustained and enriched fragile civil societies*. The postscript to Gilbert's 'heretical ideas' is the furtherance of his project by Davis, his successor as Vice Chancellor of the University of Melbourne. Davis proposes a 'full fee' university system in Australia, beginning with the University of Melbourne that 'is preparing to transform into a user-pays US-style institution' (Macnamara 2005:3). The federal

Education Minister ‘supported the general direction of the proposal’ (Macnamara 2005:3) signifying the at least partial success of the neoliberal project.

In this chapter it has been clarified that in Australia there have been substantial shifts of political rationalities that are dramatically different. These are fundamental to the constructions of universities, which are evident in the foundational ideas of universities in Australia, to the post war nation building ideas and subsequent egalitarian ideas of access and participation. The most recent ideas have created a different university system in Australia that shifts ideas of universities once again, aligned with a user-pays system that is attuned to the neoliberal project.

In this chapter texts have been used to show the different discourses over time and the points of change in Australian history. The next chapter describes the enactment of the ideas explored in this chapter, in networks of social practices, and the social contexts of these practices. These are shifting relations and effects in practice (sometimes contested), particularly with the introduction of a new genre and the mechanisms that are set in place which inculcate neoliberal ideas in the existing intertextual relations and practices.

* * *

Part II Analyses

Chapter 5

Networks of Practices

All institutions appropriate selected parts of the past for use in the present. Where they have no past, they invent it, imagining themselves as inheritors of a larger tradition.

Marginson and Considine 2000:191

This chapter traces the development of a particular genre of discourse, the mission statement, in the social context and practices of universities. There are no rules which set out how to undertake such a genealogical analysis, and Foucault's genealogy was concerned with the methodological rather than with method. However, what all genealogical analyses have in common is their acknowledgement to the Foucauldian identification of power/knowledge in discourse, and the role of discourse in producing power/knowledge networks. This genealogy is about tracing these knowledges and their power effects through the examination of discourse, 'by mapping the strategies, relations and practices of power in which knowledges were embedded and connected' (Carabine 2001:277). This genealogy draws attention to these in the 'social nature and the historical origins' (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001:9) of the discourse and its locations in texts and in practices.

This analysis explores how power is instantiated through the use of disciplinary discourses and through managerial practices and normalisation. What then appears is *Enstehung* or 'emergence' from 'the hazardous play of dominations' (Foucault 1977:148). I begin using three narratives that follow the texts, and then undertake a tracing of power/knowledge within those narratives which inform the construction of the discourse that emerges from that play of dominations. This is substantiated by the examination of the social context and particular practices which allowed for that emergence. This analysis is the antecedent for further analyses in later chapters of the specific power effects of the emergence and dominance of a particular discourse that I argue attempts hegemony.

This begins with university texts as representations of universities in networks of practices. An expressly modernist project, the mission statement is a genre which should, by its very nature, be ideal for this task. These texts are semiotically constituted ways of being that describe ideas of a university. They are short and therefore must include the most significant themes only; there is no room for procrastination or elaboration. It is in these mission statements that universities produce and reflect upon representations of their own practices.

The genealogy consists of narratives that describe social practices, looking at how these texts are constructed, the contingency and the context of practices in which they occur. This clearly identifies the context as one where universities attempt to 'brand' their identities in a competitive process to differentiate and structure their dominance in the system of local and global markets, practices which produce particular themes in mission statements.

My aims in this chapter are to analyse the social context and intertextuality of these mission statements, how they appear as a university genre in the creation of new networks of semiotic practices, and their role in the representations of Australian public universities.

5a. Social Practice

Genealogy¹

Scene 1. The process– governmentality and how programmes are enacted.

Scenario: 1988, Canberra, and a federal Labor government. This government instigated a series of reforms, based on political rationalities of nation building, deregulation, privatisation and accountability, described by some as advanced liberalism (Rose 1993, 1996), but more commonly as neoliberal.

This was the year the *Higher Education Funding Act 1988* (Commonwealth of Australia 1988) was introduced, placing responsibility with the federal Department of Employment, Education and Training for ministerial control over expenditure, distributed by ministerial determination. To accommodate this practice the education profiles process (see below) was introduced on a triennial basis.

This was also the year of the abolition of the binary divide in higher education in Australia, which resulted in a doubling of the number of universities, and a subsequent large increase in enrolments. The reforms included a decrease in public investment in higher education, and an increase of private investment, steps towards the market reforms recommended by the OECD (1987). Universities had been able since the previous year to enrol their first fee-paying international and postgraduate students, and the following year domestic students began to pay fees in the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), which steadily increased through the rest of the century.

¹ I would like to acknowledge here the support and assistance of James Cook University which allowed access to the unpublished texts from the archives that are quoted in this chapter.

Marginson notes how these changes of policy were 'signified and constituted in a succession of national reports' from the OECD, and the Thatcher and Reagan policies of the time, including themes of the 'economic citizen' and 'enterprise culture' (Marginson 1997a:152). The inclusion of the OECD highlights the global character of these similarities, and the globalisation of discourse of enterprise culture and related rationalities.

This 1988 federal government was very much a reflexive government, utilising the 'government of governmental mechanisms' in reforming the conduct of institutions such as universities, to make them more competitive and efficient (Dean 1999:195). Rather than attempt to privatise higher education, strategies were set in place that had a similar outcome, without the (federal) state being seen as the implementers of these changes — action at a distance as described by Latour (1987). The Department of Education, Employment and Training (DEET) set in place a series of governmental mechanisms for auditing and accounting of universities (DEET 1988a).

In 1998 a letter was sent to all universities, requesting an 'Educational Profile' for the next three years, 1989 to 1991. This collection of information about universities by the state continues. Initially this included the proposed educational profile of the university under five headings. The first was the university mission and objectives, the second teaching profiles, the third research profiles, the fourth a statement of intent on achieving national priorities and lastly any 'other issues' (DEET 1988a). The 'other issues' included numbers of fee-paying students, and the commercial activities of universities. They are set out below in Text 9, which is an excerpt from a letter to Vice-Chancellor Golding of James Cook University, from the Department of Education, Employment and Training dated 14 June, 1988.

Text 9. The instigation: Letter to Vice-Chancellor Golding (DEET 1988b)

Dear Professor Golding,

EDUCATIONAL PROFILE FOR 1989-91 TRIENNIUM

This is the final request for details of your proposed educational profile for the 1989-91 triennium. The complete profile will consist of five sections:

- 1. Mission and objectives*
- 2. Teaching*
- 3. Research*
- 4. Statement of intent on national priorities*
- 5. Other issues.*

In my letter of 18 May 1988 I sought information on the teaching and research components of the profile. The details required in the teaching component (Section 2) are unchanged from those specified in my earlier advice and the deadline for submitting relevant data remains at 1 July 1988. After further consultation at the request of the AVCC and the ACDP, however, we have made some amendments to the research component of the profile (Section 3) and this is the subject of the separate document enclosed herewith: the deadline for submitting data for the research component is now 22 July 1988.

Although the intention of the remaining sections (ie. 1, 4 and 5) is to help achieve a complete description of activities, institutions are requested to provide the information sought in as concise a form as possible..

. continues.....

Text 9, The Instigation. *continued.*

SECTION 1: MISSION AND OBJECTIVES

A brief 'Mission Statement' as adopted by the institution is sought. This should be accompanied by a statement of the objectives on which the activities of the institution are based. It should be noted that the Policy Discussion Paper on Higher Education regarded the commitment of an institution to its stated mission as the key to an effective system of educational profiles.

SECTION 4: STATEMENT OF INTENT

In each of the areas of national priority listed below, institutions should:

- (a) identify and, where possible, quantify its goals:*
- (b) identify its strategies for achieving these goals:*
- (c) identify quantitative and/or qualitative measures of performance against goals:
and*
- (d) indicate areas to which the highest priority is attached*

Tracing 1.

The instigation of reforms of universities signified in the *Higher Education Funding Act 1988* (Commonwealth of Australia 1988) locates power clearly in the state, and its agency. This power is not only economic, with the funding of universities, but also managerial/administrative, giving the state power to ordain 'the education profiles' of universities. This process includes the instantiation of new knowledges about what universities are and should be, and how their practices should change.

This not only locates power in the state, but also in international actors, specifically the OECD. This is apparent in the discourse which emerges at the time in universities, which mirrors that of the OECD (1987) 'recommendations' regarding *Structural Adjustment and Economic Performance*. This dominance of economic discourse emerges in contemporary practices of universities, including those of new relations with fee-paying international and postgraduate students as consumers. The discourse in Australian public universities of 'enterprise culture' can also be traced to this horizon (Marginson 1997a:152).

The strategies in which knowledges were embedded appear in the state mechanisms for auditing and accounting of universities (DEET 1988a), described perceptively by Miller and Rose two years later as:

... humble and mundane mechanisms which appear to make it possible to govern: techniques of notation, computation and calculation; procedures of examination and assessment; the invention of devices such as surveys and presentational forms such as tables; the standardization of systems for training and the inculcation of habits; the inauguration of professional specialisms and vocabularies; building design and architectural forms — the list is heterogeneous and is, in principle, unlimited.

Miller and Rose 1990:8

The letter from the state to the Vice-Chancellor of the university is clearly an exercise in power. This power is visible in the use of language which demands

(The complete profile will consist of five sections) and which gives deadlines. The use of *will* and *should* highlight the authoritative and performative aspect of the technologies that are the subject of the letter. The inclusion of discursive strategies such as *the mission and objectives*, and *the statement of intent on national priorities*, are discourse technologies that establish a close connection 'between knowledge about language and discourse, and power' (Fairclough 1999:216). The technologists include accountants, statisticians and managers who, when ordered by the state, '*achieve a complete description of activities*' of the universities.

Scene 2. Responses – the creation of a mission statement

Scenario: The actors who responded to the 1988 letter from DEET represented their university and acted with the agency of that institution. In this role, they undertook a number of activities in response to the letter. One of these activities was the creation of a university mission statement. Most of the actors who created these texts were quite distant from Canberra, such as those of our story, from James Cook University in Far North Queensland.

The mission statement created at James Cook University (see Text 10) had the qualities of many other mission statements, and was enacted in a scenario that occurred many times in many places. The mission statement identified actors, and specific activities undertaken by actants in the university network. It did this in a normative utopian sense, to identify within its discourse what was considered by the actors that created it to be in the best interests of 'the university'.

University mission statements have no signified author: their agency is that of a collective identity, 'the university'. We can see from a series of documents (Texts 10-15) over 12 years (1988 to 2000) the varied input and changes that were contributed by different actors, such as the Vice-Chancellor, Deans, Boards and Committees, all representing 'the university'. There is also evident a particular stream of power that continues throughout, in the person of the Vice Chancellor, although there were three different Vice Chancellors in this period.

These texts combine discourses, including discourses of new knowledges and practices, of management, enterprise (see Fairclough 1990) and performativity (Cowen 1996; Ball 2000) which enact neoliberal policies. These are combined with a quite different academic discourse (Connell and Galasiński 1998) to form a discourse that is able to unite and ally separate actants. This is particularly useful in universities in which conflicts and power struggles are inherent in the specialised discourses and styles of faculties and management, and which must also now interact with different institutions from industry and business.

The mission statement is usually incorporated into other documents, and nested within a strategic plan, sometimes called a 'Vision' that supports the programmes and strategies of the university. In this story the Vice-Chancellor describes the creation of a *Millennium Document*, which includes the mission statement and objectives of the university:

The wide consultations associated with its preparation helped to focus the institutional mind on our future. The process set many of the directions that we are now embarked upon, established the principles that we still subscribe to, and crystallised the major strategies we intended to adopt.

JCU 2003[1998]:2

The mission statements are created and changed over time; they become translation centres. The consultation processes described above are strategic processes used to enrol others into the objectives and activities of the university that are often outlined in the mission statement or in their related texts, the strategic plans, visions etc. Therefore they rarely remain inactive, constantly re-positioning themselves. They are often recreated by different authors at different times who have different objectives, although the author is always nominally 'the university'.

Text 10. James Cook University Mission Statement, 1988

James Cook University of North Queensland is an institution committed to scholarship which is interpreted broadly to include the discovery, integration and dissemination of knowledge; the critical examination of the assumptions upon which societies are based; the use of knowledge to solve problems; and the fostering of creativity.

The central purposes of the University are twofold: to achieve and maintain excellence in the education of its students; to achieve and maintain excellence in research, research training and the application of knowledge. In pursuing its mission, the University aims to contribute to the needs and welfare of the region it serves, the nation and mankind generally.

The mission statements collected for this research were extant for some years, at least between 1998 and 2002, and some still continue. Their creation is a response to a directive from the state. The genealogy of one such mission statement and its related texts portray a typical history of many of the mission statements of Australian public universities. These different events at James Cook University elicited the creation of the various texts examined below.

Tracing 2

That power is clearly located in the state is signified in the letter from Canberra which gives instruction, which orders actors in the remote university. This is an achievement of government at a distance, which allows the agency of the letter that evokes multiple responses, and the agency of the mission statements, endowed with qualities described in the letter. These texts act to monitor, legislate and control. It is interesting to note, however, that the commitment of an institution to its mission statement is perceived to be the 'key to an effective system of educational profiles' (DEET 1988a:1). The concern here is for the means, that is, the technologies of an effective system of administration, rather than the ends, the university or the identity that is shaped by such commitment.

It is clear in the responses to the letters that universities do conform to the government (policies) of the state. The discourse that emerges from this reveals where the power/knowledge is located. The discourse of the mission statement sets the scene; it enacts and legitimates activities and negotiations of the university with other actors in its networks. Each is unique to its institution, and to the time and place of its creation. It enacts and legitimates these activities and negotiations between actants, specific to the micro-context of the particular university, and the participants, space and time in which they are created. These statements juxtapose themes, or patterns, which contain underlying meaning.

They therefore should portray the uniqueness of each university, the creators of the text, and the context in which it is produced.

Text 10, above, is an example of the early mission statements of universities which structure new discourse while retaining elements of the old. In this text there is a marked emphasis on *knowledge, teaching and research*. The hybrid nature of the discourse is evident in the admixture of these concerns with those of *needs and welfare* and *mankind generally*. The hybridity is evidence of the intertextuality of the discourse, and the different origins of these themes.

Texts 11 to 16, below, were all created at James Cook University between 1989 and 2000. These texts are useful for two purposes, they show the shifting configurations of power within a university, and they reveal the processes in place that create a particular text and its discourse. They also their intertextuality and how a mission statement is located in relation to other texts, such as the strategic plan of the university.

- Text 11, September 1989. Resolution of the Academic Board Standing Committee. The Academic Board Standing Committee enrolled the heads of departments and the deans of the faculties in the strategic plan, which included the mission statement.

It is clear in this text that the Academic Board has the power to make decisions regarding representations of the university. This shows the location of the Mission Statement within the Strategic Plan. Concerns that appear in this mission statement (1.1) are quite different to those of later mission statements, particularly ideas about universities and their role in *the critical examination of the assumptions upon which societies are based*.

Text 11. Resolution of the Academic Board Standing Committee, 1989

The Academic Board Standing Committee resolved that the 'Development of the Strategic Plan' be referred to heads of departments and to the deans of the faculties for detailed consideration.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRATEGIC PLAN

1. MISSION AND OBJECTIVES

1.1 Mission Statement

James Cook University is an institution committed to scholarship interpreted broadly to include the discovery integration and dissemination of knowledge; the critical examination of the assumptions upon which societies are based; the use of knowledge to solve problems; and the fostering of creativity.

The central purposes of the University are twofold:

- *to achieve and maintain excellence in the education of its students;*
- *to achieve and maintain excellence in research, research training and the application of knowledge.*

In pursuing its mission the University aims to contribute to the needs and welfare of the region it serves, the nation and mankind generally.

1.2 Objectives of the University

The objectives of the University include the following:

- *to encourage and provide facilities for study and research both generally and in relation to subjects of special importance to the tropics;*
- *to provide educational facilities at university standards for persons who, being eligible to enrol, seek the benefits of such facilities;*
- *to establish such facilities as the University deems desirable for providing courses of study or instruction to meet the special needs of the community.*

- Text 12, June 1990. Letter from the Dean. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts enrolled members of a Faculty Committee to create a Working Party, to respond to the *Development of the Strategic Plan*.

Acting on their behalf, the Dean represented their responses to the Vice-Chancellor. They suggest one change to a more politically correct description, from *mankind* to *humankind*. They make some *tentative* suggestions of additions, otherwise they agree with the text. The interests of the Working Party, the Dean and the Vice-Chancellor were in this way allied, allowing for the enrolment of these actors in the interests of the university. However it is apparent that the Vice Chancellor is the locus of power. The idea of the *critical examination of society* is still in this text, but does not appear again in the mission statement or strategic plan after this time.

- Text 13, 1997. Communications of the Vice Chancellor. Seven years later, a different Vice-Chancellor enrolled all staff in the programme to ‘*define more clearly the University’s mission and objectives, and the means by which they can be fulfilled*’.

This was a shift in the process of enrolment. Previously it was the prestigious committees and deans who were enrolled by the Vice Chancellor, or it was the Academic Board who did the enrolling. Even the title shows a different process is in place, these are *Communications*, not directives. In this text all staff were enrolled to the programme(s) of the university. These enrolling processes are apparent in the discourse, for example in the use of the collective and possessive *our*, and the direction they receive, so that *consensus* and *ownership of our institutional goals* can be achieved. This depicts technologies of new management, in the *University Planning Conference*, and processes that locate all staff in units, a team process approach.

Text 12. Letter from the Dean, 1990

Dear Professor Golding,

At its meeting (1/90) held on 26 March 1990, the Faculty of Arts referred to the document titled "The Development of the Strategic Plan", to the Arts Faculty Committee with a request that it formulate a response on behalf of the Faculty. After preliminary discussion at its meeting (1/90) held on 26 March 1990, the Committee referred the matter to a Working Party.

Attached is the response of the Working Party.

Yours sincerely

Donat Gallagher, Dean

Faculty of Arts

attachment: page 2

1. Mission and Objectives A Mission Statement and a reasonably full set of objectives are essential to a strategic plan. The Faculty of Arts proposes minor re-wording of the existing Mission Statement, but believes that the Objectives set out in the draft paper be expanded and clarified.

The draft document appears to contain seven Objectives. We propose three more. Our wording is, of course, tentative, and we recommend that each Objective be finally framed in close consultation with the area(s) of the University most directly concerned.

The Faculty of Arts is directly concerned with Objectives 1, 2, and 3.

Continued over...

Text 12 continued. Letter from the Dean, 1990

page 3, Proposed Mission Statement and Objectives:

Mission

James Cook University is committed to the discovery, integration and dissemination of knowledge, to the critical examination of the assumptions upon which sciences and societies are based, to the application of knowledge, and to the fostering of creativity. In pursuing its mission the University will serve the region in which it is located, the nation, and humankind.

Objectives

(1) to teach undergraduate and graduate degree courses in a manner and at a level of excellence consistent with that achieved by leading universities throughout the world; and to teach professionally oriented courses in a manner and at a level of excellence consistent with the practice of relevant dedicated institutions.

Text 13. Communications of the Vice Chancellor, 1997

Strategic Planning and the University

To: vc-comms , Subject: Strategic Planning and the University , From: xxx

Date: Thu, 15 May 1997

MEMORANDUM

To: All Staff

Staff would be aware from my recent reports that arrangements are well underway for a mid-year University Planning Conference at which current strategic planning efforts will be brought into sharper focus. The overall aim of the Conference will be to define more clearly the University's mission and objectives, and the means by which they can be fulfilled. A vital aspect of the realisation of the University's goals is the achievement of a shared understanding of the role that each member of staff has to play. While it is physically impossible to include every member of the University staff in the Planning Conference attendance list, all staff members are entitled to be involved in lead-up discussions within their own units, so that those who are representing that unit can make contributions reflecting the views of all staff.

To facilitate preparatory discussions across the University, a set of notes has been prepared, and is attached below. Executive Deans, Pro-Vice-Chancellors and the Vice-President (Administration) have been charged with the responsibility of ensuring that staff within their respective units have the opportunity to meet and to consider the issues raised in those notes, thereby providing a means by which the voices of all staff may be heard through their representatives at the Planning Conference. The result we are hoping for is a consensus about University directions and a sense of commitment to and ownership of our institutional goals. In addition, I will be holding a meeting of all general staff prior to the Conference to provide them with a further opportunity to consider the issues to be raised at the Conference and to identify other areas where general staff can contribute actively and purposefully to the achievement of the University's goals. Further details on this meeting will be made available shortly. I look forward to receiving the views of all staff on the issues of great importance for the future of the University.

Ken McKinnon, Vice-Chancellor

- Text 14 August 1997. Draft *Medium Term Plan*, to Council and Senior Management Group, 1997. The Vice-Chancellor enrolled the Council of the University and the Senior Management Group.

This text illuminates the shifting power structure of the university. The Academic Board was the first to consider the strategic plan of 1989. After the University Council, the Academic Board was the most important committee that managed the university in cooperation with, or facilitated by, the Vice Chancellor. During the 1990s this shifted. By 1997 when this text was written, a new committee, the Senior Management Group, shifted power in some areas away from the academic board, which then focussed on purely academic functions. The powerful in this university were then The University Council and the Senior Management Group. While requiring approval for the revised mission statement from these two groups, the Vice Chancellor can still direct; he clarifies he does not want changes to what is in place. Instead he specifies that discussion should *focus on additional initiatives*.

The discourse of the *fivefold mission* has changed since 1988, it now includes concepts such as *flexibly-delivered* education and an open, *accountable* university. This is a vocational and utilitarian university, but it is not clear who the university is accountable to.

- Text 15. September 2000. Strategic Planning Committee, Revision of *Into the Third Millennium 2000-2005*, 2000. The mission statement was incorporated into another text, *Into the Third Millennium 2000-2005*.

The Vice-chancellor used metaphor to emphasise the *appropriateness of our strategies to our main game*. This was a powerful tool for aligning the interests of the university with the project of the state and *the prevailing climate of accountability and emphasis on process*. *Our core values* assume that the reader is aligned with the author, they will combine to prevent *external intervention*. While making this a game, it is very confrontational and combative discourse, quite different to its predecessors. This is appropriate to the aim to become one of the top universities of the world.

**Text 14. Draft *Medium Term Plan*, to University Council and Senior
Management Group, 1997**

RE: MEDIUM TERM PLAN

Pages 6-26 of the plan detailing the goals are attached. Discussions on this agenda item should focus on any additional initiatives needed.

Ken McKinnon

Vice-Chancellor

August 1997

Enc.: (p-2-) VISION

James Cook University's vision is to become the leading teaching and research university in and for the tropics, especially serving the communities of its region.

(p-3-) James Cook University's fivefold mission for the medium term is:

- *to enhance its reputation as one of the world's top ten teaching and research universities in the tropics;*
- *to serve better the people of northern Australia through courses and research closely aligned to regional needs;*
- *to provide a full range of flexibly-delivered, first-class higher education opportunities in the region, enabling participation rates equivalent to elsewhere in Australia;*
- *to ensure JCU graduates have wide intellectual and cultural horizons, good employment skills, optimism, adaptability and capacity for independent thinking;*
and
- *to be an open, accountable university whose culture is energetic, cooperative and optimistic.*

**Text 15 . Strategic Planning Committee,
Revision of *Into the Third Millennium 2000-2005, 2000***

In the prevailing climate of increased accountability and emphasis on process the most effective way of protecting our core values from external intervention is to pre-empt the motives that might lead to such intervention. These documents are intended to demonstrate the consistency, the transparency, and the appropriateness of our strategies to our main game: the pursuit and the maintenance of academic relevance and excellence.

Bernard Moulden Vice Chancellor and President.

Version 1: July 1998, Version 2: September 2000

Next Revision: September 2002

3. Mission and vision.

Our Mission:

James Cook University will serve tropical Queensland and the nation by providing education and research of international standing in a broad range of fundamental and professional disciplines, and world leadership in subjects of special importance to the tropics and to the region.

Our Vision:

We aim to be acknowledged within ten years as one of the top five universities of the world that are centres for teaching and research with a focus on matters relating to life in the tropics.

These texts place the genealogy in the context of the networks of university texts and discourses of the state and of the university. They contain discourses of management and policy that attempt to order and structure universities and their activities. These texts also illustrate shifts of power and depict the discourses that appear in new management technologies and emerge in university practices. The effects of the introduction of these management technologies are discussed below.

Scene 3. The enrolment of the many

Scenario: 1998. In a large lecture theatre at a regional Australian university, a lunch time meeting was conducted. In the theatre clusters of seats were filled at the front and centre, and isolated individuals or couples ranged around the outskirts. The majority were men in their middle years or older, they were semi-casually dressed, some wore ties, most wore open necked shirts, this was the tropics in the middle of summer. The audience included professors and senior lecturers, Heads of School and Deans, Senior Management Group members, the Chair of the Academic Board, and various other academics of senior status. There were a few senior general staff, a trade union representative and the marketing manager. A few women were present; most were more formally dressed than the men, some in high heels and skirts, a few in trousers.

At the podium was the Vice Chancellor, the only male wearing a tie and white business shirt, his sleeves rolled up and his grey hair perfectly in place. Behind the podium was a large monitor screen, upon which were the words of a proposed mission statement. There were small pockets of discussion, some in the audience made notes, others waited in silence. The V.C. cleared his throat, and then explained the rationale for the latest change of words of the text. The words *the fostering of creativity* were to be included, to remind the community of the role of the fine arts college that was part of the university. There was some discussion over the absence of the word *teaching*, and the ambiguity of the word *region*.

The meeting lasted for an hour and a half, although there was the occasional discreet exit during that time. The amended text with the suggestions of staff was rewritten and submitted to the Senior Management Group at their next committee meeting.

Tracing 3.

There are semiotic elements in this scenario which clearly define university practices and their overall power structures. The social interaction is clearly gender specific², and portrays practices that reinforce the changed elite power structures. There are however different semiotic signals that shift discourse, for example there is rhetoric regarding more open structures and consultation, that is seen to be public. This is not undertaken lightly, the overall outcome, in this instance, is to be endorsed by an elite group that now have the title of 'Senior Management Group'. This portrays the shift from the God professor to the manager, from academic to economic concerns. These are the actors who allow considered versions of the mission statements and other texts which represent the university. These are considered and sometimes contested, but are only activated if they achieve 'consensus' by approval of those with power. They not only depict discourses of shifts in practices but are themselves symbolic of this shift to managerial, business practices within the university.

5b. Social Context

Attributed to Drucker (1973), mission statements are a unique text, which originated in the context of the 'new management' of the 1970s and 1980s. There

² The gender differentiation is historical and hierarchical, noted in research such as that of Winchester, Chesterman, Lorenzo and Browning (2005). They found that women are under-represented in academia, in particular in the managerial and upper academic positions.

have been various studies of these texts since that time using statistical content analysis, a common managerial approach to research. For example Zaphiris (2001) undertook analysis using co-location (words or themes which appear in proximity in a text) and cluster analysis of themes. Her data consisted of 271 mission statements of members of the top Fortune 500 business companies. She describes missions as ‘documents that express goals, strategies, and culture of organizations and represent a contemporary management tool’ (Zaphiris 2001:1). This concept of a *culture* of organisations is a sociological concept that has been adapted into business and industry, apparently to redirect more dominant utilitarian aspects of business.

Zaphiris isolated 83 words in a frequency analysis of those mission statements, and described the most frequently occurring specific clusters of words (concepts), grouped by theme. The clusters were identified as: business functions, financial, employee and organisational performance. She found that

... perhaps the most useful aspect of this exploration is its place as starting point for the improved understanding of the role of organizational messages, mission statements, in the formation of organizational culture and strategy.

Zaphiris 2001:8

Peyrat (1996) undertook research in Britain using what was described as the Ashridge model of mission statements (named after the creator of the model), which illustrated the contents of these texts (see Figure 1). Peyrat’s research included an international comparison of the contents and the processes of creating mission statements. Peyrat suggested that her British model was similar to the French, because it was based on processes, and that the French authors agreed that the process was far more important than the contents (Peyrat 1996:138). However Peyrat found that British and American contents were more similar, they both focused on the strategic and *cultural* content of mission statements.

Figure 1. The Ashridge Model of the Mission

(following Peyrat 1996:137).

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Peyrat concluded that:

... an evolution of the thought about mission statements is appearing... whether the development process of a written mission statement was not more important than the document itself.

Peyrat 1996:143

The analyses of Peyrat (1996) and Zaphiris (2001) and others are driven by ideas of organisation and strategies of management, and use management terminology of which they are a part. Peyrat's findings about the British and American themes related to goals, values and strategies are of interest for the terminology it uses. Peyrat uses terms such as *values*, *norms* and *behaviours* from other disciplines such as sociology and psychology, perhaps marking the inculcation of business into universities as a practice, as a research area and as a discipline. This also became part of higher education practices, such as research which explores the diversity of Australian universities, a specifically state constructed problem and mode of governing that has persisted through many policies (for example see Department of Employment, Education and Training 1996, *Diversity and Performance in Australian Universities* or the Department of Education, Science and Training 2002b *Varieties of Excellence: Diversity, Specialisation and Regional Engagement*).

A New Genre

These texts are relatively recent technologies in Australian universities, adopted along with other new management practices during the 1980's. Their appearance in universities is seen as a reflection of changes external to universities, for example by Delanty, who describes the rise of regulatory regimes that impose an 'audit society' (Delanty 1998:15). This imposition of regulations is evident in the genealogy of the mission statement undertaken above. In following the text, we located the requirement by the then Department of Education,

Employment and Training (DEET), that universities include a mission statement and objectives in the new *profiles* for the 1989-91 Triennium.

This became one mechanism of many by which the university was reconstructed. The mission statement acts as a signifier of the changes in that particular university, and how the university would be represented. It is also one of many regulatory processes that act with other profiles mechanisms to bring about change in the universities. While mission statements may not, by themselves, completely 'transform[ed] the identity of the university from within' (Delanty 1998:20), in conjunction with other regulatory processes they become a very effective strategy.

The mission statement is indicative of particular characteristics of universities, their resilience and reflexivity. However this does create tensions, in the intertextuality of mission statements and interrelated texts which define or frame priorities for activities and funding, name other actors in relations with the university, and circumscribe objectives of the university. The content of these statements are then transposed and sit in contradistinction in some cases with, for example, annual reports or strategic plans (another incipient regulatory process) of faculties or schools. It is evident that the impetus for the reflexivity required to create these texts is external to the universities, in the form of state imperatives that required the creation of mission statements and other texts.

These state imperatives required every contemporary Australian public university to adopt a mission statement. These mission statements are publicly accessible: either on university web pages or published in the Annual Report of the university. This acts to reach a wide audience, or rather, multiple audiences, for example, students, markets, the state, businesses and industry, and at local, state and global levels. The text must therefore contain many resonances, a difficult requirement in such a short document. They are also part of a corpus of texts in which a university describes itself and undertakes to achieve identified goals. However they are not static, and since their introduction have been frequently changed from within.

The mission statements are evidence of the transformation universities experienced at the time of their introduction, not only in Australia. In Canada, Britain and some European countries, similar transformations were occurring. Connell and Galasiński describe how British universities had to reconstruct themselves to take fully into account the 'new needs of industry, business and the professions', and had to become a 'more responsible user of public funds', to demonstrate it was capable of managing them effectively and efficiently, and provide value for money. Higher education had to become 'business like'. Universities were compelled (by the state) to produce mission statements, which determined in what ways they positioned themselves, represented what they do, and related them to other participants 'in the wider community' (Connell and Galasiński 1998:457).

Of particular interest are the conclusions of Connell and Galasiński about agency and representation. They found that:

... autonomy is asserted in the very act of transforming educational organizations into subjects and agents with aims they wish to pursue. Instead of the forms of personalizing observed elsewhere, these Statements 'subjectify' universities and colleges, and render them beneficent providers of educational services. They act as the servants neither of government nor of those who will benefit from their courses, but by their own volition. Indeed, the logic of the Statements is that only by doing so will they serve better both government and students. This transformation is all the more powerful in that it is accomplished by an anonymously authored reporting discourse.

Connell and Galasiński 1998:477

However there is an inherent disparity in their findings. The university, college, or named institution is positioned as agent, in contrast to those which make specific references to mission as the subject (Connell and Galasiński 1998:464). This contrast is mirrored in the analysis of Australian mission statements in this study, in which universities become identifiable and identified agents, purposeful authors of the missions.

The 1998 study by Connell and Galasiński and research by Smith and Webster (1997) both find that British university mission statements are also instruments of negotiation: Smith and Webster describe them as marketing statements which aim to ensure that universities are as well placed as possible to deal with an immediate negotiation with government (Smith and Webster 1997:8). In Australia they also became instruments of negotiation, ironically perhaps best identified by the indeterminacy or strategic ambiguity observed in some statements.

With their introduction as a requirement of the state, linked to funding, mission statements became central in the order of discourse of universities. They are also recognised in this research as one of a series of devices of *interessement*, which include strategic plans, annual reports and marketing texts. These devices of *interessement* are processes in which an actor attempts to ‘lock other actors into roles that have been proposed for them in that programme’ (Callon 1986:196) — as do texts in the analyses of Callon (1986) and Latour (1987, 1988).

This description of mission statements as devices of *interessement* expose attempts to enrol actors, to create or maintain their interest and involvement in a programme of the university or in programmes that have been problematised by the state. They are usually only problematised in order to make changes towards the success of a project of the state. This is evident in a focus on national priorities and their relation to funding of universities. However universities may have other programmes, the processes are not always successful and resistance may appear in the form of alternative discourse. Universities may inculcate or resist new discourses and some enrolments may fail. The representations of universities in mission statements are outcomes of successful enrolments, of inculcation or residuals or resistances from other discourses.

Management and Intertextuality

The mission statements belong to the government technologies introduced with increasing regulations, new requirements of the 1987/88 policies. They are the inculcation of 'new management' technologies and different discourse in universities. This 'new management' or managerialism can be described as a cultural model of beliefs and values formed through the enactment and normalisation of particular behaviours and processes. The discourse that managerialism produces, within its particular set of technologies, is located in ideology that has become ubiquitous since the 1980's in Australia and other western societies. This is a neoliberal ideology that has gained dominance in state politics and is hegemonic in business, industry and public service. It is taught as theory and practice in business schools, in colleges and in universities, where it is now also enacted: with minor exceptions this is the way to conduct relationships.

The ideology includes particular understandings of the distribution and regulation of resources, based on belief systems about the ordering of social arrangements. Such ordering requires the reshaping of institutions, in societies that had been until this time specifically welfare states. To facilitate such change contemporary management textbooks describe organisational 'culture', describing cultural models (borrowed from anthropology and sociology) that construct models of organisational change. These models include changing prescriptions, so that 'values' and ideas reify 'markets'. These models include preferences for commercial activities and privatisation (and therefore opening up to markets) of previously public or state properties and provisions. This situates such ideas within the economic realm, and within a neoliberal ideology.

This is reflected in the discourse that has produced various concepts, evident in policies and in the management of universities, which actively constitute that of which they speak — values become economic values, and the behaviour becomes a business activity, rather than an educational or academic exercise, and so the purview of management. This becomes evident, for example

when the state policy in the Department of Education, Science and Training's *Higher Education Report for the 2001 to 2003 Triennium*, describes how their objectives are continuing regulation, to 'assure quality', and 'ensure public accountability for the cost-effective use of public resources'. This is linked to the growing expectations of universities that they should expect less public funding, and therefore that universities are to 'grow their sources of income' (DEST 2001d:3).

The first objective, to assure quality, is a discursive technology utilised to control and order, to structure and allocate resources. It is the department (i.e. the state) that does the 'assuring', therefore the state department is the one with power and is in control. It is also the (state) department that 'ensure(s) public accountability', yet it is universities that must 'grow their sources of income' and become increasingly active in markets. In this way the concept of quality is used to audit and control the activities and the 'product' of the universities. Universities under such control become 'accountable' to 'quality control', and to auditing processes and compliance, for example to the state body, the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA 2001a).

The latest change appears as simply one of terminology, where the 'Institution Assessment Framework' (IAF) reframes the earlier 'profiles' requirements that initiated the requirements for mission statements, strategic plans and related programmes and texts. The Institution Assessment Framework (hereafter IAF) clearly articulates the state's accountability requirements, which is 'based on a more strategic bilateral engagement with each institution' (DEST 2004c). This difference appears to be a very neoliberal strategy of dealing with individual (institutions) rather than any groups, therefore taking away the strength of group representation, evident in the AVCC and the Australian academic union National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU).

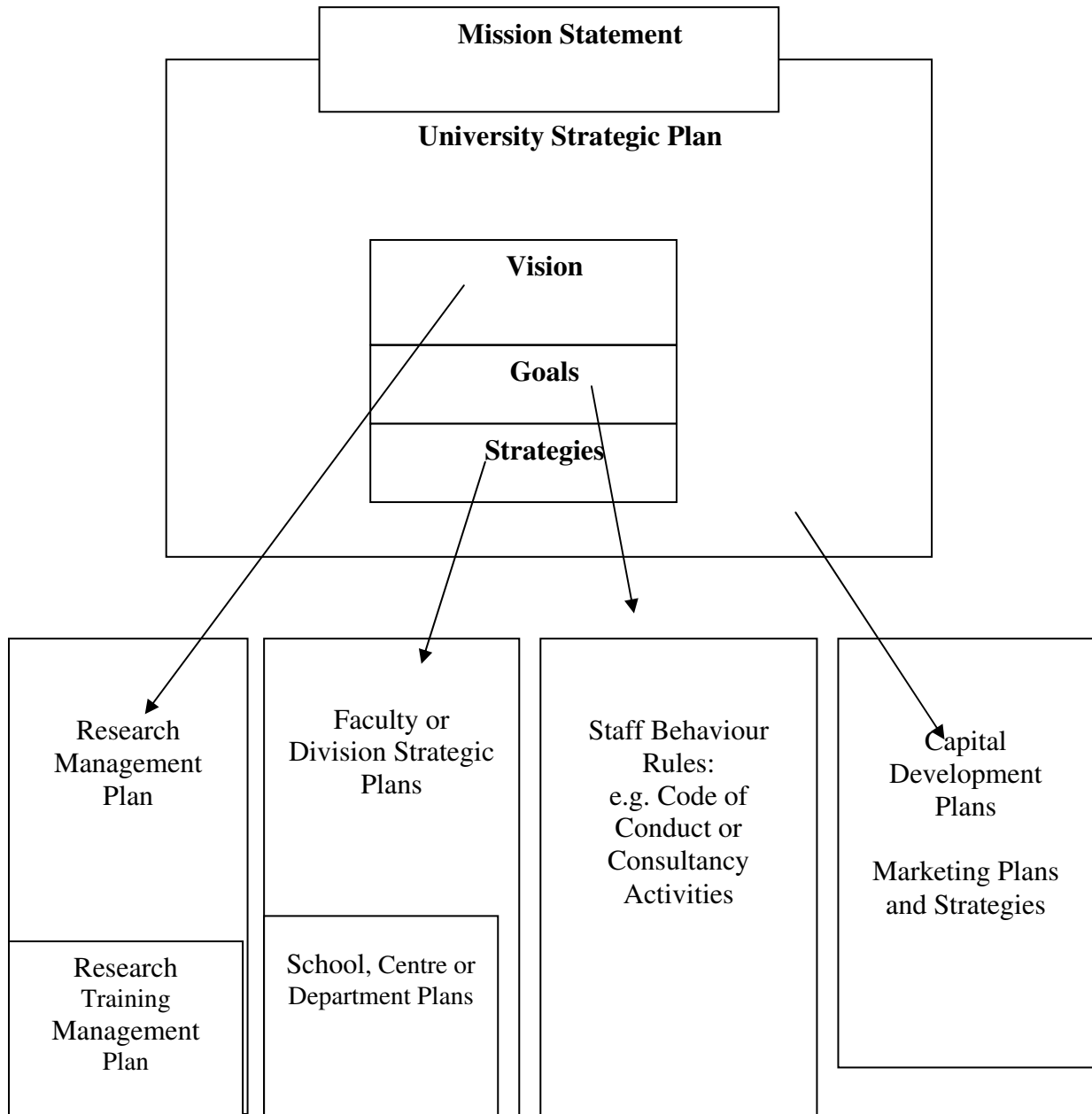
The Institution Assessment Framework (IAF) is clearly to 'ensure that the institutions it funds are sustainable and deliver the outputs for which they are funded, that their outcomes are of a high quality and that they comply with their

legal obligations' (DEST 2004b). The assessment criteria are essentially the same as that of the profiles, versions of which has been collected annually from universities since 1988. The Framework has four major elements; 'Organisational sustainability', 'achievements in higher education provision', 'quality outcomes', already undertaken by the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA³), and 'compliance', including 'workplace reform' (DEST 2004b). Workplace reform is a neoliberal concept that focuses on individuals to the detriment of groups, for example replacing union agreements with Australian Workplace Agreements (AWAs), individualising relationships and so strengthening the power of the institution over the individual. In this way it also privileges commercial relationships over working conditions or industrial agreements.

This is the management discourse that universities adopt from policy texts and use in their texts, normalising such ideas as quality outcomes and performance criteria. The outcome is a complex hierarchy of texts (some described above) and intertextuality; the intertextual chains described by Fairclough (1999), from which mission statements are drawn. A model is given in Figure 2 of this intertextuality. This example is not taken from any particular university, but is similar to that of James Cook University. This model shows just some of the diversity of texts that occur in all contemporary Australian universities in very similar patterns.

³ The Committee for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (CQAHE) was set up in the early 1990s to allocate funds on the basis of 'quality' in universities. This included audits in 1993, 1994 and 1995, to rank institutions on their practices, of teaching, research and community service. AUQA's task was to encourage institutional improvement and accountability, and 'set outcomes within the context of a total effectiveness audits', in an audit cycle of less than four years, but had no funds to distribute (AUQA 2001b).

Figure 2. The Intertextuality of Management Texts



The discourse of these texts is that of new management, inculcated with neoliberal discourse from which they originate, that is promoted in the policy documents from the state. Such discourse is incorporated into the texts that belong to these intertextual chains, which allows the discourse to dominate activities and practices of universities. The discourse is appropriated from higher levels in the hierarchy, and adopted into lower level texts, such as reports from within departments that go to make up activities described in the Annual Report, which includes the Mission Statement, Visions, Objectives and other texts.

The inclusion of performance indicators and Institutional Assessment Frameworks obligates universities to produce texts that mirror the dominant discourse from the state. Universities in this way have become accountable to the state and others for their economic efficiency, in a different way than they have been historically when universities were autonomous to various degrees. This accountability shifts the identities of universities, for example by replacing ideas of the provision of knowledge as a public good, to one in which knowledge, teaching or research, now become market goods, with exchange value measured by economic efficiency. This is linked to other neoliberal concepts such as policies of 'quality assurance', 'performativity' and 'internationalisation', in which universities produce goods for markets. This production allows the auditing of 'quality', an ill-defined concept as the processes for such measurement only measure quantity, for example by counting the number of publications of an academic, or counting how many graduates are employed.

These neoliberal concepts are too familiar, they appear in university texts, in policy texts of the state and of global actors such as OECD (see below), and in the discourse of representations of universities, analysed in following chapters.

5c. New Practices and Brand Identities

The representation of identities is apparent in the earliest texts of universities. Medieval universities used letters as a genre to promote their identity, for example in the letter of 1229 from the Masters of Toulouse, inviting scholars to attend the university (Text 16 below). The discourse of this representation reflects early mercantilism, it promotes ‘the *excellency* of this studium’ and describes diverse activities, conducts that were perceived to be appropriate to the activities of universities at the time (see Wieruszowski 1966:178-179). As can be seen in the letter from the Masters, universities have always relied very much on prestige acquired with status, with age, and by word of mouth.

With a shift from mercantilism to markets, and more recently with the technologies of the internet, different genres of promotion and marketing of universities become apparent. The styles and genres of promotion are borrowed from commerce and business and inculcated by management, as new marketing departments appear to promote universities both locally and globally. In the way different discourses are appropriated and inculcated in practices of contemporary Australian public universities. Sophisticated marketing and advertising techniques have been combined with different genres of representations in the existing framework. We see the outcomes, representations of universities on the side of buses, in newspapers, on television and on the web, where every university has a site that promotes their services. These are purposeful constructions of particular identities in a service industry, now constructed as ‘brands’.

This dramatically alters the nature of activities undertaken by universities, and marketing becomes itself an increasing focus of activity, evident in the employment of professional marketing managers and the creation of marketing departments within universities and by networks of universities, specifically ordered to produce advertising campaigns and other representations of universities.

Text 16. Letter of 1229AD, from the Masters of Toulouse

To all the faithful of Christ and especially to the masters and scholars all over the world to whom this letter may concern, the university of masters and scholars having established a studium at Toulouse from the wild root (in nova radice), greetings and sincere wishes for the achievement of a good life and eternal salvation. . . . In order that you may come to this new studium with confidence, we have availed ourselves . . . of the authority of the Church. For our Moses, our leader, protector and champion with God and the Lord Pope in such a difficult enterprise was the Lord Cardinal and Legate for the Kingdom of France. He is the one who ordered that all the scholars at Toulouse, masters as well as students, should receive full indulgence for all their sins. . . .

Here (at Toulouse) theologians teach pupils from the pulpits and the people at the cross-roads, the logicians instruct the champions of Aristotle in liberal arts: the grammarians refashion, as it were by analogy, the tongues of the stammering: the organists flatter the ears of the populace with the mellow sounds of their organs: the decretists extoll Justinian and on their part the physicians preach Galen. Whoever wants to scrutinize the bosom of nature can hear lectures on the libri naturales, the books that were forbidden at Paris. Then, what else would be lacking there? Scholastic privileges? Not at all! You will enjoy an unbridled freedom. Or are you afraid of the malice of the people or the tyranny of a malevolent prince? Have no fear: the generous count of Toulouse has assured us of sufficient security and has guaranteed our salaries as well as those to be paid to our servants both coming and going. . . . To the aforementioned advantages we would like to add that we confidently believe that the Lord Legate will call to this place theologians and decretists to contribute to the excellency of this studium. .

cited in Wieruszowski 1966:178-179

This is now also an internationalised activity, where Australian universities are promoted by particular brands, and marketed as a particular product in other countries, in order to attract international students. The state has created commercial entities and state associations such as The Offshore Network, and International Policy and Australian Education International branches located in many states including China, Singapore, Malaysia, London and many other parts of Europe. There is an Australian Delegation to the OECD in Paris, to undertake marketing and promotional activities that situate Australian universities in overseas markets. These international relations are quite different to previously established academic disciplinary networks, focussed on knowledge dissemination and research. These are relatively newly created relations and mechanisms that have specific effects; they modify ideas of universities to ideas that will sell in a marketplace.

These relations are further commercialised by the state in order to create an Australian 'brand'; described as 'New offshore brand for Australia's \$5 billion international education industry' (DEST 2002d). Such practices are described by Fairclough using the British example (Fairclough 1993).

Locally and nationally such representations become ubiquitous, for example at certain times of the year, when students are due to enrol, when universities are compared, sometimes in 'league tables', or when the state requires particular 'accountability' from universities. Thus each university becomes a mirror image of each other while trying to outperform each other, as branding, like benchmarking, supports uniformity and convergence. Few universities are unique when branding is a common practice, they become 'little more than a collection of brand extensions' (Klein 2003:72), and their branding merely the market's operation without regard for persons (Smart 2003:84).

This brand marketing uses particular practices that utilise activities of advertising and promotion, to represent universities' identities that combine particular discourses in new semiotics with different images and ideas. For example in this advertisement from the University of Melbourne, (Figure 3)

patterns of prestige are manifest in the shield and the armorial bearings of the university and its motto. These are combined with another more contemporary identification of the university as ‘the Enterprise University’.

It is interesting to note that this relatively recent notion of an *enterprise university* sits alongside a symbol of the university much more in keeping with its image as a sandstone university, the second oldest in Australia, and a member of the Group of Eight elite universities. This advertisement combines the old with the new, and plays with tradition, for example in the lower case m for Melbourne, where the text is set at right angles to the page.

Semiotics such as these are useful as eye catchers in advertisements, on web pages and the sides of a bus, and the particular discourse brings attention to slogans or taglines that are memorable and can position a university for maximum effect. Reflexive modernity favours such sound bites and isolated tags in the same way that the tags of graffiti artists grab the imagination. Universities compete to come up with the catchiest and most identifiable tags that increase public awareness of the university. This and similar activities are now undertaken regularly in the marketing or public relations departments of universities.

These activities become continuous activities, and marketing positions within universities become more secure than teaching positions. Australian universities must frequently reinvent university profiles, ordered by the state, and continuously represent themselves in different markets to increase their incomes. These competitive universities all aim to be the best, and so continue to embellish their identities. The outcomes of such competitive activities are texts and semiotics that produce important status symbols, located in advertising, web sites, and university texts such as annual reports and prospectuses.

Figure 3. Advertisement, The University of Melbourne (2003)

(in The Australian, 23 April, 2003)

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The importance placed on ideas and themes of these texts, some that become slogans, is evident in the amount of money spent on marketing within the universities or on consultancies, such as those employed by Charles Sturt University (CSU) and the Australian National University (ANU). Describing their methods of market research as university '*essence-extraction*' (Richardson 2002:27), they use market sensing and in-depth interviews, to produce slogans and tags, such as: 'opportunities for a new world' (University of Ballarat), 'Think, learn, lead' (Flinders University), 'Australia's innovative university' (Macquarie University), 'a university for the real world' (Queensland University of Technology) and 'Australia's first university since 1850' (University of Sydney).

In market practices described as *branding*, the themes are persistent; 'opportunities', 'lead', 'innovative', 'the real world' and one theme (from the University of Sydney) that attempts status through tradition, as the oldest university in Australia. Such representations are active reminders of the agency of universities, and their ability to purposefully create or change their identities. However identities become syntheses of ideas that cross cultures and economies, time and place. These constructions of identities are based on local and global ideas of what universities are and should be, and are inherently unstable, always at risk.

Some identities fail; some are replaced with different constructions, such as the Charles Darwin University, which replaced the Northern Territory University in 2004. Czarniawska and Wolff describe European examples of the North German University (NGU) which failed, and the South Italian University (SIU) which survived but as a different identity. They relate how the South Italian University developed an identity that conformed to local ideas about universities, even though it was designed to reform those ideas. They contrast this with the North German University which was unique, and therefore 'the field that spawned it eliminated the university' (Czarniawska and Wolff 1998:32). In other words

because it did not conform to the idea of a university at that place and time, it was not able to continue as a university and was eliminated.

The constructions of universities have taken a particular course, as a consequence of the political rationalities and the historical context of national and local state governance. The legal structures within which universities must define themselves are arbitrary and state centred. The law, and its reliance on precedent and discourse, can be an asset or liability, for example in the policy directed reconstruction of Australian universities since the 1970's that created complex legal definitions of universities.

One of the identities of universities is as a not-for-profit entity, which has implications for tax and for commercial activities. According to Foley⁴, not-for-profit institutions should be quite different from corporate entities:

The primacy of mission fulfillment over bottom line (always in a context of financial viability) and the need for multiple stakeholder participation are key differences from the corporate world.

Foley 2003:n.p.

Universities are also identified as corporations, a description from the earliest idea of a university that has a very different context and legal definition today. Corcoran describes universities as complex corporations by law (Corcoran 2000). These different understandings exacerbate tensions of the public/private duality with the creation of a university as a private university. The exemplar of Melbourne University Private is discussed below.

Another significant idea of a university, concurrent with the contemporary notion of university as corporation and not-for-profit, is a university as a charity. Tied to the legal definition of universities as charities is the requirement that they

⁴ Mary Foley, who is CEO of St Vincents and Mater Health Sydney and a member of the Board of Trustees of University of Western Sydney, describes the problem of universities as charities at the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee National Conference on University Governance, 9-11 October 2002, Adelaide.

be of public benefit, noted in this *Submission to the Inquiry into the Definition of Charities and related organisations*:

The West Australian universities meet the existing common law meaning of charity in that they: Are non-profit bodies; Provide a public benefit; Have as a sole or dominant purpose, the advancement of education

University of Western Australia, Murdoch University, Curtin University of Technology, and Edith Cowan University, 2000:5

Universities **were**, in the discourse of economic theory, providers of public goods (Marginson 1992) but this is now arguable, given the changing identities of universities and their propensity to sell education for fees, particularly to international markets. The imposition of fees confuses this issue and although it appears a dualism, in some policy discourse this has become a duality that recognises both the public and the private benefits of higher education. Such an example is evident in the discourse of the policy of the Group of Eight who describe themselves as 'Australia's leading universities'. Their policy paper *Imperatives and Principles for Policy Reform in Australian Higher Education*, advocates the development of an 'approach to university resourcing that fully recognises the public and private benefits of higher education' (Group of Eight 2000: executive summary n.p.).

The difficulty of this idea is exacerbated when the good is exported or the public good is limited to profits. This reinforces the emphasis on neoliberal economic theories of user pays policies, that identify university education as a private good, and increasingly privatises and commodifies research. The commercial activities of universities are a matter at the heart of the charities enquiry. Legally it is possible for universities to a public good as a charity and to carry on commercial activities, *if*, according to the Australian Taxation Office (ATO) these commercial activities are 'incidental':

Business or commercial activities that are merely incidental to an entity's charitable purposes do not prevent it being a charity. Nor does the mere holding of passive investments. There will also be circumstances where charitable purposes may be carried out in a business-like way, and indeed, as appears from the cases, in some circumstances a charitable purpose might need to be carried on in a commercial way. **However, a purpose of merely carrying on a business or commercial enterprise to raise revenue is not itself charitable.**

ATO 2000:Ch27 (my emphasis)

The anomaly here is that while operating as an export business and therefore, earning profits, while taking fees from students and while undertaking research for commercial purposes, Australian public universities are not-for-profit organisations that are also registered as charities for tax purposes. Adopting practices from business, with associated issues of managerialism and accountability, has a direct consequence for the management of universities with their internal governance and their external relationships, when universities undertake different activities and act as different entities. Universities become mere mediators in networks of recruitments, and between states and markets. The unintended consequence is that in taking on different activities, universities must reconstruct their identities to include these activities which do produce conflict with earlier identities that remain in place legally. These are fragmented identities.

The identity construction is represented in university mission statements, selected because they are a particular type of text that does not include extraneous material nor give much detail: they simplify and frame in short statements themes and ideas of major importance to the university. These statements conform to the content of mission statements in the business world, where they originated, and where they comprise a non-routine, organisational genre. Studies of mission statements of businesses disclose that the primary contents of mission statements in France, Great Britain and the USA are (superordinate) goals, which explain why the company exists, their values, strategies, norms and behaviours (Peyrat 1996:137-141). These statements support the companies for which they were

created, allowing the company agency by framing their identity, purposes and activities. Because of these characteristics they have become significant in the representations of universities, which make use of their communicative features, such as that described as 'rhetorically designed in order to ensure maximum employee 'buy-in' ' (Swales and Rogers 1995:223).

University mission statements are therefore useful for the analyses that follow. They represent and describe the identities of universities in various ways: the goals, values, strategies, norms and behaviours of contemporary Australian universities. The agency of universities is made explicit by these statements, and ideas of universities are evident. Ideas described earlier of historical universities are extant in contemporary universities and used in some mission statements to describe university activities, values and goals. They prioritise ideas of universities, such as the importance of teaching, the degree to which research activities are a focus, the emphasis of the university on professional education and humanistic or liberal representations of knowledge.

These analyses are empirically realist, producing descriptions of universities from the place where meanings are produced, the language of their texts. They are also relativist, interacting with these entities of study, the texts, and the universities, in order to discover changing ideas of universities. Universities are socially constructed entities created by agents with understandings of what a university is or should be, reflected in the discourse of these agents and their institutions, and particularly in the texts they produce. If the agents who construct the ideas of universities, such as in the Melbourne example above, are changed, for example to marketing managers, then the constructions are different. These are the brands of universities.

In this chapter close examination of the introduction of a new genre to the networks of practices of universities illustrates the intertextuality and different relations that have shifted the discourse of universities. These texts are technologies of government at a distance, they have potential to monitor, legislate and control. They are tools of self-government, in which universities identify

themselves for audit in the profiles process. They also act to enrol others in their networks, and so create different relations and practices.

Such mechanisms of government appear in these new practices with a commonly imposed discourse, evident in management practices. Within this discourse neoliberal concepts appear that construct social problems, for example as universities become commercial and the responsibility of individuals or of businesses, not a publicly funded responsibility. The value of a university as a private good takes precedence over its value as a public good. This creates obstacles for students, and for universities as a charity and in their role as a not-for-profit public institution. These are concepts that are explored further in later chapters, they are obstacles to be overcome in this critical research.

When universities attempt to 'brand' their identities in a competitive process to differentiate and structure their dominance in the system of local and global markets, they do so by emphasising and prioritising particular themes in mission statements that can then be analysed. The texts produced through these social processes are ideal for analyses as representations of these universities.

The genealogical analysis with which I began this chapter highlights the role of discourse in producing and reproducing power/knowledge networks. This analysis traces these knowledges and their power effects through the texts, illuminating the strategies, relations and practices of power where they are located in universities. By describing the way they are constructed, and how they are produced, we understand better how these texts act and their importance as a mechanism of government and self-disciplinary tactics, for example by the state for action at a distance. This illustrates the power of these texts, and their role in promulgating dominant discourses of power. Common themes that occur in these representations are explored in the next chapter.

* * *

Chapter 6

Themes and Ordering

The objective of this chapter is to examine the texturing work of the texts, which can be identified in common themes within the discourse of the texts. A specifically managerial mechanism, the mission statement is a genre which is eminently suitable for this analysis. These texts are semiotically constituted ways of being and interacting that describe ideas of a university. They take on the work of representation of the university from which they originate, and contain themes that embody or represent relations or activities of that university, and depict the values that the university assumes.

6a. Method

This is an interactional analysis of the texturing work of representing, relating, identifying and valuing (Fairclough 2001c) in university texts. The data are the representations of universities in their mission statements. This analysis includes a three stage process. In the first stage analysis the texts are grouped together in typologies which describe different 'types' of universities.

In the second stage these typologies are used to study the location of themes in the particular texts that represent these different universities. This

begins as free exploration or open coding¹ to identify themes that emerge from the data. These include sentences, phrases or single words which can be identified as belonging to a theme, which are then given that particular code, for example, *actor*, or *relations*. These are not predefined codes; the themes that I discuss below emerged from the study of the texts, and came out of the data. This process produced some previously unidentified or unexpected codes, and some that were to be expected from the literature on university management and change. However they are clearly themes that undertake the texturing work of the texts, they describe relations very strongly, and they produce evidence for values in their representations.

Codes were initially described as ‘free nodes’. Free nodes were then grouped together to form ‘trees’ of codes, if they appeared to be similar or related to each other. These trees represent themes that overarch the concepts. For example there are different concepts or free nodes that depict different types of communities (for example *academic communities*), or are specific communities (for example the *community of New England*), and there is a concept of *service to the community*. These concepts all have the same theme of community, so they are grouped under the ‘community’ tree.

Secondary coding was then undertaken, initially by ‘eyeball’ of the existing free nodes, tree codes and of the texts. The researcher was looking for themes that emerged from the data, and was aware that during this process there were particular characteristics of interest, such as codes that describe the university strategies, activities, goals, and values, including characteristics of political rationalities, such as social welfare, liberal or neoliberal discourse. The main focus in this process is to detect any overarching themes apparent in the mission statements.

¹ This analysis is undertaken using the software application, *N-Vivo*©, which facilitates extensive coding and analyses. This simplifies the creation of codes and the grouping of themes, but still relies on the researcher’s understanding of the texts and discourse.

Axial coding was then undertaken, a concerted effort to describe patterns that emerge from the data. The observations below were grouped and analysed from these various stages of coding of the themes that appear in these mission statements. The third phase explores the way these themes undertake ordering in universities.

Typologies

In their task of representation, mission statements become public texts, each identifiable by the characteristics of the university it represents. The typologies become a heuristic device that allows interactional analysis. The characteristics of these typologies are based for consistency on typologies previously described by Vidovich and Porter (1999) and Marginson and Considine (2000). The first characteristic is age, in Table 5 below, following Vidovich and Porter (1999). These cluster in three groups; traditional (1851-1949), alternative (1954-1987) and former colleges (1988-1996). The second attribute is based on characteristics of universities originally published in Marginson and Considine (2000) and presented in Table 6. They are identified as university types; Sandstone, Redbrick, Gumtree, Unitech and New Uni. In this research I include Private universities (not in the original typologies). These two typologies are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, where they are used to describe homogeneity in universities texts.

Table 5. University type based on age

n=38

(after Vidovich and Porter 1999:570)

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Note: DEST recognised abbreviations are used throughout, see Appendix 1

Table 6. University typologies

n=38

(after Marginson and Considine, 2000:190)

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6b Themes

Common themes are those that appear most often, using a variety of concepts. These were identified within 114 tree nodes, that is, 114 themes that overarch more specific concepts. The most evident and recurring themes are those of actants or *actors, communities, relations*, and then *neoliberal themes* described below. Others were given overarching theme labels to be expected of universities, themes to do with *knowledge* and *intellectual ideas*, themes that describe universities' activities, and of note were *global* themes. These themes appear to work in a semiotic way to chain together different relations and actors. There appear to be three specific aspects to the global theme. *Internationalisation* is the most dominant concept, although *regionalism* and *worldwide* concepts are also captured. The ambiguity of *region* could arguably intensify the nature of the *internationalisation* theme. *Regionalism* and *worldwide* concepts appear more frequently in the alternative universities and former colleges than in the traditional universities. They appear most frequently in gumtree and newunis.

University activities are those described in historical models: *teaching* and *research* are common. More contemporary activities are also described, although less frequently: *flexible* and *lifelong learning, service, training, technology, consultancies*, and *continuing education* are examples. *Delivery, service, support* and *production* are common descriptors of these and other activities.

Knowledge takes on various perspectives: *advancing, fostering, pursuit of, to promote, the preservation, application, creation and integration of knowledge* are all described, as are the *frontiers of knowledge*. These are associated with the *intellectual development, freedom, life, integrity and rigour* that are emphasised in some statements.

There are also odd or unusual concepts, such as the *real world*, that are placed in perspective in the discussion below. Texturing work is apparent, in that

these themes often 'combine or chain selected elements together in specific ways' (Fairclough 2001c:240), for example *communities* are often *international* and actors are *global*. More detailed inspection of the four most common themes appears below.

Actors

It is evident that mission statements attempt to enrol various actants, particularly actors. Free coding identified *graduates, scholars, learners, staff, students, clients, citizens of the world, Indigenous peoples*, and some reified actants: *Australian higher education, the state* (local and other), *professions, commerce, industry, and society*.

Table 7a typifies these themes in tree codes according to university age in three groups, and Table 7b by type, known as Sandstone, Redbrick, Gumtree, Unitech, New Uni, and Private Universities.

Under the theme of *actors* are both human actors and actants. Although there are generalised concepts of people, they only appear in the texts of former colleges: ACU mentions *human beings*, RMIT *develops people*, USQ looks at *each person and the whole* in their 1999 mission, and is *people-centred* in their 2001 mission. The most often named actors were *students*, however they were only considered and named by 8 universities, none of which were the traditional, sandstone or redbrick universities. The work of these texts then appear to be doing different things, the older, sandstone universities are not identifying actors in the same way the younger and the private universities are.

Other than people, mission statements of 38 universities named 14 other types of actants, a total of 37 naming of actants. There is some ambiguity about *professions*, for example CSU describes *graduates with professional edge* (CSU 2001). In total 9 universities name some aspect of professions: *professional practice, professional training, professional education, service professions*.

Table 7a. Actants located by university age

actor tree codes	1851-1949 (traditional)	1954-1987 pre- unification (alternative)	1988-1996, unified system (former colleges)	total
actors not specified	0	0	4	4
Australian higher education	1	1	1	3
citizens of the world	0	1	0	1
clients	0	1	0	1
commerce	0	0	1	1
graduates	0	0	4	4
Indigenous peoples	0	1	1	2
industry	0	1	1	2
learners	0	0	1	1
local state	0	0	1	1
scholar	1	0	0	1
society	0	0	1	1
staff	0	2	1	3
students	0	3	5	8
the professions	0	1	3	4
totals	2	11	24	37

Table 7b. Actants located by type

Actor tree codes	sandstone	redbrick	gumtree	unitech	new uni	private	total
actors not specified	0	0	0	1	3	0	4
Australian higher education	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
citizens of the world	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
clients	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
commerce	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
graduates	0	0	0	0	3	1	4
Indigenous peoples	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
industry	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
learners	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
local state	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
scholar	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
society	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
staff	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
students	0	0	1	3	3	1	8
the professions	0	0	1	1	1	1	4
total	2	1	4	8	18	4	37

Identified in this analysis is the less ambiguous naming of *the professions*, recognised by 4 universities. *Graduates* were named by 4 universities, and *staff* by 3 universities.

Analysis shows that the younger a university the more likely it is to name actants in its mission statement. Given that there are many more younger universities than older, it is not surprising that Table 7a depicts the naming of actants by post-unification universities as much more frequent (24) than by traditional universities (2). However the typology of Table 7b also shows that of the 37 identified actants, redbricks are the least likely to name them, the only instance being that of *Australian higher education*, which Monash positions itself to lead. The most likely are new uni (18) followed by unitechs (8). There are only 2 private universities, yet they name 4 different actants: *professions*, *students*, *graduates* and *staff* are in their world-view.

These texts work very hard to create or reinforce relations and delineate universities' values. The identification of actants as *clients*, and their location in *commerce* and *industry*, emphasises the focus on commercial activities and neoliberal concerns. Of the other identified actors, *students* and *learners* are among those who now fund universities, and *graduates* are increasingly being identified as a source of funds. The older traditional universities, and coincidentally those who are the richest, find it least necessary to identify actants in their statements, thereby indicating more independence from other actants than younger universities. These texts identify the interests of universities, particularly the gumtree, unitech and newunis, in identifying or enrolling primarily those actants who can increase the funding of universities, accenting neoliberal, market perspectives of their discourse.

Communities

The interest of the community is one of the most general expressions that can occur in the phraseology of morals: no wonder that the meaning of it is often lost.

Bentham 1789:Chap1:IV

The prevalence of communities as a theme brings with it ambiguity, as Bentham notes. Communities are actants of a particular type, yet can be very wide ranging in its meaning, and it may be that its meaning becomes lost because of the generalisations it allows.

Community service, however, is a concept that belongs to a long tradition of university activities, and is often listed today as a criterion for promotion of staff. This theme is identified in four texts, although only once in the younger universities, the former colleges (see Table 8a).

These texts work hard to acknowledge and locate themselves within, as associated with, or attempt to enrol, a great variety of communities. *The community* as a generalisation appears in the texts of seven former colleges and three alternative universities, a total of 10 instances (see Table 8a). In Table 8b these universities are identified as gumtrees, unitech and most often newuni.

The communities identified are often chained to the actors named in Table 7a and 7b: they include *academic communities* and *educational communities*. Communities are *regional* (9), another ambiguous term, however local regions and states are frequently named, embedding universities further in their local environment.

The *national community* is most frequently named (11) followed by *international communities* (9), depicting the growing focus on international relations. However the use of the word community in these mission statements to construct common interests is problematic.

Table 8a. Communities located by university age

communities tree codes	1851-1949 (traditional)	1954-1987 pre-unification (alternative)	1988-1996, unified system (former colleges)	total
communities not specified	0	3	7	10
academic	0	1	0	1
educational community	0	0	2	2
Greater Western Sydney	0	0	1	1
international	1	4	4	9
local	0	0	2	2
national	2	5	4	11
NewEngland	0	1	0	1
regional	0	4	5	9
service	1	2	1	4
state	0	0	1	1
state/Queensland	1	2	0	3
state/Tasmania	1	0	0	1
state/Western Australia	1	0	0	1
state/Western Victoria	0	0	1	1
totals	7	22	28	57

Table 8b. Communities located by type

communities tree codes	sand stone	red brick	gum tree	uni tech	new uni	private	total
Communities not specified	0	0	3	2	5	0	10
academic	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
educational community	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Greater Western Sydney	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
international	1	0	4	1	3	0	9
local	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
national	2	0	5	0	4	0	11
NewEngland	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
regional	0	0	4	0	5	0	9
service	1	0	1	1	1	0	4
state	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
state/Queensland	1	0	2	0	0	0	3
state/Tasmania	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
state/Western Australia	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
state/Western Victoria	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
totals	7	0	20	4	25	1	57

Communities become so only when they are defined by common characteristics or interests as a group, and it is assumed that membership of a community includes some sort of communication within the group. For communication to occur within the community, it needs to be connected or networked in some way, even if it is just by paying a common fee, such as rates or membership fee.

An *international community* assumes a collective of some sort, which is not defined in these texts, nor is the *national community*, a term which makes assumptions about interests or characteristics that are common within a nation. Yet the members of a nation are mostly unknown to each other, this is an imagined community. As such it pretends to a higher level of collective than generally exists. The chaining of the university with the nation as a community, or with an international community, imagined or real, appears to be an attempt to enrol others in this relationship or posit a collective with common objectives and purposes.

It is dubious that common interests can generally be accounted for in such use of the term community, but notable that it is used far less often by the older universities. It may be that the older universities have more extensive relations and communications with international or national groups, and therefore are a part of some sort of international community.

It is surprising that academic disciplinary communities, some that have existed since universities were established and some more recently established, for example sociologists. These disciplinary communities act and have agency as communities, for example of historians or scientists, who have common interests and objectives, meeting frequently at conferences, communicating in journals, via email and web pages. These disciplines are not identified in these statements. There appears to be a disinterest in these academic concerns, in favour of other communities which can be identified as those that are of concern to markets or are identifiably economic communities.

Ironically, although USQ describes itself twice as an *educational community*, the communities located within universities are rarely identified. Students are identified as individual actors, but there appears to be little place for students in these communities, although students as a collective were the instigation for the establishment of some of the earliest universities. Communities of scholars also exist within universities but are not identified by any of the universities in their statements. The incongruous exception is the private Bond University, the only university which overtly identifies its *academic community* (Bond University 1998). It would appear that this text is working to represent itself with academic values, while public universities are emphasising relations communities other than academic.

The emphasis on communities can be perceived as a shift or change of emphasis of universities from the national/state to the local/regional, including the naming of specific local states such as *Queensland* and communities such as *New England* or *Greater Western Sydney*. Paterson (2001) describes a comparable increasing local regionalism in Europe, with the European Union exacerbating the transformation of the social role of universities from a state relationship to that of the local region. This appears as justification and legitimation of the social role of universities within their region, as both providers of higher education and as employers, themes that both are apparent in community discourses within these statements. Enhanced regional community relationships, and the state and international relationships, would require an enhanced role for relations, another theme which emerges strongly from this data.

Relations

This theme is one in which the texts work hard to name and frame relations. There is clear evidence of the active enrolment by universities of various others, described above as actants or communities. These are portrayed here as alliances forged to increase networking activities or to create new relations, and in

some cases it could be described as relations as ends in themselves, rather than relations as a means of achieving an end.

This perspective of relations is apparent in the programmes of the state, for example in the programme *Funding for Strategic Partnerships – Industry Research and Training* in the policy document of DETYA (1998a) which had then been in place for some time but was increased over previously announced levels by \$58.1 million over three years. Another example is the programme *Varieties of Excellence: Diversity, Specialisation and Regional Engagement*, described as a focus on 'institutional engagement and partnerships with communities, students, businesses and other institutions', an objective of which is that institutions 'forge more productive partnerships with their regions' (DEST 2002b). This is again an overtly neoliberal discourse, of *productive* partnerships, particularly with businesses and other institutions, as an end in itself. This may be explored further by looking at the relations described in the mission statements.

There are two instances where relations are generalised; they do not name the other. SCU *commits itself to partnership* (SCU 2001), and the UoN would *work, through partnerships* (UoN 1999), although these partnerships are not specific.

This mission statement was replaced by a later mission statement with the identification of many partnerships: *in partnership with industry, commerce and the community, regionally, nationally and internationally* (UoN2000), discourse aligned to that of the programme of the state, described above (DETYA 1998a). In a similar manner UTS *is committed to close interaction with the professions, business, government and the wider community* (UTS 1999).

These communities are also relations: again, these are special cases of community. These instances are the forging of alliances, for example Curtin (2001) would have *the cultivation of responsive and responsible links with the wider community* (Curtin 2001) and UNSW wants *interaction with the community* (UNSW 2001).

Table 9a. Network Relations located by university age

Network tree codes	1851-1949 (traditional)	1954-1987 pre- unification (alternative)	1988-1996, unified system (former colleges)	total
network	0	1	1	2
business	0	0	1	1
commercial	0	2	0	2
government	0	0	1	1
industry	0	1	0	1
international	1	2	1	4
national	0	2	1	3
other institutions	0	2	0	2
other institutions/Australian	0	1	0	1
other institutions/worldwide	0	2	0	2
regional	0	2	0	2
the community	1	2	1	4
totals	2	17	6	25

Table 9b. Network relations located by university type

networks tree codes	sandstone	redbrick	gumtree	unitech	new uni	private	total
network not specified	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
business	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
commercial	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
government	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
industry	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
international	0	1	2	0	1	0	4
national	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
other institutions	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
other institutions/ Australian	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
other institutions/ worldwide	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
regional	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
the community	0	1	1	2	0	0	4
totals	0	2	12	4	3	4	25

However the naming of community does not always denote networks, for example although UC *is continuously engaged with the needs of the community it serves* (UC 2001) this does not mean they have a network relationship. UC could operate quite independently of the community while ensuring that it is engaged with the needs of that community.

There are various other networks of concern to universities, particularly to the alternative group of universities, those created between 1954 and 1987 (see Table 9a). They are focused on commercial networks: for example Deakin would have both *commercial and educational partnerships* (Deakin 2001) and UoN is concerned about *partnership with industry, commerce* (UoN 2001). As well as communities, these international networks are the most frequently occurring type of network, followed by national networks. Overall there is a general concern in the texts with links, with partnerships and with alliances.

Neoliberal Themes

Neoliberalism, defined in Chapter 2, originates in ideas and values of particular political discourses that are now widespread, as a result of the activities of global actors who pursue neoliberal political rationalities. There are common understandings of the term neoliberal that appear in literature from Europe, the Americas, the Pacific and Asian states, although there are certain 'flavours' of this neoliberalism in different states. Hindess notes that 'economic rationalism' has a distinctly Australian flavour, and points out that phenomena of 'the kind that Pusey brings together under this heading have also been placed under different labels: Thatcherism, Reaganomics, neoliberalism, advanced liberalism, contractualism, managerialism and so on.' (Hindess 1998:210).

Given this generalisation of concepts it is surprising that there is no corpus of neoliberal concepts readily available. There have been dictionaries created of left and right political parties in Europe, which contain lists of terms derived from, for example, a comparison of left and right political party manifestos (see Laver

and Garry 2000). There are various publications, many cited throughout this research, that describe and frame neoliberalism and its concepts in various ways, such as: Barry, Osborne, and Rose (1996), Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001), and Fairclough in a range of publications from 1990 to 2005, including the collaborative paper *Representations of change in neoliberal discourse* (Fairclough n.d.). Kagarlitsky (2000) describes neoliberalism as a hegemonic project. Jessop describes neoliberalism as 'a project to reorganize civil society', which tends to promote 'community' (Jessop 2002:454, 455), the second theme prevalent in these mission statements. The global neoliberal project can be identified by features such as strategies of privatisation, liberalisation, deregulation, benchmarking in the public sector and internationalisation/globalisation (see Jessop 2001, Figure 1). These descriptions of neoliberal political rationalities are centred on the economic in specific strategies that appear neoliberal, in relations to markets, concepts of choice, and state regulation.

The themes that come out of these texts are assessed as belonging to this discourse, identified on the bases of their commonality with these features. The concepts in the texts that make up these themes are identified in Tables 10a and 10b. An example is the specifically neoliberal concept, accentuated by capitalisation, of *Choice* in the USQ mission: 'its commitment to Choice in the modes of delivery of its programs on-campus, off-campus and online' (USQ 2001).

These identified neoliberal themes are utilised most often by newunis, then gumtrees, however the most frequently occurring themes of *excellence* and *quality* are common to all types of universities. These concepts of *excellence* and *quality* are used to order universities, and are explored further below, yet they are often contradictory, for example how can you have *continuous improvement* if you are already excellent? What does excellent really mean, and how is it measured?

Table 10a. Neoliberal themes located by university age

Neoliberal codes and trees	1851-1949 (traditional)	1954-1987 pre-unification (alternative)	1988-1996, unified system(former colleges)	total
changing needs	0	0	1	1
Choice/choice	0	0	2	2
commercial	0	2	0	2
competition	0	0	1	1
continuous improvement	0	1	0	1
economic development	0	0	1	1
economy	1	0	3	4
efficiency	0	1	0	1
employment	0	0	1	1
enterprise	0	0	1	1
excellence	3	6	7	16
new opportunities	0	1	0	1
practical relevance	0	1	0	1
quality	2	4	3	9
responsibilities	0	2	3	5
totals	6	18	23	47

Table 10b. Neoliberal themes located by university type

neoliberal codes and trees	Sandstone	Redbrick	Gumtree	Unitech	New Uni	Private	total
changing needs	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Choice	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
commercial	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
competition	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
continuous improvement	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
economic development	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
economy	1	0	0	0	3	0	4
efficiency	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
employment	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
enterprise	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
excellence	1	2	4	1	6	2	16
new opportunities	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
practical relevance	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
quality	1	1	2	0	3	2	9
responsibilities	0	0	1	1	2	1	5
totals	3	3	11	5	19	6	47

These concepts are those of neoliberal strategies that are used to govern, audit, and to order, while having little content. To describe *excellence* is to obfuscate, it allows diversity to be tolerated without threatening the system, as noted by Readings (1996:32). *Quality* is a concept that is often quantified, which by definition should appear contradictory is also used for ordering, for example the auditing of university activities and for accounting purposes.

6c. Ordering

There are patterns that appear as recurring themes within the texts of mission statements. The most frequent themes are of actors, communities, relations and neoliberal strategies. This highlights the texturing work of the texts in identifying and relating actants, and ordering the discourse.

These texts produce local social structurings of semiotic difference (Fairclough 2001c:240), they combine the genre of mission statement with different discourse. While not evident in the texts of the older, established universities, this is particularly apparent in the texts of the younger universities. These latter texts include themes not common in the mission statements of business, such as the identification of people (Peyrat 1996). The exceptions in business mission statements are actors who are shareholders and customers (Zaphiris 2001), identifiably commercial entities in business markets. These commercial actors are also identifiable in university texts.

The texts of universities work much harder to identify actors of importance to the university than do those of business and their interests, which are more about their activities. This perhaps indicates the extent to which universities texts are hybrid, and may in some small way contest policy directives to reconstruct themselves as business-like (e.g. DETYA 1999b, on the quality of higher education). Yet there are clear examples of texts which have primarily business and industry themes, or employment and vocational themes. An example is the

mission statement of ECU, which provides university education *especially for those people employed in, or seeking employment in, the service professions* (ECU 2001).

The naming of communities with which the university is allied or seeks alliance is also evident in many missions, such as Deakin:

Deakin's focus is to provide a strong and innovative source of scholarship and research in professions and industries, in order to create new opportunities for our students, clients and communities.

Deakin 2001

This statement orders the relations between the university and others, in that it describes how these are to be identified as *clients*, although this is ambiguous. This does not clarify the nature of these clients.

These mission statements allow universities to present themselves as *enterprising* (a neoliberal concept) or as traditional, conforming to older ideas of universities: reminders of the university activities of *teaching* and *research* are common in most mission statements. However many statements attempt to differentiate the identities of the universities they represent, there are isolated instances of mission statements that are quite different to the others. The obvious one is the shortest and least revealing of its diverse activities and identities, that of the University of Melbourne: *To make the University of Melbourne one of the finest universities in the world.* (University of Melbourne 2001). Although this goal has not been achieved, the University of Melbourne and the Australian National University were ranked equal first in the inaugural ranking of the international standing of all Australian universities. There have been some resistances to these ranking tables, but in 2004 the Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research (at the University of Melbourne) published this first list (Illing 2004). Overseas there are frequent rankings using different characteristics. Many of these mission statements reveal the aspirations of Australian public universities to compete and to be recognised as leaders, for

example to be ranked *in the top ten* (JCU) to be recognised internationally or to be *Australia's leading university* (CQU).

The identification of such themes in these mission statements is confirmation of continuing state efforts to order the domains within which universities operate. These texts name actants and communities; they frame the realms and domains of university activities. There appear patterns to the findings about actants (Tables 7a and 7b) and communities, including the state, (Tables 8a and 8b) most often apparent in the younger or newuni universities. Networking activities are also evident in these mission statements, however the alternative universities and gumtrees could be described as most active in these areas (Table 9a and 9b), particularly in the establishment of international relations. Neoliberal themes are also present in these representations of the identities of universities, although limited in the traditional or sandstone universities (Tables 10a and 10b), except for themes of competition.

Universities commonly name *students*, *graduates* and *staff* as actors of importance to their domain. However they much more often name and frame actants described here as *communities*, by associating them with the university, identifying them as nodes in university relations. It is clear in these analyses that although these neoliberal themes are common they exist in conjunction with themes of enrolment, paramount to the relations of Australian universities. The identities of universities do not appear bounded by these enrolments, they do establish and stabilise relationships, order space and assist in the definition of relations that tend to fluidity.

Given their brevity these mission statements do not always make public the extent of the activities of universities in markets. The restriction of space within a mission statement means that universities must prioritise, they emphasise the importance of relations. Partnerships with diverse actants within their communities are particularly important and so appear in these texts. References are predominantly to local and international communities, and to students, staff and professions, relations which also appear as significant for universities.

However the consequences of these multiple relationships and multiple orderings produce tensions, between the local and global, between international and national, between professional requirements and academic learning.

These texts represent the strategies and programmes of the global actors, the state and universities. It is through these texts that chains of translation are established, associating or substituting actants as they encounter resistance. They also represent universities in their activities such as their struggles for rights and resources (Crook 1999), their relationships with states, and their representations of themselves, to the communities in which they are located and to different global communities.

It is apparent that there are diverse identities represented in these mission statements, and that the mission statements order particular relationships and agencies. There appears to be an extensive reliance on existing relations, and attempts to order and enrol more intensified relationships. Within these relationships there are indications of power and control, sometimes control at a distance. Discourse is used in these mission statements to position relationships of power, such as that between a community and a university, or between partners in research activities. For example although Bond University is a private university, it declares itself in its 1998 mission as in special relations with other institutions of higher education and learning in Australia:

Our mission is the achievement of excellence as a distinctive, innovative higher education institution dedicated to the pursuit, contemplation and dissemination of truth and knowledge through scholarly activity. Our academic community is committed to personal responsibility and integrity of staff and students, fairness in procedures and efficiency in operations. We will contribute to the diversity and quality of tertiary education in Australia. We seek productive, cooperative relations with other institutions of higher education and learning in Australia and throughout the world

Bond University 1998

This overtly posits the private Bond University in a relationship of equality with other public Australian universities, with the local state that regulates universities under its Acts, and with other universities in the network of higher education. It also reinforces the academic characteristics of a private university, while public universities are attempting to reinforce their commercial relations.

Each statement also attempts to render its representation unique. For example Central Queensland University's Vision Statement draws a scenario in which CQU is tropical Australia's leading university in environmentally sustainable land and water utilisation, amongst other niches:

Central Queensland University is tropical Australia's leading university in environmentally sustainable land and water utilisation, industrially relevant engineering and contemporary communication, with a commitment to continue proactive roles in promoting high standards in Indigenous and international education, distance education, flexible learning, innovative teaching and quality research.

CQU 2001

This places CQU in a heterogeneous relation between other actors involved in land and water utilisation, for example farmers, and any other actor involved, for instance water authorities, or researchers. It is heterogeneous because these are diverse actors with very different frameworks in which they take on a variety of roles, centred on their common interest of land and water utilisation. They have been enrolled because of this common interest, represented in the mission statements of this university which appears as the gatekeeper.

In this way Bond University represents other universities, and CQU represents water and land utilisation interests. Other universities represent other actors, and so are able to define and translate them. These are representations that empower universities, allowing them agency. This has implications for power relationships, defined in the scenario of the mission statement. When thus

enrolled, actors become associated and allied within the network, represented by mission statements (or other texts) that act on behalf of, or represent, a university.

The similarity of content of university mission statements to those of business is unmistakable. The goals of universities, just as those created for business organisations in France, the US and Great Britain (Peyrat 1996) and Fortune 500 businesses (Zaphiris 2001) are revealed in their mission statements, which explain why they exist, their values, strategies, norms and behaviours. For example the goal of ANU as explained in its mission statement is clear (and ambitious). The mission of the Australian National University is to be *one of the worlds great research institutions* (ANU 2001). The similarity to the University of Melbourne is evident in its succinct, elite and ambitious message.

The strategy of USQ is a great contrast and much more achievable, *to provides access to accredited tertiary education programs* (USQ 2001). The Deakin mission statement includes the behaviours – the primary foci of their activities are *research in key areas, commercial and educational partnerships and international activities* (Deakin 2001). International activities, it must be remembered, are in essence purely commercial activities.

Values become those of the commercial world, for example issues about commercial confidentiality would appear to be an oxymoron for not-for-profit organisations, yet sit comfortably with universities such as Latrobe. Universities are increasingly affected by and involved with legal and commercial contracts. They are commercialised, and their products are commodified, in the Marxian sense that they become fetishes. Their exchange value is what will sell in the marketplace. In this way the use value of knowledge is lessened and the exchange value of the degree and what sort of job that will obtain for the student, is increased, to the extent that it becomes a requirement for entry into the job marketplace.

The conclusions to be drawn from this chapter are that mission statements are designed to facilitate neoliberal ordering of universities priorities. The discourse identified in these mission statements is an effect of the understanding

by universities that they need to respond to markets. They compete for funding, more frequently in markets, even though they are public universities. The discourse identifies these needs and objectives, locating and ordering other private sector actants and communities within the networks of relations of universities, including graduate students, alumni (a potential source of funds), actants from business and industry, communities with which universities identify common interests, and partnerships in the form of relations that bring in extra state and private sector funding.

It is evident that the most frequent themes in mission statements are those concerned with relations, including those of other actants and communities, and themes of strategies, specifically neoliberal themes. The discourse is an outcome of this ordering, a result of public not-for-profit universities acting as if they are commercial businesses, which are identified relations that enact state policy requirements.

This ordering includes the adoption of managerial characteristics, governance technologies and discursive practices originally associated with the for-profit sector. In this way universities have changed to accommodate managerialist and neoliberal concerns about, for example, *real world* commercial activities, business and industry partnerships and relationships other than academic ones. The implications of such change are that older ideas are marginalised, replaced by dominant economic themes. Traditional, humanist, educational values, for example concerning academic freedom, independent research and teaching, or knowledge other than as a commodity, are less common and of little value in university texts. The implications of this are discussed in the next chapter, in which I undertake an analysis of discursive practices and how these are related to programmes of the state, how they are enacted and emerge as something different.

* * *

Chapter 7

Semiotics

In this chapter I undertake an analysis of the features of the discourse, and analyse the manifestation of themes that appear in university discourse and that of the state. Specific concepts are related to reflexive representations of university practices in discursive and social practices, in which we can make out the identities and agencies of universities. In discursive practices such as metaphor it becomes apparent that the discourse of these particular texts is instrumental in the constitution of identities of universities, enacted by taking on programmes of the state that work towards the neoliberal project, practices of *commodification, competition, commercialisation, privatisation, and internationalisation*.

Thus it is useful to analyse identity, agency and metaphor (a rhetorical device used to describe relationships) in discursive practices, and identify those programmes of the state in the social practices of these universities. These are identifiable in mission statements, as an introduced genre they belong to the project that reshapes the discourse of Australian universities significantly. The texts are interdiscursive and intertextual. They exist alongside other governmental practices, for example, 'performance indicators' and diverse accounting procedures, that are part of the new management technologies (in the Foucauldian sense), or genres (in the Bakhtinian sense).

These texts are discursive representations that depict images and identities of particular contemporary Australian universities. The mission statements are selective, reflexive, self-constructions by universities, they utilise patterns and characteristics of discourse evident in particular dominant modes of representation

or styles that leave markers, just as other different markers identify, for example, the discourse of Prime Ministers or political parties.

The approaches used in this research then turn to social practice the ordering and resistance of such practices inherent in the programmes that make up the neoliberal project; commodification or marketisation and the 'technologization of discourse' (Fairclough 1999:55; Wodak 1996). Further analysis is focused on configurations of identity, relations and agency, the emergence and enactment of different universities.

In this chapter I combine analysis of text in discursive practice and social practice. This probes questions about the state project of hegemony, and so I query the location of power, identifiable in such notions as agency, and the dominant nature of a discourse within the texts. This is a microanalysis of the production and interpretation of texts, and a macroanalysis of the order of discourse within which these texts appear.

7a. Discursive Practice

It has been noted above that Australian universities' mission statements are located on university web pages and in other universities' texts such as annual reports and strategic plans. The mission statement usually precedes or is accompanied by a 'vision', a managerialist term describing aspects of the 'strategic plans' of these institutions that are linked to objectives or goals of the institution. This 'vision' can be a short statement similar to a mission statement, for example that of Central Queensland University (CQU). It can be a mission statement which calls itself a vision, for example Deakin University (2001) and Southern Cross University (SCU 2001), a mission which becomes a 'Primary Mission' such as that of the University of West Australia (UWA 2001), or it can be replaced by a 'Statement of Intent', as at Flinders University (Flinders 2001).

These mission statements are located in Annual Reports, in strategic plans, or on web pages, and taken up in various other outlets which flow across different media. Between 1998 and 2001 some universities changed their mission statements, in line with changing priorities of the university or of the changing state policies of higher education. This makes clear the shifts in dominant representations of the times. In some cases two mission statements of one university are included in these analyses as they were both mission statements that existed during the time of research, and are useful for identifying changes in priorities of universities or changing ideas of universities over time.

The production processes in which mission statements are created are not usually described, however the practice is illustrated in Chapter 5, where I 'follow the text' in a genealogy of the construction of a mission statement. This mission statement was the outcome of a series of group meetings at James Cook University:

The wide consultations associated with its preparation helped to focus the institutional mind on our future. The process set many of the directions that we are now embarked upon, established the principles that we still subscribe to, and crystallised the major strategies we intended to adopt.

Vice-Chancellor JCU 1998:2

It is clear that mission statements are written as part of a process of strategic planning, in conjunction with other related texts. They are created by texts of governance from policy makers, for example the letter of DEET (1988b), from University State Acts, which describe the functions of a university, and from other management texts such as strategic plans. When a text is constituted by diverse genres and discourses in this way it is described by Fairclough as interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1993:137, 2000a:170). Not only are they created from these other texts, they also become embedded in many other texts.

During the creation of these texts, the university as author(s) take a writing position according to their understandings and worldview, and the location of that university within its context of the Australian university system, and as an actor

within various partnerships or relationships. These mission statements are confident, sometimes aggressive, statements that tell the reader what is, or is to be.

For example:

The University of Sydney is Australia's first university. It leads the country in maintaining the best of time-honoured university traditions and demonstrates its leadership by the innovation and quality of its research and teaching. It measures its achievements by international standards and aspires to have these recognised throughout the world as the criterion by which Australian higher education is judged.

University of Sydney 2001

The author constitutes the identity and the activities of the university, and makes claims about its dominant place in *Australian higher education*. These identities and activities are not questioned in these texts: they conform to a particular worldview, the ideals and values of that university. Yet these are sometimes contested ideas of a university, and some meet with resistance.

The University of Sydney mission is a text that is acting to have its worldview accepted by other actors within the university, the community, the region and internationally. This action by the university is part of discursive practice of universities: it reveals the agency of the text, and its power to instantiate ideologies and to bring about change.

It also makes evident that the mission statements are written for particular audiences or consumers. There are a variety of purposes and consumers of these texts, including staff, communities and the state. They act to legitimate the activities of the university by conforming to the criteria of policy makers, and to the needs of *communities* and other actants in their relationships. The content is also produced in order to comply with state policies, so naturalising the discourse of the mission. In this process we see the interdiscursivity of these mission statements, and the way this constructs the university and its agency.

These texts are consumed within the university where they are constructed, and consumed externally by other actants in that university's networks, such as the communities in which they operate, research partners, institutions and industries

in various networks, and particularly by the state department responsible for higher education, for example in the university profiles exercises. The internal consumption is prescribed: mission statements are incorporated into other university texts and managerial technologies, such as the Annual Report. They may be used to focus university wide strategic planning or faculty research plans, or appear in another document required by the state, the Research Training Management Plan (for example JCU 2000).

At James Cook University the description of the production process (above), guidelines for use, and the mission statement itself, are embedded in another document known as the *Millennium Document*, now in its third edition (JCU 1998, 2000, 2003). I use this text as an example to discuss (below) tensions of identity that are apparent in university texts, and to locate the tensions and reflexivity of the university, explicated clearly in this text.

Within the university the mission statement and the goals in the Millennium Document are used as a framework for administrative and managerial annual reports, requests for funding, and organisational texts, clear examples of the ways these texts are consumed internally. The purpose of that Millennium Document, and its embedded mission, is described as:

... partly to describe us, partly to guide us, to be an agent of change in itself, and an expression of our contract with the community.

JCU 2003:2 [1998]

The use of *us* and *our* is a device which renders the reader in a relationship with the university its *contract*. Such acknowledgement of a metaphorical *contract with the community* is described by Bauman as a feature of the post-modern university (Bauman 1997:20), and encapsulates the understanding we have of representations of university practices, in both the contract and the community themes. The idea of a contract supports Yeatman's thesis of a more literal 'revival of contractualist doctrines of governance' (Yeatman 1998b:227), a mechanism of neoliberalism which offers a form of self-government. Jessop talks of the tendency of neoliberalism to promote 'community' as a 'flanking

compensatory mechanism for the inadequacies of the market mechanism' (Jessop 2002:455). Here we see this mechanism in practices that reinforce relations. Such identification with community also furthers the neoliberal project, designed to strengthen the place of universities within markets and in relations with political, economic and cultural communities, to attract more students and possible benefactors.

These devices illuminate the way texts are used to frame relationships between universities and other actants identified in these statements, for example in the classic rhetorical devices of inclusion that support the enrolment of these actants. In so doing they also sustain the construction of agency of universities, defining and reaffirming particular interests, roles, activities and alliances.

Identity and Agency

Whenever an actor speaks of 'us', s/he is translating other actors into a single will.

Callon and Latour 1981:279

Each mission statement usually consists of a couple of sentences. The mission statements are short texts, they range in size from 15 words of the mission of the University of Melbourne (UniMelb) to 201 words of the Australian Catholic University (ACU). The most frequently occurring concepts are listed in Table 11, other common concepts such as those of *performance* and *innovation* are also mentioned in the analysis. All concepts are identified by phrases or words and their lemmas, described using key words in the table and the following analysis.

Table 11. Frequencies of dominant concepts in mission statements

CONCEPT	FREQUENCY	CONCEPT	FREQUENCY
education	41	excellent/excellence	16
research	36	knowledge	16
mission	34	Australia	15
community	32	nation	15
international	32	profession	15
University	29	region	15
teaching	24	quality	12
provide	21	students	12
serve	20	world	12
commit	18	culture	11
learn	18	diversity	10
scholar	18	higher	10

The location of identity and agency in these mission statements can be described as specific; there are overt attempts to identify institutional and other actors within these texts. The mission statement presupposes and constructs relationships between actors, in the process constructing agency. Specific identifications include actants such as the state, Australia, the nation, professions, students and scholars, but there are more ambiguous identifications of networks and communities. Identification is sometimes achieved by the employment of classic rhetorical devices of inclusion or enrolment, for example the first person plural, such as *we* or the possessive adjective *our*, which enrols the reader into the identity of the author of the mission statement (Swales and Rogers 1995:231). *We* and *our* appear frequently, for example twice in the Bond University's mission statement:

Our mission is the achievement of excellence as a distinctive, innovative higher education institution dedicated to the pursuit, contemplation and dissemination of truth and knowledge through scholarly activity. Our academic community is committed to personal responsibility and integrity of staff and students, fairness in procedures and efficiency in operations. We will contribute to the diversity and quality of tertiary education in Australia. We seek productive, cooperative relations with other institutions of higher education and learning in Australia and throughout the world.

Bond 1998

Linked with *our*, this mission posits the academic community which seeks *relations with other institutions of higher learning*, so situating the identity and agency of Bond University. The relation is identifiably one of competition in which the private university Bond hints discreetly at superiority, undercurrents identified by Fairclough in the Lancaster University prospectus (Fairclough 1999:215). Other universities are not so circumspect: ten missions openly situate the universities as *leaders*.

This discourse subjectifies the university, and identifies it clearly as a purposeful agent. This agency can also be achieved by humanising the university. Flinders University's Statement of Intent is an example:

We aim to be recognised widely as a community sensitive Australian university that is confident, supportive and outward-looking and which brings to its community a level of performance in teaching and research that meets exacting national and international standards.

Flinders 2001

This statement establishes a particular relationship of the university with an unidentified community or communities, and identifies a particular characteristic of the university, as *community sensitive*. This human characteristic is supported by other characteristics, depicted as confidence, supportive and outward-looking. Such characteristics are attributes of human identities; this humanises and personifies the university as an actor. It allows agency to the university as it would to a human actor, just as Australian universities are identified legally as individual actors and legal persons.

In this mission *we* is definitely *a community sensitive Australian university*, yet the unidentified reader of this mission becomes part of the university and is incorporated into the programme of the university.

The University of Canberra (UC) and Victoria University (VU) use such a relationship device differently. UC describes how *Our Mission is to develop a university* (UC 2001), so that the university becomes a separate entity from the speaker.

The reader of the mission of VU also becomes the owner of their students and their region, and would act upon the university:

Our mission is to educate and train: to make Victoria University the university of first choice for prospective students, especially those in our region: to provide our graduating students with qualifications that enable them to realise the hopes and expectations that follow from pursuing arduous and fulfilling programs of study: and to make the University a place where learning and scholarship are valued for their own sake as well as for the economic and social benefits they can bring to our students, the region and the nation.

VU 2001

In other missions the university is referred to as *it*, as in *its mission* in Edith Cowan University (ECU 2001), *its communities* in the missions of the University of Tasmania (Utas 2001), Flinders (2001) and the ACU (2001), or *its endeavours*, also in the ACU mission.

The Northern Territory University (NTU) states that it is *Our Mission*, but *The University* is a separate entity:

Our Mission. The University will provide education, training, research and related services locally, nationally and internationally to support and advance the social, cultural, intellectual and economic development of Australia's Northern Territory.

NTU 2001

Although initially it appears ambiguous, this is instrumental to the purpose of a mission statement. The identification of *our*, appearing 10 times in these missions, acts to incorporate actors into the activities of the university. Actors such as staff and students, and sometimes other actors or institutions as a reified entity, are enrolled in the programmes of the university.

However the university as an institution has always maintained a certain level of fuzziness, so much so that questions arise about the nature of the identity of a university. Medieval universities were understood as either nations of students or nations of scholars, often the scholars (academics) or the colleges (comparable to guilds) were understood to *be* the university. The university was not initially a set of buildings (see Chapter 3). In the processes of contemporary Australian industrial relations called 'enterprise bargaining', management sometimes describe themselves as the university, a representation that is in opposition to these historical understandings of academics or students as the university.

The mission statement is therefore an instrument that exacerbates this fuzziness to its advantage, as it attempts to enrol all readers as actors in its programme(s). It can translate any actant it names as *the university*.

Studies by Connell and Galasiński (1998) and by Swales and Rogers (1995) both found mission statements to be impersonal and 'syntactically about employees' (Connell and Galasiński 1998:465; Swales and Rogers 1995:232). The identification of staff in these mission statements can actually separate staff from the author of the statement, as it does students. By framing in such a way the statement identifies 'other', that are not the university.

Curtin for example has an obligation to develop its staff and students, and identifies Curtin as the actor, *Curtin is dedicated to ...* (Curtin 2001). This identification of Curtin as the actor can be compared to the authorless discourse described by Connell and Galasiński (1998:465). In the processes of mission statement creation discussed above, agents of the university, such as staff members, the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean, or members of committees, are acting on behalf of this reified entity, the university. It is evident that in this process the university is constituted as author. In this and other statements the author is the university, which has agency, such as in the example of the University Sunshine Coast (USC) mission statement.

To be the major catalyst for the academic, cultural and economic advancement of the region through the pursuit of international standards in teaching and research, and by being responsive to students, staff, community and the environment.

USC 2001

This university has agency, it is **the** major catalyst for advancement, and therefore a powerful actant. However in this case its agency is tempered by a defined way it must act, standards are to be reached, particularly in the international context.

The emphases in these mission statements are clearly strategic. The universities are powerful actants, in mixed relations with institutional and other actors identified within these texts. The mission statements presume and construct relations between actants, in the process constructing agency.

Metaphor

Metaphor is a rhetorical device used to describe something as being something that it only resembles, for example an information superhighway is not a real highway, but has either literal or figurative characteristics in common. In this discourse metaphor is often used to posit relations between actors, or action to be undertaken. Heracleous makes a link between metaphor and action, in which metaphors have a valuative loading, which 'points implicitly towards what 'ought' to be done under situations framed by these statements' (Heracleous 1996:15). These metaphors can take a variety of forms, whereby actors become instruments, or undertake tasks, or posit themselves within a relationship. For example Monash wants to *lead the way* (Monash 2001), Australian National University is *guiding students to the frontiers of knowledge* (ANU 2001) and the University of Sydney *leads the country* (Sydney 2001).

These metaphors are clear, geographical frontiers become figurative, and frontiers of knowledge are metaphors for frontiers which were once territorial. There are no queues of universities going anywhere; however there are many which prefer to lead a hypothetical queue, rather than follow others.

There are syntactic metaphors – active verbs such as

- *aspires* in Sydney (2001) and ACU (2001) missions
- *advances* in those of the University of Adelaide (Adelaide 2001), Curtin (2001), NTU (2001) and others,
- *promotes* in La Trobe University (La Trobe), Murdoch University (Murdoch), and University of Ballarat (UB) missions.

These describe scale, progression or achievement. 'Operating on the syntactic level they shift our thinking from the abstract to the spatial' (Kress 1985:71). They can be linked with prepositions that locate reader and mission in space and time, and in relationship to each other within a network. *Produces* or *to produce* (CSU, ECU) or *to serve* (in the missions of JCU, UNE, and UTS) denote action and undertakings, and position the actors, such as in service to others.

These themes also remind the reader that the universities are producers of goods, a metaphor about production processes that sits well with neoliberal market ideology, of student as customer and consumer of goods.

The university that operates in a market must enter into contractual relations with others, as a provider of goods. The others are sometimes identified: of 57 references to different types of *communities* including specific communities, 26 references are made to a general community or communities, for example in the missions of Adelaide (2001), Curtin (2001) or Flinders (2001), and 5 missions refer to a region, for example JCU (2001) and UNE (2001). The *State of Queensland* and *the Australian nation* are both identified by University of Queensland (2001), 5 mission statements recognise *students*, Curtin (2001) and the USC (2001 above) recognise *staff*. Five mission statements recognise a variety of particular environments. These references to others act to place the reader and the university in a relationship with, as part of, and therefore enrolled in, the programme of the region or community or the particular environment. This is sometimes supported by the use of prepositions such as the frequently occurring (101 references) *of* which can denote a relation of belonging or ownership, often using a possessive pronoun. For example the University of Wollongong is placed within *its* region:

The University of Wollongong aims to explore, develop and apply human and technological capacity for the benefit of its region, the nation and the international community.

UoW 2001

Prepositions can also denote relations that become spatial, for example *in* also denotes that there is an object, which could surround, be a container or a net. Bond University, which is a private university, places itself both *in* and *of* (belonging to) tertiary education, although interestingly it identifies with *other institutions throughout the world* rather than with its community, state or nation.

Bond University is committed to achieving excellence in tertiary education through: Remaining independent, distinctive and

innovative; Incorporating new technologies; Teaching, learning and research of the highest quality; Producing uniquely identifiable graduates, committed to lifelong learning; Cooperating with other institutions of learning throughout the world; and Contributing to the diversity and quality of tertiary education.

Bond 2001

Prepositions such as *within* or *with* link the actors in a relationship, for example the University of Newcastle clarifies its partnership relation *with industry and commerce*, as well as *the community*.

The University of Newcastle is committed to the provision of quality education, research, research training and service in partnership with industry, commerce and the community, regionally, nationally and internationally; and to the continuous improvement and review of this provision.

UoN 2001

So relationships are enacted within missions, and these relations become instrumental. The Bond University (2001) mission statement emphasises that it *remains independent*¹, yet in a cooperating relationship with other institutions of learning throughout the world.

Others posit themselves as experts; an activity required of universities by the state and corporate interests, particularly in new relationships of networks instigated by the state through funding allocations to such partnerships. In these networks universities undertake consultancies of a professional and commercial nature. Those who describe their activities in this way include Swinburne (2001) and UTS (1999).

¹ A question regarding the identity of Bond as a public university was raised at the Senate Inquiry into The Capacity Of Public Universities To Meet Australia's Higher Education Needs (Orr 2001) and since then changes have been made to funding arrangements for private and Catholic universities.

Such networks and partnerships are relationships that are continuously being reinforced or created. Newcastle (2001) creates and reinforces many specific partnerships that had been earlier generalised (UoN 1999). Similarly Deakin University's 2001 mission emphasises more strongly relationships that were hinted at previously (Deakin 1998). In contrast SCU (2001) *commits itself to partnership* as an ideal, that earlier was more specifically *national and international partnerships* (SCU 1998).

These mission statements are multiple constructions of reality, they contain diverse components that constitute heterogeneous identities, for example priorities that include at the same time *communities, internationalisation and networks*. They became practices in universities with explicit requirements of government, for example commercialisation and internationalisation, strategies and mechanisms that constitute the characteristic ways of governing in contemporary liberal democracies (Dean 1999:149-150). They become complex and sometimes contradictory, containing diverse elements of identity, agency and activities.

Already identified as belonging to a particular genre and style of management that relatively recently colonised universities' social practices, mission statements can be described as a discourse that has become enacted as a genre. This enactment occurs when the initial perceived necessity for a particular type of text becomes an end in itself, for example, when Annual Reports (in which mission statements are often situated), are then required as part of legal or policy requirements. In this way they are enacted as a new genre. Other examples of such enactment include the teamwork concept of new management, that requires people to work in teams, which then becomes enacted in practice and a required way of acting or being. Such inculcation of a new discourse, and of practices, are processes of the dialectics of discourse.

When enacted, the discourse becomes part of the actual networks of practices, such as the introduction of 'performance management' or 'quality assessment'. When inculcated, discourses become accepted and practised, just as

when performance management becomes accepted practice in a business or university, or when students learn the discourse of sociology. By their third year the student is positioned within the discourse. Prior to being positioned in a discourse, that student may not know how to pronounce particular names or words, or understand their particular meaning, for example names such as Foucault or Weber, or terms such as hegemony or cultural capital. The manager's familiarity with performance management or quality assessment, and the student's familiarity with and understandings of when and how to use such words in discussion or writing, develop over time. Students acquire the discourse from lecturers, through tutorials, textbooks, journal articles or peers. Managers acquire the discourse in their workplace, when undertaking postgraduate management degrees, from textbooks, their peers and managers, policy documents, staff development or conferences.

Resistance may prevent or delay enactment or inculcation. The student may prefer to use a psychological discourse, or the academic may refuse to engage with the discourse of management in what appears to be an innocuous way, perhaps by refusing to speak of students as customers. This is a semiotic signal, of resistance to the programme of a dominant discourse, and in some contexts quite powerful. Such resistance situates the dominant discourse within a polyvalence of discourses:

... we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one: but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies

Foucault 1998: 100

Within this multiplicity of discursive elements there may appear a dominant hegemonic discourse, strong enough to disallow the inculcation of another discourse. Macdonell gives such an example of resistance by a dominant discourse to a new discourse, from 1960s Britain:

Another, and an important, part of the educational context in Britain at this time was the tendency of the prevailing discourses and knowledges to disallow the psychoanalytical, post-structuralist and Marxist theories which were then being imported into the country. The refusal, in many parts of tertiary education, to allow these theories to be taught to students effectively posed, for those who wished to teach them, questions of the politics of knowledge and the status of discourses.

Macdonell 1991:23

The outcomes of any such resistance will depend on the power of the discourse, if it has been inculcated elsewhere in the network, and the extent to which the prevailing discourse is dominant. Even dominant discourse such as that of management sometimes meet resistance, we need to be aware of instances where discourses may converge or are displaced. In a critical analysis we explore the way discourse reveals these relationships, and look for any evidence of hegemony.

Fairclough (1993) described such discursive instantiation of (British) universities, concluding that there were shifts in the identity of universities and academics (both becoming entrepreneurial) and a decline in the power of the institution over its applicants, potential students and potential staff.

It is proposed here that the introduction of mission statements into the order of discourse of universities during the 1980s in Australia introduced a different configuration of discursive and social practice. In the following analysis I locate such specific discourse, reconstituted from higher education policy, revealing programmes that are apparent in the discourses of mission statements. These programmes are indicative of the strategies that make up the state project, in this case a specifically neoliberal project. It is these strategies of the state that we now turn to, to explore how they are evident in mission statements that incorporate the strategies in their representations that are then enacted in the social practices of Australian universities.

7b. Neoliberal Strategies

In recent years government policy has been not to attempt to micro-manage the universities but to induce universities to become more 'business like' by requiring them to conform to certain practices and to pursue government priorities by offering inducements through special programs. These requirements and inducements have, in practice, resulted in considerable government intervention. The former include the submission of quality assurance and improvement plans, guidelines for the preparation of annual financial reports, equity plans, capital management plans, research and research training plans, mission statements and strategic plans.

Karmel 2001:136

This government intervention described by Karmel is overtly new management, and market oriented, and can be seen to recontextualise and colonise the existing discourse of universities². This recontextualisation is designed to encourage the consumption of texts such as management plans and strategic plans, including mission statements, which then enrol the actants in the mission statements into the programmes of universities and the project of the state.

Thus do neoliberal strategies indicate particular struggles for hegemony of the neoliberal project which emanate from the state and from global actors. These strategies are identified below. They include *liberalisation* and the promotion of *competition*, different *relations*, deregulation and the reduced role of the state, *privatisation*, market proxies in the residual public sector, and *internationalisation*. These closely agree with Jessop's list of 'strategies to promote or adjust to global neo-liberalism' (Jessop 2001:3).

² Not only in higher education and universities, for example other orders of discourse such as social housing, see Darcy 1999, which is also interesting for the policy emphasis on *community*.

The social practices described here include the identification of actants considered important to universities in relations, potential or real. These can be located in the most frequent concepts found in the mission statements (Table 11 above), representing ideas, notions, values, objectives and functions of reflexive universities. Their concerns here are to frame relationships and identify heterogeneous actants of importance to them, and to posit those relationships and the activities they are enrolled within.

The heterogeneous actants that can be identified within Australian universities' mission statements include: *students, staff members, graduates, other institutions, citizens of the world, indigenous peoples, industries, commerce*, and particular *regions*. The social practices of inclusion frame relationships and actants to be enrolled. Specific universities attempt to enrol particular actants.

The importance of such alliance building is evident. Many of these actants are described as *communities*, named and framed, for example in the identification of the *region* or the *state*. Also identified are cultural or ideological characteristics of universities that act to align the university with other actants, identifying characteristics that may be useful or that they may have in common. Universities describe these characteristics as *international* (32 references), and 10 references are *world-wide*. Other cultural characteristics which appear frequently include: *technology, intellectual, standards, and economic*, and the ones referred to above that place universities in markets - 20 references to *service* and 21 to do with *provision*.

These references place mission statements as a genre within an order of discourse that belongs in the economic, political, cultural and ideological orientations of social practice. The discourse of university mission statements is particularly manifest in political and ideological practices. This ideological practice establishes relations between actants, constitutes agencies and empowers actants. In the process this constitutes (power) relations, sustains and naturalises activities and significations generated within power relations, and uses conventions to normalise particular power relations and ideologies.

These relations and significations, and power, appear where programmes are manifest in the mission statements. The programme which shifts universities activities and identities towards markets and commodification, for example, belongs to a hegemonic model of discursive practice, which allows prominence to the interdiscursivity and intertextuality described above. The programme mirrors that of the current state neoliberal project.

The mission statements are hybrid worldviews, that is, they consist of heterogenous sources. They include imposed and pre-existing points of view 'due to the ordering effects of ideologies' (Kress 1985:68). As Kress points out, this has an impact on the thematic structuring of the text in terms of agency and causality. For example a differentiation concerning markets highlights a change of focus in the discourse of universities, and explains something of the hybridity of their discourse. This hybridity is evident in the location in missions of programmes, including for example remnants of older ideologies of social justice, democracy and equality, much less frequently apparent than those of *markets*, *internationalisation*, *innovation*, *networks with industry*, and *techne*, such as the education of employable graduates. This latter is *techne par excellence*, a programme supported in other university texts such as the lists of graduate skills and generic skills included in university handbooks and calendars. They legitimate the 'output' or 'quality' of university graduates by describing skills acquired by students at this particular university, that are required in the marketplace, so that their degree can be seen by employers to be useful (which is described as a private good, rather than a public good).

Such *techne* is a programme of the state, one of the programmes evident in university mission statements that are identified here. There are some straightforward identifications of such programmes in mission statements, for example the priority of *water management*, highlighted in the National Research Priorities (DEST 2002f), is reflected in the Central Queensland University's Vision Statement that describes itself as overtly technical, as:

... tropical Australia's leading university in environmentally sustainable land and water utilisation, industrially relevant engineering and contemporary communication.

CQU 2001

Other strategies identifiable in mission statements include competition policy, partnerships with industry and commerce, privatisation, internationalisation, and commodification, all explored below.

Commercialisation

Commercialisation is evident in a discourse that places an emphasis on the obligations and rights of the consumer (sometimes *customer* or *client*), which then locates the actors in an economic relationship. Associated concepts may be found in euphemisms such as *choice* or *opportunity*, that originate in neoliberal policies based on the 'liberalisation' of markets. In these liberalised (free) markets, competition allows consumers choices and opportunities to pay for a product or commodity.

The location of these concepts in mission statements are plentiful, for example in the mission statements of Victoria University (VU 2001) and the University of Southern Queensland (USQ 2001), which has a *commitment to Choice in the modes of delivery of its programs*.

Deakin (1998) emphasises *new opportunities for students and clients*. Charles Sturt University and others produce graduates who are *competitive*, positing *students, communities, and clients* in markets that are *competitive*. This *production of competitive graduates* is a programme imposed by the state that instituted competition policy. So the market metaphor speaks with the hegemonic voice of the discourse of DETYA, in which commerce and industry, and ironically society, are reified actants, and universities and students are accountable and competitive:

The mission of Charles Sturt University is *to produce* graduates with a professional edge who are competitive in meeting the present and changing needs of society, commerce and industry.

CSU 2001 (my emphasis)

In this text the role of the university is that of producer, accountable not only to society, but also to commerce and industry. Conceivably a focus on *real world issues* is another euphemism for this accountability, as found in the RMIT 2001 mission statement described above. RMIT exists *to develop* people for leadership, a 'Human Resources' (management) metaphor used in business and industry which operates in the marketplace. This discourse places humans in management perspective; they are a resource to be used for the benefit of business.

Swinburne University of Technology (Swinburne) undertakes consultancies in addition to the tasks of teaching and research, another commercial, marketplace activity common in contemporary universities:

To provide a continuum of educational opportunities from initial vocational education and training to postgraduate masters and doctoral degrees and to support the community it serves through research, consultancy and continuing education.

Swinburne 2001

Two examples show that in this discourse universities, which are not-for-profit institutions, are expected to become more accountable and to contribute to the economy of the state/nation. These mission statements juxtapose ideas of universities as competitive, economic and social, a discourse in which older ideas of learning and scholarship, or the intellectual and cultural, are subjected to economic demands.

The mission of the University of Queensland is to achieve national and international recognition for excellence in all aspects of its teaching, research and scholarship to make a leading contribution to the intellectual, cultural, economic and social life of the State of Queensland and the Australian nation

UQ 2001

Note the use of *excellence*, above and below, *first choice*. There is also a concern with *qualifications*.

Our mission is to educate and train: to make Victoria University the university of first choice for prospective students, especially those in our region; to provide our graduating students with qualifications that enable them to realise the hopes and expectations that follow from pursuing arduous and fulfilling programs of study; and to make the University a place where learning and scholarship are valued for their own sake as well as for the economic and social benefits they can bring to our students, the region and the nation.

VU 2001

These are all neoliberal examples of a form of colonisation of universities' discourse by the economy, manifest in Foucault's bio-power and evident in the techniques of diverse institutions that regulate and normalise (Foucault 1998:141). This becomes linked to the technologisation evident in discourse - ironically produced by universities, which have had a monopoly on the production of experts (but see Gibbons 1996), for example in economics particularly, but also other social sciences, administration, management, science and government. This production of experts defines the social change wrought by universities with the intensification of discourse that inculcates further technologisation and commodification in its teachings and in practices. As research becomes commodified it further normalises neoliberal discourse and economic priorities in all areas of the universities' activities.

It is ironic that these experts, who are educated at universities, undertaking economic and business degrees, become the managers and academics, who then are empowered to establish the missions of universities, with advice from other

experts: auditors, statisticians, public servants, and politicians, many who also have an economics degree, a self-referring and reflexive exercise.

The commercialisation of research has increased exponentially, for example in 2004, when a lobby group formed to promote their place in the commercialisation of research. This lobby group, Commercialisation in humanities, arts and social sciences (CHASS) belongs to the Council for the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences (also CHASS). The objectives of the group are to demonstrate the commercial nature, and therefore utility, of activities of actors in the sector. Such activity:

- has a market value - someone is willing to pay for it and/or the intellectual property it represents
- is useful - it has a potential or realised application
- may involve a partner from 'industry' (any group which might apply the results of the work, such as a government department, non-profit organisation, corporation or other commercial partner)
- is sold, performed or exhibited.

CHASS 2004:n.p.

Examples they give include

... commissioned research with an industry partner (e.g. a government department wanting population dynamics to plan school construction programs), consultancies or other paid input into corporate or government decision-making, performances on stage, products developed from CHASS research that are or can be sold or patented/commercialised (e.g. books, computer software, language teaching/testing materials, psychological or geographical information systems (GIS) applications, craft objects, recorded music compositions, film, TV), advice informing an industrial process for example design in manufacturing, and education services provided at a price, such as language teaching to the community, or educational components of AusAID projects.

CHASS 2004:n.p.

This disciplinary focus is a fundamental shift in approach to research, a move to divert research funding from the state and industry to the humanities and social science researchers. The study by CHASS is funded by the state (DEST) in

a reiterative process of reinforcement that further commercialises research, and in consequence, teaching. This research is about research funded by the state, shaped by neoliberal policies of the state and actively constituting these state policies.

Other proactive commercialisations appear in individual universities which undertake business with industry or research centres. An example is the University of Newcastle, which can be described as a typical network of heterogeneous parts. This is quite different from the university created in 1965 under the founding Vice-Chancellor, whose ambition it was to 'establish a university in the British tradition' (Dutton 2000:321). The University of Newcastle includes the University of Newcastle Research Associates (TUNRA) Limited. TUNRA is an enactment of the 2001 mission statement; created specifically to enhance links between the university and commerce, industry and community, for consultancy and management of intellectual property active in research, consultancy, health, education, Bulk Solids Handling, design, and various other enterprises. TUNRA is also the location of the university 'startup company' *Virotag* created by the university in 2001 (see DEST 2004b, and below).

Newcastle University has a *Memorandum of Understanding* with the Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI), which is based in America, but is an international 'entrepreneurial' organisation that describes its activities as 'independent, nonadversarial, and transideological, with a strong emphasis on market-based solutions' (RMI 2003:n.p.). There is an assumption in this partnership that 'market-based solutions' are 'transideological', an example of the de-politicisation of neoliberal concepts, similar to that of *techne*. Another *Memorandum of Understanding* is in place with the local council, Newcastle City Council, to undertake a range of joint projects. These alliances are described as a union that 'will help develop Newcastle's vision to become the South-East Asian centre for sustainable energy industry' (UoN 2002:n.p.). The alliances are based on commonalities, for example the RMI has common interests with the university in *sustainability*, a particular focus of Newcastle and the local Council.

These interests mirror those of the state. In December 2002, the Prime Minister announced four national research priorities, the first *An Environmentally Sustainable Australia*, the second *Promoting and Maintaining Good Health* (DEST 2002f). These are two of the focuses of University of Newcastle and its partners, in the environment, and in health. The state is palpable in these and other complex relationships. It is active in the regulation of such alliances, often in funding activities or founding a centre or institute, often in setting the priorities and objectives (found in the mission statements) of these alliances. It is manifest in many alliances of the University of Newcastle, for example with the Hunter Medical Research Institute (HMRI), which describes itself as Australia's only regionally based, *internationally competitive* health and medical research institute (HMRI 2002), and with The Pacific Power Advanced Technology Centre.

Pacific Power was a public utility owned by the local state, New South Wales. The state sold it to an Asian-Pacific engineering consultancy firm Connell Wagner. The consequence is an alliance between the state, the university and the utility that now takes on a different commercial identity, reshaping the university in the process.

Like many other Australian universities, Newcastle has alliances with diverse research centres and institutes in specific networks, including Special Research Centres (SRCs) and Key Centres for Teaching and Research (KCTRs). Some new relationships form networks based on relationships with industry-funded institutes, in partnership with external organisations, industrial and commercial entities. A special relationship evident at Newcastle is one that, during the last decade, has been instrumental in the re-shaping of many Australian universities, that between universities and Co-operative Research Centres (CRCs).

Relations between universities and CRCs have become so numerous that by 2001 collaborative ventures between universities, industry and CRCs were audited. 'Outputs' included the numbers of research commercialisation staff employed, invention disclosures (inventions possible to patent), patent

applications filed and patents issued, licences executed and income arising from licensing, and the number of start-up companies formed.

Competition

There has always been a competitive hierarchy of universities, some more elite than others. However universities have eagerly entered into competition in new ways, in the commercial areas described above, and in what is now a global marketplace for higher education. Competition in this global marketplace is sustained by other programmes of the state, such as internationalisation (see below) and competition policy. These policies encourages universities to compete against each other, and in so doing, universities often represent themselves in their mission statements as *leading* in a variety of fields, for example Deakin (1998), Central Queensland University (2001) and the University of Queensland (2001), or the University of Sydney (2001), that 'leads the country'. Another euphemism, that of *excellence*, appears often in mission statements, as does the concept of *quality*. These are managerial concepts that imply superiority but become so commonplace that they have no meaning.

Universities therefore contend for the best or most prestigious in a variety of fields, in line with such competition programmes evident in policy. While a patent apparatus of the state, the University of the Year Award, offered between 1993 and 2002 by the Good Universities Guide (Ashenden and Milligan 2002), is an indicator of contemporary priorities of universities. Each year the Award has a different focus. To date they have all been fields that have been promoted by the state in its policies, including international, commercial and employment oriented themes, particularly neoliberal concerns (see Table 12 below).

Table 12. University of the Year Award
(after Ashenden and Milligan 2002)

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The international characteristic is a common focus, evident also in the nature of disciplinary networks of universities. These characteristics have become essential as universities represent themselves, some as centres of expertise, some as specialist institutions and many as international institutions. Universities are now acknowledged actors in the commercial world, fracturing the border between public and private, between not-for-profit public universities, private educational and training providers and other commercial organisations. These new relationships create different networks and different identities of universities.

These different identities are clearly examples of universities with shifting borders. The first case is that of an alternative/gumtree university with shifting alliances, that seeks *continuous improvement* (a definitively new management term often used with *excellence* and *quality* so that the concepts are emptied of meaning) and *commercial partnerships*. As examined above, actants within the network of this university include CRCs and commercial entities. The second is a relative newcomer, a unitech/former college, which can be described as a network strongly identified by technology and *internationalisation*. The third example is of a traditional/sandstone that is actively reinventing itself.

The characteristics described strongly identify these networks and allow commonalities, such as the commercial arms of universities. These are entities of a different kind that exacerbate identities shifting from public to private and that merge not-for-profit with commercial identities. Examples of their shifting alliances are also obvious in the acknowledgements to commercial entities and research centres so important to these changing identities, and the emphasis on *internationalisation* that is central to all Australian public universities.

The first example is Deakin Private, which could be described as a programme of networks and shifting alliances. In *Campus Review*, Maslen wrote that:

The shift toward the privatisation of higher education in Australia took a big step forward this week. Deakin University announced the formation of a 'Private university within the university'. This is development that Deakin Vice-chancellor, Professor John Hay said

was without precedent in Australia - or internationally- a university has established a private entity to market education and training courses to business and industry. Deakin Australia, a wholly private arm of the university expects to generate \$A20million over the next 12 months selling certificate and associate diploma programs - and double that sum every three years thereafter. As reported in Campus Review earlier this month (Oct 7-13), Hay predicted that within 10 years half Deakin's income would come from these and other non-commonwealth sources. He said this was the future for higher education in Australia.

Maslen 1993:5

Although this may appear as advertising, Deakin University's statistics reveal that in 2002, of the total revenue of \$337.2m, the government grant revenue is much less than half of Deakin's income, at \$120.8m. The rest of its income is listed as: Consultancy and contract research, \$14.1m, Fee-paying students \$47.0m, Commercial activities \$57.5m, HECS \$61.9m, and 'Other' revenue \$35.9m. (Deakin 2003 n.p.). The income divide between private and public is expanding, and the large contribution by students, that continued to grow in 2004 and 2005, is evident.

The review by Maslen continued to describe Deakin's business like activities, including the take over of the university's existing marketing centres and commercial arms by Deakin Australia, allowing it to claim to be the largest provider in Australia of career development programs and training consultancy services. Through this activity Deakin Australia was able to create relationships with public and private corporations, included Australia Post, Telecom, and Victoria's State Electricity Commission for whom it provides services. As predicted this commercial enterprise did become 'completely self-funded through its user-pays services' and the profits from this go to the university. Two years later the university won the University of the Year Award for Technology in Education (see Table 12 above).

The expansion of partnerships with industry and commerce is a programme of the state that has dramatically reshaped Australian universities, and

the state recognises the role of universities as 'suppliers of the skilled personnel required to sustain continued economic growth' (DEETYA 1996a:1). This programme also recognises that a key element of the transformation of the higher education sector in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) member countries is partnerships and cooperation between universities and business.

A study funded by the state (DEETYA 1996a) describes different university-industry links and notes impacts upon research. The study found that 36.7% Australian science and technology academics received industry research support at the time. The effects include industry links and university commercialisation efforts that threaten traditional research and scientific values and academic freedom. They note that respondents were concerned about threats to research autonomy, undesirable consequences associated with the commercialisation of knowledge, the low intellectual level of some contract work, the reduced time of talented researchers available for teaching, and pressures on researchers to spend increased time on commercial activities (DEETYA 1996a:1, Harman 2001). More recent examples of the impacts of these industry networks describe other benefits and risks, for example Stillwell describes how it affects employment relationships, challenging conventional notions of professionalism and extending the 'commodification' of academic labour (Stillwell 2003:51).

The example above of a university that has become immersed in such partnerships is the University of Newcastle. The effects of shifting policies on this alternative, gumtree university are notable. At its foundation in 1965, this university was established in a British tradition. It became a very different organisation with the amalgamation of Newcastle College of Advanced Education (CAE) during the Dawkins reforms (Dawkins 1987a). A comparison of two mission statements of the University of Newcastle is useful:

To achieve international excellence in education and research and to work, through partnerships, for regional, national and global enrichment.

UoN 1999

The University of Newcastle is committed to the provision of quality education, research, research training and service in partnership with industry, commerce and the community, regionally, nationally and internationally; and to the continuous improvement and review of this provision.

UoN 2001

It is evident from the two mission statements of 1999 and 2001 that this university enjoys a variety of partnerships, and that these relationships are reviewed at different times. The 1999 mission referred to partnerships with unspecified partners, alliances that would enrich unspecified actants. The enrichment is 'regional, national and global'. Two years later there is an increasing focus on partnerships, which are now specifically with the *industry, commerce and the community, regionally, nationally and internationally*. Although ambiguous, they could apply to the partnerships, or to *provision of quality education, research, research training and service*. Local communities are not included here, although it appears other communities are considered eligible partners.

These are frequent themes of alliance for alternative and gumtree universities. Communities are often linked to the state in other mission statements, although international communities are also a frequent theme. The enrolment of unspecified actants such as a community is a broad scope translation that can include diverse potential partners who consider themselves as a community or part of a community. Sociologically this is a contested concept, as there is no clear definition of what constitutes a community, other than shared interests. Communities by that definition can be powerful political actors. The inclusion of communities in their mission statements frames universities so that they conform to requirements of the state that 'Institutions will have, therefore, diverse missions and purposes by which they will serve the interests of the Australian community' (DETYA 1998a:2).

The University of Newcastle includes another theme, that of *continuous improvement*, a notion aligned to the *quality* discourse of new management. This

university takes on the audit processes that are characteristics of a reflexive, self – governing institution. Alliances are to be continually reviewed, a continuous project never completed.

In the 2001 mission statement research training has been included, reflecting the increased state audit of these particular university activities. The idea of enrichment has no subject but has been discarded from the mission statement by 2001, implying that more traditional ideas are replaced by discourse more attuned to neoliberal concerns of continuous improvement and review

Relations and Networks

Universities constitute a complex set of relations that consist of many different networks, and they are nodes in other networks. These networks include the networks of the state, networks of other universities, regional networks and international networks.

The research commercial networks with Co-operative Research Centres (CRCs) explored above are networks of a particular kind that are located most often in universities. CRCs were founded as a programme of the state in 1990, and by July 2002, there were 62 CRCs established, some reallocated in 2004. The state objective of this programme is to strengthen collaborative links between industries, research organisations such as the state controlled Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO), government agencies and universities (DEST 2002g). This state programme finds commonalities which bring actors together from various organisations with diverse interests and values, researchers from CSIRO, universities, not-for-profit and commercial alliances. They include private industry and public sector agencies in alliances that emphasise

the importance of developing collaborative arrangements between researchers and between researchers and research users in the private and public sector in order to maximise the capture of the benefits of

publicly funded research through an enhanced process of commercialisation or utilisation by the users of that research

DEST 2002g:n.p.

Alliances of this type encourage research through an enhanced process of commercialisation or utilisation, which changes the nature of these networks and of 'pure' research, which in many cases become 'applied' research. This is a crucial and significant shift of values and objectives, a shift to accommodate such alliances, to enable research that previously may have been of intrinsic value to be commercialised. They become commercial networks.

One response to such state programmes is that universities become active participants in 'the commercialisation of knowledge', a terminology often confused with the commercialisation of different things, such as information and its products. The techne or application of research is differentiated by the terminology applied or pure research, and now commercial research. Programmes of the state can confuse such terminology, conflating vocational or commercial interest with the production of knowledge.

Because of the nature of such networks, the boundaries of these networks may be legal and structural ones, which can reshape universities. This potential became evident in the contested legal and corporate issues with the local state about the commercial activities of universities such as Melbourne University Private. They are also however, boundaries of agency. The attempt by the University of Melbourne, with the creation of the Melbourne University Private, was to dissolve or shift ideas of a university, encouraging and in some instances enforcing the agency of the university to act as industry or business. This different agency alters inevitably the idea of a university. Earlier ideas of universities, described in previous chapters, are replaced by neoliberal concepts of a commercial and competitive institution, not a public, not-for-profit institution. The difficulty lay in the boundaries of the University of Melbourne and the Melbourne University Private.

However the new or different characteristics of the university produces different commonalities with other actants, and new or different alliances such as Knowledge Commercialisation Australasia (KCA). KCA involves a network of universities, research institutes and government organisations, supported by the Department of Education Science and Training (DEST) under the *Backing Australia's Ability Initiative* announced in 2001 (Howard 2001). KCA is described as the peak body representing organisations and individuals associated with 'knowledge transfer from the public sector' (see KCA 2002).

Membership includes research organisations such as the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation (ANSTO), commercial entities such as Pharmacia Australia, the state agent the Higher Education Division of the DEST, and international actors including universities such as Auckland UniServices Ltd (University of Auckland). Membership specifically includes private or commercial arms of universities such as TUNRA, Melbourne University Private Ltd (The University of Melbourne), ANUTECH Pty Ltd (Australian National University) and Research and Development (RMIT University) and others. RMIT is the focus of the next examination of a network with specific interests and commonalities in internationalisation.

Internationalisation

The state actively constitutes different relationships and networks for universities through policy, which may originate elsewhere. The relocation of universities within global markets is a case in point. The idea of a university as *internationalised* originated in The European Association for International Education (EAIE) and the Programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (see OECD 2000a), which 'have taken the lead role globally in studying Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education' (DEETYA 1996c:10). The complex trails of policy formulations were described by DEETYA

(1996c) as the work of IMHE on a project entitled *Institutional Strategies for Internationalisation*, which focused on a seminar in Washington DC in 1994, and a follow-up conference *Strategies for Internationalisation in Higher Education - A Global Comparison* in California in 1995, the outcome of which was the EAIE (1995) publication *Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education - A Comparative Study of Australia, Canada, Europe and the United States of America*.

The emergence of change within Australian universities and their relationships were analysed in the project *Internationalisation of Higher Education: Goals and Strategies*, commissioned by the Australian Department of Employment, Education Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA 1996c), and carried out by IDP Education Australia (a consultancy team called the *Internationalisation Development Project Team* comprised of Emeritus Professor Ken Back, higher education 'consultant' Dorothy Davis and Alan Olsen, 'consultant').

They noted that:

... all but one of Australia's 38 universities reported a *policy of internationalisation* in their mission statements, and all included a policy of internationalisation as part of the *corporate plan*. Most (25 of 37) have an explicit commitment to *quality assurance or international bench marking* for their internationalisation activities. All but four of the universities have active committees for the development of *internationalisation strategies*;

DEETYA 1996c:7

It is clear that ALL Australian universities have reshaped themselves to become *internationalised*. The concept, by definition, entails specifically commercial activities because it is located within trade relations with other states (the exception is aid relations described below). One of the universities that reshaped its identity in this way was RMIT, a typical example of the *internationalisation* of many Australian universities. The university has become international because of its enrolment of international students, its presence in

other countries and by changing its curriculum to an international focus. In 1996 it was the first to open an offshore campus of an Australian university (in Malaysia), although other universities had alliances offshore. Like other Australian universities it has become the first overseas university to open a campus in another country, for example Vietnam.

There have been dramatic increases in student numbers since the 1980s that took a new turn with the state introduction of full fee paying international students in 1987. These increases take on a Janus characteristic (looking both ways), not only have we experienced a 'massification' of Australian students but the doors have been opened to international students studying at Australian universities, both on-shore and 'off-shore'.

International students have always studied in Australia; however selected Asian students received scholarships when the then Prime Minister R.G. Menzies introduced the Colombo Plan, believing that it was our duty to our neighbours (Menzies 1972). The Australian Development Assistance Agency (ADAA) was established in 1974, shifted in 1987 to the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB), and in 1995 AusAID, the Australian Agency for International Development, which continues to bring many students to Australia from New Guinea, Asia, Malaysia and elsewhere (see AusAID 2001).

These activities are now allied and linked by the state promotion of Australian higher education as a service industry. Described as 'our third largest services export, education and training is now worth around \$5 billion to Australia's economy' (DEST 2002d). This statement was accompanied by figures showing that of English speaking nations Australia has the third largest number of international students, and that some 240,000 students studied with Australian learning institutions in 2001. Such increasing numbers has now become a major policy focus for many Australian universities and create huge export earnings for the state.

Policies of internationalisation are also promulgated through Australian Education International (AEI), the name under which the state, through its

department DEST, 'supports institutions as they take advantage of opportunities in Australia's key markets around the world'. This programme of government is described as

... an Australian Government initiative, AEI is unique in the industry, impartially representing all sectors while helping to generate cross-sectoral alliances and working through industry-generated relationships

DEST 2002h n.p.

Included in these cross-sectoral alliances are Australian and international universities, their commercial and international agents, private providers of higher education and other industry and commercial actants. Some of these are allied in other ways, for example through Universitas 21, or the Australian Technology Universities network, of which for example, RMIT is a member.

RMIT University is a unitech/former college that describes its previous identities on its web page: from a Working Men's College in 1887, to Melbourne Technical College in 1934, to Royal Melbourne Technical College of 1954, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology of 1960, and then RMIT University in 1992. There have been mergers recently with a number of other technological institutes, such as the Phillip Institute of Technology in 1992 and the Melbourne College of Printing and Graphic Art in 1997. RMIT was granted formal university status under the *Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology Act 1992*, and retains a combination of Institute of Technology and university in its title. This hybridity is retained, combining an international focus with emphases on technical and professional education, apparent in its Technical and Further Education (TAFE) arm. The hybridity is reflected in the mission statement that frames the provision of technical and professional education;

RMIT exists to: provide technical and professional education that develops people for leadership and employment; and undertake research programs that address real world issues; within an international and community context.

RMIT 2001

The education provided by RMIT is one that *develops people*, a concept borrowed from economic models of human capital investment and national economic growth. This idea was promulgated by the OECD in the 1970s and 1980s (OECD 1989; Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor 2001) and appears in the Australian policies of 1988 (Dawkins 1987a; DEET 1988c) which restructured universities.

The concept *leadership* belongs to this discourse, and is beloved of managers, although the practice may be difficult to define. The *real world issues* of its mission attempt to make the economic appear to be 'common sense'. This appears as commercial priorities in the activities of RMIT, a neoliberal perspective that focuses on commercial and economic imperatives. Linked strongly to internationalisation, this has shifted the identity of this university since its inception.

In its latest *Strategic Plan and Direction to 2006*, the university aims are: 'dissolving the boundaries between the university, industry and community' (RMIT 2002a). These shifting relations become a common theme in its commercial activities, and are apparent in the 19 research centres and many institutes of their networks, including nine CRCs. The enrolment of so many commercial actors in this university network, that include RMIT International Pty Ltd. and RMIT Training Pty Ltd, the University's Training and Consulting Services, consisting of the RMIT Assessment Centre, the Centre for English Language Learning (CELL), RMIT Priority Employment, RMIT Publishing and the RMIT IT Test Lab, invites critique about the nature of the university. Is RMIT a public university?

One of the research centres, The Sir Lawrence Wackett Centre for Aerospace Design Technology, facilitates such dissolving of boundaries. It 'aims to create, through research and design, and in partnership with industry, new intellectual property for commercial use and development' (RMIT 2002b). This Wackett Aerospace Centre operates in conjunction with RMIT's Aerospace Design and Commercial Office, and is allied with the Cooperative Research

Centre for Advanced Composite Structures Limited (CRC-ACS). CRC-ACS has as members many universities, industries and state organisations, such as the Defence Science and Technology Organisation, Hawker de Havilland Pty Ltd, University of Sydney, and CSIRO Molecular Science.

Such alliances shift and are realigned by changes in membership and by commonalities, for example the Transport Research Centre (TRC) was established in 1991 at the University of Melbourne but moved to RMIT University in July 1995. Since then this centre

has embarked on a progressive path of engaging in real-world research, which befits the RMIT philosophy of directing research to the needs of business, industry and the community

RMIT 2002c n.p.

There are two concepts in this mission that link TRC to RMIT. They are the *philosophy* of (commercialising) research, with the focus on *the needs of business, industry and the community*. The other concept is *real-world*, reiterated from the mission statement of RMIT. The only understanding one can have from this term is that it differentiates and makes common sense of the *real-world*, linked to business, industry and community, from any idea of a university, for example a humanist or egalitarian idea of a university which links to people rather than business.

RMIT University has other alliances, within the network of the KTC described above, and as a member of The Australian Technology Network (ATN). The ATN network is described as instrumental to the identity of RMIT as, benchmarking against many others, it re-identifies itself as a commercial, research and international institution (Adams 1997). The Dean of International Programs explains that

In placing the international student recruitment in a wholly owned private company, RMIT has ensured that commercial decisions can be taken in a proper framework free of the restraints of "public sector" systems that exist within the university. This only works because of

the application of internal RMIT academic and support policies that provide a balance with these "commercial" interests.

Adams 1997:n.p.

Adams describes how RMIT University reconstructed itself, a process that began in 1987 when the state required that international students pay the full costs of education in Australia. Since then RMIT University has undertaken three processes of internationalisation: the recruitment of offshore students, the consolidation of offshore programs through Technisearch (a commercial subsidiary of the university) and the third, a major restructuring of the university, which included the opening of campuses in Malaysia in 1996, followed by other overseas sites (Adams 1997).

This restructure immerses the university in the commercial world and relocates, both physically and virtually, the university in different states and communities. These international and commercial activities and the re-locations of the university produce fuzzy borders between public and private, between a not-for-profit public university and the commercial nature of this institution. The consequences are that the university emerges from these changes with different identities. The university becomes an actant in different networks, with alliances based on commonalities such as technology, and different commercial and cultural approaches to knowledge, research and teaching. Examples of the different networks include Australian Technology Network (ATN) that RMIT belongs to, and The Global University Alliance (GUA 2002, see below).

The ATN alliance of universities uses discourse that describes common approaches to 'the way we use links with industry and the latest technology to provide career-driven courses for tomorrow's leaders' (ATN 2002 n.p.). This is the enterprise discourse which is utilised by the network to lobby and advocate for the five member universities, representing their common vision to the state and in research activities. They also receive funding as a network, for example DEST awarded funding of an evaluation program, based on its emphasis on research student employability, the epitome of the *techne*. Members include Curtin

University of Technology, Queensland University of Technology (QUT), the University of South Australia (UniSA), RMIT University and the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). This is a network in which there operates a common discourse, they see themselves as sharing 'a heritage of working with industry and a united vision for the future' (ATN 2002 n.p.) and are able to act as a lobby group because of these shared interests.

Another network of interest is the Global University Alliance (GUA), formed with the University of South Australia (also a member of ATN), an on-line education company NextEd, and seven overseas universities. The GUA is a private company providing distance education via the Internet. Other universities in this network include: the Auckland University of Technology, Athabasca University of Canada, The George Washington University and The University of Wisconsin Milwaukee from the U.S., two British universities: The University of Derby and The University of Glamorgan. These universities have formed this alliance based on their common objective: to be a global provider of flexible university accredited education using online internet communications. They also emphasise, like RMIT, 'real issues of the world' in their subject materials (GUA 2002 n.p.).

Universitas 21 is an international network of universities with 17 members in 10 countries. This alliance is described as a company, in which the

... core business is provision of a pre-eminent brand for educational services supported by a strong quality assurance framework. It offers experience and expertise across a range of vital educational functions, a proven quality assurance capability and high brand value.

Universitas 21 2002a:n.p.

High brand value reflects the idea of *brand name* (discussed in Chapter 5) and economic value, notions distinctively characteristic of neoliberal discourse. Brand identities become status symbols for universities, a reflection of the technologies of differentiation and hierarchy in the business world, and in policy from the state. When releasing its latest policy on internationalisation, for

example, it was described as *Media Release: New offshore brand for Australia's \$5 billion international education industry* (DEST 2002d). This idea of a *brand value* also appears in the *quality assurance framework* that has become commonplace in universities representations, following various policy implementations such as the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA 2001a) publication of *Quality Assurance and Accreditation in Australian Higher Education, a National Seminar on Future Arrangements*. These publications project policy objectives and reflect state imperatives of competition and internationalisation, where universities are encouraged:

... to take a leading role in the emerging global market for educational services because of the high level of common interest between its members, and because they share a vision of the future of higher education and the role of established campus-based universities in it.

Universitas 21 2002a:n.p.

Members of Universitas 21 are allied at three levels: 'traditional' academic exchanges, international collaboration between members, and entrepreneurial activities on a commercial basis. This network aspires to *the global commercialisation of higher education* in which Universitas 21 members are

... uniquely positioned to invest international credibility, brand recognition and quality assurance into new global educational partnerships' in competition with 'major multinational corporations.

Universitas 21 2002b:n.p.

Member universities are described as equity participants in this business, which has been initially capitalised at \$US50 million. Australian members are sandstones: The University of New South Wales, The University of Queensland and The University of Melbourne, where ed-IT, the Faculty of Education, maintains the web page for Universitas 21. This is an alliance of universities that have become commercial entities, that sell a commercial product. They boast of *high brand value*, evident in the vision which is of *established campus-based universities*. These are alliances of older (traditional) universities, networked for

new purposes. While their traditional status may have great resonance, and there is an apparent concern for *quality*, the members are concerned with competition and quantity of student enrolments, particularly international students.

The alliance has the specific purpose of competing in *a market for educational services*. Their commonalities include that they are competing against major multinational corporations. Yet recent examples they cite of entrepreneurial activities include a partnership with a multinational corporation, The Thomson Corporation, to establish a major e-education business, which operates through a joint venture company U21global. This is the neoliberal partnership exemplar, a strategic partnership of the type encouraged by the state, for example in the *Strategic Partnerships – Industry Research and Training Program* which funded \$58.1 million over three years towards such partnerships. Such activities were described in glowing terms in the policy paper *Higher Education at the Crossroads: an Overview*; 'there are now over 300 commercial entities operated by Australia's public universities' (DEST 2002a:v).

The University of Melbourne is a member of Universitas 21, is part of a multinational corporation, and a member of a joint venture company U21global, and had a private university (see below). The University of Melbourne has become a heterogeneous identity very different from that established in 1853, which (following London) was intended to educate all classes in a liberal and utilitarian education, ideas described in Chapter 3. Since the 1980s this heterogeneity has become a feature of most Australian universities. During the period of research DEST required of universities a range of different activities and approaches within which universities should frame their points of reference, and new characteristics universities were required or recommended to take on. The examples given above are that universities should be *innovative* and they should *internationalise*. These and other requirements were explicated in policy and the media, for example universities were required to be *accountable*, and expected to create networks for funding from sources other than the state. To enable these activities programmes are set up in which networks are created or reinforced; the

foci are on international markets and on business and industry, now both profitable ventures for Australian public universities.

The focus on the international nature of students, communities and activities in the last decade comes from higher education policy texts, such as the *Higher Education Report for the 2004 to 2006 Triennium* (DEST 2004a). This clearly transfers to universities' mission statements. The concept is evident in 30 mission statements, for example by the mission of CQU:

Central Queensland University is tropical Australia's leading university in environmentally sustainable land and water utilisation, industrially relevant engineering and contemporary communication, with a commitment to continue proactive roles in promoting high standards in Indigenous and international education, distance education, flexible learning, innovative teaching and quality research

CQU 2001

These activities and approaches can be explicated as ideological models (van Dijk 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). Ideological models are evident in missions that emphasise the agency of universities, for example those of Deakin or ECU, committed to close interaction with the professions, business, government and the wider community, or of CQU which is concerned with water utilisation and industrially relevant engineering. This framing substantiates programmes intent upon creating relations between universities and industry and commerce. These were the actions recommended by DETYA, exhortations to undertake activities and create relationships particularly associated with alternative funding, such as the requirement of *techne*, to make students employable, paraphrased in this mission of Charles Sturt University (CSU) and others.

The inclusion in the CSU mission statement of *society* in the *changing needs of society, commerce and industry* appears inconsistent, an irrelevant mantra beside the more imperative commerce and industry (two prominent themes of networks and actors within the analysis of themes). The clarification of these activities within mission statements is evidence of the dominant discourse of DETYA. For example another requirement of universities by DETYA was a focus

on specific research foci. Universities were requested by August 2001 to submit to DETYA areas of research on which they would focus. These foci or domains of research not only concentrate the energies of universities in specific domains of research, they become entrenched within universities as internal funding mechanisms, areas more likely to be funded.

The research focus of JCU is that of the tropics, La Trobe and RMIT focus on professional training, Southern Cross on plant resources. These research foci are constructions and reconstructions of identity, and are substantially directed by their ability to attract funds, primarily from the state, from the Australian Research Council (a state funded body) and more recently from industry partners. They are also designed to attract students, particularly international students. Some are evident in mission statements, for example in that of CQU (above), of environmentally sustainable land and water utilisation, industrially relevant engineering and contemporary communication. Deakin University focused on flexible and life-long learning and internationalisation, which dominate or translate older ideas of universities. For example in Deakin's mission statement scholarship and research become *innovative*, a euphemism for commodification, evident in the association of these with industries and clients.

Public and Private

The re-ordering of universities in different networks emerges from state policy which began with the creation of a unified system of universities. The re-ordering continues with system expansion to include private universities and international actors in what is now a service industry, viable and negotiable in international markets. Two examples of the public/private nexus in this re-ordering are useful, one of a private university entering the public market, the other of a public university becoming private.

The first example is the international, private, Carnegie Mellon University, which received state (financial) support to become part of the Australian

university system, to establish a branch in Australia and commence its first student intake in 2006. The support from the state was not only financial. To allow this to happen *The Higher Education (2005 Measures No.4) Bill* was passed to amend the *Higher Education Support Act 2003*, to allow the establishment by foreign universities of campuses in Australia. This amendment also blurs distinctions further, as the university now has access to the student fee system which enables Australian students to attend this private university in the same way it supports Australian students to attend a public university. What emerge from such shifts are universities in different networks, which include public /private, university /industry /commerce or research /academic /industry alliances. These different networks have fuzzy borders; and allow different strategies by which the universities remain viable within these networks.

The second example is that of the University of Melbourne, a controversial example of the tensions of identity that occur in such networks. The University of Melbourne is a traditional, sandstone university, founded in 1853, the second university in Australia after the University of Sydney. This university has been foremost in reshaping itself, using the *Melbourne Agenda* and strategic plans. This reshaping takes on two particular themes, emphasised by the Vice-Chancellor in the eight goals of the *Strategic Plan: Perspective 2000*, (see below) predominantly that of *quality*, and like Deakin, to ensure the university is *self-reliant*. To achieve this self-reliance the University of Melbourne created unique commercial ventures, including the float of an IT company and another venture which became a private university.

Attempts to reconstruct the public university identity of the University of Melbourne were met with some resistance, and both the public university and the new private university became contested terrains. Protest and resistance were summarised in 2001 by the University of Melbourne Postgraduate Student Association, UMPA, (see above) and described in the Melbourne newspaper *The Age* by Ketchell (2002) as '*Private uni obeys state order on research*' (see below).

Text 17. *Criticism Rages over University Management*

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Text 18. *Private uni obeys state order on research*

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Various reconstructions of the private University of Melbourne were strategies to overcome resistances. These attempts included changing its name to a private limited company, Melbourne University Private Ltd., and making structural changes so that the University of Melbourne became the only shareholder in this company. One significant attempt was to differentiate ideas of business from those of universities, and differentiating between a CEO and an academic leader:

Unlike the heads of most universities, the CEO of MUPL would not describe himself as being the academic leader of a university. This is not to be critical, but rather to acknowledge the very real managerial rather than academic strengths of the newly appointed CEO. If MUPL is a facilitating institution, releasing academic and research strength from UofM, then such an appointment is entirely appropriate. If the intention is for the private university to become a genuine university in its own right, then consideration should be given to the appointment of an academic head. This dilemma has to an extent been acknowledged by the appointment of a deputy vice-chancellor of The University of Melbourne to a joint appointment as President of MUPL.

Ramsey 2001:56

The reshaping of these actants and their networks became necessary to find commonalities with others, so that they could be allied into networks of universities. The identity of a private university must also conform to ideas of universities, as does Bond University. The first plans for University of Melbourne Private did not, and so resistance was met, until the structure was changed. However this reconstruction also was not successful, contested because the identity of the university is different to that of a business, and the agency of the university was contested as the university was not able to act in particular domains as a university.

The idea of a university presented by Melbourne University Private (MUP), its later title, was still not enough. To conform to the idea of a university in protocols of national and local state criteria and processes for recognition of universities (DETYA 2000), Melbourne University Private undertook strategies

that included greater emphasis on academic research and postgraduate study, historical ideas that still are characteristics of the identity of a university. Melbourne University Private was granted reaccreditation in January 2003, but with conditions that further reshaped Melbourne University Private towards a more historical idea of a university.

Quality

The strategies undertaken by Melbourne University Private to become accredited are reflected in the University of Melbourne's strategic plan (see Text 19) that mirrors criteria that identifies a university as a university. The emphasis on *quality* is symbolic and strategic, it is the criteria that identify a university in the protocols that were so difficult for Melbourne University Private, and may appear as the nexus between public and private universities.

There is a complex history to the *quality* agenda in Australia (discussed briefly above). In summary it began in the 1990s when the state followed OECD guidelines (e.g. OECD 1992) and instituted its 'quality' agenda, in the form of the Committee for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (CQAHE) to distribute resources for funding quality programmes. In 1993 to 1995 it then undertook audits to rank universities on teaching, research and community service. The contemporary version is now called the Australian University Quality Audit (AUQA 2001a), which in 2001 began auditing universities over a five year period. This is the framework within which universities must conform, to achieve accreditation as a university, and to be recognised by the state.

Text 19. Excerpt from *Strategic Plan: Perspective 2000*, University of Melbourne

Excerpt from Strategic Plan: Perspective 2000, University of Melbourne

1. *Quality People. To strengthen the University of Melbourne as a preferred destination and a supportive workplace for outstanding staff and students from Australia and around the world.*

2. *Quality Research. To advance the reputation and performance of Melbourne as a major international research university, and to strengthen its role as a centre of advanced research training.*

3. *Quality Teaching and Learning. To create and maintain a superb campus-based teaching and learning environment offering undergraduate and postgraduate education of the highest quality.*

4. *Internationalisation. To promote internationalisation as a profoundly formative agenda throughout the University, and to position Melbourne internationally as one of the leading universities in the world.*

5. *Community Development. To serve the Victorian and Australian communities and promote the 'Melbourne Agenda' by enriching cultural and community life, elevating public awareness of educational, scientific and artistic developments, and promoting informed intellectual discourse and political debate in the wider society.*

6. *Quality Management. To achieve continuous quality improvement in the academic and executive management and administration of the University.*

7. *Quality Infrastructure. To invest aesthetic value, amenity and high levels of functional utility into the University's buildings and estates, and to equip and maintain all University facilities so as to promote academic enterprise of the highest international standards.*

8. *Making the University Self Reliant. To provide the University with a resource base enabling it to be internationally competitive at the highest level.*

Gilbert 2002a:n.p

Quality is described by Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor (2001) as a contested global discourse that has diverse meanings, evidently framed by the OECD for universities. There are many 'benchmarks' for Australia. Its presence in the discourse of university policy is a markedly neoliberal technology of *accountability* and *competition*, for example in the ranking procedures of audits. In an issues paper *Striving for Quality: Learning, Teaching and Scholarship* the state allows that

Australian higher education institutions currently operate within a strong quality framework. There are, however, concerns about Australia's existing approach to quality and standards.

DEST 2002e:vii

The problematisation of these issues is self-evident, including the notion of *quality* and *standards*, which can be changed to suit particular interests. The dominance of the very ambiguous *quality* theme is therefore not surprising in the goals of the University of Melbourne. However it is apparent that it was not sufficiently evident in the Melbourne University Private.

Failure

In August 2004, the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee rejected Melbourne University Private's membership application, primarily because it would then give the University of Melbourne two representative members, but other reasons included that Melbourne University Private was not self-governing. The Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee criteria for membership includes, for example, commitment to teaching, scholarship and research, adequate resources, and appropriately qualified staff with peer standing in the academic community, all criteria that Melbourne University Private would find difficult to realise. Melbourne University Private's President and Chief Executive, David Lloyd,

lodged a formal complaint with the Australian Competition and Consumers Commission, claiming that the decision is anti-competitive.

In June 2005 Melbourne University Private announced it was to close. Others universities also fail, and some are so reconstructed that they take on a new identity, such as The Northern Territory University which became the Charles Darwin University. Some private universities fail to be established, such as a proposed private university in Cairns, North Queensland. Failure is not always evident as some appear as programmes of order that are replaced by other programmes.

This situation is mirrored in Canada and the UK. The Association of Universities and Colleges Canada are currently not accepting new members. Commercial universities are a very real prospect in England, where the state has allowed 'new, new universities' that are described as teaching only, that are accredited degree-granting universities. The identity of a university is now discussed in terms of non-traditional universities, a euphemism for commercial or private universities, ideas that are contested in these national university associations, even though the public universities compete in the same commercial markets.

It can be said that the Melbourne University Private failed because of the resistance it met on many fronts. Resistance was met to the use of the title university and the role as a private university. The Minister described MUPL as a 'hybrid model':

This is not merely a change in the business plans of MUPL, nor is it a matter of one controlled entity of the University of Melbourne – Melbourne Enterprises International – being absorbed by another, MUPL: rather, the whole conception of MUPL as a university has altered from what was approved by my predecessor. The merger between Melbourne Enterprises International and MUPL indicated not only a change in the nature of MUPL as a business, but also as a university. While changes to business plans do not require Ministerial approval, changes to the nature of this university do. No such approval was sought, or given.

Kosky 2002:5

This reshaping of its commercial and private activities of MUPL generated sufficient resistances for the private university to fail. In both of these establishments resistance was met in the crossing of the public/private nexus, particularly in the float of Melbourne IT and distribution of shares. In addition to resistances from the AVCC and the Department, which failed to give ministerial approval to use the title university, resistance also came from *students, academics, general staff, and staff and student representative associations and union* (UMPA 2001, above). The re-ordering of universities and the resistances to such re-ordering are discussed further in the next section.

7c. Ordering and Resistance- Tensions of Identity

The strategies taken by the University of Melbourne and its networks are reflected in texts that show hyper-reflexive universities. These universities are operating in a different global context, they enrol different actants in their programmes and networks, and in some cases attempt to retain traditional or older actants within the same frame. Such ordering processes create tensions and require strategies that attract and enrol appropriate or particular actors into networks.

The tensions are both internal and external. Internal tensions of identity may be signified in the reconstruction of hierarchies, re-allocation of responsibilities, change of funding mechanisms or a relocation of texts, particularly those of cultural or symbolic importance. The James Cook University text, *In The Third Millennium ...our future and how we get there*, is a good example, it describes:

A major change for this third edition is the degree of involvement of the University Council in its production. Ownership of the document now resides where it should be, at governance rather than at management level. Accordingly, much detail that was in earlier

editions has been excised and transferred into our new management guide, the Operational Plan.

JCU 2003:2

Other tensions appear between university practices and programmes of the state. For example cost-cutting programmes change practices, and are sometimes contested although not always successfully. At the University of Sydney, persistent change and 'cuts' in public funding, that threatened the closure of the Music department³, caused resentment and controversy. The University of Sydney Senate took an unusual step, making a motion that their views be conveyed to the 'Government' (see Text 20 below) regarding the continuance of funding and the status of a public university. This protest was about contested ideas and state programmes, and how the practices of the universities are regulated by the state. The state is ordering the universities.

The tensions produced by such ordering, and its effects such as new relations, are apparent in the shifts of identities of universities. The universities undertake strategies to persist and to succeed, and more recently, to make a profit. It is apparent that in these new relations universities take on a variety of roles, acting in different ways, and cross boundaries previously impassable. In new networks universities become intermediaries: between the state programmes and those of research centres, between actants within their networks and other networks, or between state, commercial and public interests. Universities become more agential and more ordered. For example the ownership or partial ownership of intellectual property places universities as agents, acting on behalf of the university or the university's commercial interests, on behalf of staff or students.

³ The Conservatorium of Music at University of Sydney was the subject of a film called 'Facing the Music' (Connolly and Anderson 2001) which described the university funding cuts and restructures, and strikes in protest by academics and staff of the university.

Text 20. Resolution of the University of Sydney Senate, 3.10.2000

Resolution of the University of Sydney Senate, 3.10.2000

THAT the University affirms the following principles regarding its place within the Australian Community: (i) that The University of Sydney should continue to be an independent public institution* of higher education; (ii) that the preponderant form of funding of undergraduate places within the University of Sydney should continue to be public funding; and (iii) that the preservation of public higher education in Australia is a commitment of the University. The Senate requests that the Vice Chancellor convey these views to the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia in the strongest possible terms

*A public institution being an institution in the public domain, owned in all respects by the people of Australia; and public education being an education available without reference to the social class, wealth or income of the person seeking access, and without reference to any other of the personal characteristics generally covered in legislation in regard to discrimination

Universities act as agents selling commercial properties, sometimes buying and selling properties such as student accommodation or IT companies and shares. In these heterogeneous relations, boundaries between private, public and commercial entities become fuzzy. Universities become actors in a service industry and must comply with diverse regulations that were not applicable before.

Regulation vacillates between local state, federal state, and international regulations, as all public universities are now *internationalised*. Local states regulate university relationships and activities, particularly commercial activities, while the both the federal and local state entice further commercialisation. The University Acts, such as the Act below, describe the university's functions. The Act for James Cook University describes an example of these commercial functions as:

(f) to exploit commercially, for the University's benefit, a facility or resource of the University, including, for example, study, research or knowledge, or the practical application of study, research or knowledge, belonging to the University, whether alone or with someone else.

The James Cook University Act (QLD) 1997:f

University texts reveal that universities acknowledge that they taking on these commercial identities, for example;

James Cook University is also a large-scale business organisation that is increasingly diversifying its sources of funding through revenue derived from fees, charges, investments and the commercial exploitation of its intellectual property. As a consequence, James Cook University needs corporate governance structures, including a risk management system, that meets the changing nature of its activities.

JCU 2003:4.

These tensions are weighted by the power of local state versus federal state, each with input to the governance of universities and the funding of

activities, although the federal state exceeds the local state in funding. In 2002 there were over 300 commercial entities operated by Australia's public universities (DEST 2002e:v), and new entities continue to emerge and network. These are identity-changing processes, between university as business, as corporation, as enterprise and as commercial activity.

These networks include networks of communications and information. Universities utilise the internet for their activities of research and teaching. However they also include actants that 'escape the frame of a liberal market society' (Crook 1999:165), including transnational corporations and internets which can not be regulated by states. These shifting alliances produce simulations of (university and other) cultures. They intensify neo-traditional solidarity of interest groups and tribes (Maffesoli 1996), supporting protest movements against practices and ideologies of other states. Academics are a strong presence in the activities of political parties and interest groups such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International, a global entity that attempts to change cultures and political rationalities of many states. They support and create cultures such as a research culture or an alumni culture, enrolling graduates or past students in networks using shared memories, values, or beliefs. Universities utilise communications technologies to build these networks. Marketing is an instance of such a very hyper-reflexive activity. As a marketing exercise, for example, universities may give past students an email address for life (e.g. JCU 2001). This strategy is a neo-traditional ordering of a specific kind used to reinforce and create alliances, especially those with actants named in their mission statements.

Alliances and networks are shifting and take diverse identities. University alliances are epitomised by contract relationships, such as short-term research projects, or casual staff in research or teaching positions. These are shifting alliances for the term of a research project, for a season of research in a local community, or for the duration of a semester or year, course or subject. At the end of the project, when the fieldwork is complete, or at the end of the academic year,

those who had been allied by these interests move elsewhere to other actors and interests.

There do remain traditional alliances. International disciplinary alliances have been persistent, although they now take on different identities in which 'off-shore' service delivery, international campuses, and international flows of students are emphasised. Throughout this interactions of disciplinary networks remain, reinforced by communications sophistication that allows instant and virtual communication across borders.

The university/state alliance has been a relatively persistent relationship that reshapes frequently, supported by an idea of a public university and its national interests. Other long-term alliances remain with the local state, in its governance role, and with regional and local communities. These networks are of primary importance to the maintenance of rights and resources and the continuity of particular actants in the networks. These relationships continue, reinforced by organised capitalism and shifting alliances of the state and various markets in which the university operates. This ordering appears as a 'a fading, but once hegemonic, 'statist' variant of modern ordering' that Crook posits as shifting from the 'statist' to 'marketized' (Crook 1999:165).

There are consequences for particular identity-shifting universities which represent themselves as different identities in these networks. Mission statements become a site of order, where resolution of conflict is attempted – the statement is socially constructed, revealing the way of thinking in the time and place it is constructed. They are part of a larger body of texts. The corpus of texts conforms to the dominant discourse of the time and place - of those universities and the state that governs their focus and funding. This body of texts is composed of managerial, administrative, political and economic ideas, instantiated in the texts. This includes apparently contradictory values and ideas, of previous substantiated discourse which supports the imposed neoliberal discourse. Constituted in that discourse of the university, it gains legitimacy as a (university) text, when the mission statement is accepted as part of that corpus by policy makers, the

university and the communities and actors with which the university has a relationship. It therefore must enrol those actors and include previous ideas that have not disappeared or been replaced completely. It is in the dominance of different discourses that we see the way order is imposed. In 1986, when the state included missions in the profiles required of universities, the universities complied and mission statements became part of the technologies and accepted practices of university management texts⁴. The order of discourse within these texts reflects the ordering of universities.

The obvious economic and commercial characteristics of the discourse of mission statements privilege commerce and industry. Deakin depicts 'commercial and educational partnerships' (Deakin 2001) and ECU is concerned with the economic life of the communities it serves.

However other concepts are also apparent. Griffith signifies *social justice*, but combines it with *innovation* and *internationalisation*:

In the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research and community service, Griffith University is committed to innovation bringing disciplines together internationalisation equity and social justice lifelong learning for the enrichment of Queensland, Australia and the international community

Griffith 2001

The Curtin mission also combines *innovation* and an *international* outlook with *social justice*:

Curtin is dedicated to the advancement of knowledge and the enrichment of culture. The University places particular value on: the search for innovative applications of technology in all fields of human endeavour: the cultivation of responsive and responsible links with the wider community emphasising service, practical relevance, social justice and ethical behaviour: the development of students and staff as

⁴ These processes are also evident in the "Master discourse" of other sectors of the Australian education system which is economic, although there is a 'liberal alternative' practised in schools and higher education, but not entrenched in TAFE and industry training (Marginson 1993:234-235).

citizens of the world, emphasising an international outlook, cultural diversity, and an informed respect for indigenous peoples.

Curtin 2001

The description of economic, commercial or industry activities however, are more evident in missions than those of social justice, values or ethics. The utilitarian focus, for example on *practical relevance* (Curtin above) or on the provision of services, is common, often linked with innovation and leadership. These concepts originate in state policy, such as that of 'Australia's Information Future: Innovation and Knowledge Management for the 21st Century' (DETYA 1999a) or 'Knowledge and Innovation: A Policy Statement on Research and Research Training' (DETYA 1999c). These keywords are described as entrepreneurial and enterprise language by Marginson and Considine (2000). Their study found variability in the extent of 'The Enterprise University' in which 'University missions and governing bodies start to take on a distinctly corporate character (drawn not so much from business itself as from an 'ideal form' corporation modelled in public sector reform)' and that:

Some elements of this 'market', particularly the education of international students, are driven by a frankly commercial and entrepreneurial spirit, now a key (though by no means always dominant) element of the enterprise culture.

Marginson and Considine 2000:4

It is also clear that there is a dominant discourse extant in mission statements and a competing anomalous discourse which I call egalitarian, in a very minor role. The egalitarian discourse includes ideas that can be attributed to social welfare or equity issues, now superseded and dominated by neoliberal discourse. The example (above) of Curtin includes *social justice and ethical behaviour* (Curtin 2001); Griffith University's mission includes *equity and social justice* (GU 2001); and ACU describes a concern for *justice and equity* (ACU 2001).

An important example of the colonisation and consequent replacement of discourse is unmistakable in the mission statements of SCU. The 1998 mission spoke of *equity* and *ethics*:

Southern Cross University is committed to:

- Excellence in scholarship, teaching and research;
- The natural and sustainable qualities of our region;
- Equity and cultural diversity, with a particular focus on Australian Indigenous Peoples;
- National and international partnerships;
- Ethics and values in an innovative and learning society.

SCU 1998

However a more concise mission that focused on *excellence* and *partnerships* replaced the 1998 mission:

Southern Cross University, through excellence in scholarship and research, commits itself to partnership, regionalism, globalism, cultural diversity and a learning society.

SCU 2001

This shift signifies a considerable change in identity and representation of the university, epitomised in the activities of the university. There is increased emphasis on *partnership* and *globalism*, and less on *ethics and values*, or *Australian Indigenous Peoples*, with all that entails about equity.

Such instances are illustrated elsewhere, where humanist or early liberal discourses are replaced or dominated by discourses described by Marginson (1997a) as economic, by Jessop (2000) and others as neoliberal, and by Fairclough and others as the language of new capitalism:

Buzzwords in this regard include: the information economy, the knowledge-driven economy, globalization, the rise of regional economies, entrepreneurial cities, the network economy, strategic alliances, government without governance, turbo capitalism, space-time compression, flexibility, workfare, the learning economy, and the enterprise culture

Fairclough et.al. 2001:5

Other mission statements portray these buzzwords and economic discourse. The early UTS mission includes an understanding of knowledge as an *extension of knowledge for the benefit of society* (UTS 1999). Its later version is much more aligned to a network economy and enterprise culture:

The University of Technology, Sydney is an Australian university with an international focus. It provides higher education to enhance professional practice, to serve the community at large and to enable students to reach their full personal and career potential. The University contributes to the advancement and integration of knowledge, professional skills and technology, and their intelligent, sustainable and enterprising application for the benefit of humanity

UTS 2001

This includes buzzwords and ideas about human capital that are clearly economic, such as *full personal and career potential* of students and *enterprising application*.

Although UTS would have had international contacts and activities prior to 1999, the later mission statement also emphasises *its international focus*, it has become a university with international networks and identity. This concept appears in 24 of the mission statements, a total of 32 times. This is an extraordinary finding, and highlights the homogeneity of these mission statements. The global or international emphases in these texts are evidence of the growth not only of a focus on international activities and networks but also the inclusion of elements from other discourses in mission statements. This dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure is expressed in other discourse practices of contemporary society. These elements are described as international or transnational by Bargiela-Chiappini, (2000) Robertson (1992) and Fairclough (1999), and as an element of globalisation by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) and Shapiro (1999). In mission statements we see this discourse co-located with the discourse of enterprise culture and markets sourced in policy documents, for example in the funding of *The Australian Government International Education Network* (DEST 2002h).

Ironically the traditional universities of this network that are campus-based had a foundation in humanist/liberal education, which it could be argued is why public Australian universities have credibility and reputation, which creates the status they strive for. Yet the programmes discussed here are focused on techne and conflate knowledge, information and innovation. The inclusion of internationalisation exacerbates competitiveness, which is contradicted by ideals of relations, partnerships and alliances with community and regions described in many mission statements.

7d. Enactments and Emergence

Analysis of the discourse of these mission statements from 2001 reveals that they contain programmes of the state, typified by neoliberal practices such as *internationalisation* and *commercialisation*, with evident moves towards privatisation. In university texts these appear as programmes that are enacted. However it is not sufficient for universities to say they are acting within programmes of the state. This enactment must be measured: the government and ordering of universities entails the measurement of their *performance*, assessed either by universities themselves, for the state, or by the state. These are measured in governance technologies such as surveys or audits of the outcomes of practices, in 'performance audits' or policy texts.

Such measuring technologies were put in place with the 1988 inculcation of a unified university system, and are designed to measure the degree to which specific programmes are enacted. They bring with them new discourse, they inculcated many different texts as new ways of being, introducing new genres, new styles and new practices. The discourse is enacted across genres; of the mission statements, auditing texts and policy report genres which overall became a new way of thinking about universities. These are the socially constructive effects of discourse (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2001).

The process of bringing together different styles and genres is a semiotic emergence that involves dialectical relationships between genre, discourse and style. Such emergence produces new phenomena which have properties irreducible to those of its constituents, even though its constituents are necessary for its existence (Sayer 2000a:12). An example is studied briefly here of research commercialisation, selected because it exemplifies the enactment of programmes of the state that are located in different texts and genres. The measurement of this programme is published in the state text, the *National Survey of Research Commercialisation Years 2001 and 2002; Selected Measures of Commercialisation Activity in Universities and Publicly Funded Research Agencies* (DEST 2004b). The report 'benchmarks the level of patenting, licensing and start-up company formation activity carried out by Australia's universities' (DEST 2004b:x, see text 21). In this report new activities are counted, finding that at Australian universities there were 45 new startup companies in 2001, and 40 in 2002.

These startup companies are evidence that the discourse is enacted, that universities are 'performing', they are counted and audited. Further statistics in the report include the number of inventions disclosed (560 in 2001, 521 in 2002), patents issued (101 and 123 respectively), licences executed (179 and 225 respectively), the number of companies operational at the end of the year (99 and 111 respectively), and the value of equity holdings (\$m91.16 and \$m85.95 respectively).

These are particularly economic activities; they illustrate the extension or colonisation of commercial activities into the realm of public universities. The statistics are reported, in this case framed within 'benchmarks' from the United States, the U.K. and Canada, emphasising the materialisation of Australian public institutions in international markets, their competitive constituents, new relations, internationalisation and the privatisation activities of universities. These are constituent elements of the actors and relations identified in mission statements

above, for example actants such as commerce and industry, clients and customers, and students who are accountable and competitive.

This report describes the conversion of ideas into products, processes and services, to 'convert knowledge into economic value', and reports on the number of intellectual property commercialisations at the time the mission statements were extant in 2001 and 2002, and when ownership of intellectual property became vested in the university rather than any individual. An example is the information and communication technology startup-up company from the University of Queensland that patented the intellectual property on a device invented by an electrical engineering student during PhD research (DEST 2004b:61).

What emerges from this is new phenomena which have properties irreducible to those of its constituents. This is the commercialisation of knowledge, where knowledge becomes a commodity to be bought and sold. This is a very different understanding of knowledge to that described in the Newman university, in which knowledge is important for its intrinsic value, or in Wentworth's ideas in 1849 that a university dedicated to dissemination of knowledge to the community and *to all classes*. These are new activities, the commercialisation of knowledge that is different to any previous ideas of the roles of universities. These are different ideas to those of early liberals, in which universities are a moral and social improver, or under the welfare state, in which knowledge is desirable for its own sake, as described in Chapter 4.

This report uses discourse that recontextualises representations of change that is political and economic. The foreword (Text 21) is a political statement by the Minister, which identifies the Minister with *the Government*, which is the dominant actor with power. It is the Government which is *determined, committed, and building Australia's capacity*.

Text 21. Foreword, National Survey of Research Commercialisation

(DEST 2004b:iii)

Foreword

Innovation is the key to Australia's future prosperity. The global economy is changing at unprecedented speed. With every passing year, our economic success depends less on our capacity to produce goods and services, and more on our ability to produce, apply and sell the ideas that underpin them.

The Government is determined to build a world-class innovation system in Australia. The \$3 billion it committed to *Backing Australia's Ability* in 2001 was, at the time, the largest single investment in Australian science and innovation. In the 2004–05 budget, through *Backing Australia's Ability – Building Our Future through Science and Innovation*, it has committed a further \$5.3 billion, creating an integrated \$8.3 billion funding commitment over the 2001–11 period.

Through this commitment, the Government is building Australia's capacity to generate ideas and, critically, promoting the conversion of ideas into innovative new products, processes and services. In a relentlessly competitive global economy, we cannot hope to maintain our living standards without a world-class capacity to convert knowledge into economic value.

The survey reported here is playing an important role in helping us to track our performance in one key strategy through which public research can yield economic benefit, namely the identification and successful exploitation of intellectual property by our universities and other publicly funded research organisations.

I extend my sincere thanks to all of the organisations and individuals who have contributed the information on which this report is based. I congratulate them for what they have achieved to date and offer them my best wishes for their future success.

The Hon. Brendan Nelson MP

Minister for Education, Science and Training

This text begins with an absence of agency in the representation of economic change (Fairclough 2001b:131), but the economy takes priority over any other values. In the first two sentences the economic is global and globalisation is inevitable, a *global economy that is changing at unprecedented speed*, and in the third paragraph this is characterised as a *relentlessly competitive global economy*. This inevitable strategy is depicted as a characteristic of neoliberalism (see Chapter 8). However *our* economic success, *our capacity*, *our ability*, *our performance* and *our universities* are differentiated from *the Government* and *Australia's capacity*. This inclusionary language is a tactic that creates possession of the problem and identifies or alternatively, establishes ambiguities about specific actants.

Most importantly, this text exemplifies the direct relationship between state policies and mission statements, which illustrate the activities and identities of Australian public universities. Mission statements and university structure and organisation proximate each other and the identities that emerge from change are different institutions, with shifting constituents that are economic, commercial, and internationalised. We therefore must redefine what we mean by a public university, or describe them as hybrid private/public institutions. The themes that appear in mission statements are constituents of public policy and are evident in this text, which describes commercialised, competitive, internationalised universities.

This is not just tactical use of neoliberal rhetoric in mission statements, this describes the emergence of new phenomena. The elements have been enacted and emerge in institutions in different, new practices. The discourse of this text illustrates and enacts this new way of being, *our* universities are assessed on performance in this global context, the new identities are the emergent universities which have properties irreducible to those of its constituent parts.

In this chapter the programmes of the state have been identified in discursive practices that demarcate the neoliberal project. While there are

apparently successful orderings and dominant representations of relations between the themes there are also tensions in the agencies and identities of universities.

The features of discourse are demonstrated in texts of universities and state policies that are reflexive representations of university practices. In discursive practices such as metaphor it becomes apparent that the discourse of these particular texts is instrumental in the constitution of identities of universities. These are enacted by taking on programmes of the state, in strategies described as neoliberal: *commodification, competition, commercialisation, privatisation, and internationalisation*.

The state has achieved these objectives, in the enactment of these strategies that work towards the neoliberal project. These enactments are evidence of the dominance of programmes of the state, typified by neoliberal practices and by shifts of identity, including elements of privatisation. In the next chapter mechanisms and strategies are identified which support the identification of these as specifically characteristic of the neoliberal project of hegemony, but which generates a contradiction in a system that produces homogeneity while attempting diversity.

* * *

Chapter 8.

Mechanisms of Struggle

In this chapter I undertake analyses to bring together evidence for the hegemonic struggle of the neoliberal project. The evidence is in the strategies and mechanisms by which neoliberal hegemony is attempted in the discursive and semiotic practices of Australian public universities and the state. With this objective I analyse texts to illustrate the discursive and semiotic characteristics that in combination sustain the ‘common sense’ of the neoliberal project. These texts cross cultural, economic and political domains and flow across different outlets, taken up in social practices that allow neoliberalism to be the dominant representation across different levels; global, national and local. These are the features of hegemony, dominant at different levels and in different domains.

Firstly, the struggle is evidently one for dominance, which would be achieved if all were to take on the neoliberal project. Therefore the first characteristic of the representations to assess is their homogeneity. Dominance of a homogenous discourse in their texts would signal a common neoliberal project across different domains, but specifically in this case across universities within a system. I therefore scrutinise three different descriptions of the homogeneity of the unified system of universities in Australia. I then undertake my own analyses of the discourse of the mission statements for homogeneity to compare with those three descriptions, to assess the evidence for dominance and pervasiveness.

Another aim of the hegemonic neoliberal project is success with neoliberal strategies and technologies for rule. This would be evident in the combination of their neoliberal themes and how they relate to each other in a dominant, specifically neoliberal discourse. This discursive strategy is identifiable by the

collocation of specifically neoliberal keywords and themes in the discourse, with others that reinforce their dominance. These themes are not just those of accountability or reducing costs, rather they are combinations of the themes described earlier in a specific neoliberal rationality. This strategy of collocation is contingent, it brings together specific programmes of government with a distinctive array of themes at different times. I therefore analyse texts from three different time periods: before, during and after the 1988 restructures. The most recent combine mechanisms that normalise and popularise the 'common sense' of neoliberalism. They depend upon the combinations of themes that constitute programmes and policies, which are the conditioning structures where neoliberalism is located. These are reshaped by past events, such as the unification reforms proposed by Dawkins in 1987 and enacted in 1988, and in the 2001 events contemporary with the creation of mission statements.

This location of neoliberal themes in these texts is supported by analysis of the effects, in:

... the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform the conditioning structures. It is an accumulated and naturalised orientation which is built into norms and conventions, as well as an ongoing work to naturalise and denaturalise such orientations in discursive events.

Fairclough 1999:89

As pointed out by de Beaugrande (1999:41) it is likely that conditioning structures have been transformed and that some 'reading off from texts is an allowable heuristic strategy'. It is useful then to locate the themes identified above in the discursive events that emerge in the context of change, where they are collocated in surrounding discourse. This highlights the relations between mission statements and other texts, such as policy documents, which appear homogenous and locate the discourse of mission statements in the structures and current events. Because of the short style of mission statements, the strategies are not always

evident — mission statements can only contain a certain number of themes each. However by identifying the themes that occur across many mission statements, and that appear in collocation with each other in the policy documents, we can then see the relation between the mission statements as representations of policy, and, in this case, neoliberal policies.

The final strategy under examination here is that of the depiction of specific activities and economic rationalities as inevitable and natural, which as Fairclough points out, naturalise and denaturalise such orientations in discursive events. This strategy towards neoliberal hegemony is one in which ideas are normalised, naturalised and made inevitable, thus reinforcing the ‘common sense’ of the neoliberal project. I turn first to the analysis of the lack of diversity in the system, and a dominance of neoliberal themes.

8a. Homogeneity

The term homogeneity describes something that has similar constituent elements throughout, a term that originates from the mathematical description in which there appears the same degree or dimensions in every term. The current Australian higher education system consists of universities that differ because of their histories, their age and the context in which they were established. This system has recently included private universities in the public university system, heralded in 2002 in the 'Crossroads' policy (DEST 2002a). Yet the mission statements that these institutions use as representations fulfil the criteria for homogeneity, they are markedly similar across the system, reflecting a marked similarity in the universities they represent.

It is proposed here that these mission statements are homogenous and their representations signify relatively uniform practices of markets and competition. This was highlighted in the *Varieties of Excellence: Diversity, Specialisation and Regional Engagement* policy paper the same year (DEST 2002b), which describes

'a surprising degree of homogeneity in the types and structures of Australian universities, with almost all institutions aspiring to and conforming to the norm of a comprehensive, research-intensive, campus-based university' (DEST 2002b:ix). In the same policy the state proffered a number of possible options for the facilitation of further diversity and specialisation, 'each involving different levels of government intervention', from centralised planning and regulation of institutional missions to 'deregulation of the higher education market to allow institutions to identify and secure their own position in the market' (DEST 2002b:x). These two policies, of increasing government intervention and deregulation of fees, have continued in all higher education policies since then.

The unification of Australian universities in 1988 and the following state imperatives that required conformity to various audit and statistical criteria, raised doubts amongst researchers, and the state, that problematised the issue of diversity. The questions posed was, if all institutions become research and teaching universities, and all are funded equally, then will there be any diversity? Thus studies were undertaken by the state and by researchers about the diversity or homogeneity of Australian public universities, an issue problematised by the state as an outcome of change. It became clear to the state that the introduction of a unified system in 1988 had produced some conformity of missions, activities and identities of universities. Analysis of these studies is consistent with the objective of my research to assess the directions of change and of hegemony.

Publications as early as the 1960s had described other university systems, for example by Kerr (1964) and the diverse Californian system, which included a range of university types, including public and private, junior colleges and prestigious research universities, that worked remarkably well and was able to satisfy different requirements of the state and students. California's master plan of 1960 was identified by many states as an ideal, which Clark (2000) notes has worn fairly well for four decades because it has upheld three major types of institutions with different relations. The role of private universities in diversifying a system is also noted, and many states are now actively encouraging new private

institutions, including Australia. In Australia such a diverse system is an objective of state policy. This objective is evident in research and publications such as *Diversity and Performance in Australian Universities* (DEET 1996) or more recently *Varieties of Excellence: Diversity, Specialisation and Regional Engagement* (DEST 2002b). While such research has been ongoing, there have been many other modifications of higher education policies, instigating change on a regular basis. These have included 'quality audits' and frameworks (DETYA 1999b, 2001a), 'benchmarking' (McKinnon, Walker and Davis 2000) and other processes described as 'new management' (e.g. DETYA 1999a). These are programmes of the state with specific objectives, for example to increase productivity, efficiency, and performance, audited using performance indicators. Such auditing processes are evident in the profiles processes: outcomes appear in regular publications describing characteristics and performances of universities (DETYA 1998a; DEST 2001a). However the nature of these processes produced conformity to established criteria, increasing homogeneity in the Australian university system. This has been exacerbated by the management practice of benchmarking: a benchmarking manual produced for universities identifies sixty-seven benchmarks (McKinnon, Walker and Davis 2000).

Of particular interest are three quantitative studies undertaken of the levels of diversity of Australian public universities. The first is by the state, a DETYA analysis of 1998, which utilises cluster analyses to group 36 Australian public universities on the basis of 20 characteristics. This study acknowledges 'the diversity of institutions within the sector' (DETYA 1998a:21). The other two have already been introduced in Chapter 6, those of Vidovich and Porter (1999) and Marginson and Considine (2000). The first analysis compares these studies, and then I undertake analyses of the mission statements using the same methods to identify any common findings of diversity within the system.

Analysis 1

It is understandable that the typologies of Australian universities, other than those produced by the state, describe the historical contexts that shape characteristics of contemporary universities. In contrast the state uses different characteristics, they compare statistics such as numbers of students, staff and offerings, published as the 'Characteristics and Performance' of universities (e.g. DETYA 1998a; DEST 2001a). The typologies developed by Vidovich and Porter (1999) and Marginson and Considine (2000) are described above in Tables 5 and 6 in Chapter 6.

Vidovich and Porter (1999) studied the effects of 'quality' policies of the 1990s (see DETYA 1998b). They elucidate how this enhanced state control of higher education 'at a distance'. They draw conclusions that although it was a prominent goal, diversity had declined. This appeared to be an effect of these programmes, which paradoxically 'increased differentiation and inequalities between universities, through forcing them against a common yardstick' (Vidovich and Porter 1999: 582).

This common yardstick described by Vidovich and Porter is also apparent to Marginson and Considine (2000). However Marginson and Considine emphasise that the characteristics of universities are an outcome of the unique environment and history of the particular university. Based on such characteristics they divide 37 universities into five groups characterised by their buildings and landscape, defining universities as located in place, 'the main site where people meet and work together' (Marginson and Considine 2000:189). They noted that some universities do not share all of the characteristics of others in each group. This is what they call a 'segmented system' in which there are 'four clearly identifiable segments of universities and a fifth group more heterogeneous and less stable than the others' (Marginson and Considine 2000: 189).

The groups are typified by place and chronology. The post-1987 (Dawkins reforms) universities are 'new' universities and unitechs, the redbricks and

gumtrees are pre-1987 but after World War II (no universities were built in Australia between 1911 and 1946). Bond University and the University of Notre Dame (UND), two private universities, were not included by Marginson and Considine, but have been included in this research. Marginson and Considine propose that conformity, even though there are different histories of universities, is the outcome of state control. They describe universities' mission statements as more uniform than might be expected from institutions with such diverse histories and contexts (Marginson and Considine 2000:175ff.). It should be noted that the mission statements they looked at were earlier than those of this study.

These mission statements do present themselves as conforming to a predefined framework, with little room for diversity. It is apparent that this is the outcome of attempts by universities to conform to performance criteria required in annual university profiles, and by systematic attempts to benchmark against other universities. By its very nature, benchmarking produces conformity, such that universities conform only to 'successful' formulae of other universities, with little room for innovation or extremes. It follows that universities' practices also conform to state requirements, and become more like each other in this process.

This issue became central to DETYA study that undertook the analysis of performance indicators to describe *The Characteristics and Performance of Higher Education Institutions*. It was recognised in this publication that performance indicators 'seek to impose, either implicitly or explicitly, a uniformity rather than diversity in institutional activities.' (DETYA 1998a:41). Such criticism was addressed in methods used in this study of 36 Australian universities (Sunshine Coast University and private universities were not included in these analyses).

In this study two methods of hierarchical cluster analysis - Centroid method and Ward's Minimum Variance Method - facilitated control for particular mixes of 20 characteristics in the development of clusters of universities. The 20 characteristics were those 'thought relevant to describing the essential characteristics and approaches of institutions' (DETYA 1998a:30). The groups are

presented in Table 13. The Centroid method was then used with only 16 non-size indicators, so allowing for scale effect, and some comparison of the clusters. The groups identified using the Centroid method, using 16 non-size indicators, are presented in Table 14 .

The Wards minimum variance method (WMC) produced 7 groups, (see Table 15) reducing the number of 1 and 2 cluster groups from 4 to 1, and reducing the largest cluster dramatically in size (DETYA 1998a:29). The authors noted a tendency of this method to equalise the size of clusters, so artificially inflating or deflating group sizes. They summarise that ‘clearly the cluster analysis developed in this report indicates that institutions have adopted different approaches to fulfilling the purposes identified for the sector’ (DETYA 1998a:30). This should translate to diversity in mission statements.

The small variation between these groups using the Centroid method with 16 and 20 indicators is noted (Tables 13 and 14). The authors reflect in their discussion that the impact of scale does not appear to create great differences. There appears one different group in which $n=1$ (Monash replaces USQ, which goes into group 4), and group 3 in which $n=6$, becomes 2 groups. There is a small shuffling of some members of the main group, a variation considered less important than the ‘broad common patterns evident when describing the character of the Australian higher education sector’ (DETYA 1998a:30). These broad common patterns are described in clusters that the authors attribute to single characteristics such as:

- orientation to research, (Table 13 group 2, Table 14 group 2, Table 15 group 2)
- distance education, (Table 13 group 3)
- external students (Table 15 group 6)
- overseas students, (Table 13 group 4, Table 14 group 3, Table 15 group 3)

Table 13. University groups on 20 indicators, Centroid Method

n=36

(following DETYA 1998a:31, Table 5a)

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Table 14. University groups on 16 indicators, Centroid Method

n=36

(following DETYA 1998a:32: Table 6)

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Table 15. University groups on 20 indicators, Wards Method

n=36

(following DETYA 1998a:31, Table 5b)

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These and other common characteristics are attributed as defining groups across the three methods used in this study. They are also evident in the analyses of Marginson and Considine and Vidovich and Porter, which support descriptions of homogeneity.

A comparison of the groups of Marginson and Considine in Table 6 (Chapter 6), and the groups identified in Table 14 above, using the centroid method, reveal that the most outstanding pattern is the grouping of sandstone universities. Sandstones of Marginson and Considine's groups are clearly identifiable in the first of the characteristics of research orientation, in Tables 13, 14 and 15, each in group 2. The largest of the groups in Tables 13 and 14, group 1, consists of primarily new universities (10) and gumtrees (7) plus 3 unitechs and 1 sandstone.

Closer scrutiny of the former colleges, traditional and alternative groups of Vidovich and Porter also reveal similar groupings. The traditional universities are, in the main, sandstones (Marginson and Considine) or group 2 in Table 13 and 14. The former college group consists mainly of group 1 in Table 13 and 14. Vidovich and Porter's alternative universities appear primarily in group 1 Table 14 and groups 1 and 3 Table 15, a mixture of Marginson and Considine's other groups.

These comparisons reveal broadly defined patterns. In particular the group of sandstone/traditional universities repeatedly cluster, and do not differentiate according to activities other than research. 'Groups' of 1 identify institutions that are different on particular isolated characteristics: ANU and UNE in particular appear to be identifiable, particularly understandable in the case of ANU, which has unique characteristics of structure and research, the only national research university. The remaining universities tend to be identified in one or two larger groups: they shift easily between groups, homogeneity apparent in their shared characteristics.

Analysis 2

An issues paper by DEST describes a programme of the state intended to respond to this homogeneity, 'in which an overt goal is to further develop a diverse and specialised sector' (DEST 2002b:ix). This paper clarifies the argument:

Whilst there is significant diversity in the stated missions of universities, it is argued that there is limited systemic diversity. Indeed, there is a surprising degree of homogeneity in the types and structures of Australian universities, with almost all institutions aspiring to and conforming to the norm of a comprehensive, research-intensive, campus-based university.

DEST 2002b:7

The significant diversity of mission statements claimed in this statement is not supported by research such as that of Marginson and Considine (2000), Vidovich and Porter (1999), or in the comparison of groups in the DETYA (1998a) study. Therefore further analysis undertaken here focuses on these mission statements and attempts to discern the degree of diversity of those statements and any broad patterns such as those described above.

I first examine the frequencies of concepts in university mission statements. Then I compare levels of diversity found in the three studies above with this analysis, using the same methods as those three studies. This initial analysis is a search for diversity in the concepts found in mission statements. To do this I undertake a mirror study to that of DETYA (1998a) to identify groups based on similarities. These concepts represent the ideas portrayed by universities as representations of the university and its activities and relations.

The texts of the 38 university mission statements are the data of this analysis. These texts are reduced to a list of concepts that represent ideas, notions, values, objectives and activities of universities.

Table 16. Concept frequencies in university mission statements

concepts n=10 to 41

Concept	Frequency	Concept	Frequency
educational	41	nation/ national	15
research	36	profession/ professional	15
community	32	region/ regionally	15
international	32	quality	12
teaching	24	students	12
provide/ provision	21	world/ worldwide	12
serve/ service	20	culture	11
committed/ commits	18	diversity	10
learners/ learning	18	higher	10
scholarly/scholarship	18	innovative	10
excellent/ excellence	16	leads/ leader/ leadership	10
knowledge	16	pursuit/ pursue/ance	10
Australia	15	social	10

The concepts were culled from the texts by omission: words not relevant, including the title of the university, the word mission, and any other words that do not represent a concept, such as conjunctions, were omitted from the full list of words from all texts combined. The outcome is one long list of all concepts in all mission statements. These concepts were then grouped, and word lemmas were combined, so that two or more words with the same or very similar meanings were grouped as a concept. These concepts then became the list of variables, a database of concepts, from which frequencies were calculated. There are many concepts that occur repeatedly. Those with a frequency of 10 or more appear in Table 16.

In this sample from 38 universities the frequency of these recurring words reveals a high level of conformity to similar models. It is also evident that they portray many of the characteristics identified as relevant in the DETYA analysis, such as research orientation and international concerns, but also identify others, such as service and community.

Notable also is the national interest which appears 15 times, if combined with Australia this concept of the national interest then appears 30 times. This is not as frequent as the concern with international interests (32 occurrences), which signifies the priorities of the national compared to the international.

A hierarchical cluster procedure using the both Centroid method and Wards Method, mirroring the method used in DETYA (1998a), was used to pick up recurring patterns across methods. The aim is to identify relatively homogeneous groups of cases (mission statements) based on the presence or absence of variables (concepts). The output from these analyses is presented below.

Table 17 depicts the groups identified as clusters using the Centroid method. The output is supported by a dendrogram, with rescaled distance cluster combined (Figure 4 represents the distances between clusters or groups of cases). This analysis identifies one large group whose constituent characteristics are similar, a striking instance of homogeneity.

There are also six of the 38 statements identified as single entities, in groups of 1. However they are very different from the single groups identified in the DETYA study. The single groups of this analysis are scattered across groups in the DETYA study. The DETYA identified single groups are incorporated into group 1 here. The Australian Catholic University ACU is identifiable by its focus on sacred, religious, ethical and Catholic concepts. Bond is a private university not included in the DETYA study. The distance between groups using the centroid method, depicted in Figure 4, is relatively standard, very little is identified as of great distance from any other group.

A comparison of these findings with the outcome of the same data using Wards method is useful to locate differences within the single large group identified using the Centroid method. Table 18 depicts the groups identified using Wards method, in which Bond University again stands out, in this analysis the only single group of 1. The single groups identified using the centroid method are now combined into other groups, except for Bond. ACU (group 1) and CQU (group 4) from the Centroid method are joined in the Wards method Table 18, to group 1, with the addition of USQ. Deakin (group 5 Centroid method) and UTS (group 6 Centroid method) are joined in the Wards method Table 18 to form group 5.

Group 2 in Table 18 appears as a cluster of research intense universities, somewhat similar to the sandstone group of Marginson and Considine or the traditional universities of Vidovich and Porter, again appears as a group, in Wards method, Table 18, group 2. However the new universities, gumtrees and unitechs appear in various groups on Table 18, apparently without pattern. The distance between groups shown in Figure 5 below, is much greater than the distance using centroid method, depicted in Figure 4.

Table 17. Centroid Method, Cluster Membership

n=38

Group 1, n=1			Group 3, n=1
ACU			Bond
Group 2, n= 32			
Adelaide	NTU	UniMelb	Group 4, n=1
ANU	QUT	UniSA	CQU
CSU	RMIT	UNSW	
Curtin	SCU	UoN	Group 5, n=1
ECU	Swinburne	UoW	Deakin
Flinders	Sydney	UQ	
GU	UB	USC	Group 6, n=1
JCU	UC	USQ	UTS
La Trobe	UND	UTas	
Monash	UNE	UWA	Group 7, n=1
Murdoch		UWS	VU

Figure 4. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis, Centroid Method

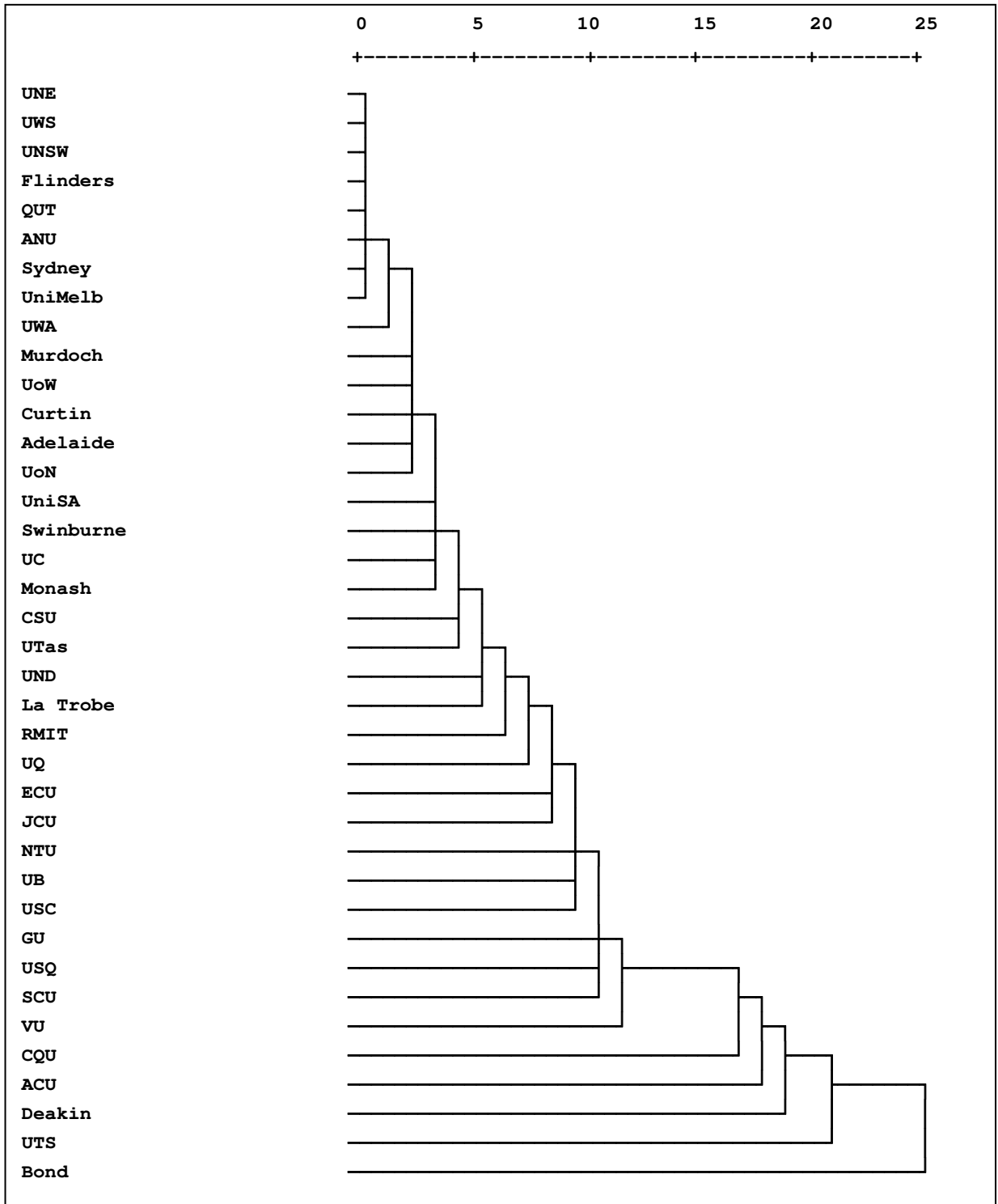
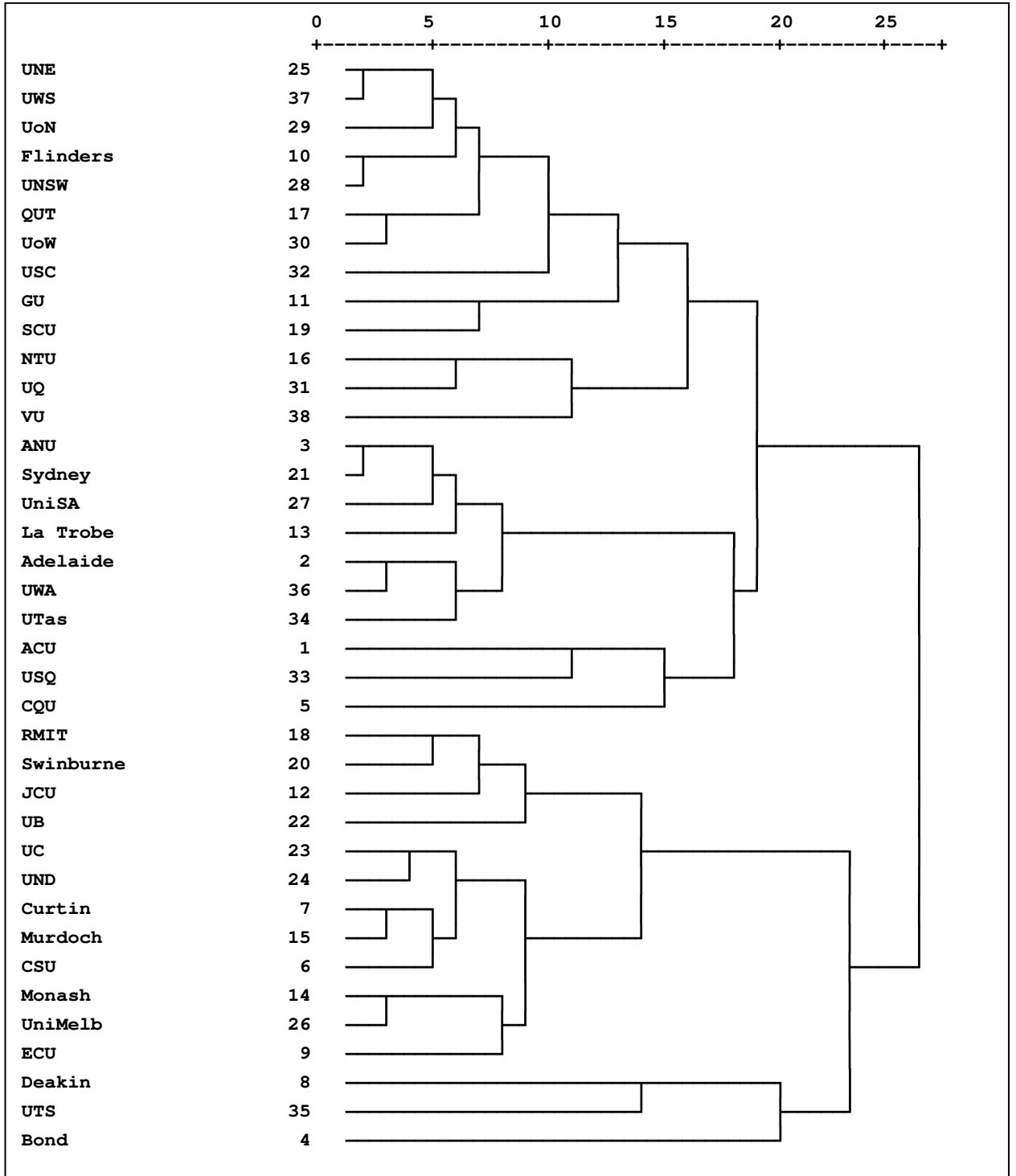


Table 18. Wards Method, Cluster Membership

n=38

group 1 n=3	group 4 n= 12	group 6 n=10
ACU	CSU	Flinders
CQU	Curtin	GU
USQ	ECU	QUT
	JCU	SCU
group 2 n=7	Monash	UNE
Adelaide	Murdoch	UNSW
ANU	RMIT	UoN
La Trobe	Swinburne	UoW
Sydney	UB	USC
UniSA	UC	UWS
Utas	UND	
UWA	UniMelb	group 7 n= 3
		NTU
group 3 n=1	group 5 n=2	UQ
Bond	Deakin	VU
	UTS	

Figure 5 . Hierarchical Cluster Analysis, Wards Method



These analyses produce descriptions of the identities of Australian universities, defined by characteristics of their mission statements. Their identities are the outcomes of transformations that evidently limit their diversity, typified by a broadly defined pattern. This pattern is one in which Australian public universities look similar, they cluster in large groups.

One group of sandstone/traditional universities repeatedly stands out, and individual universities are only isolated when analysing particular characteristics: for example the private university Bond is frequently isolated, however UND is ambiguous. ANU is identified as a singular university, and UNE is isolated in some analyses and not others.

Although there is an objective to increase diversity of these universities in programmes of the state, this analysis supports findings that representations of universities become common as they compete with each other and cooperate with each other in different areas. There are a few exceptions. Bond University is a private university, UND is a Catholic university and continues to differentiate itself, particularly in its curriculum. ANU is unique as a Commonwealth university but also by its structure and focus on research, and has been identified as the only Australian university in the 'top 5 percent worldwide' (Illing 2004:5).

With these exceptions there is little diversity, including the mission statements of private universities, which were incorporated in my analysis but not those of Marginson and Considine (2000) and Vidovich and Porter (1999). In mission statements universities produce and reproduce representations of commonplace identities, which exhibit characteristics perceived to offer advantages in that marketplace, and in the ordering of criteria for funding and competition. The criteria are located in global hegemonic ideas and values replicated in local and regional ordering of universities. However these are uniform across the system, in private and public, redbrick and sandstone, new unis and tech.

The reconstructions of universities produce different institutions, which undertake different activities than they did before reconstruction. These activities

include business practices such as the promotion of mission statements, that are designed to assist universities to compete in markets. The effects of these mechanisms are multiple, including an imposed audit regime and practices of business. These are marketing practices, including brand names and competitive advertising, mechanisms that bring into being institutions in which business expertise, rather than academic capacity by itself, becomes increasingly significant.

Not all effects were the same for every university, however there are clusters or groups of universities that differentiate from other groups in the analyses above. Older universities known as 'sandstones' retain some distinction from the 'new' universities created during the reconstructions of 1988, and from the 'redbricks'. These findings are supported by statistics from the Department (DEST 2005b): for example by 1996 and 2003, the number of general staff in the Australian Technology Network universities (ATNs) grew much faster than the number of academic staff, symptomatic of the relative rise of business functions. (DEST 2005b, Marginson 2005). Business practices contribute to the reconstruction of universities, bringing in different activities that employ different staff and produce products in different markets. As an example of marketing practices, mission statements are practices that use representations of universities which in 2001 are extraordinarily similar, yet they signify practices of markets and competition in different institutions. These are diverse universities within the Australian higher education system that differ because of their histories, their age and the context in which they were established. However the mission statements that these institutions use as representations in 2001 are extraordinarily similar across the system. They are homogenous and they relatively uniformly signify practices of markets and competition. The introduction of this new genre has produced texts that represent universities that are all trying to do the same thing. This is not a diverse system such as that described by Kerr (1964) in California. These universities are now in a unified system and are all using the same

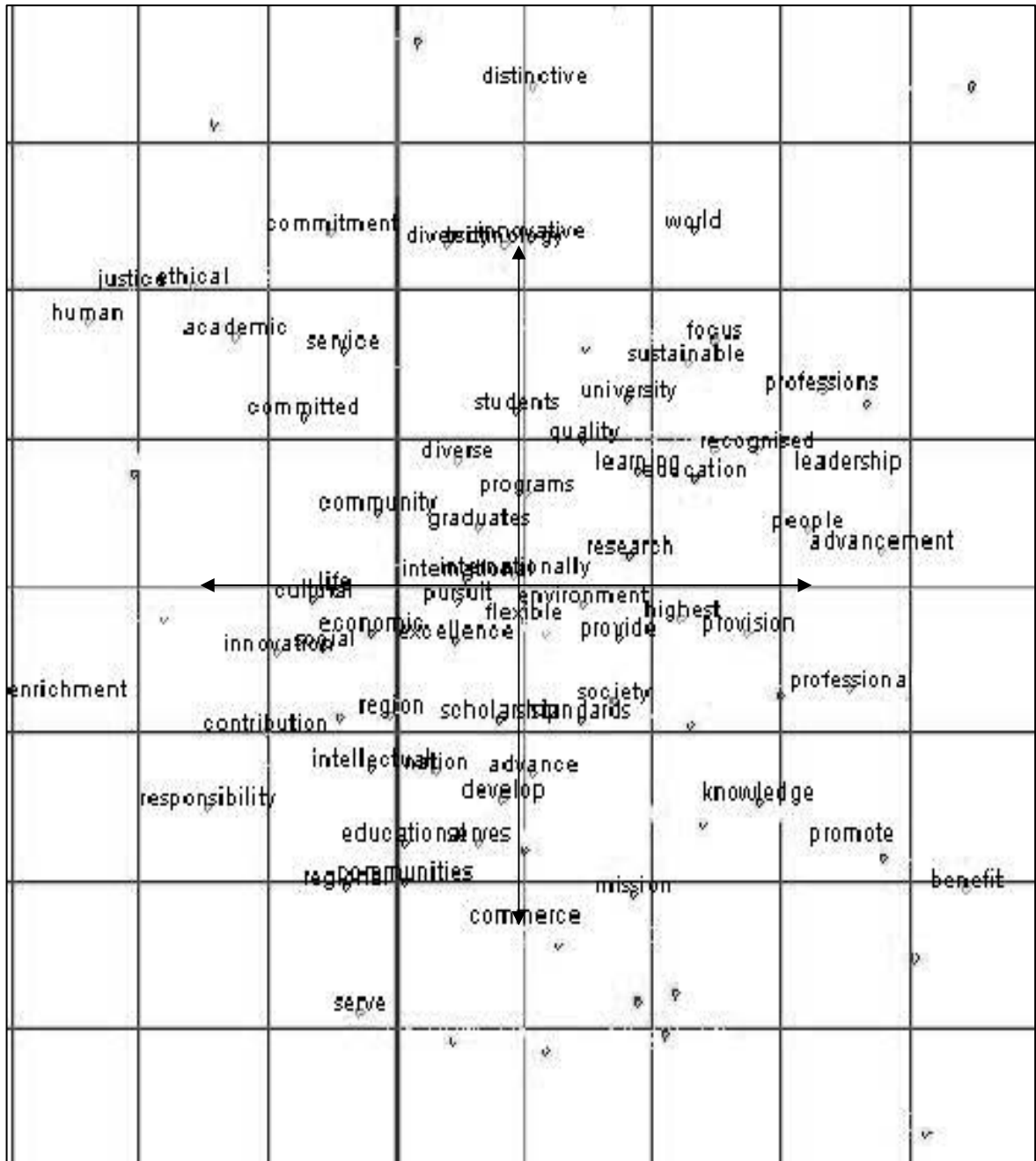
discourse to produce representations of identity and agency that could be interchanged with little difficulty across the system.

8b. Dominance

A characteristic of the definition of hegemony in this research is that the hegemonic project, identifiable in its discourse, is dominant. This does not mean that it is not contested, rather that it is most manifest and prominent. To examine this characteristic I first map themes and concepts found in discursive representations, mission statements, which are graphically presented as a scatter plot of concepts and themes across the discourse.

There are obvious advantages of graphical representations of themes. The advantage of this mapping technique, sometimes described as semantic analysis or proximity analysis, is that it takes into consideration not only the frequency of concepts, but also how much they collocate within the text, and as a reflection of their dominance within the discourse. This concept map allows the identification of most frequently occurring concepts within the texts and their relative dominance, and relationships (proximity or collocation in the texts) between concepts and similarities in the context in which they occur. This means that concepts with similar attractions will cluster. So when concepts appear in similar contexts (i.e., co-occur with other concepts to a similar degree) they will appear in proximity on the concept map. See Figure 6.

Figure 6. Concept Map, Australian University mission statements



This method (see Smith 2003) is used for mapping analysis of political speeches, and to identify political parties that talk about dominant issues, that appear closer together than the parties with different discourse, or to analyse representations in speech or texts (for example see Liu 2004). The map is useful to locate concepts that appear central and therefore dominate that discourse, and those that are minor occurrences. In Figure 6 these minor occurrences, such as (top left corner) *human*, *justice* and *ethical* concepts, clearly contest the more central and common concepts that dominate. The central dominant concepts that collocate with each other include *international*, *pursuit*, *flexible*, *environment*, *excellence*, *provide*, *economic* and *research*.

It is of note that *research*, *international*, and *environment* appear the most central, and could be described as a region on this map. However *the environment* is anomalous and ambiguous, this concept in the mission statements refers to different environments; *a people-centred modern communications environment* (USQ); *a diverse and dynamic learning environment* (ECU); *a diverse and dynamic learning environment* (LaTrobe); *a learning and research environment* (UniSA); and in two cases, *the environment* (CQU and USC).

The mapping of concepts identified in mission statements depicts the centrality and dominance of particular concepts in the discourse of the texts. This concept map is used to illustrate the hegemonic nature of the discourse of mission statements, and the dominance of neoliberal or management concepts over other, older discourses. These concepts are the signifiers of dominance and contest, yet the discourse contains spaces, so that the mirror of concepts in policy, texts and practices construe and actively constitute, in this case, neoliberal discourse. The map has advantages of the proximity and weight of co-occurrence, evident in these semantic relationships. There appears to be two detached regions, centred around *education* and *community*. The next detached region clusters around *knowledge*. The location of *knowledge* outside the dominant central area, where *research* and *scholarship* occur, indicates how removed this concept has become from 'traditional' university activities. Knowledge is now more closely collocated

with *professional*, *promote*, and, less strongly, *commerce*. *Economic* and *commerce* frame the left centre of the square, collating together concepts along the centre vertical axis of related themes and centralising themes of *excellence*, *flexible* and *economic* which collocate. These are flanked by *responsibility* on one side and *promote* on another, underscored at the bottom centre by *serve*, although *service* is at the other extreme. These collocations support descriptions of this dominant discourse as neoliberal and reflecting market concerns. Such collocation is described further below.

8c Collocation

Collocation is a formal method for studying the distribution of words, and their tendency to occur in company with other words, which constitute one of the many levels to which meaning is 'dispersed' (Stubbs 1996:173). In this way themes, for example the minimisation of the size or activities of the state, or the responsibility of the individual as an economic citizen, are collocated with themes about markets, for example in opening up public sector actants to competition and markets. It is evident that the collocation of themes such as competition, markets, choice and commercialisation become more than the sum of its parts, exhibiting a particularly neoliberal rationality, retaining some earlier themes of liberalism but with quite different emphases. Collocation of such themes appears in a specifically neoliberal orientation, brought together in specific programmes of the state.

In order to render the analysis of the neoliberal discourse in current policies and mission statements as distinct from the earlier liberal and egalitarian discourses, extracts from different periods are provided as events of different combinations that dominate at the time. I therefore analyse collocations in first, three policy texts, and second, the mission statements of universities.

In this study these policy texts are representative of three different political rationalities, taken from different times in Australian universities history, the 1970s, 1980s and 2001. The choice of texts for this analysis was limited to what is now available, so relevant available texts that discuss emergent events are used, such as that of 1975. I use extracts from texts that present the state programme and policy for higher education of the time. They are the *Sixth Report, May 1975* of the Universities Commission, the Dawkins' (1987a) *Higher Education: A Discussion Paper*, which describes the new policy of the state for the unification of higher education in Australia, and the text, *Higher Education Report for the 2001 to 2003 Triennium* (DEST 2001b), that describes the programme in place at the time of the mission statements analysed above. It is shown that the latter two contain specifically neoliberal collocations of themes, in contrast to the earlier, pre-Dawkins text.

Before examining these we can look at the historical context. There were two Australian higher education reports that are useful, *The Report of the Committee on Australian Universities* (Murray Report) of 1957 and *Tertiary Education in Australia, Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australian* (the Martin Report) of 1964.

The Murray Report of 1957 recommended increased federal funding on the basis that 'We must, on a broad basis, become a more and more educated democracy if we are to raise our spiritual, intellectual, and material living standards', that universities were not for the privileged few but 'something essential to the lives of millions of people who may never enter their doors'. The Prime Minister of the time assured us that university training is a civilising influence and a right based on merit, and created the *Colombo Plan* which gave scholarships to 'our Asian neighbours, to assist them in the raising of their own educational, medical, scientific and technological development- that we must take our part in finding or training our share of the expert minds that they need' (Menzies 1972 cited in Davis 2002:48).

The effects of the Murray Report were immediate, the Australian Universities Commission was established and federal funding to universities increased. But it took longer for the idea of university education as a right to be established, although it can be seen at this time as the beginnings of a move towards egalitarian access, evident in the controversy it causes, for example in the protest about 'progressivist and egalitarian dogma' (Davis 2002:49).

However an effect of the 1964 Martin Report was to delay such egalitarian ideas, by its recommendation for the binary system that followed. This binary system created a separate sector of vocational and applied colleges in parallel with the universities, and would inculcate what Bessant describes as 'middle class ideology' (Bessant 1978:21).

The Martin Report, like its British counterpart, the Robbins Report of 1963, was concerned with a civic model of a university. Its first page, on which it lists its ten *Conclusions and Recommendations*, are clearly focussed on values and the common good; the first recommendation is about 'increased opportunities', 'an essential condition for the stability and progress of [such] societies', the third that a 'balanced programme of educational development is essential' and the fourth that 'The human values associated with education are so well recognized - the very stuff of a free, democratic and cultured society'. The fifth recommendation was that:

Education should be regarded as an investment which yields direct and significant economic benefits through increasing the skill of the population and through accelerating technological progress. The Committee believes that economic growth in Australia is dependent upon a high and advancing level of education.

Martin 1964:1(v)

This is the economic aspect, in which the economic is a common good, not specifically just for the individual. There is also a return to 'the view (widespread in Australia) that higher education should be available to all citizens according to their inclination and capacity' and it was pointed out that 'Such a view accords

with the aspirations of individuals and serves the needs of the community in promoting dynamic economic growth' Martin 1964:1(viii). This is a collocation of themes of public good, of education for human values in a free democratic society, concerned with individual aspirations and community needs. Education is the dominant theme, within which the economic is subsumed, for the benefit of all.

Universities Commission, 1976. *Sixth Report, May 1975*.
Canberra: AGPS.

The renaming of the Australian Universities Commission to the Universities Commission occurs when it is also reshaped from a funding mechanism to a body with power over the activities of universities. This text is Parliamentary Paper No. 271, produced by the (then) Universities Commission in May 1975, published 1976. This text is important because it is produced at the time of events when emergent mechanisms represent shifting political rationalities that change relations between universities and the state.

The Universities Commission is an example of such an emergent mechanism, and puts this in context when it explains how its responsibilities have increased considerably since its establishment in 1959, because of increases in the complexity, size and the number of universities. The effects of 'Major policy developments' are paramount in shifts in Australian political rationalities of the time. These included the abolition of university fees, and the Australian Government's takeover from the (local) states of full financial responsibility for universities, from 1 January 1974. This meant that the Commission (the advisor to the Minister and Government on university matters generally) kept university statistics, became responsible for the flow of 'virtually all funds to the universities' and became the 'channel through which the Australian Government approaches universities for their collaboration in responding to new government initiatives' (Universities Commission 1976:2.8). So this text represents emergent properties

of social policies and state rationalities, and represents the contemporary network of shifting practices and events. Its descriptions of universities and their roles are therefore of great use in describing the pre-Dawkins universities in Australia.

The most striking position taken in this paper is the strong emphasis on the autonomy of Australian universities, described as 'autonomous bodies constituted by their own Acts of Parliament and legally responsible for the conduct of their own affairs', and it is pointed out that the Commission is 'firmly opposed to ... procedures' such as 'providing grants for specific purposes or by requiring universities to pursue particular policies in the courses they offered and the manner in which they were taught' (Universities Commission 1976:4.21).

This approach contrasts strongly with post-Dawkins and current state policies, which use funding to support (or cut) particular curricula, to pursue diverse ends such as industrial restructures, to curtail research funding for specific projects and to fund universities to pursue particular policies such as *internationalisation* and *commercialisation*, as described in mission statements.

This autonomous nature of universities is reinforced,

4.22 The Commission's commitment to university autonomy reflects much more than a desire to protect the formal status of the universities. Rather it stems from a conviction that universities will in general better achieve their purposes by self-government than by detailed intervention on the part of the public authorities. The purposes for which universities are founded and for which society continues to maintain them include the preservation, transmission and extension of knowledge, the training of highly skilled manpower and the critical evaluation of the society in which we live. ...

4.23 In a free society, universities are not expected to bend all their energies towards meeting so-called national objectives which, if not those of a monolithic society, are usually themselves ill-defined or subject to controversy and change. One of the roles of a university in a free society is to be the conscience and critic of that society; such a role cannot be fulfilled if the university is expected to be an arm of government policy. Moreover, universities must prepare their students for life in a world the characteristics of which are necessarily imperfectly foreseen. An institution which geared its activities to

known requirements could hardly provide an education appropriate to meet as yet unknown problems.

Universities Commission 1976: 4.22, 4.23

While reinforcing this autonomy, the Commission links different ideas, those of universities as a *conscience and critic* of society, university responsiveness to *so-called national objectives* and the teaching of the professions. They point out that in all cases universities have *responded* to these government initiatives.

Integrated are the themes that depict the activities of the welfare state of the time, bringing into universities the teaching of *social work and special education* and the inclusion of teaching *in community practice* within the medical school curricula, for which special grants were provided by the state. This is acknowledged as an acceptable exception to the idea of keeping funding separate for autonomy (Universities Commission 1976: 4.24). Most important is the abolition of fees, that egalitarian focus that had been suggested in the earlier Murray and Martin Reports.

Another theme that has persisted since colonial Australian universities is that of *community*. Although community needs appear to shift, the university at all times has been expected to be responsive to those community needs. There is an emphasis on the collective good, particularly in the specific community need of the 1970s (which persists in the mission statements of 2001), for example as noted by the Commission; '*environmental* questions have become of great public concern in recent years' (Universities Commission 1976: 4.25).

The Commission collocates this with the responsiveness of universities to such community needs, their autonomy, and their role as critics;

Universities should be expected to consider such expressions of need sympathetically, but critically, and the manner of response to them should be a matter for their own judgment. In particular, the Commission believes that such a response should not always be conditional on the availability of special additional funds.

Universities Commission 1976: 4.26

Their report included descriptions of 'a number of major new activities and developments in universities during the 1973-75 triennium', including changes in university structure and administration. These changes can be described as university responsiveness to events of the late 1960s and the contemporary political rationalities of equality and democratic participation and access to universities.

In all Australian universities there is 'greater participation in university decision making by staff, both academic and general staff, and by students... all university governing bodies now include student members and, in some cases, representatives of the general staff' (Universities Commission 1976: 4.31). These democratic themes are continued, the Commission describes greater provision for student representation and participation in the academic decision-making process, examples of procedures that allow staff members to exert an influence over the immediate academic and administrative affairs of their own departments and to have a greater influence in the wider university. The effects are dramatically changed relations between universities, staff (*we are the university*) and students, who it could be said, were once the university.

The Commission gives examples of the development of democratically elected 'assemblies', broadly representative of all sections of the university community, which 'includes all members of the academic staff and is strengthened by the addition of the librarian and twenty elected student members. These constitute forums for open discussion and criticism on a university-wide basis on virtually all matters of interest within the university' (Universities Commission 1976: 4.31).

The impetus of these changing relations can be identified in the student protests of the late 1960s and (in Australia) the early 1970s. Marginson describes this as a Gramscian project (Marginson 2002:110), others as utopian, in which the New Left student movement sought to restructure the university on the basis of participatory democracy. Their objectives were that university education should be made more 'relevant' to 'courses and research that were related to social and ecological needs' and referred to public rather than private goods (Marginson 2002:111). The relations between these themes are evident in the text of the Commission, and point to an at least partially successful democratisation and 'relevance', in the increased student and staff participation and the development of universities interests in collective goods, for example the environment (Universities Commission 1976: 4.25, 6.72).

The effects of such democratic processes were short lived, although remnants are still in the process of being removed or reshaped in some universities, where student representation is still evident in few university councils. The short time period in which these ideas were to bloom is noted, illustrating the nature of the hiatus between classical liberal and neoliberal ascendancy.

Although this discourse of an egalitarian, democratic, free higher education was contested, this egalitarian perspective was dominant and enacted until 1987. The earliest proponent that could be described as neoliberal in Australia is identified as Buchanan, who was a marginalised voice in the 1970s. Buchanan argued for full fees and market competition in universities, 'on the grounds that "revolting students" would thereby learn the value of higher education and express themselves as atomized consumers rather than collectively as political activists' (Marginson 2002:110). Such a compromise of the liberal with a shift from the collective to the individual is clearly neoliberal and portends that which is to follow.

Dawkins, John. 1987a. *Higher Education: A Discussion Paper*. Canberra: AGPS.

By the mid 1980s there was a marked shift in political rationalities, and the introduction of fees in the form of a 'student contribution' was advocated as early as 1985, and implemented in 1989. It was possible by then because there had been a dramatic change in our understanding of universities, particularly evident in the instrumental discourse of the 'discussion' paper by the Minister Dawkins in 1987, which contrasts markedly with the values and ideals of the previous reports. The Green Paper 'discussion' was not open to contest of principle but only detail.

Its themes are adamantly economic, and portend the reintroduction of fees, marking an important change of political rationalities that can be seen in the new liberal economics of the Friedmans (Friedman and Friedman 1980), who deny the relation between public benefit and free education, and advocate that the individual benefits, so it should not be free.

Dawkins describes the context, beginning in the *Foreword* with a specific identification of his concerns:

More clearly than at any time in our history, Australia is now an integral part of the international community. The barriers to contact, communication and trade generated in the past by our remoteness have been removed over the last quarter of a century as cultural, technological and economic revolutions have swept the globe...Our recent experience in international trade and financial markets provides a stark and irrefutable reminder of this reality.

Dawkins 1987a:iii

Here is the market presented as a *fait accompli*. These are natural and inevitable processes that allow Dawkins to problematise *the Challenge* to the Australian higher education system, in the context of *international* trade and financial *markets*. This is supported by quoting an OECD report of the same year

describing the expansion of demands and expectations of a system, and Dawkins concludes that:

Australia now must examine the performance of its higher education system. We must ask the people and companies of Australia, whose taxes provide the resources for higher education, what demands and expectations the country has of its institutions and whether the institutions are responding to those demands and expectations.

Dawkins 1987a:iii

This paragraph outlines explicitly neoliberal strategies. By deferring to *the people and companies of Australia*, which/who pay taxes and make the decisions, Australians become economic citizens¹. Described by Rose as marketisation — this strategy puts distance between the political and the experts; it is a devolution of regulatory powers 'from above' (the state) to 'below'- the decisions of consumers (Rose 1996:54). It also makes auditable the university and its performance, and for more than just economic performance. The university is now made auditable for all demands and expectations of those tax payers! This paragraph, and elsewhere in the text, collocates marketisation and minimisation of the state with the economic citizen who must make choices, with the auditing of the university performance.

The Introduction continues in this vein:

We live in a complex world characterised by increasing uncertainty and volatility. It is also one in which the impact of events is rapidly transmitted from one country to the next. Australia cannot be insulated from these developments.

Dawkins 1987a:1

¹ It should also be noted that this is a manoeuvre of international or multinational corporations to be described legally as persons, and corporate citizens, an anthropomorphisation of corporations which allows them legal and human rights.

There is no agent causing these events, the state and any other actors are powerless to 'insulate' Australia, the (unknown) impact of (unexplained) events is inevitable. On page 1 Dawkins goes straight into economic and business management discourse to *capitalise on the opportunities*, for *high quality* teaching and research, to *reassess the performance* of our higher education system against the background of *existing and likely future pressures*, to *promote further growth* in the higher education system. Further,

Adaptation to technological change is also aided by a better skilled and educated workforce. As in other countries, traditional techniques of high volume and standardised production will increasingly give way to flexible production systems, especially in manufacturing. Such flexible systems place a high premium on broadly skilled staff at all stages of the design, production, management and marketing processes.

Dawkins 1987a:1-2

Thus further growth in what is now a higher education *system* shifts the objectives, relating this to *flexible systems* and to a discussion of *production* and *marketing*. The change required is 'determined by international forces', and 'cannot be predicted'. Again these international forces are unnamed agents and are inevitable.

What is missing is the earlier focus on the civilising influence of a university education, any democratic impetus for change or objectives that will support community needs. The report consists of 125 pages, of which one section, 'A Fair Chance for All' consisting of a 1½ pages, includes a description of inequities. Equity 'will be enhanced by the planned expansion of the higher education system' but no new solutions are offered, other than unspecified 'increased opportunities for mature-age entry'. This section consists of descriptions of programmes already in place, and the funding of 'income support' that disadvantaged groups can access. While acknowledging that there are inequities, it does not offer any new solutions.

However there are new mechanisms evident in this report, such as issues of relations between staff and universities, and staff as employees. One mechanism is 'to encourage *flexibility* within the salaries budget of the higher education system, remove unnecessary restrictions governing salary levels and see more flexible staffing arrangements introduced' as previous practices 'detracted from its overall *performance*'. Another mechanism is a financial incentive, which over time becomes an apparently successful strategy of the state when dealing with universities. In this 1987 programme they 'offer financial and other advantages to institutions willing to adopt those principles and practices considered to be for the general community good. Institutions may choose not to adopt these principles and practices, but will receive less support from the Government and consequently need more from other sources'. This is offered for the production of *profiles*. 'An effective system of profiles will obviate the need for the wide range of current *interventions by Government* in operational matters better handled within institutions' (Dawkins 1987a:3). This appears as another marketisation strategy, but also be described as an increasing reliance on audit mechanisms.

The rest of the report describes the *Unified National System* as it ought to be, and the funding system as it is. To receive funding from the state, universities must produce the *performance profiles*, including a mission statement and statistics, that describes their role and activities. Universities are to *capitalise on non-government funding sources*, with *enthusiasm and entrepreneurial flair*, including income from full fee-paying students, *fee-paying customers*, and in collaboration with industry. Consolidation of institutions would ensure the system becomes *more efficient*.

It is in this text that we first see the idea of public universities competing commercially while in a unified system, in which they must find alternative funding. There is a complete absence of any understanding of obligation of the state to these universities as public institutions. A description of private institutions is included in a section, larger than that describing inequities. This

section describes 'Non-Commonwealth Sources' of funds, in which universities are encouraged to *sell their services*. The is located with *entrepreneurial* flair and in the same section a long discussion of *commercial activities, competition* with private sector companies, *links between business* and higher education, potential revenue growth, *competitively priced*, high-quality Australian higher education courses in *competition with* overseas institutions.

This is a precursor to the later Australian *internationalisation* policy, which is acknowledged to flow from The European Association for International Education (EAIE) and the *Programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE)* of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), that 'have taken the lead role globally in studying strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education' (DEETYA 1996c:11) .

It is a complex trend towards the internationalisation of policy that also becomes more significant strategically for domestic policy, in which policy expands to include foreign agents and institutions, such as the OECD, as sources of policy ideas, policy design, and implementation. Jessop (2000) notes this trend is reflected in policies of the state that become increasingly concerned with '*international competitiveness*' and potential for expansion, a trend we see in the expansion of Australian universities overseas.

In this text this appears in the discussion of a review of overseas student policy, and their potential as paying customers, decidedly different to the previous texts we explored above. This collocates the themes explored in the previous chapter, of *competition policy, partnerships with industry and commerce, privatisation, internationalisation, and commodification*, all explored further in the 2001 text below.

Department of Education, Science & Training (DEST)², 2001b
Higher Education Report for the 2001 to 2003 Triennium,
Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

In the *Overview* of the *Higher Education Report for the 2001 to 2003 Triennium* of 2001 (DEST 2001b:3-17), the specifically neoliberal themes presented in collocation translate as neoliberal discourse. This discourse amplifies certain neoliberal themes described in the 1987 text, while rejecting significant features of the social welfare version of discourse evident in the 1975 text. There is coherence to these programmatic combinations, although Hindess acknowledges some scepticism. It:

... favours the extension of market arrangements into areas of life which had previously been organised in other ways while, on the other hand, it rejects the paternalism of midtwentieth century welfare states and is sceptical about the view that essential public services should be provided by noncommercial, publicly funded agencies.

Hindess 1997b:22

In the overview, the report 'outlines developments arising from changes in the operating environment for universities and summarises key achievements in relation to the Government's objectives' and sets the relations in order. 'The Government' – is the dominant actor and decision making power, established by contract (see Hindess 1997b:23). It is the Government's objectives that are the main priority, and they act upon the universities. The objectives are clearly stated in Government policies (not those of the autonomous universities of 1975), they elaborate:

² The report was published in March 2001, when the Department changed its title to Department of Education, Science & Training (DEST) from Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA). The report has been published under both titles.

The objectives of the Government's policies for higher education are to:

- expand opportunity;
- assure quality;
- improve universities' responsiveness to varying student needs and industry requirements;
- advance the knowledge base and university contributions to national innovation; and
- ensure public accountability for the cost-effective use of public resources.

DEST 2001b:3

In this collocation of *quality* with *accountability* and *cost-effectiveness* the responsibility is placed on the universities (see also the collocation in the contemporaneous quality assessment of the Australian Universities Quality Agency 2001:12). The *public accountability* is the marketisation strategy described in the 1987 text, that devolves powers from the state to, in this case, the *public*, in another auditing mechanism of the state. The use of public resources must be *cost-effective*, a neoliberal trait that is more than just concerned with profits but with costs and benefits.

In this way universities must respond to diverse actors; state objectives, student needs, and industry requirements. The state also makes these *economic* requirements. What is not said here is anything about previous responsibilities of universities, for example to be a social critic or to ensure equality or social justice. This text does however describe other marketisation strategies, which shift the responsibility from the state to other sources of funding.

Since the Government came to office in 1996 it has pursued the objectives of expanding opportunity and improving responsiveness by encouraging universities to diversify and grow their sources of income.

By so doing, the universities increase their interactions with the business and community sectors, adopt more innovative ways of

operating, and make more purposeful contributions to the economy and society

DEST 2001b:3

The metaphor '*to grow their sources of income*' removes the state obligation to fully fund universities, so that what was an essential public service now must look for private sources of income from *business or community sectors*, increasing the networks that are so frequently described in the mission statements from this time.

That universities are to 'make more purposeful contributions to the economy and society' implies that contributions universities have made in the past were not 'purposeful'. There is an argument that the export earnings of universities make a substantial contribution to the economics of the nation. However it has a much more significant aspect, placing the universities in markets and particularly in competition with each other (see DEET 1996). This is then collocated with *expanding opportunity* and improving *responsiveness*, implying that these were problems.

Thus universities increase their interactions with *business and community* sectors, adopt more *innovative* ways of operating, and make 'more purposeful' contributions to *economy and society*, in effect making the two, one. These 'improvements' are real effects in the first instance, where universities are now increasing their interactions with business and commercialising (see CHASS 2004).

There are overt references made to the neoliberal aspect of objectives of the state; 'The Government regards higher education as contributing to the attainment of individual freedom, the advancement of knowledge and social and economic progress'. This refers to the individual as the object of government, particularly in that the main purposes of Australian higher education are to develop their capabilities 'to the highest potential for effective participation in the workforce and for constructive contributions to society' (DEST 2001b:3).

Other themes that recur within this text include: *world competitive research excellence*, greater *competition* among higher education providers, *more opportunities* for students to develop generic skills that are both relevant for work and a foundation for lifelong learning (a more dominant theme in European than Australian discourse), wider *choices* as to modes and times and places of study, and enable the universities to customise programmes to suit *particular needs of clients in business and industry*. There is also a description of the 'incentives embedded in Australia's research funding system' which are 'intensifying the drive for *excellence*, encouraging *collaboration with industry* and between institutions (DEST 2001b:16).

This text is clearly demarcated from the Martin Report and the Murray Report described above, which both identified a civic model of a university. In this 2001 policy text we find that universities have shifted. They are now clearly part of a service industry, under a programme of the state in policies of trade and investment. Universities are implicated in the 'new round of services negotiations' and the state is pursuing negotiations to 'gain greater access to key markets' (DEST 2001b:40) for those services. These are market, liberalisation themes that are specifically neoliberal in character. However this text does more than locate universities in the market context, as the 1987 text did, it also shifts the identity of universities. The effects of such shifts are dramatic, discussed further in Chapter 9 below. In the post-Dawkins policy texts there are collocated themes described as neoliberal. Below mission statements are explored for such collocations.

Collocation in Mission Statements

Collocations can be identified in the mapping of concepts located in mission statements overall, as described above to show dominance, and in the discourse of universities represented in each mission statement text.

In university texts university relationships can be identified in the collocation of interests, actors or activities. Throughout the mission statements

universities collocate older concerns of teaching, research and sometimes scholarship with more recent concerns of markets across national and international levels. The inclusion of these older concerns of a different discourse contributes to the project of this hegemony. They depict concerns that are political, social and economic, across different levels, *locally, nationally and internationally*.

Examples include the mission statement of La Trobe University, to be an *internationally-recognised leader*, is collocated with *tertiary education and professional training*, and *knowledge, teaching and research* is collocated with *the highest international standards*, clearly competitive and market concerns. Another example is that of NTU which collocates *services locally, nationally and internationally* with *economic development*.

Until the 1980s Australian universities were identifiable by their relationship with the state, signified by the term 'public'. In the discourse of universities these relations are now more often collocated with actors other than the state, specifically in markets. Examples include relationships identified as *partnerships* that are collocated with *industry* or *commerce*, for example by the University of Newcastle, and Deakin collocates *partnerships* with *commercial* and educational. Relations are described euphemistically as a *close interaction* that occurs with *business* by UTS.

This inclusion of actors crosses political, social and economic domains. This creates an interdiscursive mix, in which not-for-profit universities appropriate discourses (and practices) of their new partners. This interdiscursive mix has transformed university discourse, and is now normalised in university texts. This reflects the shifts in discourse identified in the United Kingdom by Fairclough as 'part of the process of constructing a new corporate identity for the higher education institution' (Fairclough 1993:149). In Australia this neoliberal discourse has dominated earlier discourses and become normalised in the texts of all public universities, signalling the achievement of the project of hegemony.

This is manifest where any collocation of a discursive mix is significant by its absence. There is no interdiscursivity apparent in statements in which market concerns dominate all others, and there is a stark absence of older concerns of teaching and research. Two universities, for example, have single 'missions' that are only about competition and markets; the University of Melbourne is to be *one of the finest universities in the world*, and Monash collocates two markets, *Australia* and *the world*, in which it aims to compete and *lead the way*. There are no *teaching, research, scholarship* or *knowledge* concepts apparent in these statements.

The characteristics of these collocations that form such discourse are remarkably similar to that of texts of Dawkins (1987a) and DEST (2001b), agents of the state. Central, dominant themes recur in both texts; themes that are subject to economic concerns and considered parallel in context. These themes collocate in mission statements, which are used to frame, and enrol others into, university activities. The mission statements are also mechanisms that show that they conform to the policy documents of the state. They do this by using the discourse of the policy texts; discourse that normalises the roles of universities in markets and in partnerships with commerce and industry, and that normalise the activities of universities as competitive and market oriented.

For instance *commerce* and *economics* are recognised and established as appropriate in the discourse practices of universities, particularly in their mission statements. This discourse is also inherent in the policy and programmes of the state, it is construed in policy texts that describe these programmes, and constructed in the activities and relations that the mission statements describe.

This shifts neoliberal discourse from construal and ideas, to construction — the practices and activities described by those construals (Jessop, Fairclough and Sayer 2001). The discourse includes representations that are enacted. The effects are evident in mechanisms that are set in place, such as the audit technologies of profiles, the marketisation that identifies specific actors, the establishment of performance criteria, or the programmes of fees (from which

have emerged different mechanisms — in neoliberal discourse these can be vouchers, but are now described as 'entitlements') which reshape and resituate universities in markets.

These mechanisms are effects of a specific governmentality in which the concepts and ideas located in policies and practices of government are collective and made to be common sense, that is, they are taken for granted and rarely questioned (Dean 1999:16). Collocated and collectively these ideas become a rationality, a dominant way of viewing the world constituted by discourse that has specific consequences for relations of power (Foucault's power/knowledge relations) at all levels of social relationships, so constituting, in this case, hegemony.

8d. Natural and Inevitable

In this analysis different texts are analysed, from before and after the Dawkins restructures of the 1980s, to show the quite dramatic shift in ideas of universities. These are examined not only for what is located, or collocated, in the texts, but for what is missing or excluded in some texts and not others. In the most recent texts it is shown how this neoliberal orientation is presented as inevitable, a characteristic missing from the earlier texts. In these later texts the outcome is the accumulated and naturalised orientation of neoliberal discourse. From this emerges a specifically neoliberal rationality, which differentiates the more recent version of liberalism from that of its classical forebear, which is apparent in the programme of the state that constructs institutional practices and rewards for rendering the social into the economic. This includes not only institutions but also individuals, recreated as consumers and customers. In this construction of individuals as responsible economic beings, they become *homo oeconomicus*, consumer and entrepreneur of self, that 'abstract, ideal, purely economic point

which populates the real density, fullness and complexity of civil society' (Foucault in Gordon 1991:23).

Economic change is represented 'as inevitable and irresistible, and something we must simply learn to live with and adapt to', which Fairclough describes as 'a particularly important aspect of neoliberal discourse... pervasive in contemporary societies'.(Fairclough 2001b:128). This discourse appears as a social problem with a semiotic aspect, summed up as 'There is no alternative', given the acronym 'TINA'. The acronym was popularised by neoliberals, particularly in reference to globalisation, following Margaret Thatcher: 'There is no easy popularity in that but I believe people accept there is no alternative' (in a speech at the Conservative Women's Conference, 21 May 1980, Thatcher 1987 and Fairclough 2001b:129).).

This strategy of neoliberalism emerges in discourse that assumes that globalisation has become inevitable, and that state intervention is neither appropriate nor desirable. This strategy appears in diverse genres, for example in political speeches, newspaper and television documentaries, and in academic and popular discourses of globalisation, for example Castells (1999a) describes states as rather powerless 'nodes' in global networks. The lack of alternatives is reiterated and imposed throughout dominant genres, particularly policy documents, of the international network that Castells describes which includes states, NGOs, multinational corporations and actors such as the World Bank and the OECD. The dominant discourse is internationally disseminated and imposed within such genres as policy documents, trade agreements, and marketing texts. In this context the discourse is then recontextualised and disseminated in different local genres such as state policy documents, which however are not only local, but also constituted by world trade agreements and political policies such as that of the OECD.

The state, an actor in this global network of states and interacting global finances, takes on the dominant discourse which through policy incentives, utilises appropriate discourse to make the economic vision appear as a norm, as

inevitable and as natural. Fairclough suggests that effects of such a discourse may be 'brought off' by making 'the socio-economic transformations and the policies of governments to facilitate them seem inevitable; representing desires as facts, representing the imaginaries of interested policies as the way the world actually is' (Fairclough 2001a:240).

In both the local and the global it is possible to identify the dominant representations of the discourse of power which promotes neoliberalism. These contain 'certain predictable linguistic characteristics', persistent through recontextualisation in different domains, economic, educational and political texts, including; processes without responsible social agents; a timeless, ahistorical present as well as a placeless universal, unmodalised truths and a shift from what is categorically the case to what we ought to do in response (Fairclough 2001b:131).

An instance of the global appears in an OECD policy document which describes its *privatisation* policy:

In 1999 privatisation activities were largely driven by factors such as: the continuation of a general trend toward reducing the role of state in the economy; budgetary constraints; a need to attract investment; and a combination of technological change, liberalisation and globalisation of product and financial markets.

OECD 2000b

In this discourse activities or events are driven by invisible factors, there is an absence of responsible agents, no actor doing the driving, and it is a process which is inevitable. These are the characteristics of neoliberal discourse; processes without responsible social agents; timeless and placeless universal processes, and unmodalised truths. The shift from what is categorically the case to what we ought to do in response is contained later in the text. This vision also notes that there is the general trend towards reducing the role of the state — representing the imaginaries of neoliberal policies as the way the world actually is, in which globalisation and liberalisation are inevitable forces.

This theme of the naturalness of the process of liberalisation is a common one, for example, according to The European Union Commissioner for Competitiveness, 'the decision to liberalise certain branches which offer public services is *by no means ideological*, but the expression of a *natural adaptation* to economic and technical developments' (translated by de Beaugrande 1999:87, original emphases).

The World Bank also describes major drivers of change, that include a very similar list to the OECD; democratisation, market economies (which now reward enterprise), globalisation (of markets and the factors that drive them — especially knowledge), technological innovation, and changing public/private roles including the changing role of the state, which are 'becoming less the direct producers and providers of goods and services and more the facilitators and regulators of economic activity' (World Bank 1999:1-2).

In these discourses the imaginaries of neoliberal policies are not ideological, but natural and inevitable. This strategy is particularly evident in higher education policies from UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank, and in Australian state policy since the late 1980s, two of which are examined below. In *The Financing and Management of Higher Education: A Status Report on Worldwide Reforms* written for the World Bank, Johnstone includes a description of the policy of a world-wide 'reform agenda' as if it were one policy, which:

... is oriented to the market rather than to public ownership or to governmental planning and regulation. Underlying the market orientation of tertiary education is the ascendance, almost worldwide, of market capitalism and the principles of neo-liberal economics.

Johnstone 1998:3

Such discourse argues for higher education as a private— not a public — good whose problems are amenable to market solutions. In this discourse, public universities do not meet the needs of the (unregulated) global economy, therefore they must be reformed, a natural process in which it is apparent that the economic

is dominant. In this discourse the social is most often described by its economic potential, usually as reality, '*real-world*', or ought-to-be. An example appears in the mission statement of RMIT University, which has a mission to 'undertake research programs that address *real world* issues', a theme that is collocated with its *international* context, a particular combination of themes characteristic of the neoliberal project that is attempting hegemony.

8e. Hegemony

By definition hegemony is agential, that is, domination occurs by consent, a necessary social feature in a democratic state. Yet this consent is contrived in the current Australian neoliberal rationality that is derived from economics, markedly different from the earlier social welfare 'common sense' dominant in the welfare state. The earlier hegemony was constituted by economic and cultural conditions which allowed power to the Australian welfare state, which was aligned with socialist welfare values and interests. In this state the redistribution of resources was 'common sense' and the role of the state as provider was central, with contesting discourse from the earlier liberal state, in which concepts of public good and cultural or civilising influences were taken for granted.

The current political rationality supports the power of the state and reproduces the underlying social structures which create the conditions for markets to dominate other values, in a neoliberal realignment of international and local markets. Such realignments, including the privatisation of universities and other institutions, patently increases market activities and extends the market to new areas of social life, not just to universities but to all sectors, including charities (Costello 2003) the arts and health care (McCabe 2004). Within this rationality understandings of subjects are different to those that preceded this view of the world. Universities and relationships between universities and society are now viewed from market perspectives. It is this creation of the conditions for

dominance and the reinforcement of underlying conditions by the current state which defines this hegemony. The emergence of the current hegemony is evident in practice that 'represents conscious political activity linked to the strategic defence or transformation of a given situation' (Joseph 2002:216). The transformation of public universities to conform to criteria of international markets and business practices, so that they can be located within a service industry, is a strategy that creates the structures to support the current neoliberal hegemonic project.

Rather than challenge this strategy or attempt to contest the prevailing configurations of power, Australian universities have consented to the discourse and actively participated in structural change and its effects, thus contributing to the project. What emerges are different institutions; transformed both structurally and agentially. Universities have become market entities and undertake market activities that they did not undertake prior to the 1980s. Locally and internationally, this restructures relations, and resituates students as customers and 'users' who pay. Since the late 1980s, there has been a move towards greater private contributions, particularly student fees (ABS 2004). All Australian universities undertake commercial activities, all have internationalised their practices and all charge fees (Marginson 2005).

In the previous chapter a specific political rationality is recognised in the characteristics and combinations of themes of neoliberalism in representations of universities. In this chapter I have identified characteristics of the struggles of hegemony, in the homogeneity of these representations and the dominance of discourse, in the collocation of dominant themes and concepts, and in the strategy which naturalises and makes inevitable.

The first finding is that there is little diversity. The second finding is that neoliberal discourse incorporates other discourse into the dominant neoliberal representations. A third finding is that specific market themes collocate to reinforce the neoliberal dominance across different levels; global, national and local. The discourse is naturalised and made inevitable, so that the neoliberal

becomes 'common sense'. This illustrates the furtherance of the hegemonic project of neoliberalism which profoundly reshapes the activities, identities and agencies of Australian universities. An examination of these mechanisms and their effects, including the shifting of global and local relations, and the effects across political, cultural and social domains, follows in the next chapter.

* * *

Part III. Discussion

Chapter 9

Effects

... education intersects with power.

Marginson and Mollis 2001:581

In this chapter the focus is on ideas that flow across the local and global domains within the economic and social spheres of politics and civil society. These hegemonic struggles shift the identities of universities and their relations, such that the enactment of specific mechanisms and ideas transform universities, which emerge as different institutions. The consequences are of great importance for the future of universities and their relations with the state, communities and civil society.

I begin with an examination of the enactment of political and cultural ideas and then discuss how such enactments change structures and agencies of universities, creating different institutions. This reshaping of the activities and priorities of universities crosses domains. It impacts on ideas of governance, autonomy, and how interest groups or the state shape universities, their research or teaching, through policy, legislation or funding mechanisms. The contested ideas that are explored further here include those of politics and culture, codes of conduct, identity and autonomy, and democracy. I conclude by summarising the

effects of global discourse and the relevance of this to the neoliberal hegemonic project.

9a. Enacted Ideas

Politics and Culture

It is evident that when political ideologies infiltrate or permeate ideas of universities, particular identities are created that are specific to the context in which this occurs. Historic examples include Napoleonic France and Maoist China, where the state virtually closed universities, or at least restructured them to conform to specific political agendas. The German universities were cultural institutions in which *Bildung* created citizens, but during World War II this potential was recognised purely as a source of expertise and as a training ground for future state elites. The universities became the palpable targets of the state, a focus which culminated in an extreme example of political interference, and reformed the identity of German universities. This rationale is exemplified in an excerpt from a 1937 speech from the University of Gottingen:

We renounce international science. We renounce the international republic of scholars. We renounce research for its own sake. We teach and learn medicine not to increase the number of microbes, but to keep the German people strong and healthy. We teach and learn history not to say how things actually happened, but to instruct the German people about the past. We teach and learn the sciences not to discuss abstract laws, but to sharpen the implements of the German people in competition with other peoples.

Gellert, 1993:13

It is evident that especially in such times of insecurity, states are able to control and conduct the conduct of universities, and so reconstruct the identities of

universities. The ideas that are refuted in this German context are persistent ideas; those of the international republic of scholars concerning research and knowledge for its own sake. However the ideas that are supported include: the notion of utilitarian knowledge - an idea which persists; that of competition; and particularly that of a national identity and culture that becomes more overtly located within the idea of a university when a nation is under stress. The date of this speech reveals its context as one of political and social upheaval. World War II and its aftermath clearly were instrumental in state intervention in university activities and restrictions on the autonomy of universities in Germany. These were implemented in times of upheaval but became the impetus for common mechanisms of control in some European states, America and Australia.

Codes of Conduct

These mechanisms of control were the effects of the political rationalities of particular states of their time. World War II was followed by the Cold War and, in the America of the 1950s, a campaign against communism. This came to be known as McCarthyism after its main protagonist and it infiltrated many institutions of society, including universities. Neuman describes the outcome for academics as:

... the purge of hundreds of professors and researchers in the United States who did not publicly swear to anti-communism and collaborate with the McCarthy investigations of the 1950s. At that time, people who objected to mandatory loyalty oaths, supported racial integration, or advocated the teaching of sex education were suspected of subversion and threatened with dismissal. For example, at the University of California alone, 25 professors were fired for refusing to sign loyalty oaths.

Neuman 1997:458-9

If we look at contemporary universities we can see that some ideas hang on, others are dominated or subsumed. Ironically racial integration is an idea now

legislated for in contemporary American universities, and sex education is common in schools.

The Loyalty Oath lives on, in the Code of Conduct recently introduced in Australian universities, for example the JCU (1999) *Code of Conduct*, a university text which governs the behaviour of academics. As described in Chapter 1, this is a common mechanism of control in Australian universities. When undergoing staff induction, new staff members (general and academic) must acknowledge and assent to abide by this code, which includes a restriction of their right to speak out on issues that are not those in which they have specific expertise. This idea is contested in Australia every time a restriction on an academic is imposed and made public. In August 2005 an Associate Professor of Public Law from Macquarie University was reprimanded and suspended from teaching because he made public his views on race issues, which were apparently 'outside his area of expertise' (Lane 2005:23). There was heated debate on this issue in the public press for some time, with ideas about academic freedom and free speech as the central arguments.

Such practices as a the implementation of a Code of Conduct or Loyalty Oath are eminently suitable to the contemporary neoliberal rationality, in which self regulation is appropriate, although the contravention of such contracts clearly is acted upon within the university. The obligations of actors are emphasised, and conduct is governed in a contractual manner intended as self-regulating. The existence of such mechanisms is evidence of at least partial success of the neoliberal hegemonic project, and depicts mechanisms which belong to the compromise of neoliberalism with individualism.

9b. Contested Ideas

In this section I examine the way that resistance has bought about change in the contested ideas of Australian public universities. In reflexively adapting to

contemporary ideas, epitomised by expansion, specialisation and progressively more self-referential modes of operation, universities of the 19th century took on modern identities. Following the Humboldtian university, research became part of that identity, and research universities prevailed (as elsewhere) in Australia.

One group of universities underwent substantial change by this inclusion of research. This group of universities established in the twentieth century is easily identified as that of *techne*, but are more often described as redbrick universities (Clegg 1979; Marginson and Considine 2000). In England they are exemplified by the publicly owned Manchester University, one of the universities depicted as the 'redbrick universities of the industrial bourgeoisie' by Clegg (1979:43-45). These universities were developed from regional colleges to compete with London University and Oxbridge, and were much more overtly and primarily utilitarian in their ideas.

In Australia these universities have taken on an identity in which there is a strong state influence and in which research and teaching focus on the professions. Research foci in these universities are aligned much more strongly to state policy than in older more elite universities (Marginson 2004). Yet when they were first established, the ideas of such *techne* were contested. One academic, writing in 1943, was critical but cautious of the state control of academic freedom at these universities, and so published his thesis under a pseudonym (Truscott 1951).

In Australia the universities described as redbrick are the Australian National University (ANU), University of NSW (UNSW) and Monash University (Marginson and Considine 2000). While research has become a major activity of all public universities in Australia, these are the prestigious, research intensive universities, particularly the ANU, the only Australian *National* University. It is evident that with research established as a regular university activity, the identities of universities substantially shifted. This identity has consequences for their autonomy, based on funding, particularly the funding of specific research

objectives. However the idea that research universities are the only identity for a university is an idea described above as 'heretical' (Gilbert 2003b).

Ideas of Australian public universities are also inextricably linked to the nation, public good and ideas of the public sphere. That this should be funded from the state and via taxes is a situation contested by a range of polemicists, from Vice-Chancellors (Gilbert 2003b) to economic rationalists (Norton 2000, 2002a, 2002b), to philosophers of science (Fuller 2001). They argue in different ways that funding is central to the autonomy of universities vis a vis the state. Fuller, for example, protests that knowledge can not be valued by markets. He describes universities as knowledge producing institutions which are more qualified at knowledge management than the corporate sector. Fuller identifies issues such as intellectual property which, when commercialised, creates tensions in relations that are evident in all contemporary universities. Anderson and Johnson (1998) in *University Autonomy in Twenty Countries*, also describe the deleterious effects of commercial and financial state - university relations.

However since 1988 a shift of these relations has had an important consequence for the autonomy of universities. Prior to this time funding was not in the main tied to the curriculum, to research activities or to governance. In fact it was their own governance of universities which gave universities their autonomy to a great extent. Since reconstruction different criteria for funding are now tied to policies of *internationalisation*, partnerships, accountability, quality and performance, as well as industrial relations, research focus and teaching imperatives. The identity of the university as a not-for-profit autonomous institution is replaced with one of a commercial, market driven institution that must be accountable and economically efficient. These are quite different characteristics than those of their historical predecessors.

The shift of relations also has consequences for the diversity of Australian universities. Under the reconstruction of 1988, Australian universities were 'unified', no longer independent identities but part of the state controlled system. This unification had normalising and benchmarking effects so that universities

started to look the same. My analysis in Chapter 8 shows little diversity in the mission statements of universities, mechanisms required by the 1988 reconstructions. An effect of these reconstructions was conformity; practices that were very similar across the university system. Subsequent further reconstructions created tensions between differential institutional missions and statuses, 'tension between diversity as horizontal variety; and diversity as tiering and hierarchy' (Marginson 2005:16). This was exemplified by the policy of internationalisation that put into place attempts to produce a *global brand*. Marginson describes these tensions as emanation from regulations about protocols for entry into the higher education sector, from the policy ordering of missions, and from potential strategic innovations. This shift of identity has been instrumental in the recreation of identities of universities which are much less autonomous than they had been before 1988.

While such state control was not uncommon elsewhere, in some places it was intensified. The Napoleonic universities were state institutions under strong state control, particularly in academic appointments and national standards of provision, a model similar to that of the historical universities of Spain and Italy. Yet it was this type of state control that produced resistance, which brought about change.

In May 1968 student demonstrations in Paris were supported by workers, communists, public intellectuals and academics. The initial action soon became widespread, for example building on student protests in Tunisia where Foucault became politically active¹. Touraine (1971a) and Bourdieu (1988) describe the events and the radical politics that inspired these events. The impetus for the initial protest was apparent, that the universities were elite institutions, inaccessible and class-based.

¹Simons depicts how Foucault 'was first radicalised by his experience of student protest in Tunisia (1966-8), then briefly involved in student demonstrations in France in 1968. His most radical period began in 1971, through involvement in unorthodox left politics on issues such as prison revolts, anti-racism and immigration, when he associated politically and philosophically with Gilles Deleuze' (Simons 2004:187).

The consequences included not only a change of government for France, with the resignation of de Gaulle in 1969, but also the reconstruction of universities, described by Mandel as ‘a changing role for the Bourgeois University’ (Mandel 1972). In France this reconstruction included such factors as the recruitment of junior academics from non-traditional areas into the higher education system. This contributed to a change in culture of those institutions, and in the power relations of the disciplines, as described in *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu 1988) and in Habermas’ essay of 1969 (Habermas 1989) in which he describes *The University In A Democracy: Democratisation of The University*.

Student protests were supported by many academics, and were mirrored in many countries such as Australia. In America there was discontent, students asserting their right to be involved in the organisation and decision making of universities. Here too some academics supported students, and would write of these protests. Some of the students became academics, and wrote of, for example, a democratic *Gramscian University* (Marginson 2002).

The writings of the time reflected the contemporary centrality of universities, described by Delanty as:

... the continuation of that illusion in the belief that the university could provide leadership for society... their visions of the university as a place where the cultural model of society is rendered reflective is a valuable contribution to the question of the idea of the university

Delanty 1998:21

It is apparent that the democratic ideas of these protests were retained to some extent, evident in the student representation at university councils in Australian universities, although these are endangered by contemporary state policies for reform of university councils (DEST 2002f).

In a different way the French universities retained a distinctiveness shaped by these events. Although state control was strong and evident in the pre-1968 universities, subsequently the state has become particularly strong compared to

other states in the control and regulation of contemporary universities (Jongbloed and Vossensteyn 2001). In their study of university autonomy in twenty countries, Anderson and Johnson (1998) rate France, along with Indonesia, as the highest level on two counts, that the state '*Exerts Influence*' and has the '*Authority to Intervene*'. Although this study is problematic due to the nature of the sample, France appears an anomaly, located in a group with Asian states rather than European, which were rated much lower on state control. The sample problem arises from the characteristics of the respondents to the survey. Anderson and Johnson acknowledge that:

Given that many of our respondents have an active role at system level it is perhaps not surprising that most think that the present situation is not unreasonable. Had we asked practising academics the replies may well have been very different.

Anderson and Johnson 1998:15

As might be expected of this sample the respondents did not answer at either extreme that government intervention was 'excessive in the extreme' or that it was 'insufficient'. Even so, France was one of the countries from which 'at least one respondent thought that intervention was at least slightly excessive', others were Sweden, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Japan and Sri Lanka (Anderson and Johnson 1998:15).

Such state intervention in university activities have increased in recent decades in many states, as described in the above study and by Clark in comparisons of Germany, Britain, France, United States and Japan (Clark 1993, see also 1998). Clark's work emphasises diverse historical and cultural differences between states, which have one thing in common— increasing state control of universities. Clark concludes from this research that there are ideas of universities that are at risk, including that of apprenticeships in research, representing the Humboldtian ideal of the unity of teaching, learning, and research. This idea of the combination of the research and teaching is endangered

by escalating regulation and bureaucratisation, created by increasing external pressures on universities to become more accountable (Clark 1993). Such accountability belongs to the neoliberal project of enterprise and market, which contests ideas of a public and of a not-for-profit university. These powerful ideas, as Clark describes, are becoming increasingly global and are remarkably similar in different state policies. In the closing section of this chapter the globalisation of policy is discussed, and its impacts on the identities of Australian universities.

9c. Global and Local Effects

What is being imposed, exported and again imposed is a collection of uniform views and practices which have the intellectual and political support of powerful groups and institutions.

Feyerabend 1996:2

In Australia the current higher education system has been bought about by continuous incremental changes since the Dawkins restructures of 1988. These changes have come together in what Gallagher (2005:10) calls 'a grand market-based vision for the sector', which has been illustrated above as evidently neoliberal, not just in the discourses of texts, but also in their effects and in practices. The pervasiveness of economic concerns that situate all relations within markets is characteristic of the neoliberal project, most evident from my previous analyses. These characteristics are epitomised by the themes identified in Chapter 7 as commercialised, internationalised and privatised. The University of Western Australia describes this succinctly, revealing the discourse which makes such processes inevitable: 'In strategic terms, 'internationalisation' is the policy response of UWA to the process of globalisation' (UWA 1999 n.p.).

The neoliberal project is not only local. Such discourse reflects that of current higher education policies of the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Canada

and particularly other OECD states. These can be described as a convergence of policies or as a 'spinning off of tertiary education from the nation-state' (Readings, 1996:4). Ideas of universities are no longer state specific but are tied to transnational policies of global actors, for example the *Magna Charta* of UNESCO (UNESCO-CEPES 1988), OECD policies (Lingard and Rizvi 2000), the Bologna Declaration of 1999 that establishes a European area of higher education, or the 'mission creep' of the World Bank (Einhorn 2001; Mollis 2000).

The World Bank policies for higher education reform are tied to loans and development policies. The model of a higher education system that they promulgate looks like the emergent Australian system, with mixed public and private sector provision and funding, corporate-style competing institutions, and the transfer of responsibility for educational quality from government to institutions (Marginson and Mollis 2001). While Australia is not tied to World Bank funding, it is an active member of the OECD, and the model of a higher education system that emanates from the OECD mirrors World Bank concerns.

These concerns appear in OECD policies that are quickly taken up in Australia, for example *Structural Adjustment and Economic Performance*, (OECD 1987) appeared in the same year that the Dawkins reforms for structural change were projected (Dawkins 1987a; Dawkins 1987b) and enacted the following year (DEET 1988c). The OECD policy *Education and the Economy in a Changing Society* (OECD 1989) was enacted in the following years in Australia in various policies of student fees and increasing university commercial relations, described in the West Review (West 1998). Quality policy in *High Quality Education and Training for All* (OECD 1992) was followed in Australia by a programme and specific targets of quality, for example in *The Quality of Higher Education* (DETYA 1999b). Other OECD policies, such as the *Programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education* (OECD 2000a) and in the same year *Recent Privatisation Trends* (OECD 2000b), are reflected in Australian policies such as *Best Practice Processes for University Research Commercialisation*, (DEST and Australian Centre for Innovation, Howard Partners, Carisgold 2002).

Most importantly, the programmes instituted in Australia under the policy of *Internationalisation and Higher Education: Goals and Strategies* (DEETYA 1996c) have been successfully enacted and have fundamentally changed the identity of all Australian universities. They have emerged as different institutions, hybrid public/private identities acting in global markets, marketing their products overseas and funded in large part by the international students they increasingly enrol. There are many overseas campuses of Australian universities and many curriculum and research practices and focus areas have shifted to an international focus.

These changes locate the power and ability of the global neoliberal project, and the global actors that order the activities of universities. As described in Chapter 4, analyses by Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor (2001) reveal the power of the OECD thematic reviews, which are recognised as descriptive, analytic and normative (OECD 1998:18). Using the example of the internationalisation of higher education, their research depicts the OECD as a 'significant player' in 'an embryonic global policy community', and initiator of the micro-economic policy that has shaped educational policy in Australia since the 1980s (Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor 2001:2).

These common global policies in higher education policies advocate internationalisation, branding and competition, trade agreements and partnerships. These are neoliberal concerns that are part of the symbolic economy of a university, an economy that is market driven and epitomised in the policies requiring universities to *internationalise*. This is a strategy of neoliberalism that comes from global actors such as the OECD and is reinforced by other actors in the network of higher education policies. It has been noted that the common discourse is evident in Australian policies and in programmes of higher education in other advanced neoliberal democracies. The OECD network reinforces these neoliberal perspectives as the different states benchmark against each other and locate their own performance in OECD statistics, applied in many state policies. The dominance of OECD policy models of development 'bear a remarkable

resemblance to the evolution of American industrial capitalism', (Marginson and Mollis 2001:582). Marginson and Mollis note the growing salience of American, and to a lesser extent British, policy norms in the education work of the OECD in education publications from the mid-1980s onward, are attested by the OECD itself when it describes its 'normative role' (OECD 1998:18). This 'normative role' is a strategic mechanism which works to put in place neoliberal objectives that become common place. Marginson, the state and other researchers all use OECD statistics to compare these strategies with particular 'performances', for example on privatisation (OECD 2000b) and other examples given above.

These mechanisms for change also occur in European universities, which appear compelled by increasingly hegemonic political rationalities, networked in transformed relations as actors in a service industry situated in common economic policies of the European Union (EU). The EU complies with trade obligations and overarching protocols and regulations, including continuing World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements for 'liberalisation' of such services (WTO 1998). Such 'liberalisation' is an overtly neoliberal strategy that has consequences for the agency and autonomy of universities, newly positioned as market suppliers of services and products. Because they charge fees, and are commercial actors in competitive global markets, universities are a 'commercial activity' and are included in the General Agreement on Trades and Services (GATS) as it currently exists.

Australia has specific GATS commitments to (neo)liberalised education services in the educational spheres of secondary, higher and adult education (WTO 1998; Cohen 2000). This places Australian public universities in the domain of the politics and economics of global networks, and concurrently places global actors in the domain of Australian higher education. Consequences for the agency of public universities are apparent — the GATS perspective of universities as commercial entities within a service industry actively promotes the 'equal' treatment of public universities and private providers, and advocates that any government subsidies should be equally distributed (Knight 2002, 2003).

This inclusion of public universities signals that consent has been achieved at the global level for the hegemonic project of neoliberalism, with the identification of universities in the service industry for which there is this global agreement. The effects of such change also have a local impact. Australian public universities that had been not-for-profit public institutions are now profit-seeking actors in global and local markets. Their agency is now based on a synthesis of contemporary neoliberal ideas of a university, that describe higher education as a private good (Norton 2000), and as a market commodity (Marginson and Considine 2000). These are related to ideas about the state and private investment, replacing or co-existing with Keynesian ideas of public ownership of utilities and public corporations, evident in the shift of funding from the public purse to the student, and to private or industry networks and investment.

It is evident that local consent to neoliberal strategies is achieved after a series of discursive strategies are undertaken. For example the theme of 'user pays' in 'a higher education marketplace' has become dominant in different genres and across domains, in the media, policy and university texts. This includes television and print media, for example in *The Australian* newspaper (Norton 2000), and in AVCC texts as well as state policy documents. However to achieve this consent, strategic discursive shifts were required, in order to make new or different concepts common place. One such shift began in the Review of Higher Education Financing and Policy, known as the West Review (West 1998). The recommendations of this review were specifically neoliberal in design, including 'user pays', 'student vouchers', 'student choice' through the 'deregulation' of fees, and ideas of 'enterprise universities' (West 1998). Political manoeuvring followed, including a controversial 'leaking' of a policy text to the media. Although commissioned by the state, the West Review was not enacted, and debate was minimised to a discussion of quality (Kemp 1998). However some recommendations that were not immediately implemented have since appeared with different terminology, and have since been enacted. In the *Higher Education Support Act 2003*, which replaced the *Higher Education Funding Act 1998*, and

took effect from 2005, the student 'vouchers' of the West Review appear as 'student learning entitlements'. In this scheme 'new entrants' occupy places freed by students who have 'consumed their entitlement'.

A local effect is that students (with the minor exceptions of some scholarship holders) are consumers. They all contribute fees, including domestic fee paying students, domestic students who pay 'student contributions' (which are set to increase every year), and international, fee paying students. Australian public universities look like commercial enterprises, at least semi-privatised. The state is strategic in normalising the neoliberal discourse and practices of such market activities to achieve the enactment of its project.

The local and global effects of the enactment of the neoliberal project have created paradoxes for the public nature and not-for-profit status of Australian public universities. The first paradox is global, with the inclusion of public universities in this service industry market and its project of 'liberalisation'. The inclusion of Australia in this agreement not only includes Australian universities in global international markets, but also includes universities from other states entry into the Australian 'market'. They are all subject to the same 'rules of the market', under two criteria for GATS inclusion for 'liberalisation'.

GATS does not cover services which are not supplied on a commercial basis or in competition with other providers. It is only when a WTO member decides to subject a public service to the laws of the market is this service subject to the rules of the market.

WTO 2003:n.p.

This inclusion effectively determines that Australian universities must be on a commercial basis, so it overrides any ideas of education as a free higher education for citizens of the state, and a public good. Universities must be in competition with other providers. Supporters of GATS perceive as 'barriers' any taxation regulation that would disadvantage foreign institutions and accreditation arrangements that privilege domestic institutions. The effect of this is that the

regulations have now been changed in Australia, and private providers of higher education are now entitled to public funding. New legal and economic arrangements are now in place, and non-Australian private universities are established in Australia. This entrance of overseas based higher education providers into Australia has effects on the Australian higher education 'export industry', but a more salient effect is that funding to universities from the state is further diminished by the support of private international providers such as the Carnegie Mellon University (CMU). The initial state funding in 2005 to CMU was \$20Million, plus other funding for scholarships and ongoing support (Downer 2005).

Australian public universities are now constructed as commercial market actors, identities reflected in their mission statements that would not fit easily into the welfare state of Australia of the 1970s and 1980s. The reconstructions of universities have produced significantly different institutions. This transformation has achieved its neoliberal project, evident in the consent achieved for domination locally and globally, in cultural, economic and political domains. Neoliberalism is the dominant representation in different genres and at different levels. University relations with students, civil society and the state have shifted dramatically, and they now present themselves as neoliberal market institutions, on a commercial basis in competition with other providers. They are now subjected to the laws of the market, and so, according to the WTO, subject to the rules of the market. They have emerged as different institutions. The conclusions drawn from this emergence and its effects are discussed in the last chapter.

* * *

Chapter 10.

Reflections

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

21.2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

26.1. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

United Nations 1948

In this chapter I provide the findings of the research and a discussion of the effects of transformations of universities. I also propose normative alternatives to the current constructions of Australian universities and put forward some ideas about future research.

The findings of this thesis are substantiated by reference to relations, ideas and meaning. An idea of a university is a creation of intra-discursive and referential relations at any particular time and place. Different ideas of a university have been resonant at different times, for example those of Newman, Humboldt, Wentworth and Dawkins. Yet, as has been shown throughout this study, an idea of a university signifies a referent that has been extant since medieval times. In realist terms (see Sayer 2000a:36-7), existing relations of the university (signifier), the idea of a university (signified), and the referent of this research, the Australian public, not-for-profit university, have shifted with the meaning of specific significations and therefore relations between actants have changed. The manipulations of relations and their meanings which have been explored throughout this research, are revealed clearly in highly developed, discursive strategies of the state in the last two decades in Australia.

For example, in 2000 the state determined that the university had to be clarified in legal terms in Australia, in the *Protocol 1 - Criteria and Processes for Recognition of Universities in National Protocols for Higher Education Approval Processes* (DETYA 2000). The resort by the state to legal definitions and protocols was bought about by the fundamental changes made by the state to university practices and their agency. In the process, relations between universities and students, and between universities and the state, were transformed. These relations, and new relations of both with international actors, had to be framed by new protocols.

Thus appeared the legal warrant, that this is what defines a university. Such a framework allows the state to reshape institutions, to be gatekeepers and to police universities. The findings below make explicit that, while changing the identities of public, not-for-profit universities since the Dawkins reforms of the 1980s, the state has promulgated a different university to that which it replaced, thus retaining the signifier, university, for a different referent. However this is a different university. It can not be described as public and a prime focus of its activities are to make a profit. It is an active market participant. In their mission statements universities have shifted from Whitlam's public, not-for-profit universities of the 1970s and 1980s, to international, market focussed and competitive commercial institutions.

This shift is just one strategy in a purposive, neoliberal project that attempts hegemony, in the Gramscian sense of power and struggles over power (Gramsci 1971; Fairclough 2001c). These power struggles endeavour to gain consent to the neoliberal project in political and civil society, and in the economic, political and social domains. This neoliberal project has been successful. It has become the dominant 'common sense' representation in discourse and practice and structural and agential transformations have been achieved (Joseph 2002:127). Such conclusions are supported by the findings below.

10a. Findings

1. Periodisation

The argument of this thesis is that after the foundation of liberal universities there have been two identifiable and dramatic shifts in Australian ideas of universities. From the founding *liberal* universities with a civilising mission, 1850-1972, there was a shift to *egalitarian*, 'socially just' universities, 1972-1987, and finally the current *neoliberal*, internationalised, market universities, post 1988.

In Chapter 4 three phases are identified that take on these specific different characteristics. Major shifts of policies based on dramatically different political rationalities are recognised. These are expressed in the discourses of different periods, in the shaping of the policies of the time, and in the practices of the universities. From colonial times Australian universities were seen to be nation-builders and a public good. Although there was rhetoric regarding a classless, free university, they began as elite institutions and this persisted for some time.

Chapter 4 shows that just prior to the egalitarian shift, this elitism was still evident. The Prime Minister of the time described universities as '*something essential to the lives of millions of people who may never enter their doors*' (Menzies 1972 cited in Davis 2002:49). This contrasts with the discourse of the next Prime Minister, who heralded in a short period in Australian history in which a new policy was enacted, aligned to new ways of talking about universities, their ideas and practices. These ideas were about equal distribution of material resources, equality and access to university education based on merit rather than money. While incorporating other historical ideas of universities, such as nation building, these Australian public universities promoted equality, and in Whitlam's words, aimed *to draw the universities more deeply into a deliberate and participating commitment to the public good* (Whitlam 1973 n.p). The next shift

of higher education policy of 1988 was just as dramatic. In Chapter 8 it is shown that distinctly different discourses represent different phases in Australian higher education. The third phase introduced in 1988 persists, and is described in further findings below.

2. Neoliberal discourse in different genres that colonise

In Chapter 5 it is found that when mission statements appear as representations of Australian public universities, they are a new genre which belongs to a different set of network practices and discourse that originate from business and new management. The introduced style and genre of mission statements as a university text is important. These texts have potential and power. They are required for auditing purposes and in practice they are used as control mechanisms. They are tools of self-government, through which universities identify themselves for audit in the profiles process. They also act to enrol others in their networks, and to create or market brand identities, so creating different relations and practices.

A shift between 1988 and 2000 was depicted in Chapter 5, when the power to approve specific representations of universities, and to construe the university in those representations, shift from the academic to management actors. In addition, this new genre colonises discourse which constructs social problems. One example of this is the shift of the responsibility for funding of universities, increasingly from the state to the universities and its different networks of commercial actants or businesses. The effects are clear; there are different construals of universities that present the value of a university as a private good which takes precedence over its value as a public good. These construals are reflected in the transformed constructions of universities, for example in the practices of internationalisation and in business practices presented in Chapter 7. As found in Chapter 5, this creates obstacles for universities as a charity and in their role as not-for-profit public institutions.

3. Neoliberal Themes that dominate

The analysis in Chapter 6 finds that the most frequent themes in the representations of universities are those concerned with the *relations* of the universities, particularly with various *actors* and *communities*. These are found to be persistent across most representations and structured in a way that enrolls others into university practices and priorities, particularly of an economic character. These are strategies that appear as *neoliberal themes*.

The dominance of these themes signify a discourse that is an effect of a different ordering of public, not-for-profit universities, describing instead commercial activities in identified relations that enact state policy requirements. This includes the representation of university activities in practices originally associated with the for-profit sector. In this way universities have changed to accommodate managerialist and neoliberal concerns about, for example, *real world* commercial activities, business and industry partnerships, and relationships other than academic ones.

4. Neoliberal Practices that order

The analysis of discursive practice in Chapter 7 clarifies orderings and relations between the themes that appear in the discourses of representations. In discursive practices the use of metaphor is apparent, used to reinforce relationships and constitute the status and identity of universities in competition with one another.

The findings of Chapter 7 are that the programmes of the state are taken on by universities which undertake *commodification*, *competition*, *commercialisation*, *privatisation*, and *internationalisation*. The state achieves these objectives in the enactment of these strategies that work towards the neoliberal project. These enactments are evidence of the dominance of

programmes of the state, typified by neoliberal practices and by shifts of identity, including elements of privatisation.

The dominant theme of *internationalisation* appears in all but one of the texts of Australia's 38 universities, and all included a policy of internationalisation as part of the *corporate plan*. Most (25 of 37) have an explicit commitment to *quality assurance or international benchmarking* for their internationalisation activities. All but four of the universities have active committees for the development of *Internationalisation and Higher Education: Goals and Strategies* (DEETYA 1996c:7). The thematic analysis shows the growth not only of a focus on internationalisation activities and networks but also the inclusion of elements from other discourses of enterprise culture and markets.

The theme of internationalisation highlights tensions in the agencies and identities of universities in the typically neoliberal practices such as *commercialisation*, the building and extending of particularly commercial and industry *networks*, increasing *competition* and in a shift of identity towards *privatisation*.

5. Neoliberal Strategies

Mission statements emerge as effects of programmes of the state; they identify themes that are actualised in relations, neoliberal practices and shifts of identity. Universities become commercial entities acting in markets and moving towards privatisation. In Chapter 8 these findings are supported by the identification of specifically neoliberal strategies, in semiotic tactics that present neoliberalism as the only option, and in the predictable linguistic characteristic of the collocation of neoliberal themes which then are able to dominate discourse. This collocation of themes is supported by the mapping of the dominant neoliberal discourse in which themes are located in space.

In Chapter 8 I identify a quite dramatic shift in ideas of universities after the Dawkins restructures. The post-reconstruction texts reveal not only what is

collocated, but also what is missing or excluded. They show how a neoliberal orientation is presented as inevitable, a characteristic missing from the earlier texts. These later texts are the outcome of the accumulated and naturalised orientation of neoliberal discourse.

The same themes in appear in many mission statements and in collocation with each other in state policy texts. This commonality illuminates relations between the structures and enactment by universities, and the enactment in mission statements as representations of universities and neoliberal policies. It also identifies different time periods as proposed in the hypothesis of Chapter 1, and specifically that the most recent period demonstrates a shift to neoliberal discourse.

6. Homogeneity

In Chapter 8 the representations of universities in mission statements are found to be homogenous. Analyses show that mission statements produce and reproduce representations of commonplace identities. These identities exhibit characteristics perceived to offer advantages in the marketplace and so most universities conform to these apparently successful criteria.

Analysis of these representations identifies one large group of universities whose members are homogenous across the system. Constituent characteristics of the content of mission statements that represent these universities are remarkably similar, a striking instance of homogeneity. While this analysis is unique, its findings are supported by previous research by others (Vidovich and Porter 1999; Marginson and Considine 2000).

This is a university system that is unified, and shows little diversity. The exceptions that appeared in representations and practices are distinctive; the Catholic university differentiates itself according to curriculum, and ANU is unique for its structure and research focus. This is contradictory to expectations, given that the system includes private and public universities with many different

histories. Other analyses have not included private universities in their research. This new addition to our knowledge is an understanding of the homogeneity of both private and public universities. By definition the latter should differentiate from the private, because they are public and not for profit. It is most notable that private universities are not differentiated to any great degree from the public universities, which are represented by comparable discourses and undertake comparable practices. This has implications for the 'neoliberalisation' or privatisation of public universities, discussed below.

It also highlights an irony, that although the state has an objective of diversity within the system, similar to that of Kerr's (1964) Californian system, the dominance of neoliberalism produces conformity. This may reflect the market mechanism of competition and benchmarking.

7. The Hegemonic Project

The discourse of neoliberal political rationality is identified in the networks of practices of Australian public universities (Chapter 5), in the themes of their discourse, located in representations of universities. (Chapter 6), and in the programmes of the state that appear in university texts (Chapter 7). In Chapter 8 I identify neoliberal strategies (Finding 5) characteristic of the struggles of hegemony. These include the strategies of the dominance of discourse, evident in the homogenous representations of universities, in the collocation of dominant themes and concepts, and in the strategy which naturalises and makes inevitable the common sense of neoliberalism. The struggle for hegemony is distinctive but not without some resistance. It is apparent in isolated cases of themes of earlier egalitarian and liberal discourses. Such contested discourse indicates a resistance characteristic of hegemonic struggle.

The findings of Chapter 7 and Chapter 9 are that different practices of universities have produced significantly different institutions. The enactments and emergence of different institutions are tied to programmes of the state (Chapter 7)

and have local and global effects (Chapter 9). This transformation has achieved its neoliberal project, evident in the consent achieved for domination locally and globally, in cultural, economic and political domains. Neoliberalism is the dominant representation in different genres and at different levels. University relations with students, civil society and the state have shifted dramatically, and they now present themselves as neoliberal market institutions, on a commercial basis in competition with other providers. They are now subjected to the laws of the market, and so, according to the WTO, subject to the rules of the market. They have emerged as different institutions.

The findings above reveal primarily successful neoliberal strategies, albeit that some are a compromise with liberalism or social welfare discourse. In combination the characteristics constitute the success of the neoliberal project and its attempt at hegemony. Consent is evident in the discourse and in the enactment and construction of relations and praxis by universities of state policies. Collocated and collectively these ideas become a rationality, a dominant way of viewing the world, constituted by discourse that has specific consequences for relations of power at all levels of social relationships. These different levels in which hegemony must be achieved to be successful are summarised below.

Levels of Change

The seven findings are produced by intensive and extensive analyses of neoliberal mechanisms, evident at two levels; internal and external. It is argued that a combination of effects produces neoliberal outcomes for universities, a unique combination which has emerged since the Dawkins reforms of 1988. Universities emerge from this structural and agential change as different institutions.

The effects of these emergent institutions are discussed in Chapter 9, identifying relations with students, civil society, the state, and with international actors, that have all shifted dramatically. Australian universities now represent

themselves as neoliberal internationalised institutions, on a commercial basis in competition with other providers. They are now subjected to the laws of international and national markets, and so, according to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), subject to the rules of the market. The findings of this thesis are unique and add a different dimension to the debate discussed in Chapter 2, regarding the furtherance of changes in Australian universities.

Internal analysis

These findings make it evident that changes have shifted the internal relations of public universities and the state. This is a fundamental change from a symmetrically necessary relation to an asymmetrically necessary relation (Danermark et. al. 1997:46). These are now not essentially **state public** universities, as the state is not related to universities in the way that it once was. Given contemporary policies and practices of universities, this can no longer be the relationship, and so we find quite distinctively different institutions. At the time of writing these were, however, still construed as public, not-for-profit institutions. This conflicts with the understandings and 'common sense' rhetoric in place regarding the relationships of universities with students, and with the state.

These different institutions and relations appear and are defined by the reallocation of public goods to those of private goods: from free higher education when access to universities was a right for citizens (between 1974 to 1988), to a shift which has culminated in the policy encapsulated in the declaration by the Minister for Education, Science and Training, that access to universities is a privilege that can be purchased in the market place (Nelson 2005). This shift is one of relations between the state and its citizens, when education, which was a social obligation of the state and a social right of citizens, became a commodity in a market place.

This new relationship was incrementally inculcated as a user-pays system, achieved by the gradual increase in domestic student fees, and the increasing numbers of international student places. These were both put in place alongside

other market activities and practices which redefine students as customers and consumers, universities as commercial, and states as regulators rather than providers of funds.

Internal analysis highlights the emphasis of policy which individualises citizens, and makes them identifiably self-interested, responsible rational economic actors (*homo economicus*). In this way ideas of universities have changed dramatically. An idea of public universities as a citizenship right has been replaced by a different idea of universities as commercial, market actors and enterprises. These ideas are reflected in discourse and in practice.

External analysis

Change is also apparent at a different level. External analysis shows that structural changes, from universities to a higher education system, followed by shifts from the state to the market and a service industry, have different effects. As described in Chapter 9, universities are now part of a service industry, subjected by the state, a WTO member, 'to the laws of the market and so subject to the rules of the market' (WTO 2003 n.p.). The consequences are the emergence of different institutions with different relations in particularly internationalised, global markets, regulated and subjectified by free trade agreements.

However the two levels are also connected by relations. The shifts in the external relations also change the institution for local relations, those of the university with the communities within which it a local institution, and with the civil society, citizens, students and staff. Other relations impinge upon parts of the university changing its structure, and its relations with other entities. Before the transformation of universities, the state and public universities conditioned one another mutually (a symmetrically necessary relation). Universities are now conditioned by other actors in trade negotiations, commercial contractual agreements, and different disciplinary rationalities.

The directions of change originate from state policies, which exhort Australian public universities to become entrepreneurs and innovators, altered

actors in dissimilar networks and relations. These are different ideas of universities from those of our historic texts, from the universities described by Wentworth, Menzies and Whitlam. As these different actors, universities have put into practice neoliberal policies. For example they have already *internationalised* in forceful competition for full fee-paying students.

Australian public universities are now encouraged by the state to undertake profitable market activities. Thus they now maintain a primary focus on profit, re-creating the agency and identity of universities, which act like for-profit organisations. They have emerged from change with the same relations to markets that business and commercial entities maintain.

The relation between universities and the state becomes a different one, a relation of order, in which the state takes on more ordering but less economic responsibility. The increasing abnegation of economic responsibility is an essential shift in relation in what defined a university as public. Universities were part of the public provision of the state. The state is now also a different state to the one which was the provider of public universities.

This thesis has identified that neoliberal discourse is disseminated by international organisations, in particular the OECD, promulgated in Australian higher education policy and adapted in university texts. The findings of this research support the argument that there are three periods in Australia in which ideas and practices of universities are different. The foundation in Australia of *liberal* universities with a civilising mission is identified in the inaugurating speech of 1850. Ideas of universities appearing in political speeches and policies of 1972 were successful; an inherent right of citizenship was reinforced and Australian public universities become evidently *egalitarian*, 'socially just' and more democratic universities after this time. Yet these ideas were relatively short-lived. From 1987 policies and speeches that represent ideas of universities are manifestly *neoliberal*, internationalised and market oriented. The current practices of universities implement these ideas from significantly different institutions than those that preceded them.

10b. Dystopia and Normative alternatives

Throughout these changes universities have persisted and built on their networks. Such networks include new sites of expertise and different circles of power, such as the 'think-tanks' that are able to influence state actors and decision makers. Historical versions of these existed. For example the 'Club of Rome' is an earlier example of a transnational think-tank, that was able to exert power in diverse nations. It framed political rationalities from an economic perspective while espousing a rationality of 'progress', and postulating *Goals for Mankind* (Laszlo 1977).

Such contemporary globally networked 'think-tanks' are outcomes of political rationalities, and are represented as sites of knowledge, intellectuals and experts. Under neoliberal policies, as universities compete in markets, they must compete with commercial research centres and 'think-tanks' for funding, both private and public. These 'think-tanks' are gaining status as academic experts appear to be withdrawing into disciplinary specific networks, restricted by mechanisms and tools of government such as a Code of Conduct which limits public voice and expert authority.

Juxtaposed with this are older ideas, for example in the recognition of university academics as experts, where once they were more often intellectuals. Although there are exceptions, intellectuals are generally created through a university education, and university degrees are still prestigious, although now more common. Although there is some persistence of these older ideas, these are contested by different locations of knowledge and expertise. Further research would investigate an Orwellian, dystopian scenario of knowledge creation and dissemination based in the markets of neoliberal policies, the status of universities, 'think-tanks' and research centres. In this scenario the philosophy and theory of neoliberal political rationalities are disseminated in universities, funded by the state with specific economic and business management research foci as

criteria for that funding. A circle of influence and power extends these rationalities between state, policy makers, and academics who teach students and researchers who do not teach students. Neoliberal policy discourses are mirrored by academic teachings and research undertaken in research centres, funded commercially or funded by the state with specific research criteria. There is great consensus, few ideas are contested and each political party looks the same.

Normative alternatives

The university represents a privilege difficult to justify or defend. ...the process of making the university accessible to the working man is only in small part the concern of the university; it is almost wholly the business of the state. Only a great reform of our state will make our university effective.

Ortega y Gasset 1966:32 (1939)

The normative alternative that I argue for is not arbitrary and it is feasible; it is a plea for equal distribution of higher education access and opportunity, which would then allow for equality of conditional recognition (Sayer 2005c). These are recognised moral and ethical arguments for a basis for change, which in an ethical society should hold more salience than economic growth.

Dual and sometimes contesting each other, the concepts of redistribution and recognition signify the values which can posit a normative alternative to the status quo. Their referent is simple: an egalitarian, public university. I see two key reasons for this alternative: the 'equality project' and democratic perspectives. Other ideas of universities, such as the civilising mission, may still retain coherence, but my concerns are for equality and diverse knowledges for a democratic society.

The different institution that has emerged from the neoliberalisation of universities is not based on values and ethics that are the best they can be for the society in which I would like to live. There is a difference between academia and

business. A university, that is academic, may undertake policies of recognition and equity of students, whereas a business treats students as consumers/customers and undertakes policies of markets and profits first, with any thought of equality or recognition as an afterthought.

The increases in inequalities that accompany neoliberalisation has generated political backlash in many countries, as noted by Quiggin (1999) in his discussion of *Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Inequality in Australia*. Alternatives can be based on economics, such as a modernised version of Keynesian social democracy, or on moral and ethical arguments. There can be a *Moral Economic Perspective* (Sayer 2004, 2005a). Sayer is inspired by moral philosophy and the classical political economy of the 18th and early 19th century. As he describes, this was over-ridden by neoclassical economics, 'with its reduction of motivation to narrow self-interest and its attempted expulsion of values from its theory' (Sayer 2005a). This is evident in the designation of higher education as a service industry and a marketised private good.

However, a point I make is that in a better world it is not enough to consider the private or individual benefit of university education. Like a public library, which individuals use freely, higher education is of great benefit to communities and society. It is not only a private good; it is also, and most importantly, a public good.

Obstacles to an alternative

The 'user pays' rationality is the first obstacle to be overcome in a search for a normative alternative. The arguments of Norton (2000) and others discussed in Chapter 2 are that the neoliberal project of reconstruction should continue and go further. Their stance is reflected in the continuance of state policies which further the reconstruction of public universities. At the time of writing the state strategy is to restructure industrial relations. This would distance further the relationship of a university and its staff, and break down the relationship between

student and university, de-politicising students and reinforcing their status as consumers¹.

These shifts in relations continue the state project towards the privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation of Australian universities. These are now primarily private, full fee paying universities, and one of the largest export earners for the state. The project continues. The effects of a full fee paying system is within the neoliberal project that aims to enhance the elite status of universities, and challenges the small shift taken in the last half century towards democratisation of universities, a process described by some as 'massification'.

The opportunity of enrolment for more students from low socio-economic backgrounds would enable a more egalitarian society. As argued by Marginson, in the attempt at such egalitarian universities in the second of the three periods defined in this research, 'only limited success was achieved, falling well short of expectations'. Marginson has argued that, while these changes to higher education were necessary reforms, they failed because they left untouched two major structural sources of inequality, the emphasis on competitively based selection and the private school system (Marginson 1986:1).

The small advances gained in democratisation of opportunity have been negated by the obstacle presented by the contemporary neoliberal perspective of economic imperialism. This renders all relations economic, an economic totalitarianism which includes previously public domains such as public universities². From this neoliberal perspective universities have a predominantly vocational (therefore economic) role in society. They are about information and skills for increasing productivity in industry, commerce and the professions, and

¹ *This process includes the breaking of the student unions using legislation passed at the end of 2005 which disallows compulsory student unionism.*

² *The logical extension of which could be projected to the rest of public education — specifically high schools— a project apparent in Blair's U.K. 'academies' and the privatisation project for schools (see Blair 2004 and Hatcher and Hirtt 1999).*

economic growth. They are about overseas trade (internationalism) and exports. This approach treats people as human resources for the economy - the economy and markets are the end. People are the objects that are the means towards that end.

The obstacle of the economic imperative is possible to overcome in a number of ways. For example we need to recognise the political in discourse and turn to values that prioritise the social over the economic. Sosteric, Gismondi and Ratkovic (1998) suggest resistance to governance mechanisms of performance indicators and to claims that economic efficiency and accountability are in the best interest of students. Contesting the economic order and the practices of neoliberalism are of the essence in retaining a public higher education for all, based on merit. It is necessary to reframe ideas of universities and to insist that people are the end. They are the subject not the object. It is necessary to reshape relations between the state and universities to a substantial, internal relation of public universities. They are not public universities unless the defining factor is the state. By definition a public university is defined by this relation with the state, not markets.

All institutions of society, including the economic, should exist for the benefit of people, who should be the subject of our discussions, the end point. This has been mooted at different times, for example in 1849, where the objective of the first Australian university:

... its greatest and most important object, is to advance the cause of education amongst all classes

Wentworth October 1849 cited in McLeod 1969:22

This was also mooted and promulgated by Whitlam, who said:

I see the academic, like the poet in Shelley's line, as the "unacknowledged legislator of mankind". If this is our aim then universities must be open to the widest range of people. Tertiary education, in whatever form, must be as accessible, as integral a part of the range of public instruction, as education of any other

kind. ... access to university education will be on the basis of merit rather than money.

Whitlam 1973:n.p

This democratic alternative requires a turn to what could be described as traditional, 'liberal' education. Students will learn that knowledge is not just for economic purposes, but is also philosophical, spiritual, social, ethical, political or aesthetic. All these contribute to the realisation of one's own intrinsic, not just economic, worth. In this way people are educated about the society in which they live, about philosophy and society and politics and diverse perspectives.

10c. Future Research

A future research agenda is based on the findings of this research, findings that locate shifting political rationalities in the ideas of universities, and the networks in which these ideas are promulgated. Shifts in these political rationalities inevitably alter the role of the state and the identity and agency of public institutions such as universities. While these shifts reshape economic relations they also change understandings and values related to the public good, egalitarian redistribution of social goods and the rights of citizens.

Political Rationalities

There are analyses undertaken that identify political rationalities and how they appear in discourse, in political speeches and texts produced in many different locations, using sometimes very large corpora. The most well known of these, the 100 million word British National Corpus, has been used by discourse analysts and lexicographers for diverse studies, such as the 'word sketch' of collocations and grammatical patterns designed to produce an accurate dictionary entry for a word (Kilgarriff and Tugwel 2001).

While corpora are used primarily by linguists (for examples see Stubbs 1996), linguists are sometimes critical of critical discourse analysts' studies. Yet these corpora can be a useful heuristic tool for CDA, as found by de Beaugrande, who analyses the meanings of 'liberal' in collocation studies in corpora representing the United Kingdom, the United States, and South Africa. De Beaugrande (1999) analyses the term 'liberal' and its derivatives such as 'liberalism' and 'liberalisation', as a heuristic to further analyses recommended by Fairclough. In a quite different study Graham (2000) builds his own corpus, which draws on a corpus of 1.3 million words collected from technology policy centres throughout the world, to show the role of policy language in creating the foundations of an emergent form of political economy.

However there is no available corpora that could be used to analyse political rationalities or ideologies in the Australian context. A most significant future research agenda for this researcher is one which furthers the identification of specific political rationalities, such as different liberalisms, that could be located in a corpus and collocation dictionary of political rationalities. This would be a useful undertaking, allowing future comparisons of shifts of political rationalities, particularly in an Australian context.

Networks

The hegemonic nature of contemporary neoliberal discourse described in this research is self-reinforcing, made possible through networks and relations established, for example, in state policies of partnerships and internationalisation. In this way much of the policy becomes market driven and reinforces market activities. By its very presence in policy and the discourse of politics which constructs policy, such discourse becomes doxa, the common sense of social and political relations, promulgated and reinforced through the networks, relations and communities of the state and of public universities, which, following state imperatives, act in *the national interest*.

The extent of such contemporary networks and relations would be an appropriate subject of future research and is inspired by the work in Australia of Alexander (2001) and Pusey (1992). These two are linked by their concern with the dominance of economics over the social and cultural, and a focus on networks. In 1992 Pusey described networks in the public service in the centre of government in Canberra, and found that these public servants were influential in policy making and decisions of the 'nation building state'. Pusey continues such work with explorations of economic dissolution and the return of the social (Pusey 1998) and most recently writes of the troubling experience of the 'dark side of economic reform' (Pusey 2003a, 2003b). Alexander illustrates the networks of the 'small world' of Australian company directors, and found that between 1976 and 1996 the size and connectivity of these networks increased significantly. Alexander expresses concern at the power of business and its 'subtle but pervasive hegemonic influence on much of our social and cultural life' (Alexander 2001:1).

This economic dominance is not peculiarly Australian. It is also evident, amongst others, to Bourdieu, who explored the dominant class of the French administrative system (1998a) and the interconnected networks of the bureaucratic field (1999a, 1999b) in France. Bourdieu's analysis of 'the state nobility' found relations between their possession of state nominated academic titles and their dominance in the fields of economics and managerial elites. These relations are networks that appear to be overwhelmed by economic values. It is such networks of domination and dissemination that would be of interest for future research in the Australian context of political elites.

The Public Good

Most importantly, in this research I have described how universities have persisted for centuries as a recognisably identifiable public good, of great value to the society in which it was embedded. This public good is central to ideas of universities as *civilising institutions* and ideas of culture, such as the Humboldtian university described in Chapter 3. These ideas were marginalised by Dawkins in

his *Discussion Paper* (Dawkins 1987a) by ideas that would reconstruct universities in 1987, and since then there have been further reconstructions under the latest policies. Resistances have not been powerful enough to prevent change in the neoliberal directions described in this research, even with many contesting submissions to the Senate Employment, Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education References Committee, (2001a) of *Universities in Crisis* (see Marginson 2001, Quiggin 2001 and Westerhuis 2001 as examples). Other published academic resistances appear in works by Yeatman (1990a, 1998a), Burchell (1994), Kenway (1995), Bell (1997) and more recently Connell (2002b) support one of the conclusions I draw from this research, that shifts in political rationalities, when translated to policy and tied to the funding of institutions such as universities, inexorably alter the agency of those institutions, and, with that, their identity. This is most evident in the replacement of public policy objectives that were inherently about egalitarian redistribution of social goods, by public policy objectives that are market driven.

Social goods located in universities are knowledges that are now commodified and commercialised. Others are activities and practices that are internationalised. Counter to any social understanding of a public good, these are economic goods. This needs to be explored further. I perceive a need for research mapped to a three cornered sociology of knowledge to depict the contemporaneous nature of the social and political environment in which university activities and knowledges are rationalised.

10d. Concluding Remarks

The alternatives are hybrids: the first an economic/cultural hybrid that could legitimate political rationalities in which values other than those of the market proclaim what is a public good. The second is a public/private hybrid in which the private has been dissipated in the public, in which a public good is

understood as a *common wealth*, and that this common wealth is not purely economic but has other wealths. These other wealths could be democratic, value focused, or ethical. These are cultural ideas and values that are more tenuous than any economic rationalities. Such rationalisation of politics from above must lead to a democratic politics that would challenge the performative state and the system of globalised capital which it serves. Following Yeatman (1990b) and Haraway (1987), in order to realise such an alternative it has to be embraced, named and put into discursive practice. This would be embraced as a different social contract in a renewed egalitarian discourse, which dislocates economic priorities from their primary position and thus unties any politics of discourse from predominantly economic rationales.

The United Nations declarations with which I began this chapter are apposite. Education as a social good, and higher education in particular, allows human agency, and that beloved concept of neoliberalism, choice. Universities, as a public good, can contribute to the emancipation of individuals from structure. This could produce, following Habermas (1987), a social utopia, an 'ideal speech situation' in which all have equal access to information and public debate. To achieve this social utopia, all must have equal access to universities irrespective of socio-economic status, which is possible if we have free, public, higher education. This choice is enhanced when higher education actors involved in universities are not passive recipients of the structures of society, but actively create them from a more knowledgeable understanding of society. This knowledgeable understanding should characteristically come about with a university education, one that is not limited to a neoliberal perspective of business and economics, not *techne* but knowledge.

There is a final comment to be made that is of concern to this research. The attempts at ordering depicted in this thesis describe the regulation and government of the identities of Australian universities. However universities are institutions that have been persistent through time, through many re-orderings by

princes, by churches and by states. They flourished during the Enlightenment, and have multiplied rapidly during recent social change of a remarkable nature.

Universities are now more governed yet conversely, have become more flexible and shape-shifting. The irony is that no matter how much they are governed, the process of ordering of universities can never be completed.

The ordering practices collected under and oriented to orderings share with modes of 'regulation' and techniques of 'government' the characteristic that the 'orders' they project are never finally achieved. Ordering is always and everywhere in process.

Crook 1999:164

The next question is, as universities as we understand them have become different institutions, what alternative 'civilising institutions' will take on the roles vacated by universities?

* * *

Appendix I

Australian Universities

During the research period there were two foundations of new universities, and one 'failure', the Northern Territory University. After some controversy Melbourne University Private was accredited as university. In August 2005 the closure of this private university was announced. The other private universities are Bond University and the University of Notre Dame. The Charles Darwin University is the other new institution, created through the amalgamation of the Northern Territory University and the Centralian College.

The universities listed here are those recognised by the Department of Education, Science & Training (DEST) as self-accrediting institutions which are discussed in this thesis.

* private universities

** Mission statement unavailable

**Australian Universities of this study,
with DEST recognised Abbreviations**

No.	Abbreviation	University
1	ACU	Australian Catholic University
2	Adelaide	Adelaide University (The University of Adelaide)
3	ANU	The Australian National University
4	<i>Bond*</i>	<i>Bond University</i>
5	CQU	Central Queensland University
6	CSU	Charles Sturt University
7	Curtin	Curtin University of Technology
8	Deakin	Deakin University
9	ECU	Edith Cowan University
10	Flinders	Flinders University (The Flinders University of South Australia)
11	GU	Griffith University
12	JCU	James Cook University
13	La Trobe	La Trobe University
14	Macquarie**	Macquarie University
	MUP	Melbourne University Private
15	Monash	Monash University
16	Murdoch	Murdoch University
17	NTU	Northern Territory University (Charles Darwin University)
18	QUT	Queensland University of Technology
19	RMIT	RMIT University (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology)
20	SCU	Southern Cross University
21	Swinburne	Swinburne University of Technology
22	Sydney	The University of Sydney
23	UB	University of Ballarat

No.	Abbreviation	University
24	UC	University of Canberra
25	<i>UND*</i>	<i>The University of Notre Dame</i>
26	UNE	The University of New England
27	UniMelb	The University of Melbourne
28	UniSA	University of South Australia
29	UNSW	The University of New South Wales
30	UoN	The University of Newcastle
31	UoW	University of Wollongong
32	UQ	The University of Queensland
33	USC	University of the Sunshine Coast
34	USQ	University of Southern Queensland
35	UTas	University of Tasmania
36	UTS	University of Technology, Sydney
37	UWA	The University of Western Australia
38	UWS	University of Western Sydney
39	VU	Victoria University (Victoria University of Technology)

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